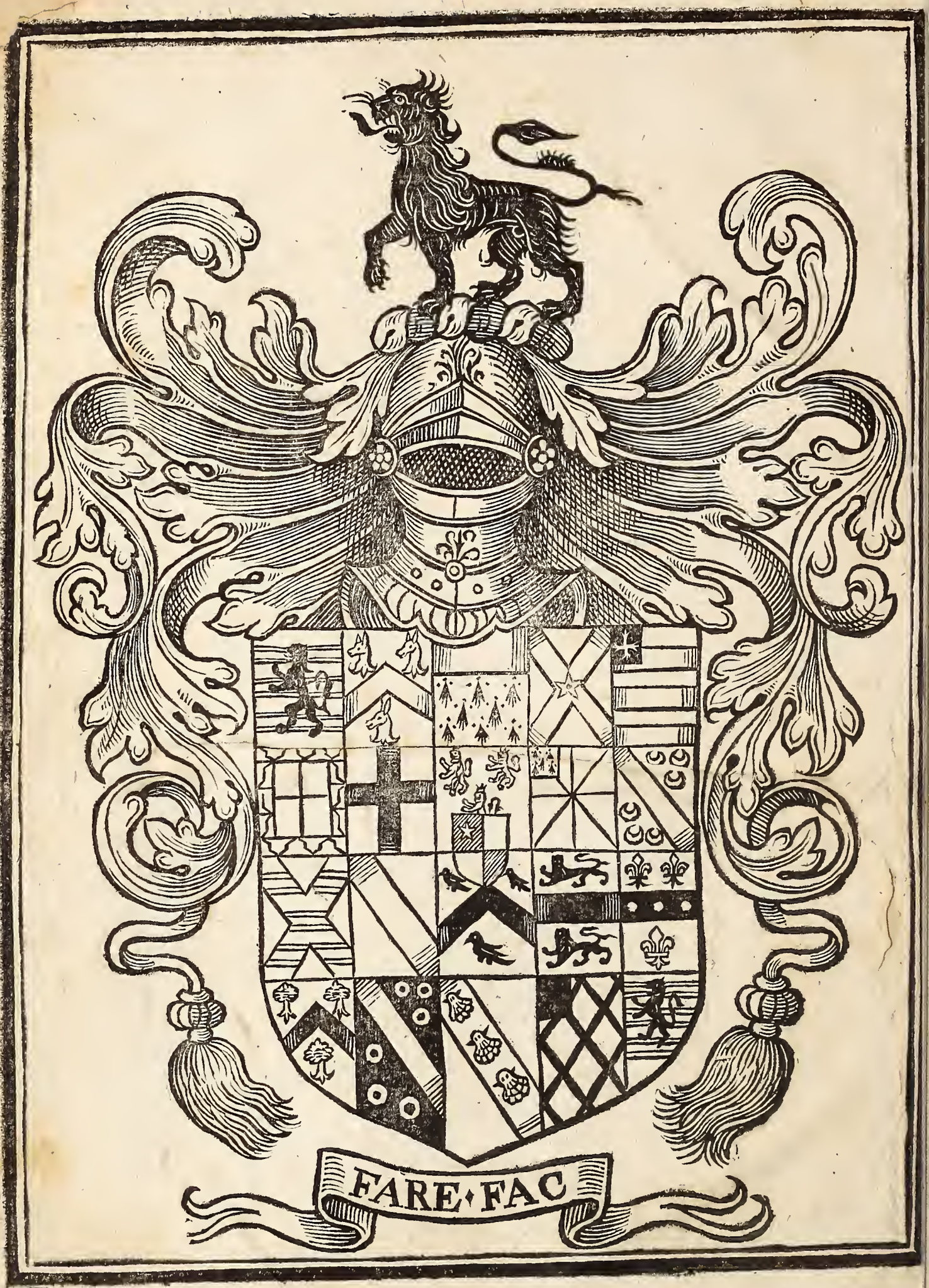
"Sprigge was one of Fairfax's Chaplains; his Book, a rather ornate work, gives florid but authentic and sufficient account of this New-Model Army in all its features and operations by which England had "come alive again". A little sparing in dates, but correct where they are given. None of the old Books is better worth reprinting! — For some glimmer of notice concerning Joshua Sprigge himself, see Wood in loc., — and disbelieve altogether that Nat Simmes

had anything to do with
this book."
Carlyle "Cromwell's Letters and
Speeches" vol. 1, p. 100.

James J Bell

Excellent series.



By

Anglia Rediviva ;

Englands Recovery:

BEING THE

HISTORY

Of the Motions, Actions, and Successes of the Army under the Immediate Conduct of His Excellency

Sr. Thomas Fairfax, Kt.

CAPTAIN-GENERAL

Of all the PARLIAMENTS Forces

IN ENGLAND.

Compiled for the Publique good

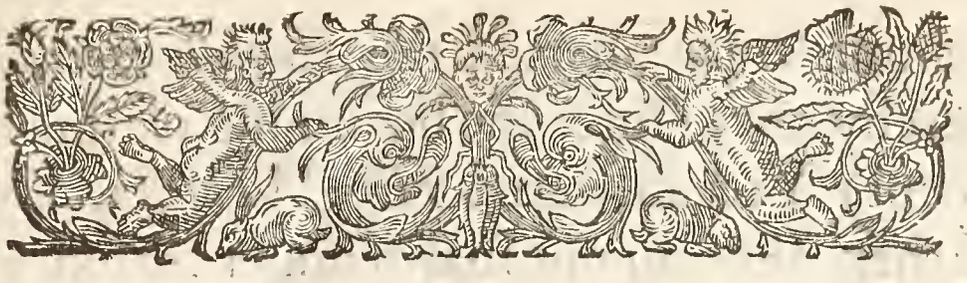
BY IOSHUA SPRIGGE, M.A.

or Nathaniel Fiennes

—καὶ τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν ἐθνῶν.

LONDON,

Printed by R. W. for *Iohn Partridge*, and are to be sold at the *Parot* in *Pauls* Church-yard, and the *Cock* in Ludgate-streete. 1647.



To the Honourable,

William Lenthal, *Esq.*

Speaker of the Honourable House of

COMMONS.

SIR,

IF my own *Genius* had not prompted me, the Nature of this *Discourse* would have led me to You; being of the Actions of that ARMY, which (as it received the compleat actuation of its Form, by the concurrence of the Right honourable the House of PEERES; so it) received its first rise from that Honourable House where you sit, and have sate as *Speaker*, (after an unparallel'd instance) for sixe continued Years together; deriving in the mean time, not so much *wonder*, as *benefit* to the Kingdome thereby: having, all along, by the same

Publique *Organ* asserted the *English freedome*, whereby once (since the beginning of this Parliament) You answered *His Majesty*, (who had then after an unusual manner entred your House:) *That you had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, but what that Honourable House gave you.* In all the warm Influences and Motions whereby this *Army* hath been cherished, You have been One in the *Constellation*, yea, a chief and leading One.

SIR, I mention not these things to lay a *stumbling-block* of Pride before you; But to minde you of that which I know you acknowledge, That *One* greater then *States*, gave you this faithfulnesse. Now as for this Story Sir, what is wanting in it of *Elegancie* of Phrase, hath been endeavoured to be supplied in the *truth* of the Relation: And next to that, a good proportion of my care hath been to carry it without such *distastefull reflection*, as might render it unfit for your *Candor* to patronize; I make no question but you will easily discern a thread of *Divinity* running through the whole proceeding of this Army, and that their Actions have been nothing else, but a *Copy* of the *Wisdom, Power, Providence*, and *love* of *God* put forth in men.

My Prayers for you, and the Honourable Senate are, *That God who hath made all your Enemies without, appear but flesh, and that flesh grasse,*

would

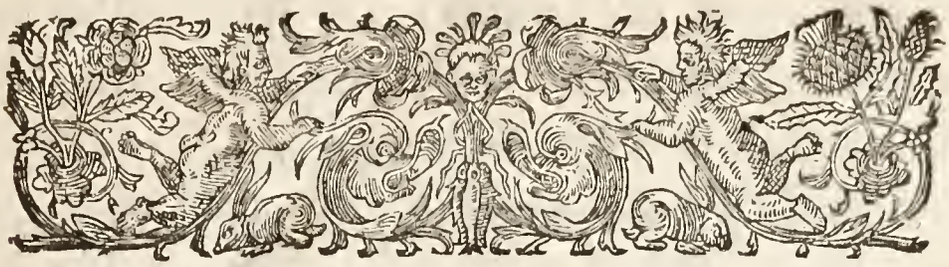
would ſave you from the power of fleſh within, that you may act all things in the ſtrength and excellency of that Spirit that hath wrought theſe things for ye, that ye may be partakers of as much of God as of Victory; whereby ye ſhall be ſure, not only to *arrive* your ſelves *laden* with *Honour*, and all the ſweet *fruits* of your *unwearied Labours* at the *Port* of *glory*, but ſhall alſo *direct* the *toſſed Bark* of this *Common-wealth* towards the *Haven* of *Reſt* and *Righteouſneſſe*.

SIR, In your *publike merit* many thouſands are no leſſe then I am, who am profeſſedly,

Sir,

Your moſt humble Servant,

Ioſhua Sprigge.

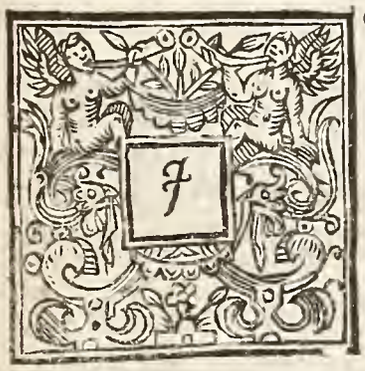


To his EXCELLENCIE

Sir Thomas Fairfax, &c.

AN APOLOGIE.

SIR,



IT may be thought neither Iuſtice *nor* Gratitude, *That this Book is not dedicated to your* Name, *for your great* merit *and* intereſt *in the ſubject of it.*

Sir, *As your* worth, *and* name, *qualifies you for the Patronage of the* beſt *Subject or Diſcourſe whatſoever; and your* Martial fame *and Proweſſe, for the* beſt *Story of* that *ſort: ſo your* intereſt *in, and* relation *to the* contents *hereof, is, and without controverſie muſt be acknowledged ſo great, as renders you altogether uncapable of receiving any* acceſsion *of* Title *thereto by a Dedication.*

The truth is, This being but the Picture *of that* VViſedome, *and* Courage, *and what more of GOD did appeare in* You; I *dare not preſent*

it to you, being not drawn to the life. *But when moreover* I *consider of the* Kingdoms intereſt *in theſe things* done, *and more particularly the* Parliament's, *who ſet you on work;* I *am fully ſatisfied and reſolved, That if the* right *of* Dedication *be* yours, *yet the* debt *of* Patronage (*which is* Onus, *as well as* Honos; *a Care, as well as a Courteſie*) I *am ſure is* theirs: *For though You are the Perſon* by whom; *yet it is the Publike, 'tis the Parliament,* for whom *theſe Things have been done; And therefore the* juſtice *ſeems to be on* that ſide, *that They ſhould take theſe Services off Your hands, and own and avouch them as having been done in Their name, and by their authority.*

And as Your ſervices have been of that conſideration and merit, as to engage Kingdoms *and* Parliaments; *So the conſideration of Gratitude is not fit for the* adventure *of a* private *man, it is worthy the* advice *of a* Parliament. *And as* both Houſes *have with much Nobleneſſe, and in high Honour to You in that* relation, *acknowledged as much by a ſolemn congratulatory Viſit, at your comming to* London; *ſo They will,* I *am confident, proceed in all* ſuitable *expreſsions of* real *thankefulneſſe; and leaſt of all think their* gratitude *at an* end, *now that your* ſervices *are come to* ſo good *an* end. *Though* I *may ſay without diſhonour to them, when they have done all,* They muſt die your Debters: *And he is not an* Engliſh-man, *that doth not acknowledge,*

That

That as the Honour *of these* Actions, *under GOD, is* Yours; *so all that they* enjoy *by these* successes, *is also* Yours: *And that when* this Generation *have* exhausted *themselves, and done their part, they must commend it to their* Posterity, *to pay the Remainder to your* Name.

Sir, I *speak not these things to* lift you up, *for that were to insnare you, and* bring you down *in that wherein you have as much* exceeded *the most of the sonnes of men, as in any thing; I mean in the carrying of so much Honour as GOD hath put upon you, in greatest* humility; *but to* lift up *GOD in you. My only prayer for you is,* That as you have seen much of *GOD* in the action, so you may live to see proportionably of *GOD* in *Vs*, in the improvement of them; And that you may taste as much of *GOD* in the Kingdomes *Peace*, as you have done in the Kingdomes *Warres*.

Your Excellencies most humble,
and most affectionately
devoted Servant,

Ioshua Sprigge.

To all True

ENGLISH—MEN.

Y dear Country-men; (For *to you* I direct this Story: for it is *yours*; In *your Land* were these Battels fought; these Actions done, *for your sakes*, (the vindication and defence of *your* Parliament, Lawes and Liberties;) and *by your hands*.) You, that have with bleeding hearts, and distilling eyes, been Spectators of, and common Sufferers under the *insulting paces* of Arbitrary power, and unlimited Prerogative; and have felt the *twinging convulsions*, and *violent concussions* of the same: And at last (to accomplish your misery, and your Exactors sins) have had a *Cup* of *Blood* prepared for you, (by Divine ordination, indeed, (and so righteously;) but immediately put upon you by the lusts of those, whom *GOD*, for your sins, had given up to these things:) And have been *drinking* thereof these *three* years and more, (I pray God it hath passed from you.) Only, at present, God hath taken it out of your hands, (though we see not, yet, he hath made your Enemies drink the *dregs* of it.) I cannot but hope and expect, That as those *Feet* have been *beautiful* that brought you the *Retail*-tidings of your *expiring* Warfare; so that *Hand* that shall transmit the *Series* of them to your view, shall not want his due proportion of benevolous acceptance.

You

To all True English-men.

You may not expect here an History, *beginning* with our late unhappy Wars; but (that which is better) it *ends* with them, (For, *better is the latter end of a thing*, sayes Solomon, *then the beginning*.) And therefore this Peece (though *last acted*, yet) being *first intended* in Providence, may well be first committed to History, as containing *that Point*, whereinto, as into its *Center*, all the *former* Actions did *thrust*; If any have a story of them to bring forth, this doth not at all *prevent*, but *prepare* for it. It is pleasant discoursing of the *Wracks* of *Warre*, in the *Harbour* of *Peace*; As once *Æneas* to his Men:

Vos & Scyllæam rabiem, penitusq; sonanteis
Accestis scopulos; Vos & Cyclopea saxa
Experti, revocate animos, mœstumq; timorem
Mittite; forsan & hæc olim meminisse juvabit.
Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
Tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi Fata quietas
Ostendunt, illic fas regna resurgere Trojæ:
Durate, & rebus vosmet servate secundis.

Into this *Harbour* hath *GOD* now brought our *English Bark*; Of this *Peace*, and the *immediate Action* that wrought it out, doth this History give you a *prospect*, wherein I hope *GOD* is drawn through all, and *Providence* is in the *fairest colour*, and the *greatest letter* in the Book.

The *Olive branch* I bring, might discharge me from owing any *Excuse*; yet there are two things (whatever more may be) for which I shall tender a short *Apologie*, *viz.* That this *Olive branch* is no *fairer*; That it is no *fresher*.

For the first, I may say of the Actions of this *Army*, in a good proportion of truth, what was said in another case: If they had been all *largely* expressed, *such* a *Volume* could not have *contained* them: For as in *populous Cities*, especially if of great *wealth* and *trading*, Houses are *thwackt* together without

without those liberties of *Gardens* and *Orchards*, which *Country villages* are accommodated with: Even so, in the Story of this ARMY, into which so many great and *glorious* actions, and *births* of *Providence* have throng'd, to make it rich and glorious by the *mutuall projections* of their Lights; you cannot expect to have such *Elbow-room* of *Expression*, and *Accommodation* of *Words*, as in more *single* stories. Or as *lesser Lights* shining in an *Orbe* by *themselves*, seem *fair* and *specious*, and of *greater* magnitude then *bigger starres* in *Constellations*: Even so, How many of these Actions, were *each* of them improved and extended by the *Art* of *Speech*, spread in their just breadth, the Folds of their particular Circumstances, opened, would make so many *competent* Stories by *themselves*.

For the latter; Should this *Story* have been *adorned* with such *Artificial* stuffe of *feigned* speeches, *Prosopepeia's*, and *Epistrophe's*, *&c.* it might find better accesse to some eares: But whether it be not the glory of the Story, *Not to need* the *Trappings* of Words, I make no question at all. *Truth* is that, which is the commendation of *History*; and the *greatnesse* of an action (which makes it great in *Wisemens* eyes) is *native*, not *adventitious*. I should count my self unhappy, to detain the Reader in the *Artifice* of the *Style*, from the *Greatnesse* of the *Matter*; Lofty language, is but to Mount *Pigmee* actions, and to please a *lower* Sense. I dare not be too sollicitous of *arraying* the works of *GOD*, lest while *I* seek to *honour* them with a *gorgeous* Habit, *I hide* the *true* Glory and Majesty of them: Besides that, the *humbler* the Phrase is, the more *sutable* to the *Persons* by whom these things were done, and the *manner* of doing; For, *not by Might, nor by Power*, *&c.* And *I* write them not for men to *pick Phrases* out of, but to *gather* matter of *Praises* to *GOD*: And if this be the fruit, *I* have my end in relation thereto, and furtherance thereof.

I shall adde but two or three words more: And the first is, concerning the *Action*; the second, concerning the *Instruments*; and lastly, concerning the *Authour*, GOD.

1. For

1. For the *Action* : You that have travelled in all Stories both ancient and modern ; whoſe Mindes are ſo *greatned*, as that you will look upon no *ſmall* things ; Tell me, (*I* will be bold to put the queſtion, and venture the ſhame of the worſt anſwer that truth and ingenuity can make) Did you ever read *ſuch* a *Story* as this ? (*I* relate to the matter of it) Did you ever read (ſetting *Iſraels* warres in *Canaan* aſide) of *ſo many* Actions, *ſo conſiderable*, done in *ſo ſhort* a time ? Such *Vnanimity* in *Councels*, ſuch *Concord* in *Leaders*, ſuch *Succeſſe* upon *Endeavours*, ſuch *Feare* upon *Enemies* ? It was the admiration of a * Great man, and *Souldier*, in Foraign parts , upon the former Services : *What, two Battels in a Summer !* *I* know not what he may ſay of theſe; perhaps nothing : *Admirationes leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent.* But as the *height* of *Mercy* cannot well be taken but from the *depth* of the precedent *Miſery*; ſo neither can the *tranſcendencie* of this Army's *Merit* be eſtimated, but by the greatneſſe and *compaſſe* of their *Work*. You ſhall find therefore in a *Table* prefixed to the Story, the *ſtate* of the *Kingdom* ſet in your view, as it ſtood when this *New-Model* was raiſed and ſent forth. For as it uſually fals out, that *ſickneſses* and diſtempers in mens bodies, appearing in the greateſt *height* and *threatning*, is the very *Criſis* and forerunner of *Recovery* ; ſo fared it in this matter : The *Enemy* never had a *fairer* day for his purpoſe ; and on the other hand, the *Parliaments* affairs was never ſince theſe Warres more *low* and *declining* ; As by referring to the enſuing Table, may appear.

* The Prince of Orange.

2. Concerning the *Inſtruments*, The goodneſſe of *GOD* hath appeared to us (in furniſhing us with ſuch *Inſtruments* out of *our ſelves*, in a Paralel way to that *Succeſſe* he hath given out by them ; in making the ENGLISH Root again to *bud* with *Honour*, after the diſadvantage of a *long-continued Peace* for 80. yeares, wherein *Reſt* had been conveyed in our Blood, from Father to Sonne. And now to make the Gallantry, Valour, and Proweſſe of our Forefathers to riſe up in their Children, in *ſuch* a *Cauſe*, and not only

only to *bud*, but to bear *ripe* Almonds; is that, which, (abſtracting from the *ſeat* of the Wars within *our own bowels*) would have made a *delectable* ſtory, although it had been *without ſucceſſe*.

3. But we would leaſt of all be thought, by this Hiſtorie of things done, to fixe *unconquerableneſſe*, and unvariable ſucceſſe upon this *Army*; That were to *dare Providence* to undo us: We know, we are as ſoon *broken*, as *made up*; as ſoon *flying*, as *conquering*: We deſire therefore Friends, not to believe this Army ſhall *do more*, becauſe it hath *done ſo much*; and that it cannot be conquered, becauſe it hath conquered: But, that it ſhall be *ſtill victorious* while *GOD* is in it, and no longer.

Accept *theſe Mercies*, and with them the *Inſtruments*, in the *undeniable demonſtration* of their *Love* and *Loyalty* to their *Country*, in ſo free an *expence* of their *Blood*, and ſo *chearfull undergoing* all *hardſhips* of *War*, for *your ſakes*.

J. S.

The state of the *Kingdome*, when His Excellencie Sir *THO. FAIRFAX* marched forth, MAY. 1645. *Exhibited in Two* TABLES.

The one shewing, into what Counties, Cities, Towns, Castles, and Places of strength, the *KING* reached, and Garrisoned: As also the Field-force His MAIESTIE had to maintain the same, and to enlarge his *Quarters*.

The other shewing all along, what Force, Garrisons, or Places of strength the *PARLIAMENT* had, to check or ballance the ENEMIE.

In two *DIVISIONS*. The one containing the *Western Counties*; The other, the *Midland Parts*.

THE FIRST DIVISION.

IN	*The* KING *had*,	IN	*The* Parliament *had*,
Cornwal.	The whole County intire to himself, with these places of strength therein well fortified, and manned: *Viz.* The *Mount*, the strong Castle of *Pendennis*, *Dennis*-Fort, and *Helford*-Fort, which commanded the commodious Harbour of *Falmouth*. The Garrisons of *Foy*, *Salt-Ash*, *Mount-Edgcombe*, and *Lanceston*: Besides, His Majesty kept some Forces at *Padstow*, and *St. Ives*.	Cornwal.	Neither Field-Force, Port-Town, nor Inland-Garrison; and besides, the People were generally disaffected to the Parliament.
Devon.	All *Devon* intire to himself (except *Plimouth* only) and therein these considerable Garrisons well fortified and manned, *viz. Excester*, *Barnstaple*, and *Dartmouth*, the Fort at *Exmouth*, *Pouldram*-Castle, Fort-*Charles* at *Salcombe*, *Ilfordcombe*, *Hoptons* Fort, and the other Forts before *Plimouth*; *St. Budeax*, the garrison at Sir *Francis Drakes* house, *Peymouth*-house, *Barley*-House, and *Inch*-Garrison.	Devon.	*Plimouth* only; and that besieged.

	The KING *had,*		*The* Parliament *had,*
IN Somerset.	All in his power (except *Taunton* only, which was then straitly besieged by him) And in that County the strong Garrisons of *Bristol* and *Bridgewater*, *Bath*, *Lamport*, *Burrough*, *Nunny*-Castle, *Portshead*-Point, *Ilchester*; *Chidiak*-House, and *Farley*-Castle.	IN Somerset.	The garrison of *Taunton* (close besieged at that time.)
Dorset.	*Portland*-Castle and Island, *Corf*-Castle; and *Sherborn*-Castle.	Dorset.	The Port-Townes of *Pooole*, *Lyme*, and *VVeymouth*.
Wilts.	The Garrisons of the *Devizes*, *Laicock*-House, *Langford*-House, and *Highworth*.	Wilts.	*Malmesbury*--Garrison only.
Hants.	The strong Garrisons of *Basing* and *VVinchester*.	Hants.	The Garrisons of *Portsmouth*, *Southampton*, and *Christ-Church*; (Port-Towns.)
Berks.	*Farringdon*, *VVallingford*, *Dennington*, and *Radcot*.	Berks.	*Abbingdon*, *Reading*, and *VVindsor*.
Oxford.	The City of *Oxford*, (the Kings Head-garrison) *Banbury*, *VVoodstock*, *Gaunt*-House, *Blechingdon*-House, & *Godstowe*.	Oxford.	*Henley*-Garrison.
Bucks.	*Borstall*-house Garrison.	Bucks.	*Alisbury*.

The KINGS Field-Force *for the* VVEST.

The *King's* Field-Forces for the securing of these Western Counties and Garrisons, even from *Oxford* to the *Mount* in *Cornwal*, under the Command of the Lord *Goring*, the Lord *Hopton*, Sir *Richard Grenvile*, and Major-General Sir *John Digby*, Brother to the Lord *Digby*: May modestly be computed to be, in all, 14000. Horse and Foot, besides their severall Garrisons secured with Horse and Foot; as may easily be credited, if it be considered, the great Force they had before *Taunton*, during the two strait Sieges thereof, and the many men they lost in both those

The PARLIAMENTS *Field-Force for the* WEST.

The *Parliament* (not thinking it safe to spare the new raised Army under his Excellencie Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, to attend the great busines of the *VVest*, and leave the *Parliament*, *City*, and *Association* without a Guard, and the *Royal* Army about *Oxford* unattended:) Designed onely the remaining Regiments of the Earl of *Essex's*, and Sir *VVilliam VVallers* Horse, which were not reduced into the *New-Model*, to busie the Enemy in

those services; And yet with what a considerable Army they were at *Lamport*, when they were beaten there, and at the same time also maintaining the Siege before *Plimouth* with a considerable Force, (besides those 14000.) His Highnesse Prince *Charles* was then in person in the West, raising new Forces, whose Presence had such influence on those Parts, especially on the *Club-men* (who were thereby made bold in their Meetings, and received Commissions under his Highnesse hand and seal, to form themselves into Regiments) that it was no little addition of Reputation to that Army.

in the West; *viz.* Of Sir *VVil. VVallers*, Colonel *Cooks*, Colonel *Fitz-James*, Colonel *Popham*, and the *Plimouth*-Regiment. Of the Earl of *Essex's*, the Relicts of Colonel *Beer's*, and Colonel *D Albiers* Regiments under Lieu. Colonel *Buller*, assigned over to Major-Gen. *Massey*: which Regiments were formed into a Brigade, and designed under the Command of Major-Gen. *Massey* for the Western parts, but a little before the Battel of *Naseby*.

THE SECOND DIVISION.

In the County of	*The* KING *had*,	In the County of	*The* Parliament *had*,
Hereford.	That County entirely to himself, with the Garrisons of *Hereford*, *Gotheridge*, and *Cannon-Froom*.	Hereford.	No Garrison, Place of Strength, nor Field-Force.
Worcester.	The City of *VVorcester*, *Evesham*-Garrison, and *Hartlebury*-Castle.	Worcester.	*Hawksworth* Castle only.
Salop.	The Garrisons of *Ludlow*, *Bridge-North*, *Dawly*, *Shrawardex*-Castle, *Caes*-Castle, *Morton-Corbet*-House, *Stockley*-Castle, *Rowton*-Castle, *Linsel*-Manour, *Apley*-House, *High-Archal*, *Carew*-Castle, *Embleden*-Castle.	Salop.	*Shrewsbury*, *VVem*-Garrison, and *Oswestree*.
Stafford.	The strong Garrisons of *Lichfield* and *Dudley*, and *Burton* upon *Trent*.	Stafford.	The Garrison of *Stafford*.
Chester.	The City of *VVestchester*, *Beeston*-Castle, *Hawarden*-Castle.	Chester.	*Namptwich*.
Leicester.	The Garrison of *Ashby-de-la-Zouch*.	Leicester.	*Leicester* town, (shortly after lost.)
Lincoln.	*Belvoir*-Castle.	Lincoln.	*Lincoln*-City, *Crowland* Garrison, *Hougham* Garrison, *Burleigh*.
Nottingh.	On this side *Trent*, the strong Garrison of *Newark*, *Shelford*-House, and *VViverton*.	Nottingh.	The town and castle of *Nottingham*.

War- In-

IN	The KING had,	IN	The Parliament had,
VVarwick. Northamp.		VVarwick. Northamp.	Intirely the Parliaments.
Wales.	All *North VVales* and *South-VVales*, with all the strong Garrisons of *Ragland*, *Monmouth*, *Chepstowe*, *Flint* Castle, *Holt*-Castle, *Denbigh*, *Aberistwith*, *Aberconway*, *Caermarthen*, *Caernarven* Town and Castle, *Harlact*-Castle, &c.	Wales.	*Pembroke* Town and Castle, in *South-VVales*; and *Montgomery*-Castle, in *North-VVales*.

The KINGS Field-Force *for the Midland Counties.*

The Field-Forces which the *King* had for the securing of these Midland Counties & Garrisons, &c. Was, 1. The Royal Army, (countenanced by the Kings own presence in it) commanded by Prince *Rupert*, and Prince *Maurice*, which was that Army which fought his Excellency Sir *Tho. Fairfax* his Army at *Naseby*. 2. Besides, the King had a very considerable Force of Horse and Foot in *VVales*, under the command of the Lo: *Gerard*. 3. And also a good strength of Horse under Colonel *Devillier*, Sir *VVilliam Vaughan*, and others. 4. And likewise had strong Parties of Horse attending the Garrisons of *Chester*, *Ludlow*, *Bridgenorth*, *Lichfield*, *VVorcester*, *Dudley*, *Newark*, and *Hereford*: which upon any designe met together, and were a formidable Force.

The PARLIAMENTS Field-Force *for the Midland Counties.*

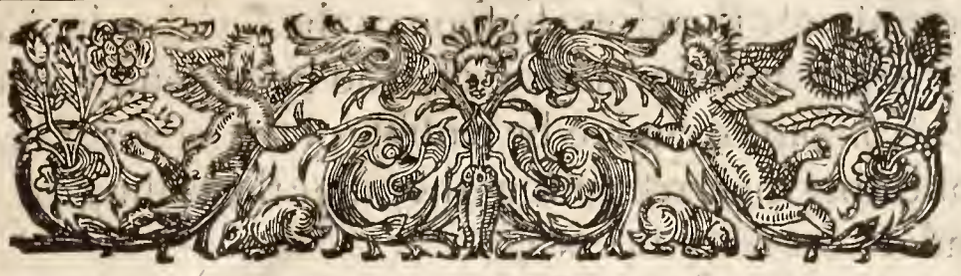
The Parliament had, to ballance this Royal Army in the Midland parts, the *New-Model* (far short of its intended number of 21000) under the Command of his Excellencie Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, (part whereof were, as soon as they marched into the Field, sent to *Taunton* (the only Inland garrison the Parl. had in the West of *England*) to raise the siege there, and relieve that place, that otherwise had been lost) Which was no sooner done, but *Goring*, *Hopton*, and *Grenvile*, joyn all their Forces together, made a great Army, and besiege the Town again, and therein that Brigade that had relieved it. The rest of the Army was allotted to his Excellencie, to guard the Parliament, City, and Association, and to attend the motions of the Royal Army withal; and our besieged Friends & Brigade in *Taunton*, must not be neglected, neither. There were some other Forces belonging to Garrisons, which upon occasion might be assisting to the Parliament, *viz.* Those under Major-Gen. *Laughorne* in South-Wales, Sir *Thomas Middleton* in North-Wales; those under Major-Gen. *Mitton* in Shropshire, Sir *William Brereton* in Cheshire; the Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Northamptonshire Horse; and the Horse of this Army, under Col. *Rossiter* in Lincolnshire, Sir *John Gel* in Derbyshire, and Colonel *Norton* in Hampshire.

Beyond TRENT.

The Battel at Marston-Moor decided those Parts for the Parliament: yet there remained of Garrisons belonging to the King, unreduced, *Skipton*-Castle, *Pontefract*-Castle, *Scarborough* Castle, *Sandal* and *Bolton* Castles, in Yorkshire, (Before all which places, some of the Forces raised under the Lord *Fairfax* were engaged) Besides *Latham*-House, *Greenhaugh*-Castle in Lancashire, besieged by the Lancashire forces; and *Carlisle* in Cumberland, besieged by the Scotish forces: And in case the King had attempted a conjunction with *Montrose*, the Scotish Army (being far North) was in a convenient Post to interrupt that, or any such like designe.

Errata.

Page 17. §. 7. A whole line left out that ſhonld begin the Section, *viz.* [But the commands given with publique and unfained ends were not diſputed, but obeyed] Accordingly, &c. p. 30. l. 1. *for* part *read* partee p.68.l. laſt but one *f.*framing *r.*freeing p.90.l.11. *f.*Keniſome *r.*Keinſome l.15. *f.*rather *r.*would rather l.18.*f.*ſetting *r.*ſetling p.95.l.25.*f.*in whom *r.*then in whom l.30,31. *f.*and which *r.*which p.119.l.11. *f.*Priors fort *r.*Priors hill fort l. *penult. f.*Town *r.*Line p.131. l.4. *f.*Bennet *r.Sir* Humphrey Bennet l. 4. *f.* priſoners *r.*hoſtages p.136.§.7.Marg.l.6. *f.*the mood *r.*that mood p.140.l.22. *f.*in all theſe *r.*in theſe p.145.l.6. after the word Iuſtice *ſupply* [an Iriſh Rebell was taken and executed] p.161. *f.*Dec.32.*r.*Dec.23. p.163.l. *penult. f.*ſet forward *r.*advanced p.165.l.7. *f.*there *r.*two p.171.§.7.l.4. *f.*Town *r.*Fort p.177.l.15.*f.*S.Edmund *r.* Sir Edmund p. 179. l.8. *f.* William *r.*Will p.181.l.31,32 *f.*in order to the Oxford horſe *r.*in order to the checking of the Oxford, &c. p.182.l.10.*f.*Reymouth *r.*Peymouth p.185.l.laſt but two *f.*adviſable it might engage *r.* adviſable being night to engage p.195.l.25. *f.*Holſworth *r.*Holſworthy [ſo p.197.l.27.] l 30.who all *dele* who p.196 l.7. this laſt defeat *dele* laſt l.14 *f.*Sir *George Digby r.*Sir *Iohn* l. *ead. f.* Governour *r.*Commander p.197.l laſt but one *f.*Tomerton *r.*Tamerton l 25. *f.*Taveſtock *r.* Tawſtock p.198.l.14. *f.*by the *r.*but by the p.199.l.9.*f.*Lime Regiment *r.*Plimouth Regiment p.252.l.7. *f.*the end *r.*therein p.253.l.16.*f.*old through time *r.*old & decayed through,&c.p.281 l.8.*f.*divine *r.*dimm p.284.l.11. *f* preſumptory *r.*peremptory p. 313. l. 4. *f.* laſt *r.* caſt p.315.l. laſt but four *f.*the *r.*that l. laſt but two *f.*Victory,ſweld *r.*Victory-ſweld p.317.l.14. *f.*poſſimus *r.*poſcimus l.23.*f.*commonalty *r.*commodity p.320.l. *penult. after* acceptance of *r.*God.

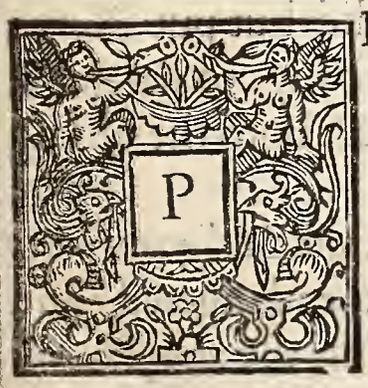


ANGLIA REDIVIVA.
OR,
ENGLAND'S RECOVERY.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

Containing by way of Proeme and Introduction, a generall account of the miserable condition of this Kingdome, before this present Parliament; The occasion and Instruments of calling it; The Snare laid for us in a former Parliament. The quarrel between the Royall party, and the Parliament, stated: And shewing how the Command of the Parliaments Forces came to be devolved to Sir Thomas Fairfax, *their present Generall.*



PRINCIPLES of *Misery*, and seeds of *Diseases* in the *Body politique*; strengthening themselves through a *long tract* of time, and at length discovering themselves more and more in outward *symptomes*; afforded an happy rise and advantage of seeking out the *means of cure*. Of which God had not left this *Kingdome* destitute, in so sufficient a proportion, as that few States or Commonwealths in the world enjoy the like: Being of it self of a sound and healthy *constitution* and *temper*, able (if not obstructed) to conflict with, and expell all *burthensom humours*, and correct all *vitious dispositions* to *Tyranny*; There being no *Government* better tempered in the world, if true to themselves, in a timely application of Remedies at hand.

Englands misery to be reckoned from a longer date then this late discovery.

The constitution of *Englands* Government, highly to be approved

The Peeres at *York* petition the King for this Parliament.

Accordingly therefore, so soon as the *Body*, by the *Nobler senses*, began to take notice of, and be seriously affected with her *sicknesses*, and to be sensible of the *meanes* at hand; Recollecting their resolution, they urge the calling of this second PARLIAMENT.

§. 2. The snare that was laid for us in the former Parliament.

There was a former *Parliament* called by the KING; (And never was the Kingdome in greater danger: For never more danger, then when *good meanes* are tampered with to *bad ends*; when *Ahab* cals a Fast to accuse *Naboth*; and *Satan transformeth himself into an Angel of light.*) And this first act and putting forth of the *Politique nature*, though not perfective of the *Cure*, nor having any thing in it again so eminently remarkable, as the *National justice* and *affection* expressed to the *Scots*, declining upon ever so fair proffers and conditions, to assist the *King* in his engagements against them, (an act that should ever make the *English* of precious remembrance with that *Nation.*) Yea, though this first Essay of *Nature* was seemingly overcome by the prevalency of the *malignant matter*, to the *breaking up* of that Parliament; yet was it not in vain: For notwithstanding that for the present the *Disease* took its turn, and did appear in a higher way of opposition and contest to *strengthen it self*, and to *overcome its antidote*; yet this did but put *Nature* upon more vigorous and industrious actings to defend it self, (as was need) and so was subservient unto the calling of this *second Parliament*.

The snare broken.

§. 3. The utmost endeavours of the Malignant party.

Wherein *both Interests* conflicting, and the *Malignant party* seeing it self so eminently threatned and endangered, and redacted to that extreme necessity, as to use the *utmost means* for its preservation; and being no longer able to endure at so neer a distance, those strong *motions* and *workings* of the *Heart*, betakes it self from the *vital parts* to some remoter members of the *Body*, gathers and settles there, causing an *inflammation* of those *parts*, & hopes to derive the same from part to part through the *whole body*; at last choosing to *sacrifice all*, rather then to be *corrected at all*. Hereupon the *Heart* of this *Kingdome* (I mean the Parliament) which had performed

formed its own defence ſo well, endeavours its office for the *Body*; and being neceſsitated to meet with the *diſtemper* in the way it had put it ſelf, oppoſeth *fire* to *fire*, *force* to *force*, *ſword* to *ſword*; hoping by this means, as by the *opening* of a *Vein*, to *breath* out the *Diſtemper*, though with the loſſe of ſome *Blood*.

The Parliaments Arms defenſive.

§. 4. The quarrel between the King and Parliament ſtated

The *King*, with his *unhappy Counſellours* and *Courtiers*, who had promiſed themſelves to be *petty Tyrants* under him, had driven on far, and well neer accompliſhed the great deſigne of an *Abſolute*, *Arbitrary*, and *Tyrannicall Government*; The *Popiſh* and *Prelatical party* fall in for their *Intereſt*, hopeing by this means to uſher in the long-wiſhed for *Alteration of Religion* within this, and the neighbour-Kingdomes. The *troubles* of *Scotland*, and the *Parliaments* of both Kingdomes enſuing thereupon; The Execution of *Strafford*, and Proſecution of his *Companions* & *Partiſans*, unexpectedly croſſe and interrupt this *grand deſigne*. Many wayes are attempted, many practices are ſet on foot, *Every ſtone is turned*, the *Armies* of both Nations, *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh*, are tampered with, to overthrow the *proceedings* and *power* of the Parliament. And when all theſe wayes proved ſucceſſeleſſe, ſecret *practices* and *bands* are ſet on foot in *Scotland*, a Rebellion is raiſed in *Ireland*; and in the end the *King* attempts to *ſeize the perſons of ſome eminent Members of both Houſes*; and by an *example* not to be paralleled in the ſtory of any Age, comes himſelf in perſon accompanied with a *band* of *Ruffians*, to take *five of the Members* of *Commons* by force out of that Houſe.

The King offered the *Scots* foure Counties, to be annexed to the Crown of *Scotland*, viz. *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmerland*, and the Bp. of *Durham*, to come up to *London*, and ſerve him againſt the Parliament; and moreover the ranſacking of the City of *London*, which was reckoned to them at a greater value then the 300000.l. the Parliament granted them.

As divers *Souldiers* and other *looſe people* flocked to *Court*; ſo, many well-affected *Citizens* and others teſtified their affection, in a voluntary way, to the *Parliament*, the preſervation of their *perſons* and *priviledges*. Theſe called the other *Cavaliers*, and they termed theſe *Round-heads*; whence aroſe thoſe two Names, whereby in common talk the two *parties* in this War were by way of *nick-name* diſtinguiſhed.

The *Parliament*, upon the attempt of violence on their Members ſitting in Parliament; having for the preſent in an orderly way, by the aſsiſtance of the *Trained Bands* of the City of *London*, procured for the ſecurity of their *Members*, that they might ſit and conſult ſafely in Parliament, conſidering the many practices of force that had been attempted againſt Them and their Authority, in order to the ſubverſion of their *Religion*, *Lawes*, and *Liberties*; Deſire the *King*, that the *Militia* might be in ſuch hands as both Houſes of Parliament ſhould name and appoint. Hereupon the *King* withdrawes himſelf, refuſes to ſettle the *Militia* according to the deſire of his *Parliament*, endeavours to ſeize upon *Hull*, and the Magazine there, but is prevented; ſends into the *Low-Countries* for Cannon, Arms and Ammunition, which after arrived and was landed not far from *Hull*; Began the body of an Army, under the name of a Guard for his perſon, at *York*; Protected by force, Offenders from the Juſtice of Parliament; ſends forth *Commiſsions of Array* in oppoſition to the *Ordinance* of the *Militia* eſtabliſhed by the Parliament, upon the Kings refuſal to joyn therein; ſets up his Standard at *Nottingham*, and declared open war againſt his *Parliament*.

Jam tetigit ſanguis pollutos æſaris enſes:
Dii melius, belli tulimus quod damna priores:
Cæperit inde nefas——
—— *Nec dicier arma Senatus*
Bella ſuperba decet, Patriæ ſed vindicis iram.
Lucan. Pharſal. lib. 2.

——*Blood had already dy'de*
The King's ſtain'd ſword, and God did well provide
That there the miſchief ſhould begin, and we
First ſuffer wrong.——Let no man call our Arms
Offenſive wars; but for received harms
Our Countries juſt revenging ire.

§. 5. The Parliaments cauſe.

The *Parliament* on the other ſide Arm in their own defence, and in defence of their *Priviledges* and *Authority*, and therein of their *Religion*, *Lawes*, and *Liberties*; and particularly, to *cauſe obedience* to the *Summons of Parliament*, and to bring *Delinquents* to *Iuſtice*, and to maintain their *Ordinance* of the *Militia*, and the *Fundamentall right* ſeated in them in the ordering the ſame for the preſervation of *Religion*, *Iuſtice*,

Iustice, and the *Lawes* and *Liberties* of the Kingdome, either *with* the Kings *concurrence*, or *without* the same, in case he either *cannot*, or being seduced by evill Counsellours, *will not* joyn with his *Parliament* therein.

No spoile seek these Arms, nor self-soveraignty:
But t'help the Land 'gainst imminent slavery.

Nec præda hisce Armis, nec Regnum quæritur ipsis: Tantum afferre vires populo servire parato.
ferè Lucan.

§. 6. A brief account of the former Armies.

Forces being raised on both sides; Those of the *Parliament* were at first put entirely under the Command of the Earl of ESSEX; but after they took severall forms, and were divided into several bodies, by Commissions granted unto divers persons, as *Major-Generals*; Each diversity and alteration taking its rise from an inacquiescency and dissatisfaction with the successe of the present: which moved to *turne every stone*, and try if by this, or that means, the desired End might be obtained. Yet severall good services were performed by those Forces, and very notable ones under the first and originall conduct of the Earl of *Essex*; as besides *Edge-hill* and divers others, that famous and never to be forgotten relief of *Gloucester*, skirmishing the Enemy a good part of the way both going and comming, and at last upon their return giving the Enemy battel in a pitcht field at *Newbury*; whereof the story of these times, wherever they shal come, will ring deservedly. (In the mention of this particular, might I be secure from moving envy, or detracting from others (who might also deserve extremely well in the action) I should at least glance at the singular and extraordinary service of Colonel *Harvey* with his Horse, & the gallant Foot of the City of *London*, who stood so stoutly to it that day.) These being not within the line of my story, and being recorded by other pens, I must thus passe over: As also all the considerable actions of the Earle of *Manchester*, and Sir *William Waller*, performed for this Kingdome by them, and their deserving Officers and Souldiers; amounting at least to so much, as that thereby many a Gap was stopt, the Kingdome saved from being

The extent of their service.

ing totally over-run, the ſucceſſe of the Enemies affaires ſtill brought to a reaſonable compoſition, the balance kept pretty even, and ſometimes we were ſent before God with ſongs in our mouthes, and occaſion was afforded for greater hopes, and more bleſſed expectations. But, whatever was the matter, two Summers paſt over, and *we were not ſaved*: our Victories ſo gallantly gotten, and (which was more pitty) ſo graciouſly beſtowed, were put into a *bag with holes*; what we wonne one time, we loſt another; the Treaſure was exhauſted, the Countries waſted, A *Summers victory* proved but a *Winters ſtory*; the Game, however ſet up at Winter, was to be new played again the next Spring, and mens hearts failed them with the obſervation of theſe things. The cauſe hereof the *Parliament* was tender of ravelling into, only men could not be hindred from venting their *opinions* privately, and their *feares*; which were various, and variouſly expreſſed, whereof I determine nothing: but this I would only ſay, *Gods time to deliver* England *was not yet come*. And this was apparent, That the Forces being under ſeverall great Commanders, want of good correſpondency among the Chieftains, oftentimes hindred the Publick ſervice.

Their unhappineſſe.

The Parliaments tenderneſſe of them.

§. 7. The Parliament conſcientiouſly adviſing the Remedy.

This Army was conceived and brought forth by a New-Model.

The danger of this device.

The Parliament in prudence waving a ſtrict enquiry into the *Cauſe* of theſe things, applyed themſelves to ſeek out the *Remedy*, which was moſt *neceſſary*: And there being not only no other comparable, but ſcarce any other *meanes* at all that preſented it ſelf to them, This *New-Model* was propounded, a deſigne that carried danger enough in the front of it, both in reſpect of *diſobliging* thoſe at home, and *giving advantage* to the Enemy abroad, while we were without an *Army*, or at leaſt whileſt our Army was all to peeces. But if it were here ſeaſonable to open the grounds thereof, it would appear to have been no leſſe *neceſſary*, then *hazardous*. And as *deſperate cures* require *deſperate remedies*, ſo do they often prove very *ſucceſſful*, as this hath done beyond all expectation, God having in moſt *fair* and *great characters* written upon it, That it was *His Deſigne*, and thereby

thereby owned both the *Counſel* and the *Counſellours*. And now let all men, eſpecially the Parliament of *England*, truſt GOD hereafter, and venture upon whatſoever is *juſt*, and *neceſſary*, by this experience; It being as much beyond the belief of man, as any thing can be, that ſuch an Enterpriſe as this, ſhould be effected ſo quietly amongſt our ſelves, and without any affront from our enemies.

This experience applied to the Parliament.

The *New-Model* thus reſolved on, is gone in hand withall; and now where to find a *General*, puts them all to a ſtand: Till by a ſtrange providence, without any premeditation or deſigne, Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX was nominated. The motion took, was Voted, and carried preſently: And to be brief, the *old Commiſsions* being laid down, and thoſe that were waved in this *New-Model* being diſmiſt from the imployment; the Command of the reſt, to be recruited to Twenty one thouſand, is devolved to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*. Of whom, and whoſe ſucceſſe, ſince he ſerved the *Parliament* as General of their Forces, is this ſtory inſtituted: which I cannot better begin, then with a brief account or deſcription of him.

Providence ſtrangly deſigning the General.

CHAP. II.

Wherein a brief Character of the General, *and* Lieutenant-General; *The framing of the* New-Model; *The beginning of their Action at* Iſlip-bridge, Blechington-houſe, Bampton-buſh, *&c. And the effect theſe things had on* His Majeſty *at* Oxford.

SIr THOMAS FAIRFAX, eldeſt Son of the Lord FAIRFAX, of *Denton* in the County of *York*: Martially diſpoſed from his youth; Not finding action ſuitable to him in his own Country, (for through the great goodneſſe and long ſuffering of God, *England* hath been a quiet habitation theſe 80 years) And there being imployment in *Holland*, he went over thither to enable himſelf in military experience: And upon his return into *England*, he

he matched into a moſt Noble and Martial family, taking to Wife one of the Daughters of that ever Renowned *General*, the Lord VERE. And thus the Reader may take notice, how not only his Extraction, Diſpoſition, and Education beſpake him for a *Souldier*, but his Contract alſo portended nothing leſſe. Albeit, ſo far was he from congratulating ſuch a condition of his Country, when he ſaw it like to need the exerciſe of his faculty; that he moſt ſincerely offered the firſt attempts of his reſolved Minde at the Altar of *Peace*. When at the *King's* firſt endeavours to raiſe a Guard for his own perſon, at *York*; apprehended then by thoſe parts, and found quickly after to be the beginning of an *Army*: He was entruſted by his Country to preferre a Petition to His Majeſty; the ſcope whereof was, to beſeech him to hearken to his Parliament, and not to take that courſe of raiſing Forces, he was then engaging in: which Petition the King refuſing, he preſt with that inſtance and intention, following the *King* ſo cloſe therewith in the field, called *Heyworth Moor*, in the preſence of 80. if not 100000. people of the County (the like appearance was hardly ever ſeen in *Yorkſhire*) ſo cloſe, I ſay, til at laſt he tendred the ſame upon the pomel of his ſaddle. But finding no Propitiatory here, and ſeeing a War could not be avoided, he early paid the vowes of his Martial dedication; And ſo ſoon as theſe unhappy troubles brake forth, took a Commiſsion under his Father, *Ferdinando* L. *Fairfax*, (whoſe timely appearance and gallant performances for his country in the North, deſerves a ſtory by it ſelf;) And ſerved the *Parliament* in lower Commands, then what Providence ſince hath adjudged his capacity and merit unto, making him now *General* of the Parliaments forces; to which truſt and honour he was preferred upon no other grounds, than the obſervation of his Valour, and all anſwerable abilities for the ſame, teſtified in many notable ſervices done by him in the North, whileſt he was yet in a lower ſphere. And now how delightfully remarkable is it (as a moſt apt cadency of providence) if God ſhall make him, who was by

the

the *King* rejected in his *milde endeavours* to prevent the troubles of the Land by a *Petition*, (then which he sought nothing more) a most powerfull Instrument of restoring Peace thereunto by the *sword*!

Anno 1645. April.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, having with much modesty accepted this command, immediately applyes himself to the discharge of it: it was the first of *April* ere his Commission was granted; and the third of *April* he went from *London* to *Windsor*, to see, and personally to assist in the frameing of a new Army: He went in a private manner, purposely avoiding that pomp, which usually accompanies a *General* into the field.

§. 2. The General personally assisting the framing of the *New-Model*.

His *Excellency* continued at *Windsor*, from the third to the last of *April*, in that work: The difficulty whereof (to say nothing of the danger, through the discontents of them that were reduced under new Commanders, and of those that went off the imployment; which rendred it a business requiring much wisdome and tenderness, as well as resolution) might well accompt for this time, if it had bin a longer space: considering, that besides the fitting the Train for the field, and the attendance of the Recruits from *London*, which with the old that continued, were to make up the designed number; an entire *new forme* was to be introduced into the whole Army, the Forces that remained of the old Army being not only to be recruited, but to be reduced into new Companies and Regiments, as if they had been new raised.

The difficulty of the worke.

In the mention of this particular, the great paines, care, and diligence of that valiant and discreet Commander, Major-General *Skippon*, whose prudent carriage added much life and expedition to the busines, is not to be omitted: of whose singular and extraordinary service therein, the House of Commons taking notice, by Letters that were sent to them, Ordered and sent a Letter, returning him the hearty thanks of the House, for this and all his former faithfull services.

§. 3. A digression in due commendation of Major Gen. *Skippon*, for his free and faithfull assistance therein.

Anno 1645. April.

Whileſt the Army lay about *Windſor*, thus forming and fitting for the field; Prince *Rupert* with the Kings main force for the midland, lay about *Worceſter* and the frontiers of *Wales*, preparing from thence to take the field: but the Kings perſon, with moſt part of the Train, and ſome of their Foot, intended for the field, being then in *Oxford*, A Convoy of horſe, reputed about 2000. was ordered from *Worceſter* to fetch them off from *Oxford*; upon advertiſement whereof, the Committee of both Kingdomes wrote to the General, to ſend ſome horſe to march beyond *Oxford*, and lie on the further ſide thereof towards *Worceſter*, to intercept that Convoy, and keep the King and his train from paſsing out. The charge of this ſervice they recommended particularly to Lieutenant-General *Cromwel*; who looking on himſelf now as diſcharged of military imployment, by the new Ordinance, which was to take effect within few dayes, and to have no longer opportunity to ſerve his countrey in that way; was, the night before, come to *Windſor* from his ſervice in the Weſt, to kiſſe the Generals hand, and to take his leave of him; when in the morning, ere he was come forth his chamber, thoſe Commands, then which he thought of nothing leſſe in all the world, came to him from the Committee of both Kingdoms. The General then immediately commanded a party of Horſe and Dragoons, then upon the field, to be muſtered and recruited, as of the New-Model, to march under his Command into *Oxfordſhire* forthwith, not ſtaying at all either for Pay, or Recruits. And here alſo being the firſt mention of this worthy Commander, I muſt crave leave to digreſſe a little, to preſent the world with ſome more particular notion of him, whoſe name they will ſo often meet with throughout this ſtory, and whoſe actions wil beſt repreſent him, as in other ſtories, ſo in the ſequel of this.

§. 5. A digreſſion upon occaſion of the firſt mention of Lieut. Gen. *Cromwell*.

This Gentleman, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, long famous for godlineſſe, and zeale to his countrey, of great note for his ſervice in the Houſe; accepted of a Commiſsion

missions at the very beginning of this War; wherein he served his Country faithfully, and it was observed GOD was with him, and he began to be renowned: insomuch that men found, that the narrow room whereunto his first imployments had confin'd their thoughts, must be enlarged to an expectation of greater things, and higher imployments, whereunto divine providence had designed him for the good of this Kingdom. When the time therefore drew near, that He, as the rest had done, should lay down his Commission, upon a *new Ordinance*; The *House* considering how God had blessed their affairs under his hand, thought fit to dispence with his absence from the House. And therefore as they were in the first place happy in a *General*, they resolved in the next place to make themselves and their General further happy, in a *Lieutenant-Generall*.

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§. 6. Lieut. Gen. *Cromwel* in action at *Islip bridge*.

To return therefore from whence I digrest. Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* having received the fore-specified commands from the General, marched immediately, found the Enemy, and engaged them neer *Islip-bridge*; the Enemies Brigade consisted of the *Queen's*, Colonel *Wilmot's*, the Earl of *Northampton's*, and Colonel *Palmer's* Regiments of horse: routed them, slew many, took about 500 horse, 200 prisoners, whereof many Officers and Gentlemen of quality; and as an ill *Omen* of her Majesties designes against this Army, the *Queens* Standard.

§. 7. Improving his successe there, to the reduceing of *Blechingdon house*.

The *Lieutenant-General* not resting satisfied with this victory, pursued the enemy, lodged most of the remains of the rout in *Blechingdon-house*, where Colonel *Windebank* kept garison for the King; he faced the house with Horse and Dragoons, summoned the Governour with a sharp Message, (our Souldiers casting out words for the Foot to fall on, as if there had been Foot in readines) the answer was required to be instantly given, or else he must expect the greatest severity that the souldiers could use towards him. The *Governour* having no intelligence of, or else doubting relief from *Oxford*, rendred the house, with all the

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arms and ammunition therein. Thus God was with our *New-Model*, or rather a branch of it, and declared himself so to be, betimes. Which was by the Enemy esteemed of such evil consequence to their affairs, and so great an affront, (in regard it was done by the *New-Nodel*, as they scornfully termed this Army) that they could not tell which way to redeem their honours, but by calling the Governour to a Councel of war, whom, for delivering the house, they condemned to be shot to death. Much means was used for the sparing his life; but notwithstanding the great interest Secretary *Windebank* his Father had at Court, for the great service he had done the Church of *Rome*, they could not prevaile for a pardon (so high they accounted his offence) only a reprieve for a few dayes; and shortly after the Governour was shot to death: and his brother, a Lieutenant-Colonel, laid down his Commission thereupon.

The King himself confesseth in his letter to *H. Iermyn*, April 30. 1645. that this blow did much change the face of his affairs.

§. 8. The former successes improved to a further advantage, at *Bampton Bush*.

No sooner was the *Lieutenant-Generall* possessed of the house, but he sent away the Arms and Ammunition to *Alisbury*, and quit the house, as not advantagious to our affairs, nor indeed having Foot with him to put into the house, only a few Dragoons, which he could not spare from his other designes. The Enemy, a few dayes after this, sent from *Oxford* about 350 Foot, under the command of Sir *William Vaughan*, towards *Radcot-bridge*: The *Lieutenant-Generall* marching privately towards *Witney*, and having intelligence thereof, pursued them, forced them into *Bampton-bush*; where Sir *William Vaughan*, Lieut. Colonel *Littleton*, divers Officers, and about 200 prisoners, with their arms and ammunition, were taken.

A piece of good service done by Col. *Iohn Fiennes*.

Moreover, the *Lieutenant-Generall* having in his March notice of some of the Enemies horse, which had a few houres before crossed his way, he sent Colonel *Iohn Fiennes* with a party after them, who fell upon them, and took about 150 Horse, 3 Colours, 40 Prisoners, and 50 Arms. The *Lieutenant-Generall* in the mean time marched over the river towards *Faringdon*, having dispatcht his prisoners away

away with a Convoy to *Abingdon*, consulting with the Officers of what advantage it would be to reduce that Garison of *Faringdon*; wherein they did readily concurre: but having no Foot to effect the same, he sent to *Abingdon* to Major-General *Brown*, for the assistance of some Foot, who (according to his wonted readines to promote the publike service) very readily sent about 5 or 600. wherewith the place was attempted, but without successe; and after the expence of about 14 men upon it, the designe was given over. The losses the *King* sustained, whilest these Forces hovered thus up and down, & affronted them under their walls, so perplexed them at *Oxford*, that His Majesty sent for Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, with all the Forces they had, to come to *Oxford*, the better to enable His Majesty to march out into the field: and, for more security, Gen. *Goring* was also sent to for that purpose, out of the West.

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Rupert and *Maurice* sent for.

CHAP. III.

The General *with the Army marching into the* West; *Upon after-advice recalled, and a Party only sent to* Taunton; *Their good successe in the relief of* Taunton. *Lieutenant-Generall* Cromwel *defending his Quarters against* Goring.

AND now by this time the *Army* was well nigh raised: Whither they should first bend, was taken into consideration. *Oxford* and the *West* are put into the scales of competition. *Oxford*, besides that it was the head-quarter and garison, and lodged all the *Kings* Ordnance and Artillery, that he was to draw forth into the field; (which now to surprise, or at least to prevent the drawing of them forth, was held very councellable, as that, that was likeliest to hinder the Kings taking the field) Represents it self also in other respects to be first considered, as being a Midland garison in the heart of the Kingdome, where to suffer an Enemy is most mischievous: besides that, that County had longest suffered of any place in the King-

The Army now raised, where to be disposed, is controverted.

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Kingdom, being the conſtant ſeat of the War from the beginning. But the conſequence of the *Weſt*, and the commiſeration of *Taunton* in particular, then greatly diſtreſſed by a cloſe ſiege, whereinto alſo moſt of the *beſt affected* in thoſe parts had drawn themſelves for ſafety; Prevailes, and ſwayes to decline the deſigne upon *Oxford* at that time, though otherwiſe needfull enough: And ſo the *firſt fruits* of this *Army* are devoted to the *Weſt*.

§. 2. His *Excellency* undertakes the Weſtern expedition.

According to this reſult, the *Generall*, though under an indiſpoſition of body, by reaſon of an *Ague* that had exerciſed him for ſome time, yet undertakes this Weſtern expedition with a great deal of cheerfulneſſe, though the whole fruit of that Yeares ſervice was in great hazard to have been thereby blaſted in the bud; the King being then in a condition ready to take the field, having made ſeverall Diſpatches for that purpoſe to imbody all his Forces, and we having no balancing Force to attend his motion, Lieut. General *Cromwel* being farre too weak to engage him, and the *Scots* at too remote a diſtance. And though it was urged to be moſt neceſſary to *relieve* our friends; yet the ſlight *retrenching* and *gariſoning* of many Townes of no great ſtrength by nature and ſituation, though it may ſerve for the preſent ſecuring of particular Counties, and particular mens Eſtates from plundering Parties, yet are they prejudicial to the Publike, and to the main of the wars: For ſuch places are not able to hold out long; and then either there muſt be a loſſe of charge, arms, or of our friends, which would be a diſcouragement to our whole Party; or elſe an Army muſt be diverted from their principal deſignes, and beſides the danger other places by its abſence may be expoſed to, expoſe it ſelfe alſo to the certtain toyle, inconveniences, and hazardous chances of a long *March*, which is likely alſo to end in a *Fight*. And therefore it hath been held great wiſdome by ancient and well experienced Souldiers, to have but *few Gariſons*, and thoſe very *ſtrong*, which may hold out long without *relief*; which is the more neceſſary, if they ſhall be in the corners of a country, and remote from reliefe.

But

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§. 3. A party left with L. Gen. *Cromwel*, to straiten *Oxford*.

But to returne. The first of *May* his Excellencie began his march with the whole Army (except the forementioned Party of horse and Dragoons, which were with Lieut. Generall *Cromwel*, and four Regiments of *Foot* besides, who were ordered, when their recruits were come up, to joyn with him to busie the Enemy about *Oxford*) And by the seventh of *May* they reached *Blanford* in *Dorset-shire*, marching the whole seven dayes, and some of them very long marches, without any intermission : so willing were the Souldiers to come timely to the relief of distressed *Taunton*. To *Salisbury* were they come, before the Enemy was aware ; as was discovered by letters of Sir *Ralph Hopton* to the Governours of *Winchester* and *Basing*, wherein he desired them to send him word, when they thought *Fairfax* would be able to take the field.

§. 4.

In this first March of this *New-Model*; the *Generall*, to lay an early foundation of good successe, in the *punishment* of former *disorders*, & *prevention* of future *misdemeanours*; caused a *Councel of War* to be called, that morning that they marched from *Andover*, a mile from the Town ; where the severall *Regiments* were drawn up, and stayed two or three houres : at which Councel severall Offenders were tryed for their lives : A *Renegado*, and four more Authors of the Mutinie in *Kent*, were cast, one of which (whose lot it was) with the *Renegado*, were executed upon a Tree, at *Wallop*, in the way of the Armies march, *in terrorem*. And the next day was Proclamation made through the Army, That it should be death for any man to *plunder*.

§. 5.

Goring intending to beat up the L. Gen. quarters neer *Faringdon* prevented.

But little or no action or execution against the Enemy happened in this march ; save that the same night that they quartered at *Newbury*, good Scouts, and parties of horse were sent out towards *Hungerford* and *Marlborough*, whereabouts General *Goring* was, with a great body of Horse and Dragoons, comming out of the West ; our Parties met with some of the Enemies horse, and took Lieut.colonel *Hacket*, and some other prisoners : upon examination of whom, and by other intelligence, which came in the nick of

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Goring intending to beat up the L. Gen. quarters neer *Faringdon*, prevented.

of time, we underſtood *Gorings* deſigne was, that night, or the next morning early, to beat up Lieut. General *Cromwels* quarters near *Faringdon*, and to relieve that place. The *Lieutenant-General* being newly come to the *General* at *Newbury*, and preſent at this Intelligence, immediately repaired to his charge, and was drawn into a Body betimes. General *Goring* marched with what ſpeed he could, on the Weſt of *Faringdon*, and recovered *Radcot-bridge*. The *Lieutenant-General* ſent a party of horſe over the river, to diſcover his motion: where Major *Bethel* engaging too far, in the dark, was taken priſoner, and about four men more loſt, and two Colours, ſeverall wounded. The Enemy kept his advantage of the River, and quartered his horſe as far back as *Latchlade*, whileſt the *Lieutenant-Gen.* was making a paſſage over *New-bridge*, and having gained the ſame, Gen. *Goring* either declining an engagement, or deſiring to prevent the raiſing of the ſiege at *Taunton*, marched back with all ſpeed after the Army into the Weſt. This is the totall routing of *Cromwels* forces, as the *King*, in his Letter to the *Queen* of this engagement near *Newbridge*, relates it to be. A poor cauſe, and a condition far from envie, that is penſioner to ſuch Royal miſtakes, to ſupport its reputation!

§. 6. His Majeſty taking the field.

The *King*, taking the opportunity of the army's marching weſtward, draws forth his artillery out of *Oxford*, to embody himſelf in the field. L. Gen. *Cromwel*, and Major-Gen. *Brown*, were ordered to attend his motion; and moreover, it was held neceſsary to recall his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax* from the ſervice of the Weſt, and to allot only a portion of his Army for *Taunton*. Two Expreſses to this purpoſe were ſent from the Committee of both Kingdoms to his *Excellency*, who was, marched as far as *Blandford*. And now comes the triall of this new Army, which God had deſigned for ſome more then ordinary ſervice, whohad ſcarce warmed their heads with glorious deſignments, nay, ere they could reflect upon the ſtrength & content of their nnited March, were by this means to be divided three ſeverall wayes, ere ever the Army came to perfection or action.

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This, like a black cloud, for the time, intercepted those prospects of glorious atchievements and success, which themselves and others saw before to this Army; and like a fierce storm, threatned to dash all.

§. 7. A Brigade appointed for *Taunton*: the rest march back.

Accordingly, a Brigade is appointed for *Taunton*, of four Regiments of Foot, *viz.* Colonel *Welden's*, Colonel *Fortescue's*, Colonel *Floyd's*, and Colonel *Inglesby's*, commanded by Colonel *Welden* as eldest Colonel; unto whom six Companies of Foot, belonging to the garrison of *Chichester*, joyned themselves about *Dorchester*, and as many Colours from *Lime*, after that; in all, 4 or 5000 Foot, besides a body of Horse of 1800 or 2000, consisting of Colonel *Graves* his Regiment, Colonel *Cooks*, Colonel *Pophams*, Colonel *Fitz-James*, and the *Plimouth* Regiment. All which Horse and Foot were well combined in mutuall love to each other, and common resolution against the Enemy. They march'd without any stop or stay, till they came within a dayes march of *Taunton*, near enough to raise the siege, as it proved (by the good providence of God) giving that Brigade the repute of the whole Army, as appeared after by a Letter from Colonel *Iohn Digby*, wherein he much laments his unhappiness, in being informed that *Fairfax*, with his whole Army, was advanced from *Blandford*, to the relief of *Taunton*; when it proved but a part; there being double the strength before the Town, sufficient, in his opinion, to fight our party, and make good the siege. Neither was this intelligence of his altogether without ground, or appearance at least; For the *General* with his whole Army did advance out of *Blandford* towards *Dorchester*, as if the whole had been for *Taunton*. But after some stay at the Rendezvouz, the *General* wheeled about Eastward, and parted with that Brigade, who marched on towards *Taunton*. But whether this were a fegined excuse of *Digby*, or a reall truth, this we are sure, the Enemy drew off the siege, upon their advance so near, and that in great disorder, leaving many arms behinde them, and cut down many trees to barracado the wayes,

The Enemy mistaking that Brigade, by a happy *Synecdoche* of a part for the whole.

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§. 4. Some remarkable passages of the relief of *Taunton*.

left we should fall upon their rear. And so Colonel *Welden* had a fair passage to the town, which he entred, *May* 14. to no lesse joy to the Besieged, then discomfort to the Enemy.

The main passages of, and particulars, relating to this expedition and action, are briefly these. When the Brigade came within ten miles of *Taunton*, having the advantage of the hills, they gave them a Peale of their Artillery, ten Peeces being discharged, to give them notice of their being advanced within that number of miles, having before by their Spies prepared them with the meaning of that signal. Notwithstanding they were frustrated in their end: By reason that some few dayes before, the Enemy divided themselves; one party of their horse and foot, with some peeces of cannon, skirmishing with the other in sight of the town, but, only with powder; to make the Town believe (as they gave out) that the Parliaments forces, who were comming to relieve them, were there encountred and beaten; hoping by this stratagem to have drawn a Party out of the Town to their friends succour, and so to have cut them off by an ambuscado. But God turned this wisdome of the enemy into foolishnesse; the besieged kept close to their works; the Enemies returning from their mock-chase, fell to firing the Town with their granadoes and mortar-peeces, whereby two long streets of the town, of fair buildings, were burnt to the ground; and withall they stormed most furiously. But they met with a gallant Commander in chief, Col. *Blake*, & as valiant Souldiers, that gave them such showres of Lead, as filled the Trenches with their dead carkases: And that which adds to the mercy, the Town, in all, from the beginning to the raising of the siege, had not lost 200 men. Towards evening, a party of horse were sent, who approached to the very works, (for the Enemy had drawn off their guns, and their Rear was upon their march) And the Town thereupon being confirmed of the approach of their friends to their relief, sallied out and fell upon the rear of the Enemy, killed some, and took others prisoners. The whole Body marched

marcht to *Pitminster*, within two miles of the town, took up their quarters in the fields; and on Monday morning, Col. *Welden* with the Officers went to *Taunton* (where they found a sad spectacle of a flourishing town almost ruined by fire, and the people nigh famished for want of food.) And gave order for the whole Brigade to retreat back to *Chard*, where they quartered on Saturday; and the 14. was the first dayes rest they had, from their first motion Westward. Thus, *Taunton* happily and seasonably relieved, is a good Earnest of the prosperous successe of this Army in after-actions.

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CHAP. IV.

The Army imployed to besiege Oxford: *How far they proceeded therein. Severall Garisons thereabouts besieged, and some taken. The losse of* Leicester, *and the Discontents and Discouragements that ensued thereon. With a modest enquiry into the cause of our low condition at that time.*

THe *General* in the mean while was a good part of his way back, marching through inclosures, avoiding the Champion-way, in regard he had not many Horse, if he should meet with *Gorings* Horse, who were upon their retreat from *Oxford* into the *West*. By the 14. of *May* they attained *Newbury*. In their march, besides exemplary justice done upon a rude Souldier, (as upon two before, in their march towards the West) and other things of particular note; there was one passage of great wisdome and condiscension in the *General*, very remarkable: *viz.* That when the duty became so hard to some of the Regiments, as each other day to bring up the Rear; the Generals own Regiment claiming a priviledge to march alwayes in the Van, which was convenient now to be waved for the relief of the rest; but they being unwilling thereunto, the *Gen.* in stead of severe discipline, alighted himself, and marched on foot in the head of his Regiment, about two miles, and so brought up the Rear: and to this day, his own Regiment

A pattern for Generals.

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takes the turn upon all duties: A thing, if rightly considered, nothing to their dishonour, (if it were to outvie others to do service) and redounding much to the good, and good successe of an Army; there being not any one thing that more frequently and certainly breeds distempers, and causes mutinies in an Army, then claiming of *priviledges*, and insisting thereon in time of *service*.

§. 2. His *Excellency* returned, imployed to block up *Oxford*.

The Army thus arrived at *Newbury*, rested there a day or two, which was a great refreshment to the Foot, sore gauled with a hard and tedious march to and fro, (having had but one dayes rest in fourteen dayes march.) What was the designe of calling them back, or which way they should now be imployed, they were yet ignorant, till the second day, when the *Generall* received an Expresse from the *Committee of both Kingdomes*, to advance to *Oxford*, to lay close siege to it: which was no more disputed, then the former commands at *Blandford*; but forthwith obeyed, how much soever it was against his own opinion. Lieutenant-General *Cromwel*, and Major-General *Brown*, who followed the *King*, and attended his motions with a party of Horse and Foot, were recalled to joyn with the Forces his Excellency had brought back with him from the *West*; wherein it was conceived that they might do better service, for that they alone were too weak by far to engage with the Kings forces, (as by their Letter they signified to the *Committee of both Kingdomes*, and as was obvious to every man) the Kings army being grown to that strength, as that they thought themselves enough (as indeed they were, especially for Horse, wherein we fell short of them) to fight his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his whole Army. Only a party of 2500 Horse and Dragoons (being part of the force with Lieutenant-General *Cromwel*, and belonging to this Army) were sent, under the command of Colonel *Vermuden*, to joyn with the *Scots*, (Lieutenant gen. *Cromwel* being, for I know not what reason, not so acceptable to their Army) to enable them the better to attend the Kings motions, and check his enterprises, to which they were designed.

Lieut. General *Cromwel*, and Major-general *Brown*, called from attending the Kings motions, to assist against *Oxford*.

designed. His Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, according to his Orders, marches towards *Oxford*, and in order to a siege sends for so much of the Train and Ammunition as was left at *Windsor*, at their first marching forth, and called a *Councel of War*, to consider what other provision was necessary; which they sent to the Parliament to speed down. Lieut.general *Cromwel* was come back to them, their quarters setled, a bridge made over the river: they lay 15 dayes before the town, but the requisites to a close siege were not come up to them, nor neer them, till *Iune* 3. the day before they received Orders to rise from before the Town; which Orders were well received by the *Army*, who did not conceive themselves secure, nor sufficient for such an undertaking, while that the *King* was unattended in the field, as was at large represented by the *Generall* to the *Committee of both Kingdoms*. And in that respect (because they looked upon this designe against *Oxford*, as unlikely to prove successefull) they thought not good to summon the Town, during their lying before it; by which means they were secured, that they might rise from before it with the indempnity of their reputation.

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§. 3. The action of our Army, while they lay before *Oxford*.

Nor did any great action, in relation to that place, happen all the while they lay there; save that at their first drawing neer it from *Newnham*, a party of horse were sent forth towards *Oxford*, under the command of Adjutant-General *Fleming*, who met a party of the Enemies horse and foot, routed their horse, being commanded by Capt. *Gardiner*, and took prisoners about 200 Foot: which served as a good means and provision for the release of a Foot-guard, consisting of 100 men; who afterwards, neer their rising from before *Oxford*, (much through their own negligence timely to retreat to a place of security, as they might) were by a sally of the Enemy early in the morning surprised, twelve of them slain, the rest taken, but the next day released upon exchange of the like number of those whom we had taken (as before) and sent to *Abingdon*. Moreover, upon the General's viewing the Works on the North-

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North-eaſt ſide of *Oxford*, the Enemy ſet a Mill on fire, and alſo quit the gariſon of *Godſtow* neer *Wolvercot*, and ſet it on fire: but ſome of Colonel *Sheffields* horſe came in ſeaſonably, quenched the fire, and preſerved the Powder and Ammunition in the houſe, and took the Governour and ſome others, in their flight towards *Oxford*, priſoners.

§. 4. *Boſtol-houſe* beſieged.

May 24. The *General* rode to view *Boſtol* gariſon, and ſome few dayes after ſent a Party to beſiege it. Adjutant Gen. *Fleming* was there engaged in a ſingle encounter, ſhot his enemy, yet received a wound himſelf, conceived then to be mortal, but of which he afterwards recovered.

§. 5. *Gaunt-houſe* beſieged.

May 31. The *General* viewed the gariſon of *Gaunt-houſe*, ſent Col. *Rainsborow*, with a party of Foot, and ſome Horſe, to beſiege it, who battered it ſore all that day; but by reaſon of the Moat, the acceſſe was ill to it. The *Governour* was ſummoned to deliver it: but he returned a poſitive denial, adding further, That he liked not *Windebanks* law. til the next day, *Iune* 1. when Col. *Rainsborow* being prepared, and ready to fall on to ſtorm, having provided carts, and all things neceſſary, the *Governour* perceiving the ſame, ſounded a Parley, waving the conſideration he inſiſted on the day before, and ſurrendred the houſe, with all the arms and ammunition therein, upon *quarter* for himſelf & his ſouldiers*.

* Here we received the news of the taking of *Eveſham* by Col. *Maſſey*. A ſeaſonable and good ſervice.

About this time came news of a remarkable paſſage in Gen. *Gorings* army in the Weſt; which, as will afterwards appear, hath been their lot to happen among them more then once: Namely, a hot skirmiſh, which one party of his horſe had with another party of his own horſe, neer *Crookhorn*, thinking they had been ours, (For indeed a party of horſe of Col. *Weldens* Brigade were then within a mile of them, at *Hinton St. George*:) in which skirmiſh many of the Enemy were ſlain, both Officers and Souldiers, by one another; and that party of their horſe that was routed, fled as far as *Bath*, giving a hot alarm as they went, which for the preſent put them in ſome diſtraction. Providence had ordained this accident, as an advantage for that party of our Horſe, who otherwiſe might have been endangered

(by

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(by the ſudden advance of the Enemies forces) in their retreat from *Pederton* to *Taunton*. The Inhabitants thereabouts confirmed the truth of this accident, when the Army marched the ſecond time to relieve *Taunton*, and had a rendezvouz on the ſame place where this skirmiſh was; beſides, many of the enemy have ſince confeſſed the ſame.

And upon the heels of this good Newes, viz. *May* 29. came two parcels of leſſe pleaſing Intelligence. The one, of the *Kings advance* from the relieving of *Cheſter*, towards *Leiceſter* and the *Aſſociation*; and of the *Scots army* being gone towards *Weſtmerland*, who we had thought had attended the motions of the *King*. The other, out of the *Weſt*, viz. That General *Goring*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Sir *Richard Grenvile* had joyned all their Forces together, and diſtreſſed Col. *Weldens* Brigade, in a manner beſieging them cloſe in *Taunton*. And on the firſt of *Iune*, a third, and more ſad peece then either, *viz*. Of the Kings taking of *Leiceſter* by ſtorm, & of the cruel uſage of many of the Inhabitants: the particulars whereof are too tedious here to mention; only thus in brief.

§. 7. A briefe account of the loſſe of *Leiceſter*.

On Tueſday at noon, a Summons was ſent by Prince *Rupert*, to the Souldiers, Townſ-men, and Countrey-men, wherein *Quarter* was offered to the whole Town. Whereupon the *Committee* called together all the *Commanders*, and read the *Summons* unto them; and upon debate, it was reſolved to take the next morning to give an *Anſwer*. But the *Trumpeter* was no ſooner arrived at the Kings army with this deſire, but the a *Drum* was preſently diſpatched to demand a reſolution of the Summons within a quarter of an houre; which while they were debating at a *Common-hall*, before any could expreſſe themſelves, the Kings cannon from the Battery played, and all were commanded to repair to their charge, which was done with much courage and reſolution. And now both ſides plyed each other with Cannon and Muſquet ſhot, as faſt as they could charge and diſcharge, and ſo continued all day, and all night: at which time the Enemy prepared to ſtorm at ſix or ſeven places.

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places. At the *Newark* breach was the fierceſt aſſault, the Enemy there comming to puſh of pike: amongſt the reſt, Colonel *St. George*, in a bravery, came up to the cannon, and was by it ſhattered into ſmall pieces, and with him many more; for after the manner of the *Turks*, the Horſe forced on the Foot to fight, who being played upon by the Muſquetires, were many of them ſlaughtered. About three of the clock on Saturday, was the Town entred, the Enemy put many to the ſword at their firſt entrance, and dealt alſo extreme cruelly with the Town, plundering all they had, and putting many to great ranſomes, when they had taken away all their monies and goods. There was buried of the Enemy in *Leiceſter*, 709. as hath been collected by the burials there, beſides thoſe that have died of hurts ſince: there was above 100. of the Town ſouldiers ſlain.

§. 8. The ſad poſture of our affairs at that time when *Leiceſter* was loſt, diſcourſt upon.

Vpon the loſſe of *Leiceſter* many diſcourſes were raiſed, each one venting his diſcontent according as paſsion byaſsed his affections. Great was the diſcouragement of the Parliaments friends, and as great was the confidence of the Enemy; in ſo much, that ſoon after, *viz.* June 8. the *King* himſelf, in his Letter to the *Queen*, uſed this expreſsion: *I may, without being too much ſanguine, affirme, That ſince this Rebellion my affairs were never in ſo hopefull a way.* But what's the matrer? Was there no Balme in *Gilead*? Was there no Phyſitian there? Had *England* no Army then? Nay, had they not two armies to the Enemies one? had they not an army of our Brethren the *Scots*, that had Wintred then in the Kingdom, conſiſting of 21000. Had they not a New Model newly raiſed? How fell we then into this low condition? I ſhall endeavour to give a brief account of that buſineſs, in its relation to this army.

As it often fals out, that the Sun at its firſt riſing is clouded with ſome ſmal Miſt, which after it hath once broken through, enſueth a moſt fair and glorious day. So this new army, at its firſt going out, ſeemed to be a little darkned by the ſitting down, and after riſing from before *Oxford*,

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Oxford; the Kings increasing his forces and strength in the field; and the losse of *Leicester*. And these Vapours gathered into such a Cloud, as that they did not a little obscure the first motions of that Army, at least the Counsels and Counsellours whereby it was conducted: and not so only, but portended to its enemies, a joyfull; to its friends and favourers, a sad prognostick of a sore storm ready to poure down upon them, which they could not have avoyded, but that through the mercifull disposition of the all-seeing GOD, (privy to the integrity of good mens hearts and actions) the victorious Beams of this *Rising Sun* brake forth so gloriously at *Naseby field*; & ithath run its course ever since with such a constant lustre and brightnesse, (not so much as one *Cloud* passing over it) that it hath dazeled the eyes of all the beholders, and turned the scorn of its enemies into bitter envie, and their choler into deep and inveterate hatred. But how, and from whence this Mist arose in the morning of this new Army, I now come to shew.

His *Excellencie*, with the greater part of his Army, being recalled and returned out of the West; the question then was, Whether he should pursue the first designe of besieging *Oxford*, or whether he should follow the *King*, who seemed to bend Northwards? On the one side it was considered, that the *Parliament* had in their pay a great Army in the North, of 21000 horse and foot, of our brethren of *Scotland*; That there were considerable Forces in *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*, under Sir *Will. Brereton*, which held *Chester* straitly besieged; That in *Staffordshire*, *Derbyshire*, *Yorkshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, & *Lincolnshire*, there were also very considerable Forces, which might joyn with the Scotish army, if there were need; and were commanded so to do, in case the *King* marched Northwards: besides the party of 2500 Horse and Dragoons under Col. *Vermuden*, which were appointed to joyn with the Scotish army, because they seemed only to want a due proportion of horse to engage with the Kings army: and upon the appointment of them to that service, the Commissioners of *Scotland* wrote to

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his Excellency the Earl of *Leven*, to advance; and the *Committee of both Kingdomes* ordered Col. *Vermuden* with his party to march into *Derbyshire*, to joyn with them, which accordingly he did, and came to the rendezvouz at the time appointed. This provision was held sufficient, and more then sufficient, in case the *King* should move Northward; not only to check him in any enterprise upon the Towns of the Parliament, or relief of *Chester*, *Pomfract*, or *Scarborough*, which were then besieged, but also to fight with him to the best advantage, if need so required. On the other side, in case the *King* should have moved Southward or Westward, his *Excellency* Sir *Thomas Fairfax* lying before *Oxford*, was in the most convenient Post to fight with him, and to hinder his designes: whereby it may appear to him that considers it, that our Forces were so disposed by providence at this time, that the *King* had a sufficient Army both before and behinde him, to fight with him; and as great, if not greater then those that after beat and wholly overthrew his Army at *Naseby*: So that a designe could hardly have been laid to greater advantage: yet it took not effect; for that the Army designed to attend the Kings motions, did not advance according to order, but instead of marching Southward, returned back into *Westmerland*. Sir *William Brereton*, fearing the approach of the Kings Army, and seeing no Army ready at hand to balance it, raised the siege of *Westchester*; whereupon the *King*, seeing the work done to his hand, marched to *Leicester*, and took it also, there being no Army to check or controll him.

CHAP.

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CHAP. V.

The Army commanded to rise from before Oxford; *Their severall Marches till the Battel at* Naseby, *with all the particulars thereof, fully related.*

VPon the sad news of the losse of *Leicester*, and the danger thereupon of the Kings breaking into the *Associated Counties*; Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* was ordered by the *Committee of both Kingdomes*, to march only with three Troops of horse to secure the Isle of *Ely*; which commands, he, in greater tendernesse of the publique service, then his own honour, in such a time of extremity as that was, disputed not, but fulfilled. And his *Excellency* Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was commanded to rise from before *Oxford*, and to march to defend the *Association*; accordingly Orders were immediately given for the Forces on the other side the river to march to *Islip*, and Major-General *Brown* was desired to put a garison into *Gaunt-house*, being a place that was conceived would much conduce to the straitning of *Oxford*; which accordingly was done, and the bridge lately made, pulled up: and the next day, being *Iune* 5. the Army rose from before *Oxford*, and marched that day to *Marsh-Gibeon*, ten miles. The *General* in his march turned out of the way, to see the siege before *Bostol-house*, where Major-General *Skippon*, according to order, had that morning made some attempt, but the successe was not according to our desires (the Moat being much deeper then we expected.) This night, at the Head-quarter, intelligence came that the King was marching from *Leicester* towards *Daventry*, with intention to raise the siege at *Oxford*, as was conceived; which was by order before done to his hand.

Friday, *Iune* 6. the Army marched to *great Brickhill*, twelve miles, where the head-quarter was that night, which was once intended to be at *Stony-Stratford*, but that the intelli-

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gence which came that night to us of the Kings horſe facing *Northhampton* that day, rendred it not ſafe ſo to adventure: whileſt the greateſt body of our Horſe, ſent into *Derbyſhire*, were not as yet returned.

This night a great fire happened at the Generals quarters at *Brickhil*, which was ſo ſudden and violent for the time, that a man and a boy, and three or four horſes were burnt in the Barn where the fire began, before the Guard could get to preſerve them. It happened moſt remarkably, in the houſe of one who expreſſed no good affection to this Army, and denyed to furniſh thoſe conveniences for quarter, (affirming that he had them not,) which afterwards by occaſion of the fire, he was enforced to bring out. The next day, *Iune* 7. the Army marched to *Sherrington*, a mile Eaſt of *Newport-Pagnel*, to the end the Forces with Colonel *Vermuden* (who upon the Scots retreat to *Weſtmerland* were recalled, and upon their march back) might more conveniently joyn, but eſpecially to be on that ſide the River, the better to ſecure the *Aſſociation*, in caſe the *King*, who the day before had faced *Northhampton*, and ſeemed to intend that way, ſhould attempt to break into it; wherein it appeared they did not conſult their ſafety and quarter on the back of a gariſon, as without incurring any great cenſure they might have done; but rather conſulted their honour and the publick ſervice. Expreſſes were ſent to Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* into the Aſsociation, to inform him whereabout our Army was, that in caſe the Aſsociation were in danger, he might know how to joyn with us. Lords day, *Iune* 8. the Army reſting in their quarters, ſeverall parties of horſe were ſent out as far as *Toceſter*, to gain intelligence of the motions of the *Kings* Army, who brought in ſome priſoners of Sir *Marmaduke Langdales* Brigade, from whom information was gathered that the Kings Army continued ſtill about *Daventry*: Whereupon the *General* called a Councel of War, to conſider of the beſt way to engage the Enemy. Where taking into conſideration of what uſe Lieutenant-General *Crom-*

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wel would be to them in a time of ſo great action: The *General* propounded to the Councel of War, and it was by them unanimouſly conſented unto, that a Letter ſhould be writ to the Parliament, to deſire that they would pleaſe for a time to diſpence with L. Gen. *Cromwels* abſence from the Houſe; and to give way he might command their Horſe, there being like to be very ſpeedily an engagement. Which Letter was ſent by Colonel *Hamond*, who went Poſt the ſame day to the Parliament, and was inſtantly returned with an anſwer according as was deſired, to the great content of the *General*, and the whole Army.

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This day, Colonel *Vermuden*, who the day before was with his party of Horſe returned, and come near to the quarters of the army, himſelf came to the *General*, deſiring (in regard of ſome ſpeciall occaſions which he ſaid he had to draw him beyond ſeas) that he might have leave to lay down his Commiſsion, which was yielded unto, and accordingly he received his diſcharge. At this dayes debate, Major-General *Skippon* was deſired to draw the form of a battell: and at the ſame time the Army was divided into ſeverall Brigades of Horſe and Foot, in order to their being better diſpoſed for an engagement. The *General*, though not depending upon multitudes, yet ſerving Providence in the uſe of all good means; ſent one Poſt after another to Sir *Iohn Gel*, Colonel *Roſsiter*, to the Governours of *Coventry*, *Warwick*, *Northhampton*, and *Nottingham*, To march with all ſpeed with their Forces to the Army, for that there was likely to be ſpeedily an engagement with the Enemy. In the mean, the Army neglected no time, but on Wedneſday, *Iune* 11, though a rainy day, marched from *Stony-Stratford* to *Wootton*, within three miles of *Northampton*, where intelligence ſtill confirmed the *Kings* continuance at *Daventry*, quartering all his Foot and Carriages upon *Burrough-hill*; a place of great advantage (having formerly been an ancient fortification) and making ſhow, as if he had choſen that place to fight upon, in caſe we durſt advance to him. But afterwards it appeared, that

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his ſtay there, was only till a part of 1200 horſe were returned, which he had ſent from his Army to *Oxford*, as a convoy with the plundered cattel & ſheep of *Leiceſterſhire*, *Northhamptonſhire*, &c. the better to enable *Oxford* to endure a ſiege, in caſe it ſhould be attempted again in his abſence, himſelf being intent upon a march for the relief of *Pomfract* and *Scarborough*; which he then apprehended to have ſmal difficulty in it, underſtanding the removall of the Scotiſh army.

The Army being come to *Wootton*, they found there none of the beſt accommodation for quarter; only, what was wanting that way, was kindly and reſpectively endeavoured to be ſupplied by the Major and Magiſtrates of *Northhampton*, who the ſame night came to the *General* at the head quarter, upon the errand of a congratulatory viſit and preſent. The next day, the Army marched to *Gilsborough*, (four miles on the weſt of *Northhampton*, and within five miles of *Burrough-hill*, where the Enemy ſtill continued) Marching in very good order; for that they did advance directly upon the place where the enemy had pitcht himſelf. A commanded party of horſe gave the Enemy an alarm, and took ſome priſoners, by whom they underſtood the *King* was a hunting, the Souldiers in no order, and their horſes all at graſſe, having not the leaſt knowledge of our advance, and being in the greateſt ſecurity that could be; but the alarm was ſo quickly taken thorow all their quarters, that our Foot being ſomewhat behinde, and night approaching, it was not thought wiſdome to make any further attempt. About twelve that night, the *General* took horſe, and rode about both the Horſe and Foot guards, till four in the morning (expecting the Enemy would have ſhewn ſome gallantry that night, and fallen upon ſome of his quarters, as he had hindred them in their ſport at hunting the day before.) In the very entrance whereof this hard condition befell the General himſelf; That having forgot the Word, he was ſtopped at the firſt Guard; and requiring the Souldier that ſtood Sentinel, to

give

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give it him, he refused to do it, telling him, he was to *demand* the Word from all that past him, but to *give* it to none; and so made the General stand in the wet, till he sent for the Captain of the guard to receive his commission to give the General the word, (In such subjection are the Highest, to those lawes that erst derived their sanction and authority in great part from themselves) and in the end the Souldier was rewarded for his duty and carefulnesse, (as it was interpreted.) As the *General* was riding in the morning about three of the clock, within a mile and half of *Flowre*, where the Enemy kept an horse-guard; He could discern the Enemy riding fast over *Burrough-hill*, to make fires in abundance, as if they were firing their Huts; which gave some cause to believe they were about to march, as indeed it proved afterwards. For,

About five in the morning, *Iune* 13. the General being returned to the head-quarter, the Scoutmaster gen. *Watson* (whose continued diligence in getting timely intelligence of the Enemies motion, then, and alwayes, redounded not a little to the enablement of the Army) brought him certain notice, that the Enemy was drawing off from *Burrough-hill*; had stood in arms all night, and were all amazed that our Army was so neer; it being spread abroad in their army we were gone for security into the *Association*; And four or five more of the Spies came one after another, confirming the same intelligence, adding further, that most of their carriages were drawn from *Burrough-hill* towards *Harborough*. And indeed, the Convoy of horse being returned from *Oxford* the night before, and this unexpected march of the Army close up to them, being in a manner a surprise of them; caused them speedily to resolve upon their forementioned march towards *Pomfract*; either judging, the Army would not follow them, or if they did, they should be able to fight us at more advantage, after they had drawn us further Northward.

About six of the clock in the morning, a Councel of War was called, to consider what attempt to make upon the

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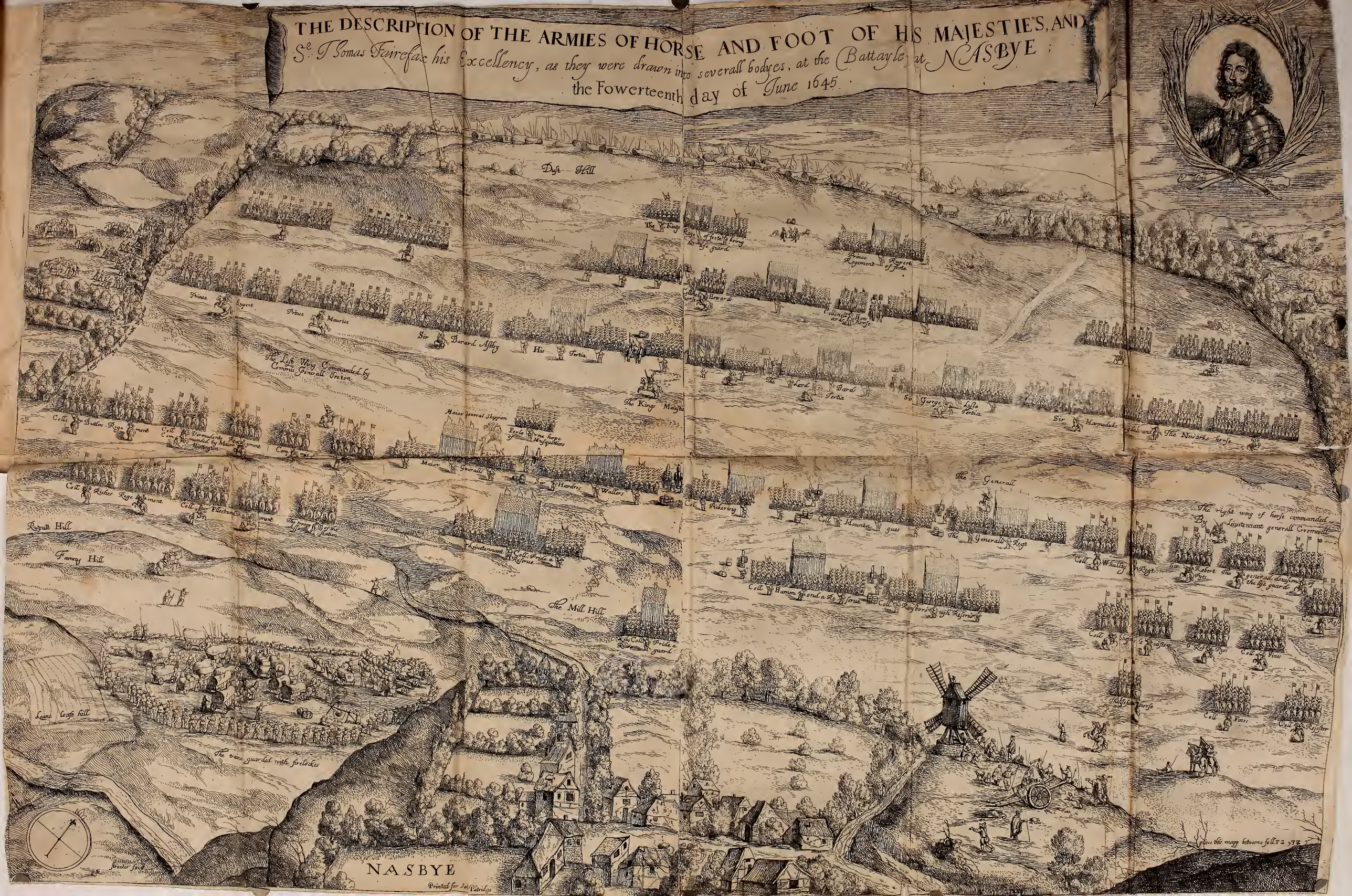
he Enemy. In the middeſt of the debate, came in Lieutenant-General *Cromwel*, out of the Aſsociation, with 600 Horſe and Dragoons, who was with the greateſt joy received by the *General* and the whole army. Inſtantly orders were given for Drums to beat, Trumpets to ſound to horſe, and all our army to draw to a rendezvouz; from whence a good party of Horſe were ſent towards *Daventry*, under the command of Major *Harriſon*, (of whoſe continued fidelity the Publique hath had ſufficient teſtimony) to bring further intelligence of the Enemies motion: and another ſtrong party of Horſe was ſent under under the command of Colonel *Ireton*, to fall upon the flank of the Enemy, if he ſaw cauſe: and the main body of our Army marched to flank the Enemy in the way to *Harborough*, and came that night to *Gilling*; the Countrey much rejoycing at our comming, having been miſerably plundered by the Enemy; and ſome having had their children taken from them, and ſold before their faces to the *Iriſh* of that Army, whom the parents were enforced to redeem with the price of money. That evening we underſtood that the Van of the Enemies army was at *Harborough*, the Rear within two miles of *Naſeby*: and no ſooner was the *General* got to his quarters, but tidings was brought him of the good ſervice done by Colonel *Ireton*, in falling into the Enemies quarters, which they had newly taken up in *Naſeby* Town; where he took many priſoners, ſome of the Princes Life-guard, and *Langdales* Brigade, and gave a ſound alarm throughout the Enemies army (the confidence of the Enemy in poſſeſsing theſe quarters, grounded upon their ſlight eſteem of this Army, and want of intelligence, was very remarkable.) Upon this alarm, the *King* (not having notice of it till eleven at night, as he had little imagined the nearneſſe of our Army, or that they durſt bear up to him) much amazed, left his own quarters at that unſeaſonable time; and for ſecurity went to *Harborough*, where Prince *Rupert* quartered; and ſo ſoon as he came thither, ſent to call up his Nephew,

reſting

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE ARMIES OF HORSE AND FOOT OF HIS MAJESTIES, AND

Sr Thomas Fairefax his Excellency, as they were drawn into severall bodyes, at the Battayle at NASBYE;

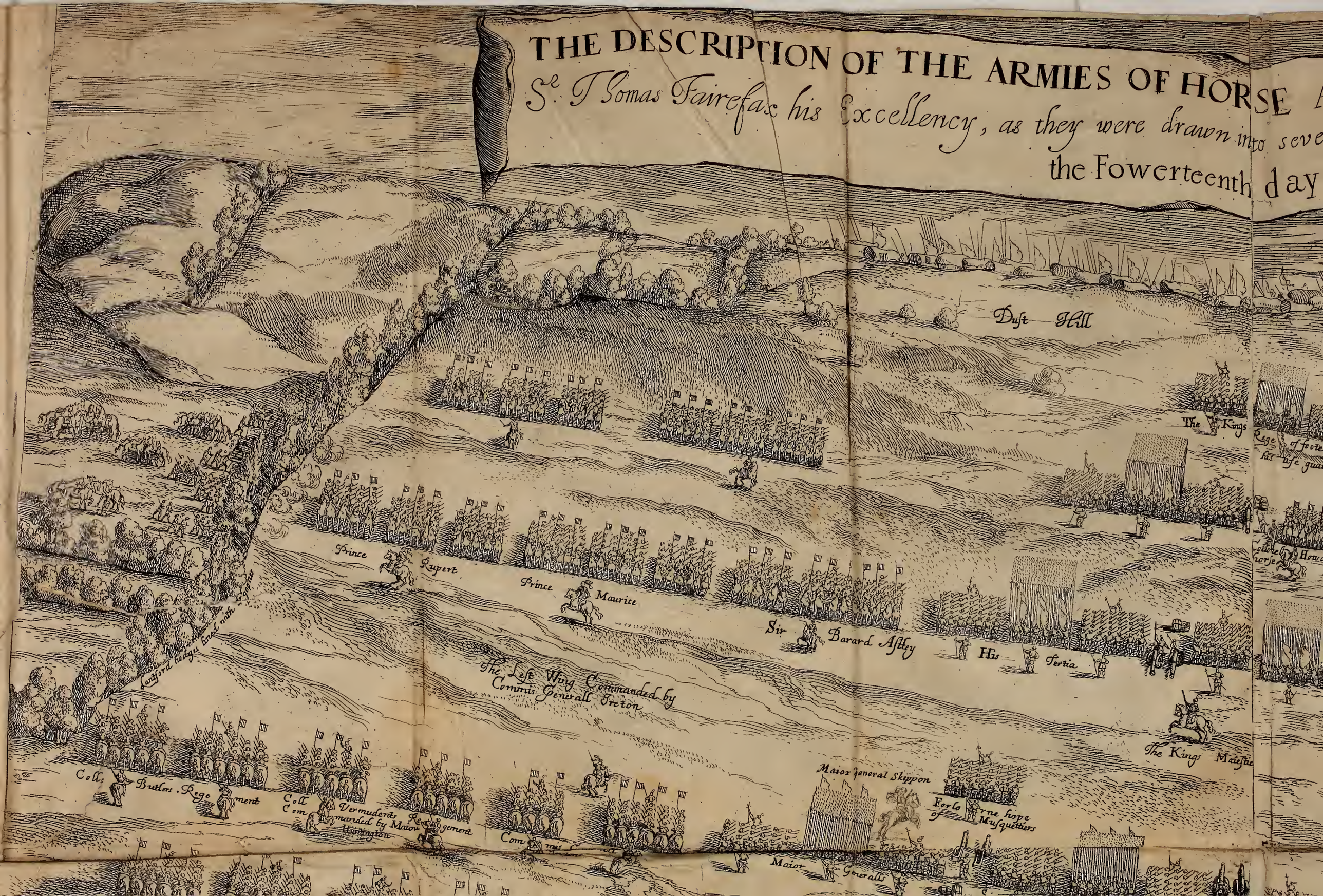
the Fowerteenth day of *June* 1645.



THE DESCRIPTION OF THE ARMIES OF HORSE

Sr. Thomas Fairefax his Excellency, as they were drawn into seve

the Fowerteenth day



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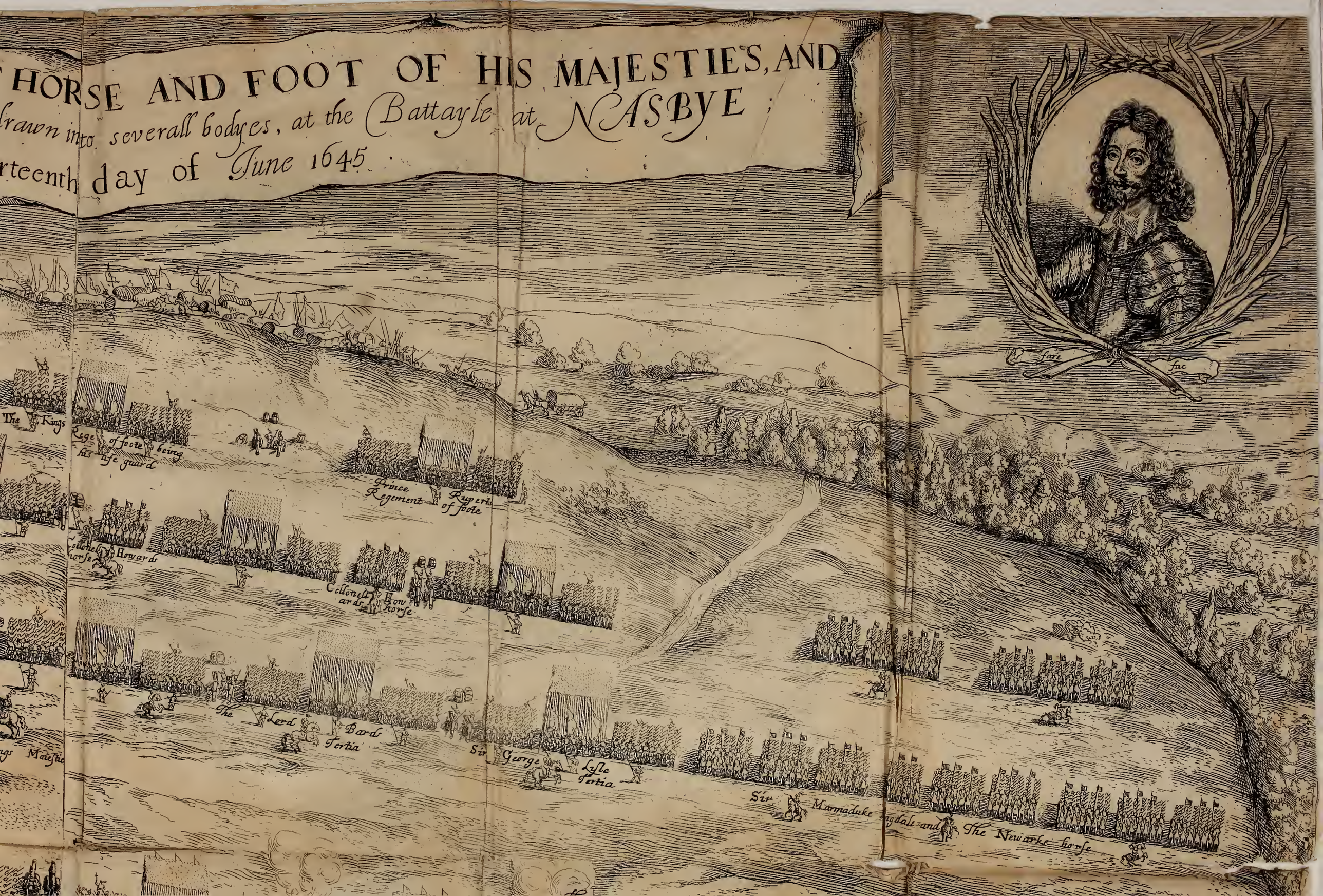
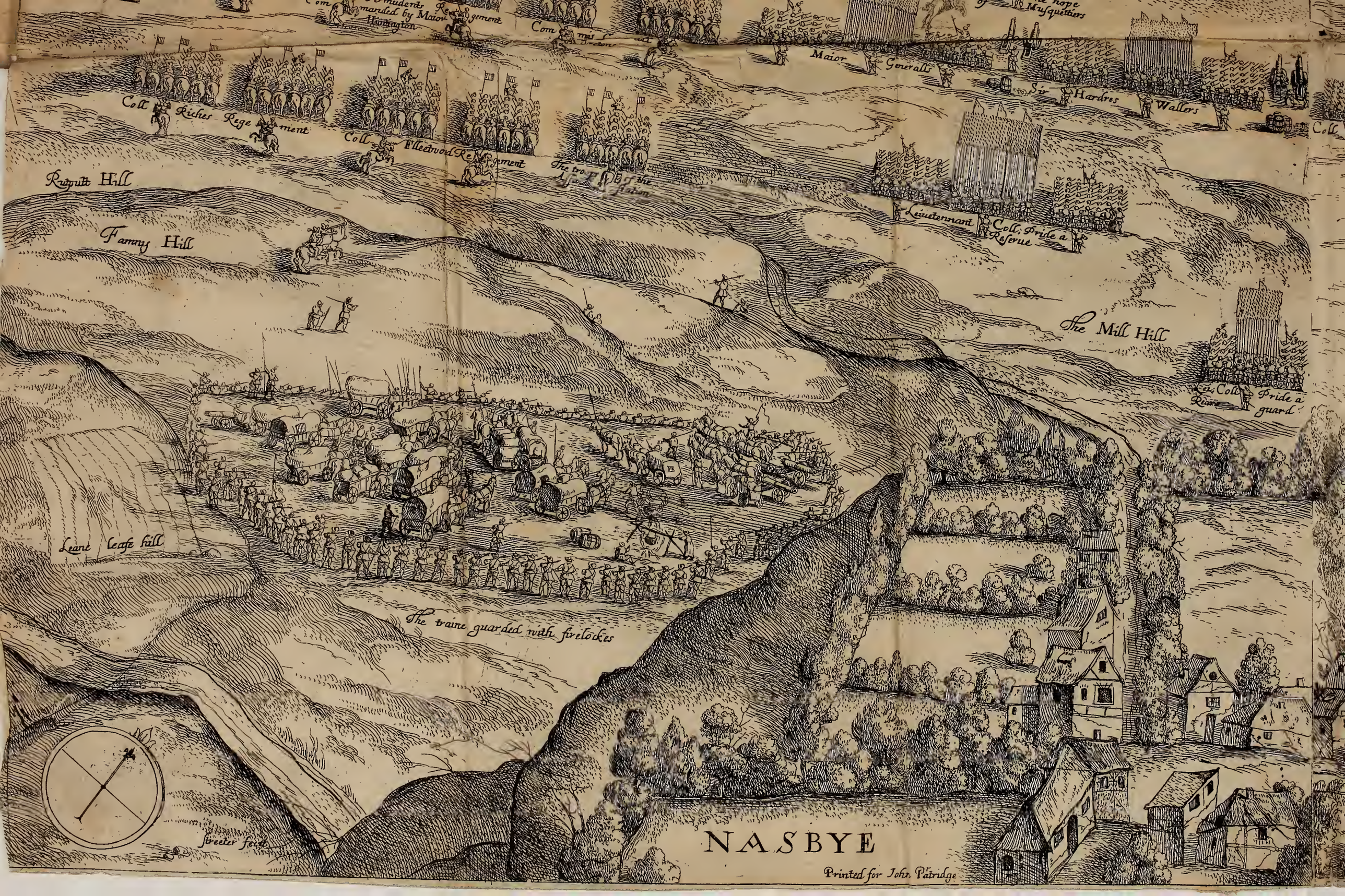
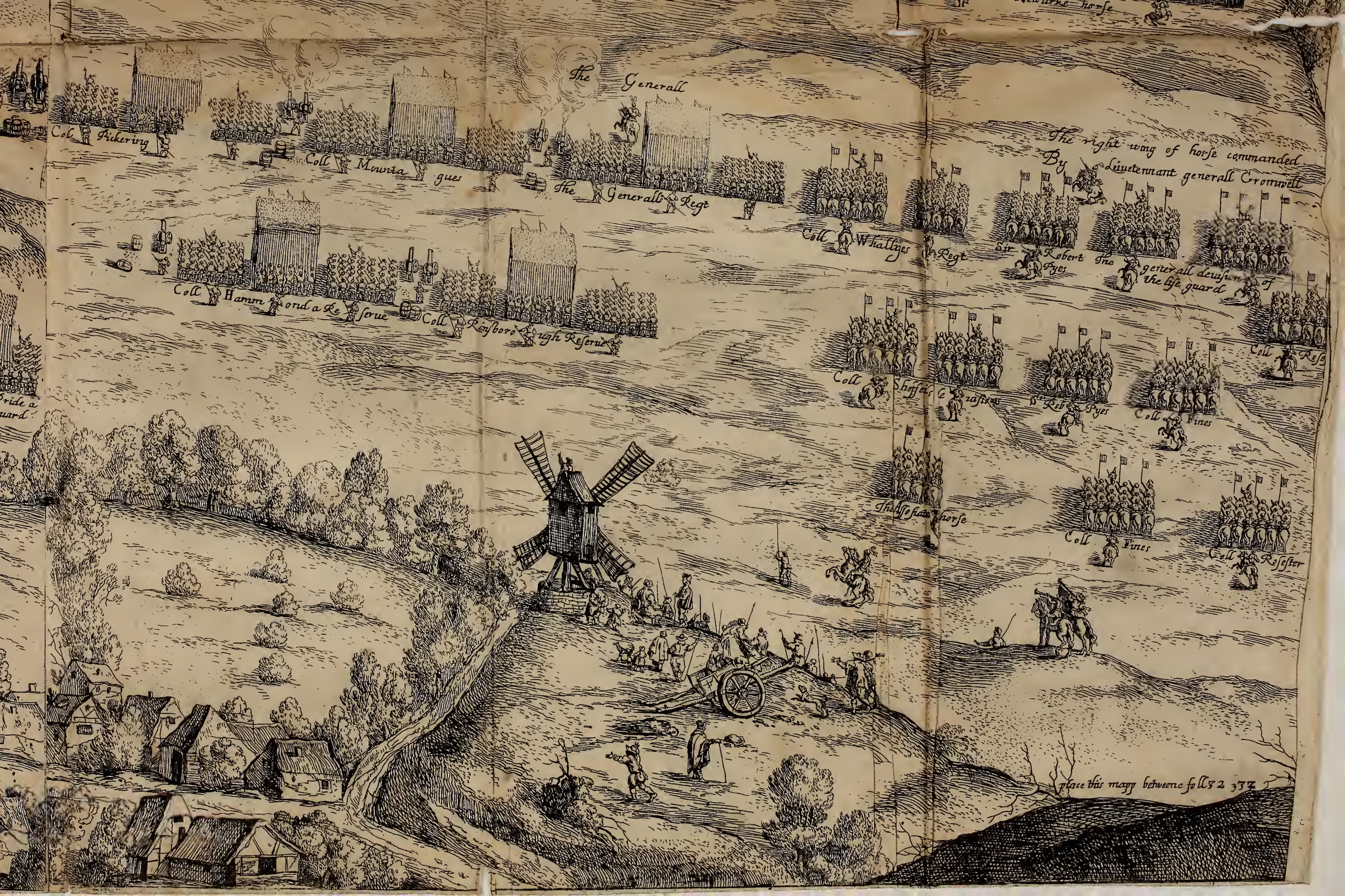



Com mandered by Maior Huntington
Maior Generalls
Sir Hardres Wallers
Coll Riches Regement
Coll Fleetwood Regement
Ruggutt Hill
Fanny Hill
Leiutenant Coll, Pride a Reserue
The Mill Hill
Pride a guard
Leane Leafe hill
The traine guarded with firelockes
Streeter fecit
NASBYE
Printed for John Patridge


Coll Pickering
Coll Mountagues
The Generall
The Generalls Regt
Coll Whallges Regt
The right wing of horse commanded By Liuetenant generall Cromwell
Sir Robert Pyes
the generall deuision of the life guard
Coll Hammond a Reserue
Coll Kelsborough Reserue
Coll Shoffers Cuirassiers
Sir Rob Pyes
Coll Fines
Coll Rosf
Thelsse sute horse
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Coll Rossiter
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(resting himself in a chair, in a low-room, in the mean time) who presently arose; a Councel of War was called: the question was put, What was best to be done seeing our Army was so neer, and as they then perceived fully intended to ingage them. It was considered by them, that should they march on to *Leicester*, if the Rear were engaged, the whole Army might be put in hazard; and there was no marching with the Van unlesse they could bring the Rear clear off, which they discerned to be very difficult. Whereupon it was resolved to give battell, taking themselves (as indeed they were) for a more considerable force then we, especially in Horse, on which they chiefly depended; being also as confident, they might relye upon their Infantry for valiant resolute men; & they resolved (as appeared) not to abide in that place till we marched up to them, but in a gallant bravery to seek us out. Herein the Kings Counsel prevailed against the minde of the most of his great Officers, who were of opinion, that it was best to avoid fighting.

Saturday *Iune* 14. The *General* with the Army advanced by three of the clock in the morning, from *Gilling* towards *Naseby*, with an intention to follow close upon the Enemy, and (if posible) retard their march with our Horse, till our foot could draw up to them; in case they should have marched on to *Leicester* (the intelligence being, that they had drawn some of their Carriages in the night through *Harborough*) that way. By five in the morning, the Army was at a Rendezvouz near *Naseby*, where his Excellency received intelligence by our Spies, that the Enemy was at *Harborough*; with this further, that it was still doubtfull, whether he meant to march away, or to stand us. But immediately the doubt was resolved: great Bodies of the Enemies horse were discerned on the top of the hill on this side *Harborough*, which increasing more and more in our view, begat a confidence in the *General*, and the residue of the Officers that he meant not to draw away, as some imagined, but that he was putting his Army in

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order, either there to receive us, or to come to us, to engage us upon the ground we ſtood: whilſt the *General* was thus obſerving the countenance of the Enemy, directions were given to put the Army into ſuch a poſture, as that if the Enemy came on, we might take the advantage of our ground, and be in readineſſe to receive him; or if not, that we might advance towards him. And whileſt theſe things were in conſultation and action, the Enemies Army, which before was the greateſt part of it out of our view, by reaſon of the Hill that interpoſed, we ſaw plainly advancing in order towards us: and the winde blowing ſomewhat Weſtwardly, by the Enemies advance ſo much on their right hand, it was evident, that he deſigned to get the winde of us: which occaſioned the *General* to draw down into a large fallow field on the Northweſt ſide of *Naſeby*, flanked on the left hand with a hedge, which was a convenient place for us to fight the Enemy in. And indeed ſeeing his reſolution to advance upon us, we took the beſt advantage we could of the ground, poſſeſsing the ledge of a Hill, running from Eaſt to Weſt; upon which our Army being drawn up, fronted towards the Enemy. But conſidering it might be of advantage to us to draw up our Army out of ſight of the Enemy; who marched upon a plain ground towards us: we retreated about an 100 paces from the ledge of the Hill, that ſo the Enemy might not perceive in what form our battell was drawn, nor ſee any confuſion therein, and yet we to ſee the form of their battell; to which we could conform our ſelves for advantages, and recover the advantage of the Hill when we pleaſed, which accordingly we did. The Enemy perceiving this retreat, thought (as ſince they have confeſſed) we were drawing off to avoid fighting (and juſt then it was brought to the King, that our Army was flying to *Northhampton*) which did occaſion them the more to precipitate; for they made ſo much haſte, that they left many of their Ordnance behinde them.

The *General*, together with the *Major-General*, put the ſeverall

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ſeverall Brigades of Foot into order: having committed the Ordering of the Horſe to Lieutenant--General *Cromwel*, who did obtain from the *General*, That ſeeing the Horſe were neere 6000. and were to bee fought in two wings; His Excellency would pleaſe to make Col. *Ireton* Commiſſary gen. of horſe, and appoint him to command the Left wing, that day; the command of the Right wing being as much as the *Lieutenant-General* could apply himſelf unto. Which being granted by the *General*, the *Lieutenant-General* aſsigned him five Regiments of Horſe, a Diviſion of 200 Horſe of the *Aſſociation*, for that Wing; and the Dragoons to line the forementioned hedge, to prevent the enemy from annoying the Left flank of the Army. In the mean time the *Lieutenant-General* having ſixe Regiments of Horſe with him for the Right wing, diſpoſed them according as the place gave leave. And the form of the whole Battail you have here inſerted.

Upon the Enemies approach, the Parliaments army marcht up to the brow of the hill, having placed a Forlorn of Foot (muſquetiers) conſiſting of about 300. down the ſteep of the hill towards the enemy, ſomewhat more then Carbine ſhot from the Main battail, who were ordered to retreat to the battail, whenſoever they ſhould be hard preſſed upon by the Enemy. The Enemy this while marched up in good order, a ſwift march, with a great deal of gallantry and reſolution, according to the form here inſerted. It is hard to ſay, whether Wing of our Horſe charged firſt: But the *Lieutenant-General* not thinking it fit to ſtand and receive the Enemies charge, advanced forward with the Right wing of the Horſe, in the ſame order wherein it was placed. Our Word that day was, *God our ſtrength*; Their Word was, *Queen Mary*. Colonel *Whaley* being the left hand on the right wing, charged firſt two Diviſions of *Langdales* Horſe, who made a very gallant reſiſtance, and firing at a very cloſe charge, they came to the ſword: wherein Col. *Whaley's* Diviſions routed thoſe two Diviſions of *Langdales*, driving them

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back to Prince *Ruperts* Regiment, being the Reserve of the enemies Foot, whither indeed they fled for shelter, and rallied: the Reserves to Colonel *Whaley* were ordered to second him, which they performed with a great deal of resolution. In the mean time, the rest of the Divisions of the Right wing, being straightned by Furzes on the right hand, advanced with great difficulty, as also by reason of the uneavennesse of the ground, and a Cony-warren over which they were to march, which put them somewhat out of their order, in their advance. Notwithstanding which difficulty, they came up to the engaging the residue of the Enemies horse on the left wing, whom they routed, and put into great confusion, not one body of the enemies horse which they charged, but they routed, and forced to flie beyond all their Foot, except some that were for a time sheltred by the Brigade of Foot before mentioned.

Colonel *Rossiter*, who with his Regiment was just come into the field as the Armies were ready to close; was edg'd in upon the right flank of the right wing of horse, time not permitting a more fitting and equal disposal of him: whose timely comming (according to his Orders) gave him opportunity of such gallant performance in the battel, as deserves an honourable mentioning.

The Horse of the enemies Left wing being thus beaten from their Foot, retreated back about a quarter of a mile beyond the place where the battail was fought. The successe of our Main battail was not answerably; The right hand of the Foot, being the *Generals* Regiment, stood, not being much pressed upon: Almost all the rest of the main Battail being overpressed, gave ground and went off in some disorder, falling behinde the Reserves; But the Colonels and Officers, doing the duty of very gallant Men, in endeavouring to keep their men from disorder, and finding their attempt fruitless therein, fell into the Reserves with their Colours, choosing rather there to fight and die, then to quit the ground they stood on. The Reserves advancing, commanded by Col. *Rainsborough*, Col. *Hammond*,

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and Lieut. col. *Pride*, repelled the Enemy, forcing them to a disorderly retreat. Thus much being said of the Right wing and the main battail, it comes next in order, that an account be given of the Left wing of our Horse.

Upon the approach of the Enemies Right wing of Horse, our Left wing drawing down the brow of the hill to meet them, the Enemy comming on fast, suddenly made a stand, as if they had not expected us in so ready a posture: Ours seeing them stand, made a little stand also, partly by reason of some disadvantage of the ground, and untill the rest of the Divisions of Horse might recover their stations. Upon that the Enemy advanced again, whereupon our Left wing sounded a Charge, and fell upon them: The three right hand Divisions of our Left wing made the first onset, and those Divisions of the enemy opposite to them, received the Charge; the two left hand Divisions of the Left wing did not advance equally, but being more backward, the opposite Divisions of the Enemy advanced upon them. Of the three right hand Divisions (before mentioned) which advanced, the middlemost charged not home, the other two comming to a close Charge, routed the two opposite Divisions of the Enemy, (And the Commissary Generall seeing one of the enemies Brigades of Foot on his right hand, presing sore upon our Foot, commanded the Division that was with him, to charge that Body of Foot, and for their better encouragement, he himself with great resolution fell in amongst the Musquetiers, where his horse being shot under him, and himself run through the thigh with a Pike, and into the face with an Halbert, was taken prisoner by the enemy, untill afterwards, when the battell turning, and the enemy in great distraction, he had an happy opportunity to offer his Keeper his liberty, if he would carry him off, which was performed on both parts accordingly.) That Division of the enemies which was between, which the other Division of ours should have charged, was carried away in the disorder of the other two; the one of those right hand Divisions of our Left wing that did rout the

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the front of the enemy, charged the Reſerve too, and broke them, the other Reſerves of the enemy came on, and broke thoſe Diviſions of ours that charged them; the Diviſions of the left hand of the right wing were likewiſe overborn, having much diſadvantage, by reaſon of pits of water, and other pieces of ditches that they expected not, which hindred them in their order to Charge.

The enemy having thus worſted our left wing, purſued their advantage, and Prince *Rupert* himſelf having proſecuted his ſucceſſe upon the left wing, almoſt to *Naſeby* town, in his return ſummoned the Train, offering them quarter, which being well defended with the Fire-locks, and a Rear-guard left for that purpoſe, who fired with admirable courage on the Princes horſe, refuſing to hearken to his offer, and the Prince probably perceiving by that time the ſucceſſe of our Right wing of Horſe, he retreated in great haſte to the reſcue of the Kings Army, which he found in ſuch a general diſtreſſe, that inſtead of attempting any thing in the reſcue of them (being cloſe followed in the Rear by ſome of Commiſſary Generals, Col. *Riches*, Col. *Fleetwoods*, Major *Huntingtons*, and Col. *Butlers* horſe) he made up further, untill he came to the ground where the King was rallying the broken horſe of his Left wing, and there joyned with them, and made a ſtand.

To return again to our right wing, which proſecuting their ſucceſs, by this time had beaten all the enemies horſe quite behinde their foot, which when they had accompliſhed, the remaining buſineſs was with part to keep the enemies horſe from coming to the reſcue of their foot, which were now all at mercy, except one *Tertia*, which with the other part of the horſe we endeavoured to break, but could not, they ſtanding with incredible courage & reſolution, although we attempted them in the Flanks, Front and Rear, untill ſuch time as the General called up his own Regiment of foot (the Lieut. General being likewiſe haſtening of them) which immediately fell in with them, with But-end of Muskets (the General charging them at the ſame time with horſe) and ſo broke

broke them. The enemy had now nothing left in the Field, but his horſe, (with whom was the King himſelf) which they had put again into as good order as the ſhortneſſe of their time, and our near preſsing upon them would permit.

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The Generall (whom God preſerved in many hazardous ingagements of his perſon that day) ſeeing them in that order, and our whole Army (ſaving ſome Bodies of horſe which faced the enemy) being buſied in the execution upon the foot, and taking, and ſecuring priſoners, endeavoured to put the Army again into as good order as they could receive, to the perfecting of the work that remained: Our foot were ſomewhat more then a quarter of a mile behinde the horſe, and although there wanted no courage nor reſolution in the horſe themſelves alone to have charged the enemy, yet foraſmuch as it was not judged fit to put any thing to hazard, the buſineſſe being brought (through the goodneſſe of God) to ſo hopefull an iſſue, It was ordered our horſe ſhould not charge the enemy untill the foot were come up; for by this time our foot that were diſordered upon the firſt Charge, being in ſhorter time then is well imaginable, rallyed again, were comming up upon a faſt march to joyn with our horſe, who were again put into two wings, within Carbine ſhot of the enemy, leaving a wide ſpace for the battail of foot to fall in, whereby there was framed, as it were in a trice, a ſecond good Batalia at the latter end of the day; which the enemy perceiving, and that if they ſtood, they muſt expect a ſecond Charge from our Horſe, Foot, and Artillery (they having loſt all their Foot and Guns before) and our Dragoons having already begun to fire upon their horſe, they not willing to abide a ſecond ſhock upon ſo great diſadvantage as this was like to be, immediatly ran away, both Fronts, and Reſerves, without ſtanding one ſtroke more: Our horſe had the Chaſe of them from that place, within two miles of *Leiceſter* (being the ſpace of fourteen miles) took many priſoners, and had the execution of them all that way:

Charging in perſon the Blew Regim^t. which kept to their Armes ſo ſtoutly.

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The number of the ſlain we had not a certain account of, by reaſon of the proſecution of our Victory, and ſpeedy advance to the reducing of *Leiceſter* : the priſoners taken in the field were about five thouſand, whereof were ſix Colonels, eight Lieut.Colonels, eighteen Majors, ſeventy Captains, eighty Leiutenants, eighty Enſignes, two hundred other inferiour Officers, beſides the Kings Footmen, and houſhold ſervants, the reſt common Souldiers, four thouſand five hundred. The enemy loſt very gallant men, and indeed their foot, commanded by the Lord *Aſtley*, were not wanting in courage ; the whole booty of the Field fell to the Souldier, which was very rich and conſiderable, there being amongſt it, beſides the riches of the Court, and Officers, the rich plunder of *Leiceſter*.

Their Train of Artillery was taken, all their Ordnance, (being braſſe Guns) whereof two were Demi-Canon, beſides two Morter-pieces, (the enemy got away not one Carriage) eight thouſand Arms and more, forty Barrels of powder, two hundred horſe, with their riders, the Kings Colours, the Duke of *Yorks* Standard, and ſix of his Colours, four of the *Queens* white Colours, with double Croſſes on each of them, and near one hundred other Colours both of horſe and foot, the *Kings Cabinet*, the Kings Sumpter, many Coaches, with ſtore of wealth in them : It was not the leaſt mercy in this Victory, that the Cabinet Letters, which diſcover ſo much to ſatisfie all honeſt men of the intention of the adverſe party, fell likewiſe into our hands, and have been ſince publiſhed by the Authority of the Parliament, to the view of the whole Kingdome.

The Field was about a mile broad where the battail was fought, and from the outmoſt Flank of the right, to the left Wing, took up the whole ground.

Thus you have a true and exact relation of the work of this happy day.

1. The battail was fought much upon equall advantage, whether you reſpect the numbers on each ſide, there being in that not 500. odds, or the ground it was fought upon being

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being on both sides Champaign, and in that respect equal, and the winde at length favouring neither side more then other. But in this the enemy had much the odds of us, that they had on their side not so few as fifteen hundred Officers, that were old souldiers, of great experience through long experience in forraign parts; when on the other hand, we had not ten Officers that could pretend to any such thing, as the experience of a souldier, save what this war had given them, being for the most part such, whose *Religion*, *Valour*, and present *Reason* was their best *Conduct*; and herein God went beyond our *Enemies* in their *pride*, and seeming *friends*, in their *contempt* of this Army.

2. Of how great consequence this Victory was to the whole Kingdom: That it may the better appear, let us take a view of it, and suppose we beheld it through the *counter-prospective* of the contrary event, as if the Enemy had had the victory, and we been beaten; and then me thinks I see, not only this Army, the only *guardion* of the Kingdom, lying on a heap, furnishing the enemy with insulting *Trophees*, but also our *party* in the *West* ruined, and the enemy there like a violent *Torrent*, carrying all before him. Me thinks I see the *King* and *Goring* united, making a formidable Army, and marching up to the Walls of *London*, incouraging their souldiers, as formerly, with the promise of the *spoyle* of that *famous* City. And if this successe had been indulged them, and *London* not denyed, (as who should *such* an Army have asked it of) what could have ensued worse or more! When once that City by such a fate had restored an Embleme of undone *Rome*, when *Cæsar* came against it, That

The Senate shooke, the affrighted Fathers leave
Their Seats, and flying, to the Consuls give
Directions for the War; where safe to live,
What place t' avoid they know not, whether ere
A blest-ripe wit could guide their steps; they bear,
Th' amazed people forth in Troops, whom nought
So long had stird.

—Ingenti nec modo vulgus
Perculsum terrore pavet, sed curia, & ipsi
Sedibus exiliere Patres, invisaque Belli.
Consulibus fugiens mandata decreta Senatus.
Tunc quæ tuta petant, & quæ metuenda relinquant
Incerti; quocunque fugæ tulit impetus, urgent
Præcipitem populum, serieq; hærentia longa
Agmina prorumpunt.

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And who needs any interpretation of this to have been, a being caſt in our Cauſe, and a looſing of our Charges. All this did God mercifully prevent by the ſucceſſe of that battail, and turned over this condition to the enemy, and thereby laid the happy foundation of all the bleſſed ſucceſs we have had ſince.

He that ſhall not in this victory look beyond the inſtrument, will injuriouſly withhold from God his due: he that doth not behold God in the inſtruments, will not know how to give him his due; for when he doth actions by inſtruments, his glory is to be ſeen in inſtruments: now had I only to deale with actions, I might poſsibly by a competent expreſsion give on account of them; but who may undertake to repreſent the lively frame of an heightened ſoul, and the working of the affections in ſuch Heroick actions. The General, a man ſubject to the like infirmities of body, as well as paſsions of mind with other men, eſpecially to ſome infirmities (contracted by former wounds) which however at other times they may hinder that puiſſant and illuſtrious ſoul that dwels within, from giving a character of its ſelfe in his countenance; yet when he hath come upon action, or been near an engagement, it hath been obſerved, another ſpirit hath come upon him, another ſoul hath lookt out at his eyes; I mean he hath been ſo raiſed, elevated, and tranſported, as that he hath been not only unlike himſelfe at other times, but indeed more like an Angell, then a man. And this was obſerved of him at this time: now with what triumphs of faith, with what exultation of ſpirit, and with what a joynt ſhout of all the affections God is received into that heart, whoſe eyes he uſes as an Optick to look through, and trouble a proud enemy, it ſelfe only is privy to? what high tranſactions, what deep and endearing ingagements paſſe mutually between God and ſuch a ſoul? (for certainly the moſt immediate worſhip gives not a greater advantage) is better felt experimentally, then deſcribed hiſtorically; but ſuch a diſcovery of theſe things was made in his outward man

at

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at this Battel as highly animated his Souldiers.

Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* uſeth theſe expreſsions concerning Him, in his Letter to the Houſe of Commons: *The General ſerved you with all faithfulneſſe and honour; and the beſt commendations I can give of him, is, That I dare ſay he attributes all to God, and would rather periſh, then aſſume any thing to himſelf, which is an honeſt and thriving way; and yet as much for bravery may be given to him in this action, as to a man.*

I ſhall inlarge no further in this particular, but conclude, it was none of the leaſt pledges, none of the loweſt ſpeaking Providences betokening good ſucceſſe to this Army, and promiſing much happineſſe to this Nation; *GOD's* giving us ſuch a *General*, and ſo giving out himſelf to our *General*.

The great ſhare Lieutenant General *Cromwel* had in this action, who commanded the Right wing of Horſe, (which did ſuch ſervice, carrying the field before them, as they did at *Marſton-moor*) is ſo known and acknowledged, that envy it ſelf can neither detract, nor deny. One paſſage relating to his ſervice in this Battel, which I have received from thoſe that well knew it, I ſhall commend to this Hiſtorie: That he being come not above two dayes before out of the Aſſociation, and (that day the battel was) attending the General in the field, who was going to draw up for an ingagement; He had the charge and ordering of all the Horſe caſt upon him by the General unexpectedly, but a little before the Battel; which he had no ſooner received, but it was high time to apply himſelf to the diſcharge of it: for before the Field-Officers could give a tolerable account of the drawing up of the Army, the Enemy came on amain in paſsing good order, while our Army was yet in diſorder, or the order of it but an Embrio: which the Lieut. General perceiving, was ſo far from being diſmayed at it, that it was the riſe and occaſion of a moſt triumphant faith, and joy in him, expecting that GOD would do great things, by ſmall means; and by the things that are not, bring to nought things that are. A happy time, when the

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Lord of hosts shall make his Tabernacle in the hearts and countenances of our chief Commanders; from thence to laugh his enemies to destruction, and have them in derision to confusion!

Had not Major gen. *Skippon* done gallantly, he had not received such an early wound in his side; and had he not had a Spring of Resolution, he had not stayed in the field, as he did, till the battel was ended; (for being desired by his Excellencie to go off the field, he answered, He would not stirre, so long as a man would stand.) That *I* mention not all those Officers and Souldiers particularly, who behaved themselves so gallantly in this Action, is to avoyd emulation and partiality: *I* shall satisfie my self, to adde concerning them, and the whole businesse, the words of the *General*, and *Lieutenant-General*, in their several Letters to the Speaker of the house of Commons, with which *I* shall conclude. * *Honest men served you faithfully in this action; Sir, they are trusty; I beseech you in the name of God, not to discourage them:* (which they have not done, blessed be God, and *I* hope never will.) He proceeds, and wisheth, *This action may beget thankfulnesse and humility in all that are concerned in it;* And concludes thus modestly himself, *He that ventures his life for the liberty of his Country, I wish he trust GOD for the liberty of his Conscience, and You for the Liberty he fights for, &c.* All that *I* desire, sayes the *General*, is, *That the honour of this great, never to be forgotten mercy, may be given to GOD, in an extraordinary day of Thanksgiving, and that it may be improved to the good of his Church, which shall be faithfully endeavoured by,* Sir,

* Lieut. Gen. *Cromwels* close of his Letter to the Speaker of the house of Commons.

The close of the Generals Letter to the Speaker.

Your most humble Servant,

Thomas Fairfax.

After

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After the Battel was ended, and the Horſe gone in purſuit; the Army marched (5 miles) that night, to *Harborough*, (the head-querter) Moſt of the Priſoners that were taken in the fight, were that night brought into *Harborough church*, except thoſe that were wounded and ſent to *Northampton*.

Among other Writings taken in the Battel, there was a Manuſcript preſented to the General, (written by one Sir *Edward Walker* Herald of Arms) of the *Kings* great Victories in this War; wherein there was one paſſage very obſervable: That whereas he, taking occaſion to ſpeak of the *Iriſh*, cals them Rebels; the King having peruſed the Book, among the alterations he had made therein in divers places with his own hand, in that place puts out *Rebels*, and writes over the head, *Iriſh*, with his own hand, (ſo much care was there to correct and qualifie any Expreſsion that might reflect on thoſe blood-thirſty Rebels.) There was alſo brought to the head-quarter, a wooden Image, in the ſhape of a man, and in ſuch a form, as they blaſphemouſly called it the God of the Roundheads; and this they carried in ſcorn and contempt of our Army, in a publike manner, a little before the Battel begun.

The next day, Colonel *Iohn Fiennes*, with his Regiment, was ſent up to *London* by the General, with the Priſoners and Colours taken in the Fight; Who had a great ſhare in the performance of that Day, (being placed with his Regiment in the Right wing of Horſe) carried himſelf gallantly, and was very happy in his ſucceſſe.

His Regiment took 11. Colours in the Battel.

CHAP.

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CHAP. VI.

The Victory at Naſeby *improved, by purſuing the Enemy, who fled into* Wales. Leiceſter *(not long before taken by the Enemy) ſummoned, and after preparations for Storm, ſurrendred upon Articles. Some clamours of the Enemy for breach of Articles, found to be unjuſt, and the charge retorted on them. An inſtance of the Enemies deſperate Prophaneneſſe, joyned with barbarous and inhumane Cruelty.*

THe Enemy thus driven out of the field, his Excellencie gave Orders for the Army, Horſe, Foot, and Train, to march after them the next day, which was Lords day, without any more intermiſsion; the purſuing of the Victory, being of parallel conſequence with the getting it: In obeying of which Orders, the readineſſe and chearfulneſſe of the Souldiers was admirable, and worthy our obſervation and remembrance, That when in reſpect of their long and hard March for many dayes together before the Battel, and the vehement and ſharp battel they had fought, they might well have pleaded for ſome time of refreſhment; yet no ſooner was the Generals order given for marching, but they repaired all to their Colours, and that very next day after the battel, marched to *great Glyn*, the head-quarter, four miles ſhort of *Leiceſter*. The Horſe marched within a mile of *Leiceſter* that night, and kept Guards, which ſo alarm'd the Nobles and Gentry that had fled thither for ſecurity; that they departed thence in much haſte, leaving the Lord *Haſtings* to defend that place.

This day his Excellencie received intelligence, that Sir *Iohn Gell*, with about 2000 Horſe, was on his march towards the Army, according to Orders formerly ſent him; as alſo that the King, with one part of the Routed horſe, not judging himſelf ſafe in *Leiceſter*, went thence that evening to *Aſhby-de-la-Zouch*, where he repoſed himſelf ſome few houres: but underſtanding that our Army advanced, and that our Horſe purſued the chaſe; Mounted on horſe-back in

in the night, and fled to *Liechfield*, and from thence into *Wales*, without any conſiderable ſtay, (ſo great was the affright) the other part of the Rout being the Northern horſe, under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, fled the ſame night near *Newark*; both paſsing ſo, that it was the wonder of all men how they (being in ſuch a tired and diſtracted condition) could eſcape Sir *Iohn Gels* horſe, who the ſame day were on their march from *Nottingham* towards *Leiceſter*. *Anno* 1645. June.

This day furniſhed his Excellency with a full intelligence of the ſtate both of our friends, and our enemies affaires in the Weſt, by meanes of the contrivement of Scout-Maſter-generall, the manner thus: A Spie of his, formerly imployed by him to Secretary *Nicholas* in *Oxford*, was the day that the Army roſe from before it, ſent to him again, (yet as one comming of his own acccord) to give him intelligence, that the Army would that morning march away (a thing they in *Oxford* knew well enough) it being conceived that either the Secretary would ſend him, or he might finde ſome opportunity to go into the Weſt, where Generall *Goring* then lay with his Army about *Taunton*, and bring us the intelligence we deſired; accordingly it fell out. Into the Weſt he was ſent, firſt to Bath, where the Prince of *Wales* then was, to whom he brought the firſt news of the Parliaments Army riſing from before *Oxford*, from thence (bearing the reward of ten pieces from the Prince) to General *Goring* about *Taunton*, who received him and the news very gladly, and looking upon him as a fit inſtrument to be imployed to the King, then about *Leiceſter*, and as they ſuppoſed, intending Northward; deal with him (as about a buſineſſe of great concernment) to carry a Pacquet of Letters from him, the Prince, and his Councell, to the King; He with ſome ſeeming difficulty ſuffered himſelfe to be perſwaded, received the Pacquet, brought them to his Excellency fair ſealed up, diſcovering to him the true ſtate of the Enemies Armies and affairs in the Weſt: The Letters from the Lord *Goring* to the King ſignifying, how that in three weeks time (nine dayes where-

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of was then expired) he was confident to master our Forces at *Taunton*, and by consequence, to settle the West of *England* in an absolute posture for his Majesties service, and march up with a considerable Army to his assistance; advising the King by all means in the mean time to stand upon a defensive posture, and not to engage till his forces were joyned with his Majesty; Had these Letters bin delivered to the King (as they might have bin but for this defeatment) in all probability he had declined fighting with us for the present, and staid for those additionals, which would have been a far greater hazard: this intelligence, did withall much quicken us to make speed to relieve *Taunton*; yet being so neer *Leicester*, and *Leicester* in all probability being easily to be made ours, (considering the fear that they within were possest withall by the losse of the day at *Naseby*, besides the want of men thereby (in all likelihood) to make good their Works; it was resolved first to assay that, accordingly *Monday Iune* 16. about noon the whole Army came before the Town: The *General* sent a Summons to the Lord *Hastings*, to surrender the Garrison, with all the Ordnance, Arms, and Ammunition therein, who returned a peremptory answer, as if he meant to defend it to the last man; whereupon a Councel of War being called, it was resolved to storm the place: warrants were sent to the hundreds to bring in ladders, carts, hay, straw, & other things fitting for a storm; wherein the country was very forward to give assistance.

Tuesday Iune 17. great store of ladders were brought in, a battery was raised, upon which two Demy-Cannon and a whole Culverine taken at *Naseby* were planted, which played upon an old work called the Newark; being the very same Guns which the King not many dayes before had used against the same place: The Lord *Hastings* now beginning to perceive his condition was like to be desperate, sent a Trumpeter with a Letter to the Generall, desiring a parly concerning the surrender of the towne, which his Excellency desirous to save blood, hearkened unto: Commissioners were appointed to treate (on our side

Colonel

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Colonel *Pickering*, and Colonel *Rainsborough*) Hoſtages on both ſides were given; the Treaty begun that evening, and held debate till twelve a clock that night, and was concluded upon theſe Articles:

1. *That the Lord* Loughborough *ſhall have quarter granted him, and have protection for his Perſon to be ſafely conveighed to the Garriſon of* Aſhby-de-la-Zouch.

2. *That all Field Officers, Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Serjeants, Majors, and Captains, and Lieutenants of Horſe, (but not of Foot) ſhall march away with their own particular ſingle Horſe and Arms, with protections for their own Perſons.*

3. *That all the reſt of the Officers ſhall be conveyed ſafely to the Garriſon of* Lichfield *with Staves only, and no other weapons in their hand.*

4. *That all common Souldiers have quarter only for their lives, and be conveyed to* Lichfield *without any other weapons, ſave only ſtaves in their hands.*

5. *That before* 10 *of the clocke the ſaid morning* June *the* 18. *the Governour of the Towne, and the Lord* Loughborough *and all the reſt of the Officers, and Souldiers march out of the Garriſon according to the agreement aforeſaid.*

6. *That Sir* Thomas Fairfax *be permitted to enter in at* 10 *of the clock the ſaid* Wedneſday *morning aforeſaid, with his Forces, and take poſſeſſion of the Garriſon.*

7. *That all the Pieces of Canon, great and ſmall now in the Garriſon of* Leiceſter, *be left to Sir* Thomas Fairfax.

8. *That all the Armes, and Ammunition now in* Leiceſter *be left to Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *ſave only what is agreed to for the Officers of Horſe aforeſaid.*

9. *That all the Proviſions, Colours, Bag and Baggage be alſo left to Sir* Thomas Fairfax.

10 *That all the Horſe (ſave onely thoſe excepted for the Officers aforeſaid) that are in the Garriſon of* Leiceſter *be delivered up to Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *for the ſervice of the Parliament.*

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11. *That all the officers & souldiers have quarter for their lives.*

12. *That all the Prisoners of War that are in* Leicester *at the same time, be released and set free to serve the Parliament.*

The Guards and Centinels of the gate-house prison in the Newarke, hearing of the conclusion of the Articles, about four a clock on Wednesday morning went away from their duty, and left their Armes behind them, and the prison door open, whereupon the prisoners went out, and finding the Enemy a plundering, they fell a plundering too. About seven a clock all their guards were drawn off, the souldiers on the Line threw downe their Armes, quit their Posts, and the gates were opened, which gave invitation to divers of our stragling souldiers to get into the Town at the Ports, and over the works: Complaint hereof being made to his Excellency, by some from the Lord *Hastings* (or *Loughborow*) of the violation of the Articles by our souldiers: His Excellency sent to the Lord *Loughborow* to keep all his men upon their guards, and if any offered violently to enter the Towne before the time, to fire upon them; and immediately issued out a Proclamation, commanding the punctuall observance of the Articles by his owne souldiers, under paine of death. But the Lord *Hastings* instead of standing upon his guard (according to the Articles, till ten of the clock that morning, which he ought to have done, whereby he might have prevented that inconveniency which fell out, and have performed his Articles in delivering the Towne to his Excellency with the Arms and Ammunition:) mounted on horse-back in the morning with divers Gentlemen (officers and others) and left the towne some houres before the time appointed for his marching forth; so that when our Commissioners came according to appointment to see the Articles punctually performed, they found the Lord *Hastings* was gone, and all the towne in a confusion; but the souldiers were commanded off, and things were presently settled in good order, and about eleven a clock that day, the Army entred the towne, where we found divers

vers Commanders of note, *viz*. Serjeant-Major-Generall *Eyres*, Colonell *Lisle*, Lieutenant Colonell *Mouldsworth*, Lieutenant Colonell *Pemberton*, Major *Naylor*, Major *Trollop*, besides divers persons of quallity, all wounded in the battail. *Anno* 1645. June.

There were taken in the towne, fourteen peece of Ordnance, thirty Colours, two thousand Armes, five hundred horse, fifty barrels of Powder, and other Ammunition, in a good proportion: The poor Inhabitants were overjoyed at their deliverance, though in a sad Condition, being so plundered by the Enemy at first taking the towne, that many had nothing left but the bare walls, who before had their shops and houses well furnished: the Mayors house only escaped at that time, which now suffered for it: There is one peice of eminent wickednesse, fit to be transmitted to the notice of the world, not only for its relation to this story, but to rectifie their consciences, who have been led with too good an opinion of the Enemy; and it is attested by persons of good credit and quality; It is concerning Colonell *Thomas* a *Welch-man*, a *Papist*, who was slaine at the battail of *Naseby*: There were two brothers of them; the other was a Lieutenant Colonell taken prisoner in the battail, the former was conceived to be the man, by the discription of some of the inhabitants of *Leicester* who have under their hands given this information. That the next day after the King had taken *Leicester* by storme, this Colonell *Thomas* came to the Gaole, where the prisoners they had taken at the entring the Town were put, and called for the prisoners, and commanded such as were willing to serve the King, to come to one side of the room, divers of them comming accordingly, he commands them one by one to kneel down, and swear by *Iesus* Ile serve the King, which some of them accordingly did: He not satisfied therewith, required them to swear *God-dammee* Ile serve the King, affirming publiquely, he was not fit to serve the King, that refused that Oath, which they refusing, he drew

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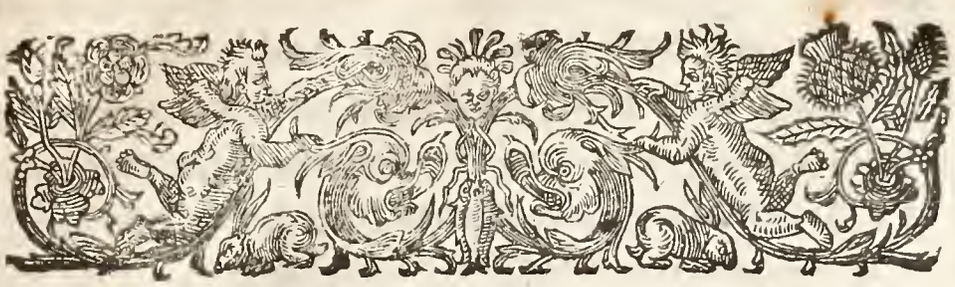
his Sword, cut them in the Head, in the Arms, and other parts of the Body, wounding them in a moſt cruell manner; ſome of the Town of *Leiceſter* (amongſt others) were the perſons on whom this cruelty was exerciſed, and remain ſtill to this day maimed by theſe wounds.

Wedneſday Iune 18. The Treaſure being come down, the Army was muſtered, and the Town was ſetled in ſome order, and an Expreſſe ſent up unto the Parliament, with the Conditions upon which *Leiceſter* was ſurrendred. Intelligence came this day, that the King was gone towards *Hereford*; it was taken into conſideration to ſend horſe after him, but the thoughts of the Weſt occaſioned the deferring the debate thereof for the preſent.

Thurſday Iune 19. Complaint being made to his Excellency by ſome of the Kings party, that they had been pillaged by our ſouldiers, his Excellency declared, whoſoever ſhould be found guilty thereof, they ſhould ſuffer the extremity of that puniſhment that belonged to the violators and betrayers of the juſtice and honour of the Army, and therefore willed they might be informed againſt to the Judge Advocate of the Army. But upon examination of divers witneſſes, his Excellency ſaw cauſe to charge the breach of Articles on the Lord *Loughborough*, and the injuries he complained of to his own failour, and therefore to demand reparation of Him; and the carriage on the enemies part appearing ſo foule in many particulars, which were here too tedious to mention, the *General* thought fit to detain the Hoſtages; offering notwithſtanding an examination of the buſineſſe by Commiſsioners, and engaging himſelf to make good whatſoever could be demanded of him in Juſtice and Honour, as he ſhould expect the like from them. But they, loath to truſt to the iſſue, anſwered not the meeting of our Commiſsioners; his Excellency therefore for a time detained the Hoſtages, till afterwards, upon noble conſiderations, the indempnity of his own, and the Armies honour being ſufficiently cautioned, he was pleaſed to releaſe them.

ANGLIA



ANGLIA REDIVIVA.

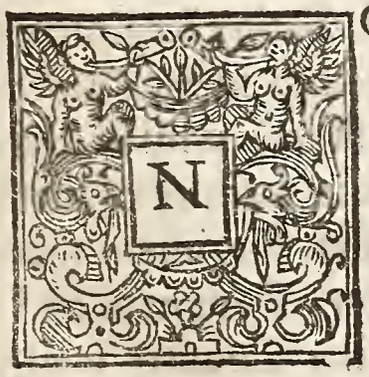
OR,

ENGLAND'S RECOVERY.

PART. II.

CHAP. I.

His Excellency with the Army, marching Westward to relieve Taunton *the second time; taking in* Hiworth *Garrison by the way: Curbing the Clubmen, the retaking of* Ilchester, *and the brave Fight at* Langport.



NO sooner had the Army done the work that God had for them thereabouts, but they marched towards *Warwick*, solicitous in nothing so much, as which way they might best advance the publique service; and although (being very doubtfull whether it were better to follow the King, and hinder his recruiting, and raising a new Army in *Wales*, or go down to the West to relieve the other part of our Army, who had deserved no other at our hands, and stood in great need of it;) who should they by any unhappy blow be ruined, as they were certainly in great straits (the enemy being, in common report, twelve thousand, and Major Generall *Massey*, who was sent to their

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their relief, hardly three thousand; whereby it was thought that *Goring* might both keep off him, and keep up our men about *Taunton*) it would have been of sad consequence to the whole Kingdom; for then would the enemy have possessed the whole West (except the Garrisons of *Lime*, *Poole*, and *Weymouth*) intire to themselves: The consequence of which, in respect of the Trade and Riches of those counties, the considerable Towns and Ports of both sides, both towards *France* and *Ireland*, seemed with a great deal of reason to perswade our present march thither; and being desirous, in a businesse of that importance, not to determine themselves, they had sent to the Parliament, and Cõmittee of both Kingdoms, to have their resolution upon it, declaring their willingness to be swayed by their advice, and counsell: Yet that they might not lose any time, they marched on to *Marlborough* (with a disposition, either to go over Severn at *Gloucester*, towards the King in *Herefordshire*, or to move Westward, as they should be ordered) where they receiving notice from the Committee of both Kingdoms, that Letters were sent to the Scotch Army to march towards *Worcester*, and that they had their consent, and the Houses also, to march Westward; the Army bent their course that way, having yet so tender a consideration of *Gloucestershire*, that they sent Colonel *Butlers* Regiment of horse to lie before *Barkley*-Castle, to keep in Sir *Charles Lucas* (an active enemy, and good souldier) whilest the *Gloucestershire* Troops might look to the security of that part of their Country beyond Severn. This Regiment was sent under quarter Master Generall *Fincher*, a stout man, and a good souldier, and one that knew the Country well, (Colonel *Butler* and his Major, Major *Horton* being then under cure of their wounds received at *Naseby*.) In five dayes march, *viz.* by *Thursday Iune* 26. the Army reached as far as *Lechlade*, where some of the enemies Garrisons were gathering Contribution. Our forlorn hope fell upon them, shot Lieutenant Colonel *Nott*, took four prisoners of *Radcot* Garrison, and rescued some Country people whom

whom they were carrying away prisoners.

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Friday Iune 27. The Army marched to *Wanburrow*, and in the way made an halt, and drew up before *Hiworth* garrison, (being a Church fortified by a Line and Bulwarks) summoned the place, Major *Hen* the Governour refused to yield, they planted their Ordnance, men were designed to storm, who being ready to fall on, he took down his bloody Colours, and sounded a Parley, and yielded upon quarter. The souldiers had good booty in the Church, took seventy prisoners, and eighty arms. This place standing convenient in a Line for the garrison of *Malmsbury*, the Generall appointed the Governour of *Malmsbury* to continue the place a garrison, for the better inlarging the Parliaments quarters.

Hiworth taken.

From *Wanburrow* the Army marched to *Burchalk* in *Wiltshire*, by three stages, without any considerable action, save that on the Lords day (June 29 while they rested at *Marlburrow*) Spies were sent from thence to *Taunton*, to give them notice of the Armies advance for their reliefe.

Munday Iune 30 the Army marched from *Marlburrow* to *Almsbury* 14 miles; that day being a day for a Faire to be kept at *Marlburrow*; some straglers stayed behind the Army, whom *Duet* from the Devizes surprized. Thence on Tuesday Iuly 1. they marched to *Burchalke* 12 miles, and being drawne up that morning to a Randezvouz at a place called *Stonage*, marched in Battalia upon *Salisbury* plaine: some Officers and others of the Army who went out of the way through *Salisbury*, found the townsmen very peremptory, being confident of their own strength, by their association with other counties, in their meetings of Club-men, wearing white Ribbonds in their hatts, (as it were in affront of the Army) not sparing to declare themselves absolute Neuters (or rather friends to the enemy) moreover news came this night, that the Club-men had risen upon some of Major-Generall *Massies* forces; that his men had done some execution upon them, and that they with much confidence required reparation.

Wednesday

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Wednesday Iuly 2. the Army marched to *Blandford* twelve miles, and in their march took Mr. *Penruddock*, and one *Fussell*, two Captaines of the Club-men, who being examined and convinced of their errour, in causing such unlawfull assemblies without authority, promised never to appear any more in that business, & thereupon were released.

In a narrow lane in this dayes march was a souldier executed, (one of the forementioned straglers) being by the country apprehended and accused, for plundering of a Gentleman passing on the way neer *Marlburrow*.

That night Intelligence met the Generall at *Blanford*, that *Goring* had drawn off to *Black-downe* and burnt his hutts; that some of our Spies sent to give them Intelligence, were got into *Taunton*, & gave them notice of our coming.

Thursday Iuly 3. the Army marched from *Blanford* to *Dorchester* 12 miles, a very hot day, where Colonell *Sidenham* governour of *Weymouth* (whose parts and resolution shew'd in the defence and recovery of that place, deserves not to be forgotten) met the General, and gave him information of the condition of those parts, and of the great danger of the Club-risers, who would not suffer (so high were they growne) either Contribution or victuals to be carryed to the Parliaments Garrisons. That night Mr. *Hollis*, the cheif leader of the Clubmen, with some others of their leaders, desired a Let-passe from the Generall, to present a Petition to the King and Parliament; the Petition being read, and found to be of a strange nature, the matter was debated, their designe appear'd to be desperately evill against the Parliament: *Hollis* peremptory in his opinion, not to be convinc'd, affirming himselfe to be one of their leaders, and that it was fit the people should shew their strength: they were promised they should have an answer in writing the next morning; They were so strong, and withall so confident of their strength at that time, that it was held a point of prudence to be faire in demeanour towards them for a while, for if in case we should engage with *Goring*, and some of our men be put to the Rout, these Club-

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Club-men would be more cruell then the Enemy, and knock our men on the heads as they ſhould flie for ſafety; and ſome of them did not ſtick to ſay, we know our own ſtrength to be ſuch, that we are able both againſt King and Parliament to defend our ſelves, and to doe *more* if need require; and indeed if this had not been cruſhed in the Egge, it had on an inſtant run all over the Kingdome, and might have been deſtructive to the Parliament. The King being aſſured, if this third Partie had ſo prevailed, as to be in a condition to give a Law to *either* ſide, it would have been no diſadvantage to *his* affairs, being indeed *raiſed*, many of them by *Commiſsion* from *him*, and *countenanced* by a *neutrall* party within our ſelves.

This night more certaine and particular Intelligence came, that *Goring* had drawne off his men to *Black-Downe*, to invite them in *Taunton* to ſally out, that he might take advantage to ſurprize them; but fayling of his expectation, returned back againe to his former quarters about *Taunton*, and made ſome ſlight attempt upon our Party there, but to little purpoſe. Our Foot hearing that *Goring* was fallen on againe, were eager to march all that night, after 12 miles march that day, which was alſo but the moity of 62. miles march in five dayes before, ſo far did their compaſſion to *Taunton*, and our party there cary them beyond conſideration of themſelves.

This day Intelligence was, that the Club-men were riſen againſt the *Lyme* forces, and were engaged, and many of them ſlaine, and taken the Governours brother, (Major *Ceeley*, a ſtout man, hardly eſcaping.) *Friday Iuly* 4. *Hollis* the Club-man received his anſwer in writing, which with the Petitions were tranſmitted to the Parliament, which for the Readers ſatisfaction, but eſpecially, that we may be affected with this great mercy of God, in checking this great miſcheife, and Royall *deſigne*, I ſhall inſert the extract of their Petitions, with the Generals anſwer to them, that in the dangerouſneſſe of their *poſitions*, as in a glaſſe, and by the help of the Generals *anſwer*, you may ſee the greatneſs

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of the deliverance. In the Armies passage from *Blanford* to *Dorchester* came four Agents of theClub-men of *Dorsetshire* and *Wiltshire*;the cheif Speaker was Mr.*Hollis* of *Dorsetshire*, brother to him of *Salisbury*: their business was to procure a pass from the Generall, for these persons to go to the King and Parliament with petitions; to the King were to goe Docter *Henry Goche* of Trinity Colledge in *Cambridge*, and Mr. *Thomas Bromwell* Divines, *Iohn St.Loe*,*Peter Hoskins*, Esquiers,Mr. *Thomas Young* an Atturney, and Mr. *Robert Pawlet* Gentleman. To the Parliament, Mr. *Melchizadeck Waltham*, Mr. *Richard Hook* Club-divines, *Thomas Trenchard*, *Robert Calliford*, Esquires, *George Hawles*, *Richard Newman*, Gentlemen. Mr.*Hollis* tendered to the Generall the Petitions, so to be conveyed;as also the Articles of Association: the brief account of both is this; the Articles were,That the Associates provide Armes, set watches, be quiet with them that are so, lay hold on disorderly souldiers,bring them to the next garrisons, not to refuse quarter and contribution to their ability; till their Petitions be delivered, not to favour either party, nor to protect any not associated. The heads of the Petitions were,to desire a renewed treaty,with a Cessation,as also that the Garrisons of *Dorset* and *Wiltshire* be put into their hands, till the King and Parliament agree about their disposall; that they be free from all charge, but the maintenance of those garrisons; that all laws not repealed, be in force and executed by the ordinary Officers; that all men who desire it, may lay downe Armes; that others that have absented themselves from their dwellings, may have free liberty to returne and live at home.

After speech had with them,and some consultation what to do in the business: It pleased the Generall to returne his answer in writing,to this purpose.

Although the Paper brought to me, being not subscribed, cannot challenge any answer,yet to clear my self from any aversnesse, to the satisfaction of the Country, who are pretended to be interested in these Petitions,I return this:

That my affections, and the affections of this Army are as

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as much inclined to peace, as any mens whatſoever; and we undertake the War for no other end, but the eſtabliſhing of a firm and happy peace, by oppoſing the enemies thereof; and that I ſhall be ready, ſo far as concerns me, to further all lawfull and fit means to procure it: But having ſeen the Petitions, upon which a Let-paſſe is deſired, I muſt profeſſe my ſelf not ſo well ſatisfied with ſome things contained in them, as to concur to their delivering by any act of mine: In particular, in that a Ceſſation is deſired; whileſt by Letters written by the *King* and *Queen*, taken at the late battail of *Naſeby*, it evidently appears, that contracts are already made for the bringing in ten thouſand *French*, and ſix thouſand *Iriſh*. It is further deſired, that the Garriſons in theſe parts, whereof three are Sea-Ports, ſhould be delivered up to the Petitioners; which to grant, were for the Parliament to acquit part of the truſt repoſed in them by the Kingdom; and conſidering theſe forraign preparations, to run very great hazzard to thoſe Ports themſelves, and to the whole Kingdom. Thirdly, it is propounded, that liberty be given to all ſouldiers to diſband, and to return to their home, if they deſire it; which may with equal Juſtice be deſired by all parts of the Kingdome, and ſo the Parliament made unable to mannage the War, before peace ſetled.

Theſe conſiderations, with ſome other yet to be debated, will not allow me to grant the deſire of the Letter: But as for that part of the Petition which declares the grievances of the Country by plunder and violence, committed either by Garriſons or Armies: I do hereby promiſe and undertake for the Garriſons and Armies under the command of the Parliament, that whatſoever diſorders are committed by them, upon complaint making known the offences, and perſons, juſtice ſhall be done, and ſatisfaction given: As alſo, I ſhall endeavour that the Parliaments Garriſons may be regulated according to any reaſonable agreement with the Country; and without doubt the Parliament will cauſe them to be ſlighted, ſo ſoon as the condition of

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those parts, and the publike good shall permit : And that the Army under my command shall be ordered as may be most for the good and advantage of these Counties, and of the whole Kingdom ; of which some reasonable testimony is already given, in their quiet and orderly passage through these, and other Counties, without many of those complaints which usually follow Armies.

I further desire, that in the publishing this my answer to your request, all assembling the people to publike Rendezvouz may be forborn, and that Copies hereof may be dispersed to the severall Parishes, that the Country may be acquainted therewith.

THO: FAIRFAX.

If this would not satisfie these men, their own Clubs would in time have beaten reason into them : But to leave them, and proceed with my Story.

The Army marched that day from *Dorchester* to *Beauminster*, the Train and most of the Foot quartered on the top of an hill, some few in *Beauminster* town, a place of the pittifullest spectacle that man can behold, hardly an house left not consumed with fire; the town being fired by some of the enemy in five places at once, when Prince *Maurice* was there, by reason of a falling out between the *French* and *Cornish*. Intelligence was positive that night, that *Goring* had quite drawn off the siege from *Taunton*, and was come to *Ilmister*, and as that night his quarter would be *Summerton* : Whereupon his Excellency sent a party of horse to *Crookhorn*, who took some of his souldiers prisoners, and brought them away to the Generall at *Beauminster*, who confessed no lesse then what we had heard, that the siege was raised, and that *Goring* was marched towards *Langport*. Thus is *Taunton* the second time relieved, and our party there delivered from an eminent danger, which they feared, if we had not come thus seasonably to them (being greatly distressed both for Ammunition and Victuals.) In maintaining the place this siege, we lost Colonel *Floyd*, and Colonel *Richbell*, both of them faithfull experienced soul-

diers ;

diers and ſome officers more: In exchange of whom the Enemy loſt many Officers, and perſons of quallity; one of them of more note, *viz. Sir Iohn Digby*, brother to *Sir Kenelm Digby*, received there his Mortall wound, of which he afterwards dyed. *Anno* 1645 July.

But the Enemy flying, what was the Army to do but follow? And ſo they did on the morrow, a very hot ſeaſon, the foot weary with their long and tedious march; the carriage-horſes tyred out, the way ill and narrow; (being all incloſure) they marched that day but to *Crookhorn*, ſome ſix miles; but here Intelligence came that made them pull up their ſtumps, (as weary as they were) after that the Army was come into *Crookhorn*, they heard that our horſe ſent under the command of Colonel *Fleetwood*, had fallen on their Reare, taken ſome Priſoners, and the great bodies were like to engage; whereupon three Regiments more were commanded to march up and aſsiſt them, if there ſhould be cauſe; two Regiments of foot alſo being ordered for that ſervice, notwithſtanding their weary march, leapt for joy; that they were like to be engaged, and according to orders marched from *Crookhorne* (after they had reſted an houre) to *Pederton* that night; the Enemy having pulled down *Pederton* Bridge, and made breaſt-works on the other ſide, upon our firſt approach with the partie under Colonell *Fleetwood*, deſerted the paſs: We inſtantly made up the Bridge, and marched over it till we came nere *Ilcheſter*, and another party to *Load-bridge* where the Enemy kept the paſs with a ſtrong guard: the Generall and Leiutenant-Generall mounted inſtantly, and rode from *Crookhorne* after the forces, to order them, if an engagement; but the enemy ſtanding upon the advantage of the paſs, avoided it; the Generall having appointed ſtrong guards at *Pederton*, and *Martock*, returned back to *Crookhorn*, where ſome of the Commanders of *Taunton* met the Generall, and mutuall congratulations paſsed betwixt them and the Army by occaſion of this timely relief of *Taunton* the ſecond time: The valour, diligence, and fidelity of Colonel *Welden*, with the

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rest of those Commanders engaged with him in the defence of that besieged place, deserves to be expressed at large; but for want of a relation of their proceedings during that siege, I must content my self only to mention their service with honour: As also the good service of the Horse commanded by Colonel *Graves*, who in severall Sallies upon the enemy were very successfull.

Lords day, *July* 6. the Army resting at *Crookhorn*, and the rest of their quarters; about four in the afternoon, (six in the evening, twelve at night, and two in the morning) the Generall had certain intelligence by his Spies, confirmed by severall hands, that the enemy continued still at Long-*Sutton*, keeping a guard at Load-bridge, and making good the garrison at *Ilchester* and *Langport*, the two passes upon the River, and had broken down the Bridge towards the town of *Evill*, higher up the River; whereupon orders were given for Drums to beat by four in the morning. And accordingly, *Munday July* 7. the Foot were drawn out by six of the clock to a Rendezvouz, in a field about a mile from *Crookhorn*, in the way to *Pederton*. The Generall, and Lieutenant Generall went with a Party, and viewed the Pass at Load-bridge: Our horse appearing in great numbers, gave the enemy an Alarm, whereupon they drew up their Foot, and marcht some Regiments from Load-bridge, along the River side to *Ilchester*, fearing we should storm that place, our horse and theirs skirmishing upon the Meadows near the River by parties all that day. A Councell of war was called in the Field, to consider what course to take to engage the enemy, who keeping himself beyond the River, and having the Garrisons of *Ilchester*, *Langport*, *Burrough*, and *Bridgewater*, there was no possible comming over upon that side; to force our passage in that place where the enemy stood in good order on the other side the River to receive us, was a business of exceeding difficulty, it being also a Moorish ground. Upon the right hand the enemy had broken down the Bridge at *Evill*, keeping a guard of horse upon it, and all the Bridges upon that

that ſide, ſo that there ſeemed to be no paſsage convenient for us, till we came to the head of the river about *Sherborn*, which would prove a difficult, and long march; upon which it was reſolved to march the greateſt part of the Army to *Evill*, and there to force our paſsage, leaving ſtill a convenient number both of horſe and foot, over againſt *Ilcheſter* and *Load-Bridge*, to engage the enemy, in caſe he ſhould attẽpt to advance on this ſide; accordingly our foot marched to *Evill*, the head-quarter for that night; we were no ſooner come there, but the enemies horſe retreated to *Ilcheſter*; Orders were given to make up the bridge, which was ſpeedily done: *Iuly the* 8. early in the morning certaine Intelligence was brought to the Army, by one of their ſpies (ſent for that purpoſe into the Enemies Army) that the enemy (hearing the paſs at *Evill* was gained by our forces,) retreated towards *Langport* with the Army, quit *Load-Bridge*, burnt divers faire houſes there. Colonel *Phillips* the Governour of *Ilcheſter* in the night time, quit the towne, leaving the works ſtanding undemoliſhed, only the *Bridewell*, a place the enemy had fortified, they ſet on fire, which was quickly quenched by the Inhabitants.

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This day the Army declining to march over the paſſe at *Evill*, hearing *Ilcheſter* was quit, marched back towards *Ilcheſter*, upon the ſame ſide the river, and quartered there that night, where no proviſions were left for our ſouldiers. Intelligence alſo came, that whilſt we went on the other ſide, *Goring* being drawn downe to *Langport*, had drawne a great part of his Army towards *Taunton*, as if he intended to ſurprize the Towne, thinking to find them in ſecurity: whereupon the Generall ſent Major-Generall *Maſſey* after *Goring* with his own brigade of horſe, and a conſiderable ſtrength of Horſe and Dragoons of his owne Army; and moreover the Generall took care that a conſiderable party of horſe more ſhould be ſent after thoſe horſe, as a reſerve if need were.

This day Colonel *Butlers* Regiment commanded by Major *Fincher*, quarter-maſter-Gen. of our horſe, came up to

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to the Army, & in their march from *Barkly* Castle, did very good service; first at *Dursly*, they entertained Sir *Charles Lucas*, comming to beat up their quarters, kil'd the Captain of the forlorne hope, after that charged the party with two troops, kil'd ten (whereof two Captains) took 39 prisoners, hurt Sir *Charles Lucas* himselfe; from thence they came to *Hyworth*, where the enemy from *Farringdon* had entred the towne, whom they beat out, and delivered to the Governour the quiet possession of his garrison, from thence to the *Devizes*, where they took some horse, and so to *Dorchester*, where they took some of *Sherborn* horse, and so came to the Army very seasonably, the Army being neerer an engagement then they expected.

Wednesday Iuly 9. The Army marched to *Long-Sutton*, news came there that Major-Gen. *Massey* was neer upon an engagement; the Generall immediatly gave command that Colonel *Montague* should march with 2000 musquetiers to his assistance, (being in an inclosed country) who marched accordingly, but the engagement was over before he could come up, and the welcome newes was brought that *Gorings* party which the Major-Gen. had there engaged, was beaten, many slaine, nine Colours and 300 horse taken, Colonel *Cook* a Gentleman of much temper and resolution, carryed himselfe gallantly in that service, and received a shot through both cheeks: this afternoon ours had continuall skirmishing with the enemies horse at a passe, a mile on this side *Langport*, took a *French* Cornet and his Colours, a *Dutchman* and a *Spaniard* prisoners.

Thursday Iuly 10. A councel of War was held, what course we should take to force the enemy to fight, seeing he stood upon his advantage, having the passes upon the River, and might fight or flie at pleasure; whilest the counsell of War were in debate therof, not knowing what to do (the enemy being still at his election, whether to fight or not) Intelligence came that the enemy was advanced with his foot from *Langport* to the pass, and had lined the hedges thick with musquetiers, and drawne up his Ordnance; this resol-

ved

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ved the queſtion at the councell of War, without puting it; whereupon the Generall and Lieutenant-Generall *Cromwell*, and all the Officers inſtantly mounted, rode up to the field, perceived the enemy to put himſelfe in a poſture for an engagement; inſtantly the Army was ordered to be put in Battalia, the forlorne hope of horſe and foot drew out, Ordnance were drawn downe to places of advantage, meſſengers were ſent to recall moſt of the horſe and foot, lately ſent to aſsiſt Major-Gen. *Maſsey*, but before they could come up, our Ordnance began to play (a good while before the foot engaged) doing great execution upon the body of the enemies Army, both horſe and foot, who ſtood in good order upon the hill, (about muſquet ſhot from the paſſe) and forcing them to draw off their Ordnance, and their horſe to remove their ground, our foot advanced down the hill to the paſs, and with admirable reſolution charged the enemy from hedge to hedge, till they got the paſs; the enemies horſe upon this drew downe towards us, whereupon our horſe advanced over the paſſe up the hill to the enemy; the Forlorne-hope of horſe commanded by Major *Bethell*, gave a valiant and brave charge indeed, broke that body that charged him, and the next reſerve: our reſerve of horſe that was commanded by Major *Desborough*, very reſolutely charged the next ſtanding bodies of the enemy ſo home, that inſtantly he put them to a diſorderly retreat, & our muſquetiers came cloſe up to our horſe, firing upon the enemy, whereupon their Regiments of white Colours, and black Colours of foot, before ever they engaged, marched away apace; whereupon the Forlorne under Major *Bethell*, and thoſe under Major *Desborough*, were going in purſuit of the chaſe, but receiving orders to ſtay till more bodies of horſe were come up, that the purſuit might be orderly, and with good reſerves, in caſe the enemy ſhould face about, and charge againe, (which was not impoſsible) they obeyed their orders, as good ſouldiers will, though it check their ſweeteſt pleaſure; as to purſue a flying enemy was no leſs: when the enemy had fled about two

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miles they made a ſtand in a plaine green field, (where the paſsage out was narrow) called *Aller Drove*, but received only a piece of a charge, and then ſeeing our bodies comeing on orderly and faſt, faced about, and never ſtood after: the paſses being narrow in many places, and the ditches being deep and wide, eſpecially at that place where they firſt faced about, many horſes of the Enemies were loſt in the ditches, whereof our ſouldiers recovered ſtore, and the riders got into the meadows, hoping to eſcape, but could not. We purſued the Enemy within two miles of *Bridgewater*, (whither the enemy fled,) doing execution upon them all the way (being eight miles in length) took about 1400 priſoners, about 1200 horſe, and divers Officers of quality, Colonel *Henningham*, Colonel *Slingsby* (the General of *Gorings* Ordnance) were alſo taken; about thirty Colours of Horſe and Foot: and on the other hand, it was a victory as cheap to us, as dear to them; we loſt no Officer, not twenty common ſouldiers; ſome fourteen or ſixteen of Major *Bethels* troop were hurt, and himſelf ſhot in the right hand. No ſooner was the Enemy put to a retreat, but in great confuſion they quitted *Langport*, into which many of them had fled (a ſtrong garriſon, naturally well fortified, being about half a mile from the place of the fight) and ſet it on fire, but by the induſtry of the ſouldiers and Townesmen it was quenched. The Enemy with a body of Foot drawing along with them two pieces of Ordnance by the way of *Langport*, were purſued by Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, and the Ordnance and moſt of the Foot taken. And thus you have in a very ſhort ſpace an account of a very great action.

CHAP. II.

The particulars of that gallant ſervice, The ſtorming of Bridgewater.

AFter this battail the army marched five miles to *Middleſay* in the way to *Bridgewater*; the bold carriage of *Hollis*

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Hollis the Club-man, was very notorious, who the morning (an houre) before the fight began, came with a Petition to the General, from his fellowes and followers: withall telling the General in plain terms, that if he did not give them better ſatisfaction then what he had yet given them, they muſt take another courſe. His Petition, upon reading, was found of that nature, and his impudent carriage ſo inſufferable withall, that the General committed him to the Marſhal; but he made a ſhift to get away, ſo ſoon as he ſaw the day was loſt. The next day, the whole Army, horſe and foot, with the Train, were drawn up in *Weſtonmoor*, otherwiſe called *Penſy pound*, two miles from *Bridgewater*. The Country-men thereabouts, that had been vexed with the Cavaliers, hearing of the defeat given unto them, and fearing to taſte of their former cruelties, roſe in great numbers, and with their colours, clubs and arms, appeared upon *Knol-hill*; which being made known to the General, he with the Lieutenant gen. and other Officers, marched up to them, who ſeemingly received him with joy, and in token thereof gave a volley of ſhot: whence after ſome conference with them, and their Leader, who made a Neutral ſpeech, the General returned, and the Army that night went to quarter, the head-quarter that night being appointed at *Chedſay*, within two miles of *Bridgewater*.

Friday, *Iuly* 11. Colonel *Weldens* Brigade was commanded on the North ſide of the Town towards *Devonſhire*, and the reſt of the Army on this ſide towards *Chedſay*; the guards being ſet, the General, with the Lieutenant gen. went to view the Town, which they found to be very ſtrong, ſtanding in a valley, yet glorying in the equality of its level with the ground about it, there being not a clod that could afford any advantage againſt that place; the Fortifications very regular and ſtrong, the Ditch about it very deep, and about thirty foot wide, which for a great part about the town, was every Tyde filled up to the brim with water, the compaſſe of ground within the line and works not great, very well manned, having in it about

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1800 Souldiers to defend it; within the town was a castle of indifferent strength, (there was planted on the severall Batteries about 40 peece of Ordnance;) well stored with ammunition and victuals, being a magazine for all the petty garrisons thereabouts.

Saturday, *Iuly* 12. The Army continued in quarters, and new places for guards were appointed.

Burrough-garrison, taken by Col. *Okey*.

Lords day, *Iuly* 13. the army rested at *Chedsay*; & Colonel *Okey* having, from that day the battel was at *Langport*, besieged *Burrough*-garrison with his Dragoons, had the same surrendred unto him upon quarter, wherein were 140 prisoners, the Officers being promised fair usage.

Monday, *Iuly* 14. a Councel of war was called, great debate whether to storm the town, or not: Some inclination to it, but no positive resolution; Notwithstanding preparations were made in order to a storm, the Souldiers cheerfully made their faggots, and were drawn in readines for a storm, but upon further consideration were for that time drawn back to their quarters; and more time being taken, there were 8 long Bridges, betwixt 30 and 40 foot length, devised to be made by Lieutenant-general *Hamond*, the Lieutenant-general of the Ordnance (a Gentleman of approved fidelity, and of a most dexterous and ripe invention for all such things) which were approved of by the Commanders and Officers, and accordingly Ordered to be made, and were of very great use to the Souldier in the storm.

This day, the General going over the river to view the posts on the other side, was graciously delivered from a great danger he was near unto by a sudden surprisal of the Tide called the *Eager*, where he very narrowly escaped drowning.

Wednesday *Iuly* 16. a Counsel of war was again called, and several propositions were made for the framing of our Army, and reduction of the town, both being of great consequence,

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ſequence, and vehemently deſired by us. To *riſe* with our whole Army and leave the town unattempted, was conceived to be very prejudiciall to our future progreſſe; To ſit down before it (being a place of that ſtrength, and we not ſure to carry it) leaving the Enemy at liberty to rally his broken forces, ſeemed very hazardous.

The *blocking* of it up by Forts on both ſides with a part of our Army was propounded; but the difficulty of laying a Bridge over the River through the violence of the current, (which yet was neceſſary for the maintaining a communication between our quarters on both ſides) hindred that deſigne.

It was propounded to attempt it by *approaches*; But it was conſidered, that if we ſhould have gone that way, it would have proved very tedious; and if during our ſtay about it any great glut of rain ſhould have fallen, it would have laid us wet in our trenches, and diſabled us from effecting the buſineſs.

At laſt, a reſolution to ſtorm it was agreed upon, though it carried the greateſt danger with it: yet the deſire which the Army had to be ſpeedily free for the further ſervice of the Kingdom, ſurmounted all difficulties: the ſtorming being thus happily reſolved on, to the great and generall ſatisfaction of all the Army, both Officers and Souldiers; Lots were drawn for every one to take their poſts, ſome to ſtorm, ſome to be reſerves, others to alarm, but the time of falling on not yet determined:

Friday *Iuly* 19. it was reſolved at a Counſel of War, that the time of the ſtorm ſhould be on Monday morning towards dawning of the day. The Brigade appointed to ſtorm on that ſide towards *Devon* was commanded by Major General *Maſſey*, being the Regiments of Col. *Welden*, Col. *Inglesby*, Col. *Forteſcue*, Col. *Herbert*, Col. *Birch*, and Major General *Maſsies* own Regiment: the Regiments deſigned on this ſide, were the Generals, Major-generals, Col. *Pickerings*, Col. *Montagues*, Sir *Hardreſſe Wallers*, the Regiment commanded by Lieut. Colonel *Pride*, Colonel

Rainſ-

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Rainsboroughs, and Colonel *Hamonds*. The General rode round about the town this day, to see if all things were in readines for the storm, that both sides might fall on together. On the Lords day, *Iuly* 20. Mr. *Peters* in the forenoon preached a Preparation Sermon, to encourage the Souldiers to go on: Mr. *Bowles* likewise did his part in the afternoon. After both Sermons, the Drums beat, the Army was drawn out into the field: The Commanders of the forlorn hope who were to begin the storm, and the Souldiers, being drawn together in the field, were there also afresh exhorted to do their duties (with undaunted courage and resolution) by Mr. *Peters*, who did it (as one sayes of him) *tàm Marte, quàm Mercurio*. As soon as it grew dark, the Souldiers drew every one to their severall Posts allotted them to storm; the signe when the storm was to begin, was, the shooting off three peeces of Ordnance on this side, which the Forces on the other side were to take notice of, and to fall on at the instant: and on Monday, *Iuly* 22. about two of the clock in the morning, the storm began accordingly on this side of the town, (the Forces on the other side only alarming the Enemy, which kept them upon the Line, expecting a storm) Our Forlorn hope was manfully led on by Lieut. colonel *Hewson*; and as valiantly seconded by the Generals Regiment, commanded by Lieut. colonel *Iackson*; and the Major-generals, commanded by Lieut. colonel *Ashfield*. The Bridges prepared to passe over the Moat, were quickly brought to the Ditch, and thrown in, on which the Souldiers with little losse got over the deep ditch, and with undaunted courage mounted the Enemies works (notwithstanding the great and small shot which showred about them) beat them from their Ordnance, turn'd them upon the enemy, & let down their drawbridg; which made many of their Foot instantly cry, *Quarter, Quarter*. The Bridge being let down, Captain *Rainolds*, who commanded the forlorn hope of horse, immediatly entred, and scoured the streets of that part of the Town so gained, called *Eastover*, with much gallantry and resolution, even

up

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up to the Draw-bridge over the main Ditch, leading to the ſecond Town: whereupon the reſt of the Officers and Souldiers that were in a body, and yet annoyed us in that part of the town which we had won, threw down their arms, and had fair quarter given them: (there were about 600. taken priſoners, Officers and Souldiers) The Enemy inſtantly made barracadoes at the gate upon the bridge, and drew up the bridge that divided one part of the town from the other. Our forces had not been two houres in the firſt town, but the Enemy ſhot granadoes, and ſlugs of hot iron, and fired it on both ſides, which by the next morning burnt that part of the town (of goodly buildings) down to the ground, except three or four houſes, Major *Cowel*, who had a good ſhare in that ſervice, ſtanding all that while in the midſt of the ſtreet, which was both ſides on fire, keeping guards to prevent the Enemies ſallying upon them: Captain *Sampſon*, in that remarkable action, received a ſhot.

The General, hoping that the Storm might have wrought upon the Souldiers, & the Fire upon the Townſmen, ſo far, that they would have hearkened to a treaty; renewed his Summons, which the Governour peremptorily refuſed, according to his allegiance (as he ſaid) whereupon, *Tueſday, Iuly* 22. it was reſolved to alarm the town by our forces on this ſide, and to ſtorm it by the other forces on the other ſide, at two of the clock the next morning; for which purpoſe the *General* was there in perſon to ſee it done, though it was held fit on after conſiderations, only to alarm on both ſides, which much amazed the Enemy, and kept him waking that night: Alſo about two of the clock in the afternoon, the *General* ſent to the Governour a Trumpet with a meſſage to this purpoſe, that his denial of fair tearms had wrought in him no other thoughts, but of compaſsion towards thoſe that were innocent, who otherwiſe might ſuffer through the Governours obſtinacy: Wherefore he ſignified his noble pleaſure, that all women and children that would

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would accept of this liberty, ſhould come forth of the town by four of the clock in the afternoon, which being made known to them, the Governours Lady and divers others came out. They were no ſooner come forth, but our Cannon plaid fiercely into the town, Granadoes were ſhot, and ſlugs of hot iron in abundance, whereby ſeveral houſes in the town were fired, and the wind being high increaſt the flame, the townſmen within were in great diſtraction, every man imployed how to ſave his houſe and goods, the Enemy in a great amazement, and the Governour ſo far melted with the heat of the fire, as to ſend forth *Tom Elliot* in haſte, to deſire to know the *Generals* tearms; the *General* refuſed to admit of any treaty at all, reſolved that the Governour and they within that had deſtroyed ſo fine a town, ſhould have no conditions, but ſhould ſubmit to mercy; which being ſignified to the Enemy, they yet would try the *General* with theſe three particulars.

Firſt, that the Governour with all the Officers and Gentlemen that were in the Town, with their ſervants, horſes, ſwords, piſtols and cloak-bags, might march with a ſafe Convoy to *Exeter*.

Secondly, that all the ſouldiers might likewiſe march to *Exeter* leaving their armes.

Thirdly, that all Clergie-men in the town, and Townſmen may have liberty to march with us, or abide at home.

Edmund Windham.

The *General* returns theſe.

1. To all their lives.

2. To the inhabitants, their liberty and freedome from plunder.

3. Neither Officers nor Souldiers to be plundred of the clothes they have upon them.

4. The Gentlemen to be diſpoſed of as the Parliament ſhall appoint, and in the mean time to have civil uſage.

Six Hoſtages to be ſent, and an anſwer in a quarter of an hour.

Tho. Fairfax.

The

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The Governour returned answer, that he found those Propositions so ill resented, both by the Gentlemen and Souldiers, that he could not accept of them. The *General* thereupon gave order to the souldiers to stand upon their guard, and go to their duties; *Tom Elliot* desired nothing might be done till he returned, leaving Sir *Iohn Heale* as caution, which was agreed to; and he presently returned with an answer of submission to the *Generals* Articles, only slipt in a motion for himself, that he might have liberty to carry the news to the King upon his Parol. May he have more such imployment till peace be setled!

Thereupon the Hostages were sent, Sir *Iohn Heale*, Sir *Hugh Windham*, Mr. *Waldron*, Mr. *Warr*, Mr. *Siddingham*, Mr. *Speake*. And we sent some into the Town to them.

They were to deliver the Town and yield themselves prisoners the next morning by eight of the clock, and all that night they imployed themselves to quench the fire in the town. The losse of men in this storm was not many, Mr. *Martin* an Officer in the train had his leg shot, and afterwards cut off, whereof he died, he behaved himself valiantly.

Wednesday *Iuly* 23. the town was surrendred, about 1000 Officers and Souldiers, besides Gentlemen and malignant Clergy, marched out as prisoners. There were taken in the town about 44 barrels of powder, 1500 armes, 44 piece of ordnance, 400 weight of match, Enemies goods of great value, that had been carried for security into that place, and were seized by the Commissioners of the Parliament, and sould; and 5. s. a man raised upon the sale, to be bestowed as a reward upon the common souldiers for their good service in the storming of the place.

That which may seem to allay the happiness of the successe was, that the town was fired; but truly though in strictness of souldiery this might be very well justified, yet God in his providence concurred to the justice of it, and our acquittance: They refused treaty after part taken, they

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fired the part we had taken, and rang the bels for joy when they saw it blaze : and as we are credibly informed, they fired the town themselves in many places where fireworks could do no hurt, the souldiers saying, *The Town did it to be rid of them*; the town said, the souldiers did it, when they were in little hopes to hold it. But God be thanked, we found much more of it standing then we expected. Some things there are which made the businesse considerable. As first, that by it a line of garrisons was drawn over that *Ihstmus* of ground between the South-sea and *Severne*, by *Bridgewater*, *Taunton*, *Lime*, and *Langport*, it being from *Bridgewater* to *Lime* little above twenty miles, by which the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal* then wholly in the Enemies possession, except *Plymouth*, were in a manner blockt up from all entercourse with the Eastern parts, a business of no small consequence, if we had proceeded no further. Likewise this being taken, our Army was at liberty for further work, which was a great mercy at that time of the year. It was a great gain with little losse : and that which addes as much to the commendation of the action, as any thing, we kept our Articles exactly, which is not only honourable in the eyes of men, but acceptable in the sight of God, and that which this war had scarce formerly attained; and it was not done without some difficulty now, in regard our souldiers had suffered so much, and *Cornwal* was so near.

Thursday *Iuly* 24. All the day was spent in ordering the manner of sending away the prisoners, and securing Malignants goods in the town. And thus you have that gallant fight at *Langport* crowned with an easie recovery of that considerable strength of *Brigdewater*, whose natural fortification by water, they that knew, must needs conclude, God was the *Bridge* by which our Army got over.

Chap.

CHAP. III.

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The taking of Bath. *The Club-mens reply, and his Excellencies rejoynder, in two considerable Actions defeating them. The impregnable Castle of* Sherborn *taken by storm.*

FRiday, *Iuly* 25. A Councell of war was called, to advise how, and which way next, the Army might lay out themselves to the most advantage and best service of the Common-wealth; whether to make up further West to *Goring*, or to stay in the Eastern parts to curb the *Club-men*. And in favour of this latter, it was considered, that the Army wanted Ammunition, to march far West, to undertake any considerable action: and that this was a needfull work, there being also severall Garrisons of the Enemy, by which the Club-men took great boldnesse to shew themselves. It was therefore inclined unto by the Councell of war, that the Army should first make it their businesse to reduce the Club-men to better manners, and to that end, to attempt the taking in, at least, to keep in that Garrison, which countenanced and encouraged them, *viz. Sherborn* Castle, where Sir *Lewis Dives*, an active Enemy, and resolute Souldier, was Commander in chief: But the determination of the Councell of war was, notwithstanding, to advance rather more West, to prosecute our victory at *Lamport* and *Bridgewater*, and hinder *Goring* for rallying his shattered force, or raising any considerable body, leaving some force to attend P. *Ruperts* motion about *Bristoll*, and to disturb the Clubmen if they frequented meetings as formerly. A march being thus resolved on; it was accordingly undertaken on the morrow, whence the Army marched to *Martock*, ten miles, in order to a more Westerly march: where resting the Lords day, there was a thanksgiving for the successe in the taking of *Bridgewater*. The Generall, who ever accounted it his greatest safety, to act according to the advise of his Councel of war (whom God had so often blessed in their resolutions) was at this time much troubled in his thoughts, concerning his march further West, before *Bath* and *Sherborn* were absolutely reduced, and the dis-affected Club-men brought to more obedience: Reckoning

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it alſo a ſervice of importance to take in *Bath*, in order to the ſtraitening of *Briſtoll*, and hindring P. *Rupert* for raiſing any conſiderable force in thoſe parts: Whereupon his Excellency took a reſolution to march back, and accordingly came to *Wells* that night with part of the Army and Train, being 14. long miles, and a hot day, and ſent a Brigade of horſe and foot unto *Sherborn* under the command of that pious and deſerving Commander, Col. *Pickering*, to face that garriſon, and to view the ſame; and if there were hopes to reduce it, to ſit down before it, in order to a ſiege. The Horſe-quarters this night were neerer unto *Bath*, & more force was ſent to get between *Bath* and *Briſtol*; having intelligence that their diſtractions were ſuch in *Bath*, that they would eaſily be driven to quit it: But the General ſtayed at *Wells*, expecting to hear from the party of Horſe and Dragoons under the command of Col. *Rich*, which he had ſent towards *Bath*.

Tueſday the 29. Colonel *Rich* facing the town with horſe and dragoons, ſummoned the town, but the Governour refuſed to ſurrender. Towards evening, our Dragoons, commanded by Colonel *Okey*, were drawn neer the bridge, and crept on their bellies over it, to the Gate, ſeized on the ſmall end of the enemies Muſquets, which they put through the loop-holes of the Gate, and cryed to the enemy to take quarter, which ſo affrighted the enemy, that they ran to their Work which flankered the bridge, and left their Muſquets behinde them, as of no uſe to them, ſo of as little to us: Our men inſtantly fired the Gate, and became Maſters of the bridge; upon which the Deputy-governour ſent for a Parley, and upon the Treaty the town was yielded upon Articles, making the common ſouldiers, who were about 140. priſoners, and having conditions for the Officers to march away to what garriſon they pleaſed. We found in the town ſix pieces of Ordnance, 400. Arms, 12. barrels of Powder, the Works, beſides the Wall of the City, ſtrong and tenable. It was yielded in a good time, for Prince *Rupert* was advanced with a Party of 1500 horſe and foot from *Briſtol*, within four miles, to relieve

relieve the town, but comming too late, retreated.

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Wednesday July 30. The Army was drawn up to *Mendeep* hils, with intention to march to *Bath*, but upon intelligence the horse and dragoons alone had taken the town, His Excellency sent back the Army to *Wells*, marching only with two Regiments of foot to *Bath* (which he intended to leave there for the security of that place, and parts thereabouts.) The *Generall* quartered there that night, stayed there next morning, and setled things for the safety of that place, and in the afternoon returned to *Wells*, leaving the two Regiments at Bath.

Friday, *August* 1. the Army marched from *Wels* to *Queen-Camel*, where the Head-quarter was that night, but the General himself went with a few Horse to *Sherborn*, viewed the Works and Castle, and quartered there that night. And on Saturday *August* 2. the *General* and *Lieut-General* rode again to the Lodge, and upon a second view and observation, conceived the place might shortly be reduced; guards were therefore appointed neerer to it, and orders were given for all things in reference to a close siege.

This day Intelligence came that the Club-men of three Counties *viz. Dorcet*, *Wilts*, and *Summerset*, were to meet at *Shaftsbury*, and that a faire opportunity would be offered for the surprisall of them, who were so disaffected to the Parliament; whereupon Col. *Fleetwood* was commanded forth with a good party of horse, to see if he could surprise them; who accordingly came seasonably, incompassed them in the towne with about 1000 horse, and took about 50 of the Ringleaders, whereof Mr. *Hollis*, *Carey*, *Young*, *Cradock*, and Doctor *Goche* were the chiefe, who being brought prisoners by a guard of horse, were presently dismounted, and disarmed, and sent to prison, untill leisure were afforded to examine them, and to consider how to dispose of them, which was done by a Committee chosen on purpose four or five dayes after; and after the reducement of *Sherborne*, they were sent to London with other prisoners; but we have not so done with the Club-men, or rather they with us.

Lords

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Lords day *August* 3. News came this day that all the Country of *Wilts*, and *Dorcet*, and part of *Summerset*, were up in Armes, and would have a Rendezvouz of 10000. men at least, pretending they did it to fetch off their Leaders; (but privately we understood it was to interrupt our siege, and to hinder provisions from comming to the Leaguer; giving out withall, that *Goring* with his Army was comming out of the *West* to raise the siege.

On *Munday August* 4. Lieutenant-Generall *Cromwell* having Intelligence of some of their places of Rendezvouz for their severall divisions, went forth with a party of horse to meet with them; (being well satisfied of the danger of their designe.) As he was marching towards *Shaftsbury* with the party, they discovered some colours upon the top of a high hill, full of wood, and almost inaccessible; a Lieutenant with a small party was sent to them to know their meaning, and to acquaint them that the Lieutenant-Generall of the Army was there; whereupon Mr. *Newman*, one of their leaders, thought fit to come downe, and told us the intent was to desire to know why the Gentlemen were taken at *Shaftsbury* on Saturday; the Lieutenant-Gen. returned him this answer; that he held himselfe not bound to give him, or them an account; what was done was by authority, and they that did it were not acresponsible to them that had none: but not to leave them wholly unsatisfied, he told him that those persons so met, had been the occasions and stirrers of many tumultuous and unlawfull meetings, for which they were to be tried by law, which triall ought not by them to be questioned, or interrupted: Mr. *Newman* desired to goe up to returne the answer; the Lieutenant-Generall with a small party went with him, and had some conference with the people, to this purpose: that whereas they pretended to meet there to save their goods, they took a very ill course for that: to leave their houses was the way to loose their goods; and it was offered them, that Justice should be done upon any who offered them violence; and as for the

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the Gentlemen taken at *Shaftsbury*; it was only to anſwer ſome things they were accuſed of, which they had done contrary to Law, and the peace of the Kingdom: Herewith they ſeeming to be wel ſatisfied, promiſed to return to their houſes, and accordingly did ſo.

Theſe being thus quietly ſent home, the Lieutenant generall advanced further, to a meeting of a greater number, of about 4000. who betook themſelves to *Hambleton* Hill, near *Shrawton*; at the bottom of the hill ours met a man with a Muſquet, and asked whither he was going, he ſaid, to the Club-Army; ours asked what he meant to do, he asked what they had to do with that: Being required to lay down his Arms, he ſaid he would firſt loſe his life, but was not ſo good as his word, for though he cockt, and preſented his Muſquet, he was prevented, diſarmed, and wounded, but not killed. Then ours marched up the hill, which had been an old Romane-work, deeply trenched: The Lieutenant-generall ſent before a Lieutenant with a party of horſe, to require an account of their meeting; he was anſwered with half a dozen ſhot, and could get no other anſwer; thereupon one Mr. *Lee*, who upon the approch of ours came from them, was ſent in, requiring them to ſubmit to the power and protection of the Parliament, and lay down their Arms; they refuſed to leave their Arms, and gave ours a ſhot as they were drawing up, the Lieut. Generall unwilling to bloodſhed, ſent Mr. *Lee* again, to tell them, that if they would not lay down their Arms, he would fall upon them; they refuſed this third meſſage alſo, through the inſtigation of one Mr. *Bravel*, Miniſter of *Compton*, who told them they muſt ſtand to it now, rather then loſe their Arms, and that he would Piſtoll them that gave back.

Thereupon Order was given to the Generals Troop to fall on, who did ſo, and received a repulſe, and ſome loſſe through the diſadvantage of the place, for the Club-men ſhot from the bank of the old Work, and kept the paſſage with Muſquets, and other weapons, which was no broader then

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then for three horse to march a breſt; upon this attempt we loſt a man or two, had eight or nine wounded, ſix or ſeven horſes killed: upon this, Major *Desborough* with the Generals Regiment, went round about a ledge of the hill, and made a hard ſhift to climbe up and enter on their rear; which they no ſooner diſcerned, but after a ſhort diſpute they ran, and the paſſage formerly aſſaulted was opened, and all the Club-men diſperſed, and diſarmed, ſome ſlaine, many wounded, the reſt ſlid and tumbled downe that great ſteep hill, to the hazard of their necks; there were brought away 400. of them to *Shrawton*, of which neere 200. were wounded in this ſkirmiſh, Capt. *Paltſon* was ſore hurt on our ſide, of which afterwards he dyed, and about twelve more; we found among them about 16. of our men whom they had diſarmed, and taken priſoners, and threatened to hang ſome of them, but the Tables were then turned; we quartered that night at *Shrawton*, and kept the Club-men in the church, and with them, four Vicars and Curats which were taken with them, upon the Hill; whereof Mr. *Talbot* of *Milton* was one, and *Lawford* of *Auckford*, the worſt, another. There was taken about 12 Colours, the Motto of one of them was thus: (*If you offer to plunder or take our cattel, Be aſſured we will bid you battel.*) In others of them they had ſentences of Scripture, profanely applied by their Malignant Prieſts, who were the principal ſtirrers up of the people to theſe tumultuous aſſemblies.

The next day, *Aug.* 5. we took their names and examinations, who were their Leaders, and what the grounds of their meeting were; which they freely diſcovered, and confeſſed that Mr. *Bravel* the Miniſter of *Compton*, ſent out the Warrants; and the intent was. (as appeares by a Warrant from Mr. *Rogers* of *Langton*) gallantly to demand their Countrymen, or to take ſo many priſoners as ſhould releaſe them, as the Warrant ran. And that they had laid down their arms and ſubmitted, had it not been for *Bravel*, and *White*, and *Lawford*; and that they ſent to *Wiltſhire*

to

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to come and joyne with them, whose journey is now stopt. After the examination, the Lieutenant-Gen. spake to them, giving them liberty to defend themselves against plunderings; only forbidding any such meetings, which they protested against, and freely consented, that if any of them (whose names were in the paper) were taken again opposing the Parliament, or in any such assembly, they deserved to be hanged, whereupon they were dismissed, to their very good satisfaction, and confessed they saw themselves misled by their leaders, who by a pretence to save their goods, indangered both their goods and lives, and so ours parted with them, hoping never to meet them again upon such terms; but their leaders were extreamly partiall on the Kings side, notwithstanding their pretended indifferencies, as appeared in *Bravels* activity, since he was at Court with their Petition, & their calling men *Roundheads* that refused to joyn with them; thratening no less then loss of goods and danger of life, to them that would not come in to them. This work, though unhappy, was very necessarie, for that the Army could send neither messengers nor parties before; whereas this done, a man might ride very quietly between *Sherborne* and *Salisbury*. The influence the King had upon them was very palpable and notorious, and that they acted his very designe; Commissions were found under the Princes owne hand, for raising Regiments of Club-men, which commissions were sent up to the Parliament; and that this designe was to have been set on foot in other parts, yea in the Associated counties, and all the parts of the Kingdom, to raise a third party (as that that the King did much rely upon, if other aid did faile) there is but too much reason to beleive; and that Letters of the Club-men were found among Sir *Lewis Dives* his papers, declaring their intention to serve the King, is no temerity to affirme, and such was the sense of the danger the kingdome and the Parliaments cause was in by this third party, had it gone on as it was beginning, that to repeat it is sufficient (I need not inlarge upon it) to provoke

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thankfulneſſe to God for the ſeaſonable laying of this ſpirit, which never afterwards appear'd.

On *Tueſday* at night *Auguſt* 5. The Lieutenant-Generall with the party returned to *Sherborne*, where they found the Generall and the reſt of the Army very buſie at the ſiege; a ſtorme was intended, but upon ſecond thoughts diverted; the Army ſeeing recruits come ſo far below expectation, both in time and number, it behoved them to take more then ordinary care of their men, though after all their tedious marches, and deſperate ſervices, to that time the Army was not much abated; that day a commanded party crept underneath the ſtone wall cloſe by *Sherborne* Caſtle, and gained the hay-ſtack within a ſtones caſt of their Works.

Wedneſday Auguſt 6. The Enemy making a new work to plant Ordnance to beat our men from the hay-ſtack, we beat them off that work, and diſmounted their Canon, but had four Captaines wounded, and one ſlaine; all things were in a preparation to ſtorme; this day, the ſouldiers had every one his faggot prepared, another Summons was ſent unto the Caſtle to ſurrender the ſame, but a deniall was returned, whereupon a councell of War was called, and it was reſolved, that ſince an whole Canon was upon the way from *Portſmouth*, and that from *Mendeep* hils we might have excellent Miners, that therefore we ſhould proceed in approaches & Batteries for the reducing of the Caſtle, being well informed that the ground whereon it ſtood was mineable: This day towards evening, Capt. *Horſey* another of Colonel *Rainsboroughs* Officers was ſhot dead in the place with a birding peice from one of the Towers: who with Capt in-Lieutenant *Flemming* of Col. *Rainsboroughs* Regiment, (who was ſhot before) were the next day buried after a martiall manner in the Church at *Sherborne*, being the place where Captaine *Horſeys* Anceſtors were intombed.

On *Friday Auguſt* 8. The Generall going to ſee the work-

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working of the Mine, (as afterwards both Saturday and Lords day he did ſeverall times,) and the making of the Gallery, eſcaped another great danger by his own ſouldiers, who encompaſsing ſome Dear, ſhot round, and killed one of their fellows, and miſſed the General (as he was paſsing by) narrowly.

Very freely did the ſouldiers work in the Mines and Galleries, and making of Batteries, every man being rewarded twelve pence a piece for the day, and as much for the night, for the ſervice was hot and hazardous.

By *Monday Auguſt* 11. The whole Canon, and the Treaſure for the Army formerly mentioned, and then long expected by the Army, came to the head quarter. This day his *Excellency* had intelligence, that Major Generall *Maſsies* horſe, who were quartered near *Taunton*, to interrupt *Gorings* forces in caſe they advanced this way, had fallen on ſome of *Gorings* horſe, and taken ſeverall priſoners.

Tueſday Auguſt 12. The *Mendeep* Miners came, and were ſet to work; the enemy threw fiery Faggots over thoſe parts of the Wall where the Miners were, and where a Bridge likewiſe was making (over a little Rivolet,) which was in part burnt thereby, but the ſouldiers preſently quenched it, and it was put over that night. The Generall according to his wonted nobleneſs ſent to Sir *Lewis Dives*, That if he pleaſed to ſend out his Lady, or any other women, he would give way to it; Sir *Lewis* thankfully acknowledged the favour, ſeemed to incline to accept of it, but gave no poſitive anſwer, expreſsing withall his reſolution (ſouldier-like) to hold out to the laſt; but under favour, it was a madneſſe rather then valour, ſeeing he deſpaired of relief, and ſince that he hath felt the miſery of it by a long impriſonment in the Tower.

Wedneſday Auguſt 13. The Canon and Demi-Canon were planted on the new Battery, where another chiefe Gunner of ours was ſlain, beſides one *Ienkins*; another Gunner was ſhot from the Tower. The Miners wrought within two yards of the Wall, where the Rock appearing, we

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feared it would have given more interruption then it did, but it proving but a ſoft ſtone, was eaſily wrought thorow. The Generall and Lieutenant Generall vvere twice again this day at the Works and Mines, ſo much did they ſtill engage their perſons in the care and overſight of every ſuch vvork.

Thurſday Auguſt 14. The great Guns began to play about eleven of the clock, and before ſix had made a breach in the middle of the Wall, that ten a breaſt might enter, and had beaten down one of the Towers, vvhich much diſheartened the enemy. On this occaſion the great adventurouſneſs of many of the ſouldiers comes fitly to be remembred, vvho (vvhileſt our Canon played hard upon the Caſtle, and vvanted ſhot) fetcht off the Bullets (that vve had ſhot) from under the enemies Walls, and had ſix pence a piece for every Bullet they ſo brought off, vvhich vvere vvorth as much to the ſervice at that time. After the breach ſo made, ſuch vvas the noble and mercifull diſpoſition of the Generall, that he ſent a third Summons to ſurrender the Caſtle, or to expect extremity, vvhich drave the Governour into a great paſsion (vvhich is not hard to do) in ſo much as he ſaid, he vvould hang the Drum; and vvhen the Drum, delivering his meſsage ſtoutly, vvas as he thought, ſawcy, he told him he muſt have more manners in his preſence, and ſent an anſwer to this purpoſe; That the language was ſo far differing from vvhat he had formerly received, that he could not believe that it came from the ſame hand, but ſaid, that he vvould not loſe his honour to ſave his life (it may be (as one ſayes of him) becauſe his Cauſe and carriage had already loſt it) if the laſt vvere, he ſhould think it vvell beſtowed in the ſervice. This day another of our Gunners vvas ſhot vvith a birding piece. By this time our approaches vvere ſo near, that they could have no uſe of their Muſquets, only threw down ſtones: And this day our ſouldiers upon the guard, (commanded then by Colonel *Inglesby*, a gallant and vvel-deſerving Gentleman) happily gained the Tower in the corner

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corner of the Castle, out of which our Musquetiers playing into the Castle, recompenced with a fatall shot one of the enemies chief marksmen, that had so often shot out of the Tower with the birding piece, and killed our men: Impatient were our men to fall on, but in regard the Mine was not ready to spring, that night it was resolved to put off the storm till the next day, but in the mean time so near did our souldiers venture to the Walls from the Gallery, that they pulled the Wooll out of the Wooll-sacks that lay on the enemies Works, vvhich caused that strong guards vvere set by the enemy: this night great fires were made in the Castle all night long, to discover our approaches and mines.

Friday August 15. Two in the morning, the Governour having cooled his brain with a little sleep, (without any other provocation) sent out a Drummer with a message, that he was willing to surrender upon honourable terms; answer vvas returned, no terms but *Quarter*, seeing he had slipt and slighted the opportunity, and he vvas not to expect that, except he rendred speedily. Immediatly the Generall went in person to the Works, and viewed the Castle within, over the Wall, not without great hazard, gave Orders for all things to be prepared for a storm, every souldier to cut his fresh Faggot, whereby in two houres they had above 6000 Faggots, with which they were to fill the Trenches, and to throw stones and rubbish upon them; whilst this was in doing, our souldiers that had before gained one Tower, recovered also another of their Towers, and from thence proved as good marksmen as theirs vvere; and out of the same Towers vvhere they shot so many of our men, did good execution upon the enemy within: (Sir *Lewis Dives* his Secretary vvas slain by a shot from thence;) and being so happily possest of this Tower, vve improved it further, to the inforcing them from their Guns within, which they had planted to oppose our entrance at the breach; the Miners had by this time wrought quite through the foundation of

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of the Wall, and our foot plaid ſo hard from the breach, that they were forced to quit the great Court within the Caſtle; this much diſheartened the enemy, and eſpecially ſeeing our ſouldiers comming forwards ſo merrily with Faggots on their backs to fall on, ſome of them before their time appointed leaping over the Works, all which concurring, ſo daunted the enemy, that they fled out of one Work into another, and ſo into the Caſtle; which being diſcerned by the reſt of our Army, they all went over without any more ado, which ſo ripened the amazement of the enemy, that inſtantly they pulled down their bloody Colours, hung out a white Flag, had no power to make oppoſition, ſent a Drum for to crave *Quarter*, but before he could get out, and return, a great part of our foot were entred, they within had thrown down their Arms, and cryed for *Quarter* to our ſouldiers, which our ſouldiers (inclining rather to booty then revenge) gave them, but ſtript they were to the purpoſe, all except Sir *Lewis Dives*, and his Lady, and ſome few more, and ſo we became Maſters of the Caſtle, and all within it; the ſouldiers finding plunder of great value, the taking of which in a diſorderly manner could not then be prevented: There was taken about 400 priſoners in the Caſtle, beſides Sir *Lewis Dives* the Governour, Col. *Giles Strangewayes*, formerly a member of Parliament, Sir *Iohn Walcot*, Col. *Thornhill*, and others of quality, and 18. pieces of Ordnance, and a Mortar-piece. The reducing of this place was of the greater cõcernment, in regard of the influence it had upon the diſ-affected Clubmen in thoſe parts, who having the countenance of this garriſon, were made ſo much the more bold in their attempts and meetings.

The ſouldiers ſpoil laſted all that day, and moſt part of the night, whoſe fair demeanour in the town of *Sherborne* during the ſiege, deſerves commendation, when notwithſtanding that about ſixty townſmen who had families in the town, were in the Caſtle, and fought againſt them, yet not one of their houſes were plundered.

On

On *Saturday August* 16. Being market-day, our souldiers, with the booty they had got, kept a great market to the Country, who bought the goods of them; and all this day and the next was necessarily spent in ordering the disposall of prisoners, and in considering what to do with the garrison, which not above two or three dayes after was ordered to be slighted: And thus hath God led us into another strong hold of equall difficulty and consequence. In the reduction of which place, as elsewhere, the dexterity, industry and resolution of Captain *Dean*, Comptroller of the Ordnance, deserves to be had in memory. *Anno* 1645. August.

CHAP. IV.

The siege of Bristol, *the taking of it, with the actions that intervened,* viz. *The taking of* Nunny-*Castle, &c.*

SHerborne being now by Gods blessing reduced, a councell of war was called, where the subject of the debate was, what should be the next designe of the Army, the *West*, or *Bristoll*; the reasons upon which it was endeavoured to perswade the West, were, The pursuing of our Victory at *Langport*, the hindring of *Goring* from re-inforcing his shattered Army in *Devon* and *Cornwall*, (whereunto he might probably finde the *Cornish*, being generally disaffected to the Parliament, easily drawn, the Prince being in person with them, and acting to that purpose) the miseries of the people in the West, and the necessities of *Plimouth* crying for present relief: besides, it was urged on the negative of *Bristol*, that to go thither, was to hazard the whole Army, the Plague being sore in the City, an hundred dying weekly, and that it was in most of the Villages about the Town. But on the other side, it was considered, That Prince *Rupert* being in *Bristol*, and able to draw into the field 3000 Horse and Foot (leaving also sufficient to defend that garison) Might, with the assistance of the ill-affected Club-men (of whose disaffection to the Parliament

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ment there was ſufficient proof) and having the advantage of ſending Forces and Recruits out of *Wales*, (which were eaſily to be tranſported over *Severn*) raiſe a conſiderable Army in the Midland parts, which might interrupt the proceedings of our Army, by marching on their Rear, when they were far advanced Weſt, vvhereby *Goring* being in the Front, they might come to be incloſed between two Armies, and ſo all intercourſe vvith *London*, and the Eaſtern parts would be thereby cut off; beſides, the great importance of the place, as to the enemy, *Briſtol* being the only conſiderable Port the King had in the whole kingdom, for ſhipping, and trade, and riches; being withall his magazine for all ſort of Ammunition: which ſhould it pleaſe God to make us maſters of, muſt needs prove ſadly fatal to his affairs, and would ſo be judged in this and forraign Kingdoms. What advantage it would be to the Parliament, both in reputation and reall improvements (it being juſtly reckoned in the firſt rank of populous and rich Cities in this Kingdom) was very clearly evident.

Theſe and other like conſiderations being offered, for the preſent reducing of *Briſtol*; After long conſultation and debate, it was reſolved to march thither in order to the reducing of that place. After once this reſolution was taken, it was ſaid by the General: *Seeing our Iudgements lead us to make* Briſtol *our next deſigne, as the greateſt ſervice we can do for the Publique; As for the Sickneſſe, let us truſt God with the Army, who will be as ready to protect us, in the Siege, from Infection, as in the Field, from the Bullet.*

Hereupon orders were given for the Army to march towards *Briſtol*. The Generall reſting all the next day at *Sherborne* to ſettle the buſineſs of the County. And on Monday (after Sir *Lewis Dives* and the priſoners, together with the Club-leaders before mentioned, who were had in hold, were ſent away with a guard to *London*) the Army marched to *Caſtle-Carew* (ſave that Colonel *Rainsborough* with his own, and Colonel *Hamonds* Regiments, and two pieces of Ordnance, was ſent to

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to *Nunney* castle, for the reducing thereof) the rest of the Army marched that night to *Castle-Carew*: the next day the General himself went to view *Nunney* castle, and found it to be a very strong piece. The Head quarter was that night at *Shepton-Mallet*, but 5 miles from *Carew*, far enough for the Train, which was 4 miles behind from the quarters the night before: but to expedite, what might be, this designe against *Bristol*, and the relief of the country thereabouts, in the mean time, two thousand Horse and Dragoons were sent under the command of Commissary General *Ireton*, to preserve the towns adjacent to *Bristol* from plunder and firing, for the better accommodation of our quarters: the next day the Army marched to *Chue*, 9 miles, and ill way; and in relation to the straiter siege, Messengers were sent to the Vice-Admiral, Captain *Moulton*, riding about *Milford Haven*, to send ships into *Kingroade* to block up *Bristol* by sea, as this Army intended to do by land. Some prisoners were taken by our Horse near *Bristol*, others came in voluntarily unto us; all agreeing, said, the Enemy did not imagine our forces to be so near, or that we had any designe upon *Bristol*. And by a Trumpeter that came with a Message from thence, they seemed to be so far from a belief thereof, that he said he did not expect to finde us on that side *Sherborne*, and when he met our Horse, he took them to be the Kings (not offering to sound his trumpet as he ought to have done) that night there was a strong party of Horse and one Regiment of Foot disposed at *Hanham*, within three miles of *Bristol*, on *Gloucestershire* side, by whom the Enemy was alarm'd. Upon this approach of ours, the Enemy fired *Benminster* on *Somersetshire* side, and burnt it down to the ground, as also divers houses on *Gloucestershire* side. It was but the day before, when Prince *Rupert* was sending out a party to relieve *Barkley*-castle, which was much straitned by the *Gloucester* forces; but the approach of our Horse under Commissary *Ireton* diverted that designe.

Thursday, 21. in the morning, to encourage us in our

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engagements, we received intelligence of the ſurrender of *Nunny* caſtle to Colonel *Rainsborough*, upon condition to have liberty to go to their own houſes. By reaſon of the Train coming in ſo late; the Army reſted that day at *Chue*, ſave that another party of Horſe and Foot advanced towards *Benminſter*, upon intelligence that the Prince intended to break through with his Horſe, and joyn with *Goring*; with which party the *General* and *Lieutenant-general* went, viewed the Town, and appointed guards and quarters on the Weſt ſide the River, and quartered himſelf at *Keniſome* that night; where divers Lords ſent for Paſſes to come out of the City and go beyond ſea, but upon good reaſon were denyed; it being a received opinion, that perſons of quality and great eſtate, in a beſieged town, rather encline to a timely yielding, then hazardous defending thereof, when no relief is at hand.

Friday the 22. there was a general rendezvouz of Horſe, and all that day was ſpent in ſetting of guards on *Somerſetſhire* ſide, where the Countreymen maintained a paſſage at *Clifton*, the Head-quarter that night being removed to *Hanham*.

Saturday 23. the *General* and *Lieutenant-General* imployed the whole day, in the ſetling of quarters and guards on the other ſide of *Briſtol*. This day the Enemies Canon played from the great Fort, and *Pryors* Fort, but hurt none but one Dragoon, who had his thigh ſhot off. The Enemy ſallied out alſo with a party of Horſe, but were beaten in again, where Sir *Richard Crane* was mortally wounded, who preſently after dyed of his wounds. The Head-quarter this night was removed to *Stapleton*.

Lords day, *Aug*. 24. the Enemy about noon ſallied out again, at the Sally-port near *Prior-hill* Fort, in a full career, and were upon our Dragoons on the ſudden; yet by our Horſe comming on, were beaten back again, as alſo their Foot were, by the Foot of Colonel *Rainsboroughs* Brigade, made to retreat in diſorder, and worſe then they came forth, by the loſſe of a Major and ſome others.

Monday

Monday, 25. Warrants were issued out by the *General*, to Sir *John Horner*, High Sheriffe of the County of *Somerset*, to raise the power of the County, which was much promoted by the interest and endeavours of Mr. *Ash* and Mr. *Moore*, two worthy Members of the House of Commons. This day the army had intelligence, that *Goring*, then about *Collumpton* in *Devon*, did seem to draw to a Rendezvouz, as if he intended a march to interrupt our siege. But Major-Gen. *Massies* Brigade of Horse were quartered not far from *Taunton*, in such an advantagious posture, that the Enemy could not move, but he might flank them, and interrupt their motion, whilest our Horse might draw off to meet them, in case they should attempt the forementioned designe. *Anno* 1645 August.

Tuesday, 26. four in the morning, the Enemy made a third sally on *Somersetshire* side, on a post of Colonel *Weldens* Brigade at *Bedminster*; and through the negligence of the Officer that had then the command there, they took 10. and killed as many: towards a recompence of which affront, the same day, Captain *Molleneux*, a very valiant man (Captain Lieutenant to Colonel *Butler*) and with him another stout souldier, perceiving three gallant Cavaliers under their Works (whom afterwards they found to be Sir *Bernard Ashley*, Colonel *Daniel*, and a third man) rode up to them, askt them who they were for, they swore, God dam them, for the King, and shot at ours: whereupon, our men discharged their Pistols at them, wounded them, and after some bickering took Sir *Bernard Ashley*, who dyed within few dayes of his wounds: But Colonel *Daniel*, though dangerously wounded, escaped from them.

Wednesday 27. the Enemy drew out the fourth time, about the close of the evening, with intention to fall on our guards; which ours perceiving (& they understanding that they were privie to their intention) they drew back to their Works. All this night, the *General* and *Lieutenant-General* were abroad upon the field, to be in readinesse if any alarm should happen.

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Thursday 28. *Rupert* sent out those foot of ours, which were taken prisoners on *Somersetshire* side, being in number ten, with a Trumpet, propounding also an exchange for Sir *Bernard Ashley*, but the exchange was not hearkned to. This day we had intelligence of the Kings plundring of *Huntingdon*, and the cruel usage of the people by his forces in those parts, having unhappily escaped the Scotch and Northern horse, out of *Nottinghamshire*. Mean while, as an earnest of the whole, the Fort at *Portshead point* that had bin four dayes besieged by Lieutenant Colonel *Kempson*, of Colonel *Weldens* Regiment, with a party of Foot, was with six pieces of Ordnance this day surrendred unto him; who managed that businesse with much judgement and resolution; by the taking whereof the passage into *King-road* with our ships was made open.

Friday 29. A Fast was kept through the Army, to seek God for a blessing upon the designes against *Bristol*: Mr. *Del* and Mr. *Peters* kept the day at the Head quarter. The Enemy endeavoured to interrupt us by a sally about noon time, upon our quarters near *Lawfords-gate*, where he took three or four souldiers. After the publick exercises a Counsel of War was called; and it being agreed in the first place, to punish the vices of the Army, it was propounded, whether to storm *Bristol* or not; the debate was long, opinions various; however it was agreed, that all things should be prepared in order to a storm, and afterwards to take into further consideration, whether to storm or to intrench the Leaguer. In the midst of these thoughts and resolutions, tydings were brought the Army of the defeat given by *Montrosse* to our Brethren the *Scots*, and that he was marched to *Edenbrough* in pursuit thereof; and that the King was now advanced to *Bedford* unfollowed, and was expected speedily to raise the siege at *Bristol*: and this day towards evening, the intelligence was confirmed by Letters from the Committee of both Kingdomes, of the Kings speedy march towards *Oxford*, and probably to these parts. At the same time, his *Excellency* had intelli-

gence

gence that *Goring* in the Weſt advanced his quarters nearer *Chard*, and as it was verily thought, intended a conjunction with the *King*. *Anno* 1645. Septemb.

And now was the Army in a great ſtraight, the whole ſtrength thereof being but ſufficient, and ſcarce that, for its preſent undertaking before *Briſtol*, utterly unable to check the Enemies conjunction, or attend their motions at any diſtance from the Leaguer: and though the further proceeding with the ſiege of *Briſtol* in this conjuncture of affairs ſeemed very hazardous, yet reſolving to abide the utmoſt, and not to give it over upon great looks, we put our ſelvs into the beſt condition we could to receive them, in caſe either or both ſhould attempt us.

Lords day *Auguſt* 31. Captain *Moulton*, Admiral for the Iriſh coaſts (who was now come into *Severne*) came from aboard his ſhip to the *General*: expreſſed much readineſs to aſsiſt in the ſtorming of the City (if it were ſo determined) with his Seamen. A debate was then had concerning the ſtorming of *Briſtol*, and what might be done by water with the aſsiſtance of the Seamen. *Gorings* Letters from *Exeter* to Secretary *Nicholas* bearing date *Auguſt* 25. were this day intercepted: Wherein he writes, that in three weeks time he will be ready to interrupt *Fairfax* in his ſiege before *Briſtol*.

Monday *September* 1. the weather wet and miſty, about 12 at noon, Prince *Rupert* with 1000 Horſe and 600 Foot ſallied out the ſixth time, in a full carere, and came upon our Horſe guards with much fierceneſs; but the Horſe inſtantly came up, and with the aſsiſtance of the Foot of Colonel *Rainsboroughs* Brigade, forc'd them to as haſty a retreat. We loſt in that skirmiſh Captain *Guilliams*, a captain of Horſe, a valiant, faithfull, and religious man; beſides that, Colonel *Okey*, colonel of Dragoons, (it being in the miſt) fell amongſt the Enemy unawares, and by that accident was taken priſoner. At that time, further advertiſements confirmed our former hints, of the Kings advance from *Oxford* towards *Briſtol*: Orders were given for all

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all the colonels to view the Line and Works; and for our souldiers to make Faggots, and all fitting preparations for a storm.

Tuesday, *September* 2. A Councel of War being called, and all the Colonels present; after a long debate, whether to storm *Bristol* or no, it was put to the question, and resolved in the affirmative; and for the manner of the storm, it was referred to a Committee of the Colonels of the Army, to present in writing to the *General* the next morning, to be debated at a general Counsel of War: Accordingly, Wednesday *September* 3. the manner of the storm was presented in writing to the General, which was to be after this manner. Colonel *Welden* with his Brigade, consisting of the four Regiments that were at *Taunton*, (viz. his own, colonel *Inglesbies*, colonel *Fortescues*, and colonel *Herberts* Regiments, whose posts were to make good *Somersetshire* side,) was ordered to storm in three places, *viz.* 200 men in the middle, 200 on each side, as forlorn hopes to begin the storm; 20 Ladders to each place, two men to carry each Ladder, and to have 5 s. a piece; two Serjeants that attended the service of the ladder, to have 20 s. a man; each musquetire that followed the ladder, to carry a fagot, a Serjeant to command them, and to have the same reward: 12 files of men with fire-arms and Pikes to follow the ladders to each place where the storm was to be: those to be commanded, each by a Captain and a Lieutenant; the Lieutenant to go before with five files, the Captain to second him with the other seven files; the 200 men that were appointed to second the storm, to furnish each party of them twenty Pioners, who were to march in their Rear; the 200 men, each to be commanded by a Field-Officer, and the Pioners each by a Serjeant: (those Pioners were to throw down the Line, and make way for the horse;) the Party that was to make good the Line, to possesse the guns, and turn them; A Gentleman of the Ordnance, Gunners and Matrosses, to enter with the Parties; the Draw-bridge to be let down; two Regiments

and

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and a half to ſtorm in after the Foot, if way were made. Much after this manner was the *Generals* Brigade, under Colonel *Montague's* command, conſiſting of the *Generals*, Col. *Montagues*, Col. *Pickerings*, and Sir *Hardreſſe Wallers* Regiments, to ſtorm on both ſides of *Lawfords gate*, both to the river *Avon*, and the leſſer river *Froom*; the bridge over *Froom* to be made good againſt horſe with Pikes, or to break it down. Colonel *Rainsboroughs* brigade, conſiſting of his own, Major-General *Skippons*, Col. *Hammonds*, Col. *Birches*, and Lieu.colonel *Prides* Regiments, to ſtorm on this ſide the river *Froom*, beginning on the right hand of the Sally-port up to *Pryors-hill* Fort, and to ſtorm the Fort it ſelf, as the main buſines: 200. of this brigade to go up in Boats with the Sea-men to ſtorm *Waterfort* (if it were to be attempted) One regiment of horſe, and a regiment of foot, to be moving up and down in the cloſes before the Royal fort, and to ply hard upon it, to alarm it, with a Field-Officer to command them. The regiment of Dragoons, with two regiments of Horſe, to carry ladders with them, and to attempt the Line and Works by *Clifton* and *Waſhingtons* breach.

The manner of the ſtorm being thus agreed on (though its probable, ſome more certain information might change the attempts from one place to another) the Souldiers were drawn out to try their inclination, in whom more courage, joy, and reſolution, could not appeare in men. The *General*, to make good his promiſe to reward them for the ſervice of *Bridgewater*, Ordered them immediately to receive 6.s. a man, which by the care of the Commiſsioners of Parliament was forthwith paid unto them, and which put a great obligation upon the Souldiers.

At this councel of war it was alſo agrreed, that a Letter ſhould be written, and ſubſcribed by the General, and all the Officers, to General *Leven*, to expreſſe how ſenſible they were of the loſſes their Forces had received in *Scotland* by *Montroſe*; and their willingnes to ſerve them, if need were, for the ſetling of their Nation in peace, ſo ſoon as the

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the condition of this Kingdom could ſpare them. The copy of which Letter followeth in theſe words.

May it pleaſe your Excellency, and the reſt, honoured Friends, and beloved Brethren,

WE have, not without much grief, received the ſad report of your affairs in *Scotland*; how far God, for his beſt and ſecret ends, hath been pleaſed to ſuffer the Enemy to prevaile there: And are (we ſpeak unfainedly) not leſſe ſenſible of your evils, then you have been and are of ours, nor then we are of our own. And the greater cauſe of ſympathie have we with you, and the more do our bowels earn towards you, becauſe whatever you now ſuffer your ſelves in your own Kingdom, are chiefly occaſioned by your aſsiſting us in ours, againſt the power that was riſen up againſt the Lord himſelf, and his Anointed ones. Wherefore we cannot forget your labour of love, but thought good at this ſeaſon, even amongſt our many occaſions, to let you know, that when the affairs of this Kingdom will poſsibly diſpence with us, the Parliament allowing, and you accepting of our aſsiſtance; We ſhall be moſt willing, if need ſo require, to help and ſerve you faithfully in your own Kingdom, and to engage our ſelves to ſuppreſſe the Enemy there, and to eſtabliſh you again in peace. In the mean time we ſhall endeavour to help you by our prayers, and to wreſtle with God for one bleſsing of God upō both Nations; between whom, beſides many other ſtrong relations and engagements, We hope the *Vnity of Spirit* ſhall be the ſureſt *Bond of Peace*. And this, whatever ſuggeſtions or jealouſies may have been to the contrary, we deſire you would believe, as you ſhall ever really find to proceed from integrity of heart, a ſenſe of your ſufferings, and a full purpoſe to anſwer any call of God to your aſsiſtance; as become

Your Chriſtian friends, and ſervants in the Lord,

Tho.

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Thomas Fairfax.	*Robert Pye.*
Oliver Cromwel.	*Thomas Rainsborough.*
Thomas Hamond.	*Thomas Sheffield.*
Henry Ireton.	*Charles Fleetwood.*
Edward Montague.	*Ralph Welden.*
Richard Fortescue.	*Iohn Raymond.*
Richard Inglesby.	*Leon Wattson.*
Iohn Pickering.	*Arthur Evelin.*
Hardresse Waller.	*Richard Dean.*
William Herbert.	*Thomas Iackson.*
Robert Hamond.	*Iohn Desborough.*
Iames Gray.	*Christopher Bethel.*
Thomas Pride.	

The report concerning the storm being made unto the Counsell of War, and fully agreed unto: the Canon baskets were ordered to be filled, Seamen and boats sent for.

Thursday *September* 4. The weather that had been so extream wet before, that many Souldiers and Horses dyed thereby (& with extream hard duty) in that wet season, began to alter, to the great reviving of the drooping souldier. Our great guns played this day from off the new battery against *Pryors* fort. Summons was also prepared to be sent to Prince *Rupert*; and being agreed unto, was sent in accordingly, which runs in these words;

For his Highnesse Prince Rupert.

Sir, for the service of the Parliament, I have brought their Army before the City of *Bristol*, and do summon you in their names to render it, with all the Forts belonging to the same, into my hands for their use.

Having used this plain language, as the business requires; I wish it may be as effectuall unto you, as it is satisfactory to my self; that I do a little expostulate with you about the surrender of the same, which I confesse is a way not common, and which I should not have used, but in respect to such a person, and to such a place. I take into consideration your royal birth, and relation to the *Crown*

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of *England*, your honour, courage, the vertues of your person, and the strength of that place, which you may think your self bound and able to maintain.

Sir, the *Crown* of *England* is and will be where it ought to be; we fight to maintain it there. But the *King* misled by evill Counsellours, or through a seduced heart, hath left his Parliament, under God, the best assurance of his Crown and Family: the maintaining of this Schisme is the ground of this unhappy war on your part: and what sad effects it hath produced in the three Kingdomes, is visible to all men. To maintain the rights of the Crown and Kingdom joyntly; a principal part whereof is, that the King in supream acts is not to be advised by men of whom the Law takes no notice, but by his Parliament, the great Counsel of the Kingdom, in whom (as much as man is capable of) he hears all his people as it were at once advising him; and in which multitude of Councellours lyes his safety, and his peoples interest: and to see him right in this, hath been the constant and faithfull endeavour of the Parliament, and to bring these wicked instruments to justice that have misled him, is a principal ground of our fighting.

Sir, if God makes this clear to you, as he hath to us, I doubt not but he will give you a heart to deliver this place, notwithstanding all the other considerations of honour, courage, fidelity, &c. because of their constancy and use in the present business, depends upon the right or wrongfulness of this that hath been said. And if upon such conviction you shall surrender it, and save the losse of blood, or hazard the spoiling of such a City; it would be an occasion glorious in it self, and joyful to us, for restoring of you to the endeared affection to the Parliament, and people of *England*, the truest friend to your Family it hath in this World.

But if this be hid from your eyes; and through your wilfulness, this so great, so famous, and ancient a City, and so full of people, be by your putting us to force the same

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ſame, expoſed to ruine and the extremities of war (which we yet ſhall in that caſe, as much as poſsible, endeavour to prevent) then I appeal to the righteous God to be judge between you and us, and to require the wrong. And let all *England* judge whether the burning of its Towns, ruining its Cities, and deſtroying its people, be a good requital from a perſon of your Family, which hath had the prayers, tears, purſes, and blood of its Parliament and people. And (if you look on either as now divided) hath ever had that ſame party both in Parliaments and amongſt the People, moſt zealous for their aſsiſtance and reſtitution, which you now oppoſe and ſeek to deſtroy, and whoſe conſtant grief hath been their deſires to ſerve your Family, have been ever hindred or made fruitleſs by that ſame party about his Majeſty, whoſe counſel you act, and whoſe intereſt you purſue in this unnaturall war.

I expect your ſpeedy anſwer to this Summons, with the return of the Bearer this evening, and remain

Your Highneſs humble Servant,
Thomas Fairfax.

This day, about 2000 well affected countreymen, who with many more, upon treaty with the *Lieutenant-General* at the beginning of the ſiege, had engaged their aſsiſtance to make good the ſame; marched with ſome 36 Colours in the face of *Briſtol*, had quarters aſsigned them, and kept guards. Two pieces of Ordnance alſo were ſent unto them for their encouragement; it not a little grieving the Enemy within to ſee the forwardneſs of the countrey to come to our aſsiſtance; for which reaſon (and to lay an effectual caution againſt their revolt) it was held fit to make uſe of thoſe forces from the countrey, rather then for any conſiderable ſervice could be expected from them.

The Trumpeter that went in with the Summons was detained all night, during which ſpace no ſally was made by the Enemy, nor no alarm given by us. Only the Seamen and their boats comming up the river to St. *Vincents*

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Rock, was all the motion this day produced. Neither upon Friday, *September* 5. was there any ſallying out, but all was quiet on both ſides; and the Trumpeter returned from Prince *Rupert* with an anſwer to the *Generals* Summons, in theſe words.

Sir, I received yours by your Trumpeter, I deſire to know, whether you will give me leave to ſend a Meſſenger to the King to know his pleaſure in it. I reſt,

Your ſervant, *Rupert*.

Saturday, *September* 6. A Trumpeter was ſent in with a reply to Prince *Ruperts* anſwer, in theſe words.

Sir, your Overture of ſending to the *King*, to know his pleaſure, I cannot give way to, becauſe of delay. I confeſs your anſwer doth intimate your intention, not to ſurrender without his Majeſties conſent: yet becauſe it is but implicite, I ſend again to know a more poſitive anſwer from your ſelf, which I deſire may be ſuch as may render me capable of approving my ſelf

Your Highneſs humble ſervant,

Tho. Fairfax.

This day came 12 Colours more of the well-affected Countrymen, as an addition to the former Forces.

The Trumpeter was detained all that day and night: Every thing was prepared for a ſtorm; the *General* was in the field to that end; the Souldiers had their faggots on their backs, and leaped for joy they might go on; yet about ten at night, for ſeverall reaſons it was held fit to give orders to put off the buſines till Munday morning two of the clock: and only to alarm the Enemy for that time, as we did often, to amuſe them, and keep them waking.

Lords day, *Septemb.* 7. in the forenoon, the Trumpet returned with theſe Propoſitions from Prince *Rupert*.

Sir,

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Sir, Whereas I received your Letter for the delivery of the City, Forts, and Castle of *Bristol*; and being willing to joyn with you for the sparing of blood, and the preserving of his Majesties subjects: I have upon those grounds, and none other, sent you these following propositions.

First, that my self, all Noblemen, Commanders and Souldiers of Horse and Foot, that have served either his Majesty, or Parliament, in *England* or elswhere; as likewise all persons whatsoever, men or women, now resident in this City of *Bristol*, Castle and Forts thereof, shall have free liberty to march away out of the said city, castle and forts, with their Arms, flying Colours, Drums beating, Trumpets sounding, Pistols cockt, Swords drawn, Matches lighted at both ends, and as much Powder and Match as they can carry about them, with all their bag and baggage, horses, arms, and other furniture, ten peeces of canon, 50 barrels of powder, Match and Bullet proportionable.

2. That neither mine own person, nor the person of any Nobleman, Commander, Officer, Gentleman, or Souldier, or any other of mine or their Retinues, be searched, molested, or troubled upon what pretence soever; but left to their liberties, to depart, or stay, as it shall be most convenient for them.

3. That none of your Army whatsoever, shall entice or perswade any Officer or Souldier of mine from their Regiments or Colours, with any promise of preferment or reward.

4. That all such Officers and Souldiers that are hurt and sick, and cannot now march out of this city, castle, and fort, shall have liberty to stay till they be recovered, and then have safe-conducts to go wheresoever they please, either to any of his Majesties armies or garrisons, or their own houses, where they may live quiet; and that in the interim, those being sick and hurt, may be protected by you, and have civil usage.

5. All prisoners taken on both sides since the beginning of this siege, be forthwith set at liberty.

6. That

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6. That my ſelf, and all thoſe above mentioned, may not be required to march further in a day, then what conveniently we may; and that a day or two of reſt be allowed upon our march, if we ſhall find it requiſite; and that we be accommodated with free quarter during our march, and a ſufficient convoy to any of the Kings armies or garriſons which I ſhall name, to ſecure us in our march from all injury or incivility that ſhall any ways be offered to us. And likewiſe that there be one hundred and fifty carriage-horſes, and forty Wains, with ſufficient teams provided for carriages of all ſorts.

7. That no perſon here in theſe Articles mentioned, ſhall be in their march, rendezvouz or quarters, ſearched or plundred, upon any pretence whatſoever: And that two Officers be appointed by you, the one for accommodation for free-quarters for Officers, Souldiers, and others, and the other for providing of horſes and carriages for our baggage and train.

8. All Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergy-men, Citizens, Reſiants, or any other perſon within this city, ſuburbs, and liberties thereof, ſhall at any time when they pleaſe, have free liberty to remove themſelves, their goods and families, and to diſpoſe of them at their pleaſures, according to the known and enacted laws of the land, either to live at their own houſes or elſwhere; and to enjoy their houſes, lands, goods and eſtates, without any moleſtation, and to have protection for that purpoſe; and this article to extend to all thoſe whoſe eſtates are ſequeſtred, or not ſequeſtred, and that they may reſt quiet at their abodes, and travell freely and ſafely upon their occaſions. And for their better removal, they may have Letters of ſafe-conduct, with horſes and carriages at reaſonable rates, upon demand.

9. That all perſons above mentioned, may have free liberty to paſſe to any part beyond the ſeas, any time within three moneths, as their occaſions ſhall require.

10. That the Lines, Forts, Caſtle, and other Fortifications about, or in the city of *Briſtol*, be forthwith ſlighted, and

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and the City ſtated in the ſame condition it was before the beginning of this unnaturall warre: And that hereafter the Parliament during this war, place no garriſon in it.

11. That no Churches be defaced: that the ſeverall members of the foundation of this Cathedral, ſhall quietly enjoy their houſes, and revenues belonging to their places, and that the Miniſters of this city may likewiſe enjoy their benefices without trouble.

12. That no Oaths be impoſed upon any perſon now in this city, ſuburbs and liberties, other then are required by the ancient and enacted lawes of the land.

13. That the Major, Sheriffs, Aldermen and Citizens within this Corporation of the City of *Briſtol*, ſhall be free in their perſons and eſtates, and enjoy all their priviledges, liberties and immmunities in as full and ample manner as formerly at any time they did before the beginning of this war, and that they ſhall have freedom of trade both by land and ſea, paying ſuch duties and cuſtomes as formerly they have done to his Majeſty: and that no mulct of fine be impoſed upon any perſon mentioned in this article, upon any pretence whatſoever, or queſtioned for any act, or thing done, or committed before the day of our marching forth. That no free-quarters ſhall be put upon them without their own conſents.

14. That all other perſons, whoſe dwellings are in this city, and now abſent, may have the full benefit of theſe articles, as if they were preſent.

15. That all Noblemen, Gentlemen and others, that have goods in this city, and are now preſent, or abſent, may have liberty at any time within three moneths to diſpoſe of their goods as they pleaſe.

16. That there be no plundering or taking away of any mans perſon, or any part of his eſtate, under what pretence ſoever; and that Iuſtice, according to the known lawes of the land, be adminiſtred to all perſons within this City by the Civil Magiſtrate.

And for the performance of theſe articles, I expect ſuch hoſtages

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hoſtages to be given as I ſhall accept of, and hereunto I deſire your ſpeedy Anſwer.

Sir, By this you may evidently perceive my inclination to peace, and you may be aſſured that I ſhall never deſire any thing more then the honour of the *King*, and ſafety of the Kingdom; and that I may become, Sir

Your Servant,

Rupert

To which Propoſitions the *General* returned this Anſwer.

Sir, I have peruſed your Propoſitions, wherein ſome things are doubtfully expreſt; other things inconſiſtent with the duty I owe to them I ſerve. Notwithſtanding, to the end I may give aſſurance, that I earneſtly deſire to ſave effuſion of blood, and the ruine of a City and people, that may in time be ſo ſerviceable to the Crown and Kingdom. If it pleaſe your Highneſs, that Commiſsioners may treat between us, concerning the accommodating of things: I hope to make it evident to the world, that what ſhall reſpect the honour of a ſouldier, due civility to all men, the good and welfare of the people of that City, both in paſsing by what is paſt, and reſtoring them to the priviledges of all other ſubjects, and to the immunities of their City, will readily be condiſcended unto by me: and to the end no time may be loſt, I have here incloſed ſent you the names of Commiſsioners, who upon the return of Hoſtages of equal condition, unto me, ſhall attend your Highneſs, ſufficiently inſtructed to conclude on my part: Provided the ſaid treaty be ended by nine of the clock this night. And to this I deſire your anſwer within the ſpace of an hour, and remain

Your Highneſſe humble ſervant,

Tho. Fairfax.

This

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This anſwer being returned preſently after Dinner by the ſame Trumpeter; he was detained till eight at night; and then he brought this anſwer from the Prince, or to this effect in writing.

That he hoped his Propoſitions had been ſuch as needed no explanation: yet becauſe ſome doubts were made, he was willing to have the exceptions ſet down in writing, and his Highneſs would return anſwer.

Monday, *September* 8. The *General* returned a particular Anſwer to every Article: which as to the ſouldiery was very honourable, and could not but be very acceptable to the Citizens: for the offer was moſt fair to the Citizens to oblige them to us, in caſe the conditions offered them were but known to them, as we hoped they would. However we had uſed means by our Spies to convey the ſame to them.

In the interim all things were prepared for the ſtorm, every Commander viewing his Poſts: the Trumpet was detained beyond the time appointed, yet afterwards returned with a deniall, but not poſitive. That night was appointed for the Army to fall on, but upon better conſideration it was held fit to put it off to another day, and only to alarm the Enemy.

Tueſday, *September* 9. the Trumpet was ſent in again to let the Prince know, that if he did not immediately except what was offered, all that had paſſed ſhould be as no treaty, requiring the Trumpet to return by 12 of the clock, but notwithſtanding he was detained till 10 at night, and then returned with an unſatisfactory anſwer. Whereupon all things on our part were put in readineſs for a ſtorm. At 12 of the clock in the night the *General* went into the field to give order about the drawing out of our men, and managing the ſtorm for the next morning.

The Enemy being left inexcuſable for refuſing ſuch honourable conditions as were offered; the whole Army Horſe and Foot being ſet in a poſture round the City, to fall on about two in the morning, *September* 10. the ſig-

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nall was given to fall on at one inſtant round the City and Works, which was by ſetting on fire a great heap of ſtraw and Faggots on the top of an hill, and the ſhooting off four great guns againſt *Pryors*-fort, from the place where the *General* was to recide all the time of the ſtorm, which being accordingly given, immediately the ſtorm began round the City, and was terrible to the beholders. Colonel *Montague* and Colonel *Pickering* with their Regiments at *Lawfords-gate* entred ſpeedily, and recovered 22. great guns, and took many priſoners in the Works, Major *Desborough* advancing with the Horſe after them, having the command of the Generals Regiment, and part of Colonel *Graves*'s. Sir *Hardreſſe Wallers* and the *Generals* Regiments, commanded by Lieut. Colonel *Iackſon*, entred between *Lawfords-gate* and the river *Froom*: Colonel *Rainſborough* and Colonel *Hamonds* Regiments entred near *Pryors-fort*: Major-General *Skippons*, and Colonel *Birches* entred nearer to the river *Froom*: and the Regiment commanded by Lieut. Colonel *Pride* was divided; part aſsigned to the ſervice of *Pryors-fort*, and the reſt to alarm the great Fort, and afterwards they took a little Fort of *Welchmen*. The Sea-men that were at firſt deſigned to ſtorm by water (the tide failing) aſsiſted in ſtorming the Line and Works. The Horſe that entred here, (beſides the Forlornhope) ſo valiantly led on by Captain *Ireton*, were in ſeveral parties commanded by Major *Bethel*, Major *Alford*, and Adjutant-general *Flemming*, being of Colonel *Whalyes*, Colonel *Riches*, and part of Colonel *Graves* his Regiments. And after the Line was broke down with the Pioneers, and a gap made in the ſame, our Horſe with undaunted courage entred, and within the Line met with a party of the Enemies Horſe, put them to a retreat, mortally wounded Colonel *Taylor* (formerly a Member of the Houſe of Commons) of which wounds he died, and took divers priſoners. This ſo diſheartned their Horſe, (perceiving withall our Foot to be maſter of the Line, and their men beaten off) that they never came on again to give one charge;

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charge; but retreated and ſtood in a body, under the favour of the great-fort, and *Coulſtons*-fort. In the mean while *Pryors-hill-fort* very obſtinately held out, playing fiercely with great and ſmall ſhot upon our men for two hours after the Line was entred; our men all that time in like manner plying them hard with muſquet-ſhot in at the port-holes, untill they brought up Ladders to the Fort; but it being an high Work, many of the Ladders proved too ſhort, through which fault, ſome that got up were beaten down again. Notwithſtanding, this diſheartned them not, but up they went again upon greateſt danger and diſadvantage; ſome at laſt creeping in at the port-holes, and others got on the top of the Works, Captain *Lagoe*, of Lieutenant Colonel *Prides* Regiment, being the firſt man that laid hold on the Colours; and in the end we forced the Enemy within to run below into the inner rooms of the Work, hoping to receive quarter; but our ſouldiers were ſo little prepared for to ſhew mercy, by the oppoſition that they met withall in the ſtorm, and the refuſal of quarter when it was offered, that they put to the ſword the Commander (one Major *Price* a Welchman) and almoſt all the Officers, Souldiers, and others in the Fort, except a very few, which at the entreaty of ſome of our Officers had their lives ſpared. By that time the Fort was gained the day began to break. And moſt happy it was that the ſtorm began ſo timely; for otherwiſe had the Enemy had day-light when we firſt entred, we could not haveſtood upon any ground to have attempted *Pryors-hill-fort*; in regard the Great-fort, and *Coulſtons*-fort on the one ſide, and the Caſtle on the otherſide, might have cut off our men as faſt as they had been drawn up, but being in the dark, they durſt not ſhoot for fear of killing their own men; their Horſe (during the ſtorm) being drawn in a body, between the Great-fort and *Coulſtons*-fort. But in the mean time the ſucceſs on *Somerſetſhire* ſide was not anſwerable unto this, on this ſide, our forces there being put to a retreat, though they went on with much courage: the

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Works on that ſide were ſo high, that the Ladders could not near reach them, and the approach unto the Line of great diſadvantage. The Horſe deſigned to enter the line, in caſe it had pleaſed God to give us here alſo ſucceſſe, were, Lieut. General *Cromwels* Regiment, commanded by Major *Huntington*, Colonel Sir *Robert Pyes*, and Colonel *Sheffields*, both which Colonels in perſon attended the ſtorm, being impatient they had not fair opportunity of entering the Line, ſuch was their zeale to the ſervice. And leſt during the ſtorm, the Prince (in caſe he ſee the Town like to be loſt) ſhould endeavour to eſcape with his Horſe; to prevent the ſame, Commiſſary General *Iretons*, Colonel *Butlers*, and Colonel *Fleetwoods* Regiments of Horſe, were appointed to be in a moving body upon *Durdam-Down*; that place being the moſt open way, and moſt likely for the Prince to eſcape by: beſides part of thoſe Horſe did alarm that ſide of the Line and great-fort, towards *Durdam-Down*, and *Clifton*, during the ſtorm, as likewiſe to ſecure the Foot; Colonel *Okeyes* Dragoons alarming *Brandol-hill*-fort, and the Line towards *Clifton*.

About 4 houres after the taking *Pryors-hill-fort*, a Trumpeter came from the Prince to deſire a Parley, which there was reaſon enough to refuſe: but conſidering the Enemy had fired the City in ſeverall places, in ſo much as it was probable the whole City would have been conſumed, if the fire had gone on; The *General* ſent the *Prince* word that he would embrace a Parley, provided he cauſed the fire to be quenched immediately, which was done accordingly, and ſo the treaty proceeded on, and by ſeven at night it was concluded of according to theſe Articles:

That his Highneſſe Prince *Rupert*, and all Noblemen, Officers, Gentlemen, and Souldiers, and all other perſons whatſoever, now reſiding in the City of *Briſtol*, and Caſtle, and Forts thereof, ſhall march out of the ſaid City, Caſtle, and Forts thereof, with Colours, Pikes, and Drums, bag and baggage. The Prince his Highneſs, all Noblemen, Gentlemen and Officers in commiſsion, with their horſe

horſe and arms, and their Servants with their horſes and ſwords, and common ſouldiers with their ſwords; the Prince his Life-guard of horſe, with their horſe and arms, and two hundred and fifty horſe beſides to be diſpoſed by the Prince, and his life-guard of Fire-locks with their arms, and each of them one pound of powder, and a proportion of bullet; and that none of the perſons who are to march out on this article, ſhall be plundered, ſearched or moleſted.

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That ſuch Officers and Souldiers as ſhall be left ſick or wounded in the city, caſtle or forts, ſhall have liberty to ſtay till their recovery, and then have ſafe-conducts to go to his Maieſty, and in the interim to be protected.

That the perſons above mentioned, who are to march away, ſhall have a ſufficient Convoy provided for them to any ſuch garriſon of the Kings as the Prince ſhal name, not exceeding fifty miles from *Briſtol*; and ſhall have eight dayes allowed for their march thither, and ſhall have free quarter by the way, and ſhall have two Officers to attend them for their accommodation, and 20 waggons for their baggage, if they ſhall have occaſion to uſe the ſame.

That all the Citizens of *Briſtol*, and all Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergymen, and all other perſons reſiding in the ſaid city & ſuburbs of the ſame, ſhalbe ſaved from all plunder and violence, and be ſecured in their perſons and eſtates from the violence of the Souldier, and ſhall enjoy thoſe rights and priviledges which other Subjects enjoy under protection and obedience to the Parliament.

That in conſideration thereof, the city of *Briſtol*, with the caſtle, and all other forts and fortifications thereof, and all the ordnance, arms, ammunition, and all other furniture & proviſions of war, excepting what is before allowed, ſhall be delivered up to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, to morrow, being *Thurſday* the 11. day of this inſtant *September*, by one of the clock in the afternoon, without any diminution or imbezlement; His Highneſſe Prince *Rupert* then nameing to what army or garriſon of the *Kings* he will march.

That

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That none of the persons who are to march out on this agreement, shall plunder, hurt, or spoile the Town, or any person in it, or carry any thing but what is properly their own.

That upon signing these Articles, Colonel *Okey*, and all persons now in prison in the city of *Bristol*, the castle or forts of the same, shall immediately be set at liberty.

That sufficient Hostages be given to Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, such as he shall approve, this night, who are to remain with him untill the City be delivered.

That neither the Convoy nor Officers sent with the Prince, shall receive any injury in their going or coming back, and shall have seven dayes allowance for their return.

That upon the delivering of the Town, sufficient Hostages be given for the performance of the articles on both parts.

Signed by us the Commissioners on the behalf of his Highnesse, Prince *Rupert*;

Iohn Mynne. W. Tillyer. W. Valvasour.

Signed by us the Commissioners appointed on the behalf of his Excellency Sir *Tho: Fairfax*.

Edw. Montague. Tho. Rainsborough. Iohn Pickering.

That which moved the *General* to give such favourable conditions, was meerly the preservation of the City, which otherwise would have been consumed by fire, if the Enemy had been driven to a desperate condition.

God, to shew the watchfulnesse of his Providence over the *General*, and *Lieutenant-General*, brought them into some danger, and delivered them out of the same graciously, during the time of the Parley: For while they were both sitting on the top of *Pryors-hill*-Fort, a peece of Ordnance was shot thither from the castle, and the bullet grazed upon the Fort within two hands breadth of them, but did them no hurt at all.

This day, the well-affected Countrymen of *Gloucester-*

shire,

ſhire, to the number of about 3000. with ſome 30 Colours, appeared, expreſsing great forwardneſſe to ſerve the Parliament; but the ſervice being over, they returned to their own homes.

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In this Storm we loſt ſeverall Officers, both of Horſe and Foot, and had many wounded; Major *Bethel* was ſhot at entring the Line, whom I have never occaſion to mention, but greatly to his honour: Of this wound he ſhortly after dyed. Captain *Ireton*, who led on the Forlorn hope at the ſtorm, was ſhot with a brace of bullets in the arm (and it broken thereby) but after enduring great torture and pain for many moneths, he is through Gods bleſſing happily recovered. Major *Cromwel*, a valiant and diſcreet Gentleman, (Major to Colonel *Inglesby*) was wounded in the Storm, whereof he afterwards dyed. Lieutenant-colonel *Purefoy*, of col. *Forteſcues* regiment, a very ſtout man, was ſlain upon the place. Captain *Hill*, of Sir *Hardreſſe Wallers* Regiment, ſlain at the ſtorm. Major *Reade*, Colonel *Inglesbies* Brother, and divers other Officers wounded.

Thurſday, *Septemb.* 11. The *Prince*, according to the Articles, marched out of the great Fort, as alſo many Ladies and perſons of quality, who had convoyes appointed them according to agreement. In the *Prince* his marching out, the *General* himſelf attended him about two miles. The *Prince*, after he was out of the Fort, declared which way he intended to go, and propounded *Oxford*; whither, accordingly, he, and all his company were ſafely convoyed: And becauſe he feared the riſing of the *Club-men* upon him, and not being ſecure enough in his Convoy, as he conceived; he deſired the *General* to let him have 1000 Arms for his Foot, engaging himſelf upon his honour, they ſhould injure no man therewith, only to make uſe of them (if need were) to keep themſelves from the violence of the people, and to return them back again: which accordingly was allowed him, and ſo many as kept their arms, reſtored them again; but the greateſt part of them in their march running away, many of the arms were loſt. Divers

perſons

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persons of quality that were in the town, desired liberty to stay a while longer, till they could provide themselves with Horses and necessaries to march away, which civility the *General* did not deny them.

A great appearance there was of the Countrey to see the marching away of the *Prince*, and extreamly cryed they out against the Prince, *Give him no Quarter*, *Give him no Quarter*.

The goodness of God to the Army during this siege, in preserving them from the sickness was very remarkable: For when the Army was resolved to march from *Sherborne* to *Bristol*, one main objection there against it at that time was, least the plague should be thereby brought into the Army, but every mans conscience and judgement being satisfied that the designe was good, and most for the advantage of the publick, and feazable in their opinion; they resolved to trust God what he would do with them, as to the sickness that was much spread in those parts. And whereas when the Army came before *Bristol*, as likewise for many weeks before there dyed within the City above an hundred a week of the sickness: nor could we quarter our forces in any town or village but the sickness was in it: Yet during all this time not one Officer or Souldier in our Army dyed of the plague, that we could hear of, but one.

What ordnance, arms, ammunition, and provisions we found in the Forts, City, and Castle, I shall give you in the words of Lieutenant-General *Cromwels* Letter to the *Speaker* of the House of Commons: wherein also the Reader may finde, not only a confirmation, but an amplification of this Story, by some other particulars not yet mentioned; which Letter followeth.

It hath pleased the *General* to give me in charge to represent unto you, a particular account of the taking of *Bristol*, the which I gladly undertake.

After the finishing of that service at *Sherborne*, it was disputed at a counsell of war, whether we should march into

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into the *West*, or to *Bristol*. Amongst other arguments, the leaving so considerable an Enemy at our backs, to march into the heart of the Kingdom; the undoing of the country about *Bristol*, which was exceedingly harassed by the *Prince* his being but a fortnight thereabouts; the correspondency he might hold in *Wales*, the possibility of uniting the enemies forces where they pleased, and especially the drawing to an head the disaffected Club-men of *Somerset*, *Wilts*, and *Dorset*, when once our backs were towards them.

These considerations, together with the taking so important a place, so advantagious for the opening of Trade to *London*, did sway the ballance, and beget that conclusion. When we came within four miles of the City, we had a new debate, Whether we should endeavour to block it up, or make a regular Siege? The latter being over-ruled, Colonel *Welden* with his Brigade marched to *Pile-hill*, on the south side of the city, being within musquet shot thereof, where in a few dayes they made a good *Quarter*, overlooking the city. Upon our advance, the Enemy fired *Bedminster*, *Clifton*, and some other* villages lying neer to the city, and would have fired more, if our unexpected comming had not hindred. The *General* caused some Horse and Dragoons under Commissary Gen. *Ireton*, to advance over *Avon*, to keep in the Enemy on the North side of the town, untill the Foot could come up; And after a day, the *General*, with Col. *Montagues*, and Col. *Rainsboroughs* Brigades, marched over at *Kensham* to *Stapleton*, where he quartered that night: The next day, Colonel *Montague* (having his Post assigned) with his Brigade, was to secure all between the rivers *Froom* & *Avon*, he came up to *Lawfords Gate* within musquet shot thereof: Col. *Rainsboroughs* Post was neer to *Durdam Down*, where the Dragooneers and three Regiments of horse made good a Post upon the *Down*, between him and the river *Avon*, on his right hand, and from Colonel *Rainsboroughs* quarters to *Froom* river, on his left. A part of Col. *Birch*, and Major gen. *Skippons* regiment were to maintain that Post. These Posts thus setled, our

* Which they did purposely to disacommodate the Army in point of quarter.

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horſe were forced to be upon exceeding great duty, to ſtand by the Foot, leſt the Foot being ſo weak in all their poſts, might receive an affront. And truly herein we were very happy, that we ſhould receive ſo little loſſe by Sallies, conſidering the paucity of our men to make good the poſts, and the ſtrength of the Enemy within: By ſallies (which were three or four) I know not that we loſt thirty men in all the time of our ſiege. Of Officers of quality, only Colonel *Okey* was taken, by miſtake, going to the Enemy, thinking they had been friends; and Captain *Guilliams* ſlain in a charge. We took Sir *Bernard Aſtley*, and killed Sir *Richard Crane* (one very conſiderable with the Prince.) We had a Councel of war, concerning the ſtorming of the town, about eight dayes before we took it; and in that there appeared great unwillingnes to the work, through the unſeaſonablenes of the weather, and other apparent difficulties. Some inducements to bring us thither, was the report of the good affection of the Townſmen to us, but that did not anſwer expectation. Upon a ſecond conſideration, it was over-ruled for a Storm; which no ſooner concluded, but difficulties were removed, and all things ſeemed to favour the deſigne: And truly, there hath been ſeldome the like cheerfulneſſe to any work like to this, after it was once reſolved on. The day and houre of our ſtorm was appointed to be, Wedneſday morning the 10th. about one of the clock: We choſe to act it ſo early, becauſe we hoped thereby to ſurpriſe the Enemy; with this reſolution alſo, to avoid confuſion, and falling foul one upon another; that when we had recovered the Line, and Forts upon it, we could not advance further untill day. The *Generals* ſignal unto ſtorm, was, the firing of ſtraw, and diſcharging four peece of canon at *Priors-hill*-fort: the ſignal was very well perceived of all, and truly the men went on with great reſolution, and very preſently recovered the Line, making way for the Horſe to enter. Colonel *Montague*, and Colonel *Pickering*, who ſtormed at *Lawfords-gate*, where was a Double-work, well filled with men and canon,

canon, presently entred, and with great resolution beat the Enemy from their works, and possessed their canon: their expedition was such, that they forced the Enemy from their advantages, without any considerable loss to themselves: They laid down the bridges for the horse to enter, Major *Desborough* commanding the horse, who very gallantly seconded the Foot: then, our Foot advanced to the city wals, where they possessed the Gate against the castle-street, whereinto were put an hundred men, who made it good. Sir *Hardresse Waller*, with his, and the *Generals* Regiment, with no lesse resolution entred on the other side of *Lawfords-gate*, towards *Avon* river, and put themselves into an immediate conjunction with the rest of the Brigade. During this, Colonel *Rainsborough*, and Colonel *Hamond* attempted *Priors-hill*-fort, and the Line downward towards *Froom*; and the Major-Generals Regiment being to storm towards *Froom* river, Colonel *Hamond* possessed the Line immediately, and beating the Enemy from it, made way for the horse to enter. Colonel *Rainsborough*, who had the hardest task of all at *Priors-hill*-fort, attempted it, and fought neer three houres for it, and indeed there was great despair of carrying the place, it being exceeding high, a ladder of thirty rounds scarce reaching the top thereof; but his resolution was such, that notwithstanding the inaccessibleness and difficulty, he would not give it over. The Enemy had four peece of canon upon it, which they plyed with round, and case-shot upon our men: his Lieut.colonel *Bowen*, and others, were two houres at Push of pike, standing upon the Palizadoes, but could not enter. Colonel *Hamond* being entred the Line, and captain *Ireton* with a Forlorn of col. *Rich* his Regiment, interposing with his horse, between the Enemies horse, and col. *Hamond*, received a shot with two Pistol bullets, which brake his arm: by which means, the entrance of col. *Hamond* did storm the Fort on that part which was inward; by which means, col. *Rainsborough* and col. *Hamonds* men entred the Fort, and immediately put almost all the men in it to the sword.

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And as this was the place of moſt difficulty, ſo of moſt loſſe to us on that ſide, and of very great honour to the undertaker. The Horſe did ſecond them with great reſolution. Both theſe Colonels do acknowledge, that their interpoſition between the enemies Horſe, and their Foot, was a great means of obtaining of this ſtrong Fort, without which all the reſt of the Line to *Froom* river would have done us little good: And indeed, neither Horſe nor Foot would have ſtood in all that way in any manner of ſecurity, had not the Fort been taken.

Major *Bethels* were the firſt horſe that entred the Line, who did behave himſelf gallantly, and was ſhot in the thigh, had one or two ſhot more, and had his horſe ſhot under him. Colonel *Birch* with his men, and the *Major-Generals* Regiment, entred with very good reſolution where their Poſt was; poſſeſsing the Enemies guns, and turning them upon them.

By this, all the Line from *Priors-hill*-fort to *Avon* (which was a full mile) with all the Forts, Ordnance and Bulwarks, were poſſeſſed by us, but one, wherein there were about an hundred and twenty men of the Enemy, which the *General* ſummoned, and all the men ſubmitted.

The ſucceſs on Colonel *Weldens* ſide did not anſwer with this. And although the Colonels, and other the Officers and Souldiers, both horſe and foot, teſtified much reſolution as could be expected; Col. *Welden*, Col. *Inglesby*, Col. *Herbert*, and the reſt of the Colonels and Officers both of horſe and foot, doing what could be well looked for from men of honour; Yet what by reaſon of the height of the Works, which proved higher then report made them, and the ſhortnes of the Ladders, they were repulſed with the loſſe of about an hundred men: Col. *Forteſcue's* Lieutenant col. was killed, Major *Cromwel* dangerouſly ſhot, and two of *Col. Inglesbies* brothers hurt, with ſome Officers.

Being poſseſsed of thus much as hath been related, the Town was fired in three places by the Enemy, which we could not put out; which begat a great trouble in the *General*,

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General, and us all, fearing to ſee ſo famous a City burnt to aſhes before our faces. Whilſt we were viewing ſo ſad a ſpectacle, and conſulting which way to make further advantage of our ſucceſſe; the *Prince* ſent a Trumpet to the *General*, to deſire a Treaty for the ſurrender of the town: to which the *General* agreed, and deputed Col. *Montague*, Col. *Rainsborough*, and Col. *Pickering* for that ſervice, authoriſing them with inſtructions to treat and conclude the Articles, which are theſe incloſed; for performance whereof, Hoſtages were mutually given. On Thurſday, about two of the clock in the afternoon, the *Prince* marched out, having a convoy of two Regiments of horſe from us, and making election of *Oxford* for the place he would go to, which he had liberty to do by his Articles.

The Canon which we have taken, are about 140. mounted, about 100 barrels of Powder already come to our hands, with a good quantity of Shot, Ammunition and Arms; we have found already between two and three thouſand Muskets. The Royal Fort had Victuals in it for one hundred and fifty men, for 320 dayes, the Caſtle victualled for neer half ſo long. The *Prince* had Foot of the garriſon, as the Major of the city informed me, 2500. and about 1000 Horſe, beſides the Trained bands of the town, and Auxiliaries, 1000. ſome ſay 1500. I heare but of one man that hath died of the Plague in all our army, although we have quartered amongſt, and in the midſt of infected perſons and places: We had not killed of ours in this ſtorm, nor all this ſiege, two hundred men.

Thus I have given you a true, but not a full account of this great buſines; wherein he that runs, may reade, that all this is none other than the work of GOD: he muſt be a very Atheiſt that doth not acknowledge it.

It may be thought that ſome praiſes are due to theſe gallant Men, of whoſe valour ſo much mention is made: Their humble ſuit to you, and all that have an intereſt in this bleſsing, is, That in the remembrance of Gods praiſes, they may be forgotten. It is their joy, that they are Inſtruments

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ments of Gods glory, and their Countries good; It is their honour, that God vouchſafes to uſe them. *Sir*, they that have been imployed in this ſervice, know, that Faith and Prayer obtained this City for you: I do not ſay ours only, but of the people of God with you, and all *England* over, who have wraſtled with God for a bleſsing in this very thing. Our deſires are, that God may be glorified by the ſame ſpirit of faith by which we ask all our ſufficiencie, and have received it; It is meet that He have all the praiſe. *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, all have here the ſame ſpirit of faith and prayer, the ſame preſence and anſwer; they agree here, have no names of difference; pitty it is it ſhould be otherwiſe any where. All that believe, have the reall *Vnity*, which is moſt glorious, becauſe inward and ſpirituall, in the body, and to the head. For being united in Forms, commonly called *Vniformity*, every Chriſtian will, for peace ſake, ſtudy and do as far as Conſcience will permit. And for Brethren, in things of the mind, we look for no compulſion, but that of Light and Reaſon; in other things God hath put the ſword in the Parliaments hands, for the *terror of evil doers*, and the *praiſe of them that do well*. If any plead exemption from it, he knowes not the Goſpel: If any would wring it out of your hands, or ſteal it from you under what pretence ſoever, I hope they ſhall do it without effect. That God will maintain it in your hands, and direct you in the uſe thereof, is the prayer of

Your humble Servant,

Briſtol, Sept. 14. 1645. *Oliver Cromwel.*

This night the *General* removed from his quarter at the Farm-houſe, where he had been all the time of the ſiege extreamly ill accommodated by reaſon of the littlenes of the houſe, which yet he contented himſelf withall, in regard it lay ſo conveniently upon any Alarm. But this night, He, and the *Lieutenant-General* removed, and went to *Briſtol*; which they found ſo unlike what it had been formerly, in its flouriſhing condition, that it looked now

more

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more like a Prison then a City, and the people more like Prisoners then Citizens; being brought so low with Taxations, so poor in Habit, and so dejected in countenance; the Streets so noysome, and the Houses so nasty, as that they were unfit to receive *Friends*, or *Free-men*, till they were cleansed.

Besides the *publique* mercy to the Kingdome, in the Recovery of *Bristol*; The *Vindication* of Colonel NATHANIEL FIENNES (once Governour thereof) seems to have been also *particularly* designed by Providence. The *General*, with the *Lieutenant-General* (sitting upon *Priors-hill-Fort* after the Storm) and *most* of the *chief* Officers of the Army, upon a *view* of the place; comparing the present strength of it, with what it was when he delivered it, and *other circumstances*; freely expressed themselves, as men *abundantly satisfied*, concerning the *hard misfortune* that befell that *Noble Gentleman*. And indeed, whosoever shall *compare* both the Defences together, according to this ensuing *Paralel*, must needs confesse, That if Prince *Rupert* deserved to be *acquitted*, (as he was by the King, and a Councel of war, at *Newark*) the former Defence deserves to be commended:

For; Prince *Rupert*, in this latter, had the advantage of the former, 1. In the *Line*, which was so much *stronger* (then the former) by the addition of a *Fort-Royall*, & many *other* Works. 2. In the *numbers* of Men for defence, which were (*a*) more then double, & 1200 of them *Horse*, (wch nũber of horse was a thing of great consideration in so *large* a *line*) 3. In a place of great strength for (*b*) *Retreat*. And lastly (which is as considerable as any thing) in a probability of *Relief*, the (*c*) King having promised it, and being resolved to have performed it in his own person, with all the force he could have drawn together. Yet he, in the defence, slew not 200. (in all) of *our Men*; Embraced a Parley, so soone as ever the Town was entred; and concluded the Surrender, upon *no better* Articles than the former Governour had.

(*a*) Prince *Rupert* had between 4 and 5000 horse and foot; Col. *Fiennes*, but 1700. of all sorts.

(*b*) *Viz.* the Fort-Royal: which though it be twice reckoned in this Paralel, yet it is in a different respect; *viz.* here, as a place of retreat; but above, as it did flanker the Line, and so strengthen it much.

(*c*) This appeareth in Pr. *Ruperts* Apologie; and that the designe of his Relief, was laid very probably to have succeeded.

On

On the other hand, Col. *Fiennes* (in the former) tho he had a (*d*) *Line* (full as large,) lesse strong & tenable, and in that part where the enemy entred, his Works *not finished*, nor half so many to defend thē; tho the *Royal fort* was not then *built*, nor any thing but a *weak* & rotten *Castle* to retreat unto, which by the judgment of the (*e*) Officers of this army, could not hold out 48 houres against a strong Battery, much less till Relief could reach it, whereof there was no likelihood; nay, the (*f*) *Governor* having sent severall times, received no answer; but by intelligence wch he had, he understood *He could expect no relief*. Yet (to the utmost improving the means he had) 1. He *slew* 1200. *of the Enemy* (among whom divers prime Officers & Commanders.) 2. *Disputed* the *Suburbs* a long while after the Line was entred. 3. *Entertained no Parley*, till all endeavours that could be used (by promise of money, or otherwise) were not able to get 120 men together. And at length purchased *as good Conditions* as the latter, and (in some (*g*) *substantiall* points) *better*.

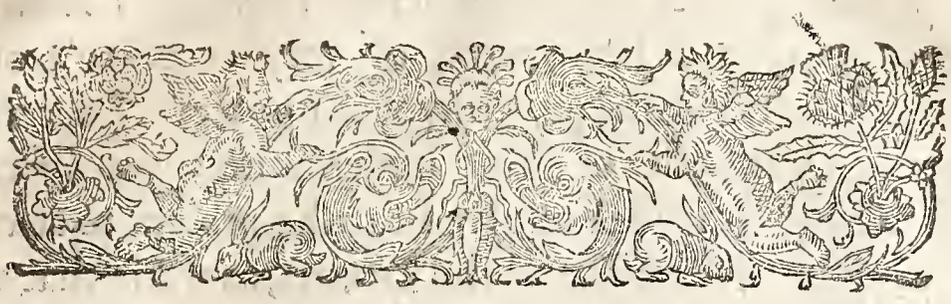
However all *wise* men would have saved me this pains; (The sense of the Honourable House of Commons, immediately upon the reduction of *Bristol*, calling Col. *Fiennes* to his former state of Honour and imployment; being beyond all that can be said.) Yet these Considerations are not in vain; for that they serve as well to the *commendation* of the *goodnesse of God*, in the assisting and bearing forth this *Army* through this undertaking; Which, by how much the *ods* between the means & preparations for this latter *defence* were beyond the former, carried so much the greater demonstration of the more immediate presence of GOD, and his power with *our Army* (in this Reduction of *Bristol*) than the *Enemy* could boast of, when He took it.

(*d*) Prince *Rupert*, in his printed Declaration and Apologie, alleadgeth, That the Line he had to defend (being about 4 miles in compasse) was generally but 3 foot thick, and 5 foot high; the Graft commonly but 6 foot broad, & where it was widest but 7. But 4 foot deep, & wher it was deepest, but 5. And that in the opinion of all his Colonels & Officers, it was not tenable upon a brisk and vigorous assault.

(*e*) The Officers exprest themselves so.

(*f*) Col. *Fiennes* sending to the Earl of Essex for relief, his Excellency wrote to the Lord *Say*, That the Army was not in case to relieve him, nor (He thought) ever would.

(*g*) As may appear by comparing the Articles together.



ANGLIA REDIVIVA.

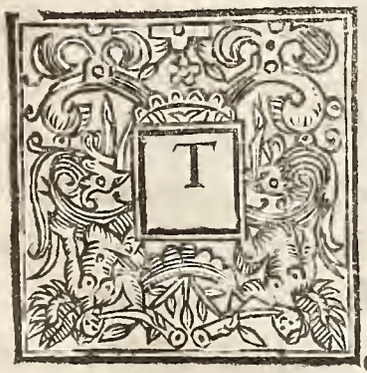
OR,

ENGLAND'S RECOVERY.

PART. III.

CHAP. I.

The Devizes *and* Laicock-*house surrendred:* Berkley-*Castle, after in part stormed, surrendred: With an account of the Counsels that did lead these actions.*



THE face of GOD now shining again upon *Bristol*, and the *Generall* having through the improvement of a short stay there, viewed the severall Forts about the City, and given order concerning the setling thereof in a safe condition: On *Saturday*, *September* 13. A Councell of War was called, to advise what was fit next to be done (so agreeable was action to this Army) whether to pursue the motion made after the taking of *Sherborne*, to march presently for the relief of *Plimouth*, and further parts of the West, or to clear those garrisons that did interpose between the West and *London*; which latter was very necessary, for that if those garrisons were not reduced, they

A council of war called.

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The obstructing garrisons between the West and *London* resolved to be attempted.

they would hinder correspondency between *London* and the Army, except at high rates, of very excessive trouble and charge to the Army, by convoyes upon every occasion. This was a businesse of great undertaking, yet (after all things weighed) it was resolved for the present to attempt the taking in of *Berkley*, and the *Devizes*, as those that were the nearest; deferring further resolution, as to the rest, to the opportunities providence should administer. Colonel *Rainsborough*, for that purpose, was commanded to march with a Brigade (consisting of Major Gen. *Skippons*, Colonel *Herberts*, and Lieut. Col. *Prides* Regiments) for the taking in of *Berkley*-Castle (already blocked up by Horse) the only garrison considerable left in the County of *Gloucester*, interrupting the passage between *Bristol* and *Gloucester*. Lieutenant Gen. *Cromwell* was designed by the Generall with another Brigade (consisting of Col. *Montagues*, Col. *Pickerings*, Sir *Hardresse Wallers*, and Col. *Hamonds* Regiments) for the taking in of the *Devizes*, and *Laicock*-House.

About this time was the Castle of *Cardiffe* (with 16. pieces of ordnance, and 400 arms) reduced.

On *Tuesday* following, the Generall having but the overnight newly finished the whole business for the setlement of *Bristol*, & dismissing of those of the enemy that were to be then gone (except some few persons of quality, who had leave to stay a while in the Town) removed his quarters that night to a friends house, whilest the Army marched according to former orders.

Wednesday, September 17. His Excellency marched to *Bath*, and rested there some four or five dayes, for the better recovery of his health (as was need) having been much wearied out, and spent with that great business of *Bristol*.

§ 2 Lieut. generall *Cromwel* set down before the *Devizes*.

During which time, Lieut. Gen. *Cromwel* sate down before the Castle of the *Devizes*, which commanded the County of *Wilts*, and was placed in the road of traffique between the *West* and *London*: It was a place of great strength, having been an old fortification, raised on a huge Mount of earth; the Governour Sir *Charles Llyod*: a good Ingineer had added to the strength of its naturall scituation, what Art could do, having cut out of the main Earth

severall

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ſeverall Works commanding one another, and ſo ſtrong, that no Canon could pierce them; beſides, that being pallizadoed, and ſtockadoed in moſt places, it was a matter of extream difficulty to ſtorm it: Notwithſtanding, the Lieutenant-General (not diſcouraged thereat) ſate down cloſe to it, and having conveniently planted his Canon and Mortar-pieces; on Sunday at one of the clock he ſent in to ſummon the caſtle.

The Governour ſent forth word, That the King his Maſter put him in truſt, and he deſired ten dayes time to ſend to him, in the mean time he would keep it for the King. The *Lieutenant-General* wiſhed him not to let ſlip ſuch an opportunity: or if he were otherwiſe reſolved, in much civility, he gave leave to ſend forth his Lady and ſuch other Gentlewomen that were in the Caſtle; and further let him know, that none were more fitting to keep ſtrong holds, Forts, and Caſtles, then the Parliament for the uſe of the King: whereupon the Governour returned, *Win it and weare it.* Upon receipt of this anſwer, the *Lieutenant-General* having put all things in readineſs for a ſtorm, gave command to the Canoneers preſently to give fire, and alſo to play the Mortar-pieces, which was accordingly done, and ſome of the Granadoes breaking in the midſt of the caſtle (being open above) kill'd ſeverall of their men, and much endangered the blowing up of the Magazine; which ſo ſtartled the Enemy, that on Monday about eight of the clock in the morning, the Governour ſent forth for a Parley, and ſent out two of his Captains, Captain *Challinor*, and Captain *Garroway*. The *Lieutenant-general* ſent two Captains into them, and about eleven of the clock the *Lieutenant-general* ſent them in theſe Propoſitions following, *viz.*

1. *That all Commanders and Gentlemen ſhould march to any garriſon the King had within thirty miles, with their horſe and armes; and that all private ſouldiers ſhould march away leaving their armes behinde them, but not to go to the ſame garriſons the Commanders marched to.*

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2. *That all Gentlemen in the Castle should have liberty to go to their own homes or beyond the seas.*

3. *That all souldiers that have been formerly in the Parliament service, should be delivered up to the Lieutenant-general; and all souldiers that would take up armes in the Parliament service should be entertained.*

To these Propositions the *Lieutenant-general* desired his speedy answer, that so they might march away by four of the clock in the afternoon, to which the Governour agreed (saving in point of time) and delivered up the castle on the morrow at ten of the clock, at which time they marched out. The Governour and his Officers with their arms, and his foot without arms, having the liberty of three carriages, and a safe Convoy to *Worcester*. The number of souldiers that marched out were about 400. In the castle was found a very plentifull Magazine of victuals, and good store of ammunition, and two piece of ordnance.

The *Devizes* surrendred.

§ 3.

The *Devizes* thus happily reduced, the General marched thither Tuesday 23. from *Bath*, and the Enemy marched out the same day towards *Worcester*, according to the Articles. And as the wheels of gracious Providence were now upon a nimble motion, so God was pleased to carry forth the Army to a most full complyance with the same. No sooner was the *Devizes* gained, but the same day colonel *Pickering*, with his own and two Regiments more, was commanded to *Laicock-house*, a garrison of the Enemies, kept by col. *Bovile*; who considering, that neither *Bristol* nor the *Devizes* were able to hold out against our force, did easily resolve, that a *Poore house* was much lesse able; (though in truth there were good works about it) accordingly therefore upon the first Summons, he came to conditions of surrender, and had honourable tearms granted him; upon which he marcht out the next day towards *Excester*, viz. himself, his Officers, and Souldiers, with their arms and baggage; the General himself adding to the solemnity by his own presence, who went from the *Devizes*

Col *Pickering* sent to reduce *Laicock-house*.

zes on purpose to view the garrison, and see the Enemy march forth.

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The same day col. *Rainsborough* with his forces before *Barkley-castle* stormed the out-works and the Church, which were the main strength of the castle, with Scaling-ladders, performing the service with so much resolution & gallantry (both Officers and Souldiers) as quickly made them masters of the place; wherein were taken 90 prisoners, besides 40 put to the sword, amongst whom were a Major and a Captain. This was such a terror and discouragement unto the Enemy within the castle, to see the resolution of our souldiers, and the execution done upon theirs in the Church and out-works, that the Governour, Sir *Charles Lucas* (who returned answer to the first Summons, That he would eat horse-flesh before he would yield, and mans flesh when that was done: and upon a second Summons sent as peremptory an answer,) yet now perceiving the planting of our ordnance against him upon his own Works (which we had newly gained) whereby we had a great advantage to play into the castle; and sensible what he was to expect if he came not to present tearms, was glad to sound a Parley, which was yielded to, and Commissioners sent out to treat, and the Castle was surrendred upon these Articles. The souldiers to march out without arms; the Governour, Sir *Charler Lucas*, with three horses and arms, and not above 50.l. in money; every Field-officer with two horses, and but 5.l. in money; Foot-captains with swords, but no horse; the souldiers with not above 5 s. a piece.

§ 4. *Barkley-Castle* stormed by col. *Rainsborough*.

Barkley-castle surrendred.

This Castle was a place of great strength, well victualled and manned; the Governour thereof Sir *Charles Lucas*, a souldier of reputation and valour, confident to hold it out against any force should appear before it that Winter.

There were taken in it eleven pieces of Ordnance, provision of victuals for six moneths (afterwards sold for a good value, for the use of the souldiery:) In this service we lost only one Captain, not many common souldiers (though

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(though many wounded :) colonel *Herbert*, as he valiantly led on his men to ſtorm, was ſhot through the Hat (narrowly eſcaping a greater danger :) there marched out of the caſtle above 500 Horſe and Foot : the County of *Glouceſter* not a little ſatisfied with the reducing of this Caſtle, being a totall clearing of their County.

How this high hand of God lifted up, and ſtretched forth againſt the Enemy, wrought upon them, I ſhall give you in ſome inſtances. A Lieut. col. of Sir *Charles Lucas's*, when he ſaw the garriſon was ſurrended, could not hold, but brake forth and ſwore to col. *Rainsborough*, He could be content to go to Hell, and be a Major there to plague the Roundheads ; advancing in his helliſh Dialect in this latter ſpeech, but proportionable to his Eſſay in a former ſpeech after the firſt Summons, when he ſaid, God dam him he would go quick into hell, rather then yield the Caſtle to the Roundheads. Another of their Officers in the ſame caſtle ſaid to a captain of Horſe in our Army, He thought God was turned Roundhead, the Kings forces proſpered ſo ill.

Theſe ought to be the greater engagements upon us, to ſanctifie that name of God which he proclaimes amongſt us in theſe ſucceſſes : from whom elſe ſhall God have his glory ?

CHAP. II.

The counſels whereby the Army ſteered their courſe imparted. The Reduction of Wincheſter.

A counſel of war (the forementioned garriſons reduced) adviſing of the next action.

AND now came into conſideration, in what way for the advantage of the kingdoms ſervice, the Army ſhould be diſpoſed of, as to the enſuing Winter (it being then the latter end of *September*) the taking in of ſome of theſe garriſons of the Enemies, viz. *Wincheſter*, *Baſing*, *Dennington*, *Farrington*, and *Wallingford*, which together with *Oxford*, like Vipers in the bowels infeſted the midland

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midland parts, ſeemed with much reaſon to invite the Army (eſpecially being ſo neer them) to attempt them; which if, by Gods bleſsing, they ſhould happily ſucceed in, they might (to the beſt advantage) make their winter quarters about *Oxford*, whereby that garriſon being ſtraitned, would probably fall into their hands by the Spring, for want of proviſions. On the other hand, many a ſad look towards the *Weſt* (where the moſt conſiderable viſible ſtrength of the Enemy then was; which if let alone all winter, might poſsibly prove very formidable in the Spring, and in the mean while overpowering Major gen. *Maſsies* forces then about *Taunton*, might advance their quarters into the midland parts, and make all our new conqueſts unſerviceable to the Kingdom) did ſtrongly incline the Army that way; but that which moſt of all diſtracted them, was, that they were not able at once to graſp both the Weſt and Midland parts (as was their great ambition) yet reſolving to aſsay what they were able to both; Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* was ſent with the forementioned Brigade, and three Regiments of horſe, for the taking in of the gariſons of *Wincheſter* and *Baſing*, which was the rather attempted, becauſe it conduced much to the abſolute freeing of a paſſage from *London* into the *VVeſt*, whither the General with the reſt of the army, according to a reſolution then taken, was immediately marching.

Their reſolution.

Col. *Rainsborough* his work at *Berkley-caſtle* being done, was commanded to advance to the *General*, who reſolved to halt with his Forces about *Warminſter*, till he came up to him. Accordingly, *Saturday*, 27. the *General* marched to *Warminſter* with the Army, and there continued till *Tueſday* the 30. On which day the Army marched towards *Shaftsbury*, and were muſtered in their march; the *General* continuing ſtill at *Warminſter*, chooſing ſo to do, not only for the forementioned reaſon, but alſo till he might heare that the treaſure for the Army was at leaſt on the way from *London*, the Souldiers being ſo out of money, that they were all inforced to take free quarter, which they had not done

About this time was *Farleigh* caſtle in Somerſetſhire ſurrendred to the Parliament. And about the ſame time, *Sandal* caſtle in *Yorkſhire* was ſurrendred to col. *Overton*.

till

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till then. During his *Excellencies* abode at *Warminster*, the good news of the Kings forces being routed at *Routon-Heath* neer *West-Chester*, by Major-General *Pointz*, was brought to the Army.

Wednesday, Octob. 1. the Army marched to *Middleton*, and thence the next day to *Dorchester*, and thence, *Saturday Octob.*4. to *Beauminster*, where they rested the Lords day, (only the Train that was in the Rear, marched that day up to the Van of the Army) and thence on *Monday* to *Chard*; And on *Wednesday* the 8. the *General* went to *Lyme*, where he was honourably entertained by the Governour, Col. *Ceely*, and stayed there that night. It was wonderfull to think, considering the scituation of the place, & the meanness of the Works about it, that it should possibly hold out as it did, against such a force as laid siege unto it.

About this time was *Chepstow* town and castle in *Monmouthshire* reduced by Col. *Morgan* governour of *Gloucester*.

§. 2.

This day passed not without bringing forth some good tidings to the Army; for news came this morning to the General, that *Winchester* was agreed to be surrendred to Lieutenant-General *Cromwel*: the Terms whereupon, and other particulars concerning the same, I shall present you withall in the words of the Lieut.Generals Letter, and Mr. *Peters* his Relation made to the House of Commons. The Letter followes:

SIR,

Lieutenant-gen *Cromwels* Letter of the taking of *Winchester*.

I came to Winchester *on the Lords day, being the* 28. *of September, with Cololonel* Pickering, *commanding his own, Colonel* Montagues, *and Sir* Hardresse Wallers *regiments. After some dispute with the Governour, we entred the Town; I summoned the Castle, was denied, whereupon we fell to prepare our Batteries, which we could not perfect (some of our Guns being out of order) untill Friday following. Our Battery was six guns, which being finished, after once firing of them round, I sent him a second Summons for a Treaty, which they refused, whereupon we went on with our work, and made a breach in the wall neer the Black tower, which after about* 200 *shot, we thought stormable, and purposed on Monday morning to attempt it. On Sonday night about ten of the clock, the Governour beat a Parley, desiring to treat: I agreed*

unto

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unto it, and sent Col. Hamond, *and Major* Harrison *in to him, who agreed unto these inclosed Articles.*

Sir, This is the addition of another mercy; You see, God is not weary in doing you good; I confesse, Sir, his favour to you is as visible, when he comes by his power upon the hearts of his enemies, making them quit places of strength to you, as when he gives courage to your Souldiers to attempt hard things. His goodnesse is, in this, much to be acknowledged; for the Castle was well manned, with 680 Horse and Foot, there being neer 200 Gentlemen, Officers and their servants; Well victualled, with 1500 weight of Cheese, very great store of Wheat and Beere, neer 20 Barrels of Powder, 7 Peeces of Canon, the Works were exceeding good and strong. It is very likely it would have cost much blood to have gained it by storm; we have not lost 12 men. This is repeated to you, that God may have all the praise, for it is all his due.

Sir, I rest, Your most humble servant,

Oliver Cromwel.

Mr. *Peters* his Report made to the House of Commons, containing some other particulars concerning *Winchester.*

§. 3. Mr. *Peters* his relation of the taking of *Winchester.*

'My commands (from the Lieutenant-General) are to 'give this honourable House a further Narrative of the 'Castle of *VVinchester*, being upon the place, and a spectator 'of Gods good hand in the whole work; as also to present 'his humble request to the House in some particulars. And 'before I speak to either of them, if Gratitude it self were 'not sometimes unseasonable, I would in my own name, 'and in the name of many thousands, return this honour-'able House most humble thanks for our *Lieutenant-General*, 'in that you suffer with patience the vacancie of his place 'in this House: My wish is, that his spirit, and that pub-'lique English spirit of *Hampden*, *Pym*, and *Strowd*, may be 'doubled upon your new elected Members.

'For our *Lieutenant-General*, this I may say: That Judge-'ment and Affections are in him striving for the mastery: 'I have rarely seen such heights, and depths concent in one

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'man; That when I look upon the two *Chiefs* of our 'Army, I remember *Gustavus Adolphus*, and *Oxenstern*, 'and I wish that our hopes in these may not be so short-'lived, as the *Germans* hopes in them were. More I might 'say concerning him that sent me, who is so far above the 'world, and lives so little upon the States pay, and minds 'himself so little; but that he hath enjoyned silence to all 'his friends, in any thing that might turn to his own 'praise.

'For the Castle of *Winchester*, we begun our Batteries 'upon Saturday morning, which wrought so effectually, 'that a breach, wherein 30 men might go abrest, was made; 'the Enemy sallied out, and beat our men from our guns, 'which were soon recovered again: We plaid then with 'our granadoes from our Mortar-peeces, with the best 'effect that I have seen, which brake down the Mansion 'house in many places, cut off a Commissioner of theirs 'by the thighs, the most austere and wretched Instrument 'in that country, and at last blew up their Flag of defiance 'into the aire, and tore the Pinacle in peeces upon which 'it stood.

'Summons being sent as we entred upon this work, 'was refused by the Lord *Ogle* their Governour: And an-'other Summons God sent them, in the middle of their 'Battery; his Lady, to whom our *Lieutenant gen.* had given 'leave to come forth, and had gone some miles out of the 'town, died, by whom the Governour had during her life '1000.l. a yeare, now lost by her death.

'The chiefest street of the Town the Enemy played up-'on, whereby divers passengers were wounded, and some 'killed, in which street my quarters were, I have that cause 'to blesse God for my preservation.

'The Lords day we spent in preaching and prayer, whilst 'our gunners were battering, and at 8 a clock at night we 'received a Letter from the Governour for a treaty, which 'I have brought with me. Colonel *Hammond*, and Major '*Harrison* were sent into the Castle on our party. Sir *Edward* *Ford*,

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'*Ford*, and a Major of theirs were ſent to us; The whole 'night was ſpent about it, our men ſtanding upon ſome 'ſpeciall terms with them, and very deſirous were we to 'accept Sir *Edward Ford*, and *Bennet*, to be our priſoners. 'By eight of the clock on Monday morning, it was agreed 'they ſhould depart out of the Caſtle at five of the clock, 'according to theſe Articles.

Articles agreed upon, the 5. of October 1645. Between the Right honorable *VVilliam* Viſcount *Ogle*, governour of the garriſon of the Caſtle of *VVinton*, of the one part; and Col. *Robert Hammond*, and Major *Thomas Harriſon*, on the behalf of Lieutenant gen. *Oliver Cromwel*, of the other party, for the ſurrender of the ſaid Caſtle.

1. *That the Lord* Ogle *ſhall deliver up the Caſtle of* Wincheſter, *with all the arms, ordnance, ammunition, proviſion, and all function of war whatſoever, without any imbezelment, waſte or ſpoile, unto that Officer or Officers as ſhall be thereunto appointed by the ſaid Lieutenant gen. to morrow, being* Monday *the* 6. *of* October, *by three of the clock after Noon.*

2. *That the ſaid Lord* Ogle *ſhall have his own Colours, and one hundred fixt Arms for his guard, and one hundred men to carry them.*

3. *That the Lord* Ogle, *and all the Officers in commiſsion, ſhall march out of the ſaid caſtle with their own horſe and arms, and their own proper goods unto* Woodſtock, *whither they ſhall be ſafely conveyed.*

4. *That there ſhall be allowed to the Lord* Ogle *and his Officers ſix carriages for the tranſporting of their goods aforeſaid.*

5. *That all Officers, Gentlemen, Clergie-men, and inhabitants of the city of* Wincheſter, *and all Officers within the guards (deſiring it) may be at their own time, free from all violence and injury of the Parliaments forces.*

6. *That the Lord* Ogle *ſhall give ſufficient hoſtages for the performance of the Articles here conſtituted on their part to be performed, alſo for the ſafe return of the Convoy.*

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'These Articles being concluded on, I was forthwith 'sent into the Castle to take a view of it before my departure, where I found a peece of ground improved to the 'best advantage; for when we were entred by battery, 'we had 6. distinct works, and a Draw-bridge to passe 'through, so that it was doubtlesse a very strong peece, 'and well appointed, as may appeare by this ensuing 'note of the ammunition and provisions we found there.

Viz.

7 Peeces of Ordnance.	3 Hogsheads of French wine.
17 Barrels of Powder.	10 *Quarters* of Salt.
2000 Weight of Musquet bullet.	20 Bushel of Oatmeale.
	70 Dosen of Candles.
800 Weight of Match.	30 Load of Wood.
38 Hogsheads of Beefe and Pork.	40 *Quarters* of Charcoale.
	30 Bushels of Seacoale.
15000 Weight of Cheese.	14 Sheep.
800 Pound of Butter.	4 *Quarters* of Fresh beef.
140 *Quarters* of Wheat and Meale.	7000 Weight of Biskets.
	112 hogsheads of strong beer.

'The Castle was manned with 700 men, divers of them 'Reformadoes; the chief men I saw there, were, Viscount '*Ogle* their governour, Sir *Iohn Pawlet* an old souldier, Sir '*VVilliam Courtney*, and Colonel *Bennet*, also Doctor *Curle* 'the Bishop of Winchester, who came forth to our quarters in the morning, with whom I spent an houre or two, 'who with tears and much importunity desired the Lieut. 'Generals favour to excuse his not accepting the offer that 'he made unto him in his first entring the town; He 'desired of me a guard to his lodging, lest the Souldiers 'should use violence to him and his Chaplain, who were 'in their long Gowns and Cassocks, and he was accordingly safely conveyed home. I do verily believe that they 'will hardly bring to *VVoodstock* 200 men. It did much 'affect us to see what an enemy we had to deal with, who 'themselves being Judges, could not choose but say, that

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'our God is not as their God. And this is the nineteenth garri-
'son hath been taken this summer, through Gods good-
'nesse; and he that will not take his share in this common
'joy, is either stupid, or envious.

'The fruits of what is already done, are great; amongst
'the rest, what I saw upon the way, all sorts travelling
'upon their occasions freely to their own homes, with
'Carriages and Wains, many Innes filled with guests, the
'former face of things returning upon us in several kinds;
'yea, now we may ride with safety from *Dover* to the
'middle of *Devonshire*.

'Lieutenant gen. *Cromwel* stayed but one day, after Sir
'*VVilliam Ogle* the governour of Winchester, and the rest of
'the garrison were marched out to *Oxford*, to settle that
'place; but immediately took his march towards *Basing*,
'for the reducing thereof.

§ 4. A remarkable piece of justice by way of satisfaction to the Enemy.

Thus far Mr. *Peters*. But before I leave *VVinchester*, I cannot but observe a remarkable peece of Justice done in satisfaction to the Enemy, for some injury they had sustained at their marching forth of *VVinchester*, by Plunder, contrary to the Articles, which was done by some Troopers; who being apprehended, were afterwards tried by a Councel of war, and condemned to die; and after lots cast for their lives (being six of them) he whose lot it was to die, was brought to the place of execution, where with a demonstration of great penitence (so far as the beholders did judge) he suffered death for his offence; which exemplary justice made a good impression upon the Souldiery: The other five were sent with a Convoy to *Oxford*, (together with a full account of this proceeding, to the Governour there, Sir *Tho. Glemham*) to be delivered over as prisoners, and to be put to death, or otherwise punished as he should think fit: Which was so well received by the Enemy (to see so much right was done them) that Sir *Thomas Glemham* returned the prisoners back again, with an acknowledgement of the *Lieutenant-Generals* Noblenesse, in being so tender in breach of Articles.

CHAP.

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CHAP. III.

The ſeveral Motions and Actions of the Army unto Tiverton. *The ſtorming and taking of* Bazing-houſe *fully related.*

But now to return to his *Excellency*, who on Thurſday the ninth, came back from *Lyme* to *Chard*, where he received intelligence, that *Goring* intended to break through with his Horſe: whereupon a Letter was ſent to the Committees of the county of *Somerſet*, to have the countrey in a readineſſe to riſe (if occaſion ſhould be) for the making good of the Paſſes.

§ 2. The General reſted at *Chard*, till the treaſure (ſo long expected) was come up thither, which was on Saturday the 11. and the Army was paid that night, having been ever ſince the taking of *Briſtol* without pay.

§ 3. On Monday 13. The Army being paid, part of it advanced to *Axminſter*, on which day a Captain of the Lord *Gorings* came in to us with a Troop of Horſe, as alſo one Colonel *Connocke*, late Governour of *Tiverton*. But for this latter, the General underſtanding of his cruel carriage to the countrey (whileſt he was Governour of that place) in torturing people, by burning them with matches, and otherwiſe cruelly uſing both men and women (in ſuch manner as is not fit to be mentioned) he was required to depart the quarters of the Parliament, or to be proceeded againſt as a Spy.

§ 4. *Goring* intending to break through, expected by our horſe.

This day his Excellency had further intelligence by his Spies, That the Lord *Goring* intended to break through with the Horſe, or beat up our quarters that night; and that he had advanced moſt of them on this ſide the River *Ex*, for that end, (being himſelf at *Poltimore* with about 1500 horſe) whereupon Commiſſary-General *Ireton* gave ſtrict orders for the keeping of the guards, and alſo that all the horſemen that were in quarters ſhould have their horſes ready ſadled, in caſe there ſhould be an alarm: and our caution

caution in this point was no more then needed; for this night, the Lord *Goring*, Lord *Wentworth*, Lord *Miller*, and most of their bravest Cavalrie, came from their quarters neer *Excester*, & passed through *Hunniton* about 12 at night, and so came on to *Black-Down*, and knowing the country well, by an obscure and unusuall way passed our Out-guards (the extreme darknes of the night favouring them) and got between the Main guard and our *Quarters*, and falling into some of the Dragoon and Foot quarters, took about 40 Foot, and 20 Dragoons, and returned immediately, fearing lest the Army should have taken the alarm; but so nimble were they in that action, that they were gone before the alarm was received.

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Goring by some advantage surprising our guards.

Tuesday, the 14. The General and the Army marched from *Chard* to *Hunniton*, by the way of *Axminster*; and that night, our Horse, and much of the Foot lay in the field about *Hunniton*, lest the Enemy should break through (we pressing so hard upon them) to joyn with the King, which was (in the opinion of the General, and all understanding men) the best game they had to play, and most disadvantagious to our proceedings; as that, that would have enabled the *King* to make incursions into the *Eastern Association*, and divert a great part of this Army, who desired to compleat the service of reducing the *West*, before they returned. But the Enemy attempted it not that night; and had they not (upon advertisement that our Forces were come to *Hunniton*) removed their quarters from *St. Mary Autree*, *Poultimour* (and those parts) beyond the river *Ex*, (as they did) they had certainly been beaten up, (Parties being sent out for that purpose.)

§. 5.

Our Army lying in the field, to prevent the Enemy breaking through.

Wednesday, 15. The General and the Army marched from *Hunniton* to *Colampton*, where the Lord *Miller* was with 300 Dragoons, and some Horse, who upon our approach quit their Barracadoes and the Town, left their Turn-pikes standing; strong Parties pursued them, and took some prisoners, who confessed their Party were gone towards *Tiverton*. Whereupon a Councel of war was that night called,

§. 6.

Our army advancing, and the Enemy giving way.

Major gen. *Massey* sent to besiege *Tiverton*-castle.

called, and Major-General *Massey* was desired to go with his Horse, and the Brigade of Foot under the command of Colonel *Welden*, to possesse the Town of *Tiverton*, and besiege the Castle, which accordingly he did.

§. 7.

About this time, Pr. *Rupert* and *Maurice*, as they were going from *Banbury* & those parts (with a convoy of *Banbury* horse) to the King at *Newark* (in the mood) to take their leave of him, were set upon by Col. *Rossiter*, and sore put to it.

Thursday, Octob. 16. There came in some Officers from the Enemy; a Lieutenant-colonel, and two Captains, who declared their unhappiness to be engaged on that side, desiring a Passe to go to the Lord *Inchequine*, to serve in *Ireland* against the Rebels.

The enemy quitting *Broadnix*, upon the approach of our army.

The General went this day to *Broadnix*, where the Enemy kept a guard with a Commanded party of foot, and some horse; but upon the approach of our forces, they quit the town, and the General returned back to *Columpton*, where information was given by the Inhabitants of good repute, that the Enemy had boasted the day before our comming into the town, That *Goring* had cut *Fairfax* in peeces neer *Chard*, and routed his whole Army; took drink upon it, and wished it might be their poyson, if it were not true. This course the Enemy took, to make their party believe they were great conquerours; whereas indeed what they did was very inconsiderable, and as to the reducing their affairs into any tolerable condition, scarce worth the mentioning. And on this occasion may be noted (though it might be mentioned in a more fit place afterward) that this small businesse neer *Chard* was the only affront the Enemy put upon us during the Armies being in the West of *England*; But with what iterated affronts our Forces have recompenced them in their quarters, the action at *Bovy-Tracy*, and divers other places hereafter mentioned, will manifest.

The enemies notorious brags to keep up their reputation, comming to nothing.

Friday, Octob. 17. A Councel of war was called for advise, whether to march towards *Excester*, and so towards *Plimouth*, or to take in *Tiverton*, in regard it lay upon a Passe, and might much annoy the Army to leave it behind them unreduced, or at least unblockt up; and if once taken, might be a Magazine, and place of strength and convenienc y,

encie, either to ſecure any thing in, or to retreat unto upon occaſion: whereupon it was reſolved to make it their work to take in that place, and the rather, to inforce *Gorings* horſe to keep to the other ſide of *Ex*; for the Army being once poſſeſsed of that Paſſe, would be the better able to keep the Enemy before them, from breaking through. Whereupon this day towards noon, the General marched towards *Tiverton* with a great part of the Army, leaving ſome Horſe and Foot at *Broadnix*, *Silverton*, and *Columb-Iohn*, within 4 miles of *Exceſter*, and accordingly as was deſired, it ſucceeded, in that the Enemy was inforced to draw all over *Ex*.

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Tiverton reſolved (upon a Councel of war) to be attempted.

Memorand. That Col. Fryes *regiment was (before this) ſent to ſecure* Tiverton *whilſt the Gen. marched Weſtward.*

The General with ſome forces marching to *Tiverton*

But before I proceed in this ſtory, I muſt give you a Relation of the taking of *Baſing*, a place of great concernment, and which had been a great annoyance unto the Country, and the City of *London*, in hindering Trade.

§. 8. The relation of the ſtorming & taking of *Baſing-houſe* by Lieut. gen. *Cromwel.*

This buſineſs, as it was managed by Lieutenant gen. *Cromwel*, who in perſon Commanded in the reducing of that place, and *Wincheſter*, and managed the ſame with much prudence and reſolution; ſo I ſhall give you the particulars of the action, in the words of his own Letter, and Mr. *Peters* his Relation.

Lieutenant-General *Cromwels* Letter, to the Honourable *William Lenthal* Eſq; Speaker to the honourable Houſe of Commons.

SIR,

I thank God I can give you a good accompt of Baſing. *After our Batteries placed, we ſetled the ſeverall Poſts for the Storm: Colonel* Dalbier *was to be on the North ſide of the Houſe next the* Grange, *Colonel* Pickering *on his left hand, and Sir* Hardreſſe Waller's, *and Colonel* Montague's *Regiments, next him. We ſtormed this morning, after ſix of the clock; the ſignal for falling on, was, the firing four of our canon, which being done, our men fell on with great reſolution and cheerfulneſſe; we took the two Houſes without any conſiderable loſſe to our ſelves; Col.* Pickering *ſtormed the New houſe, paſſed through, and got the Gate of the Old*

The Lieut. generals Letter of that buſineſſe.

houſe,

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House; whereupon they summoned a Parley, which our men would not heare. In the mean time, Col. Montague's, *and Sir* Hardresse Wallers *Regiments assaulted the strongest Works, where the Enemy kept his Court of guard, which with great resolution they recovered, beating the Enemy from a Whole-Culverin, and from that Work; which having done, they drew their Ladders after them, and got over another Work, and the House-wall, before they could enter: In this, Sir* Hardresse Waller *performing his duty with honour and diligence, was shot on the Arm, but not dangerous; We have had little losse; Many of the Enemy our men put to the sword, and some Officers of quality, most of the rest we have prisoners, among which the* Marquisse, *and Sir* Robert Peak, *with divers other Officers, whom I have ordered to be sent to you: we have taken about ten Peece of Ordnance, much Ammunition, and our Souldiers a good encouragement.*

I humbly offer to have this Place slighted, for these reasons: It will ask 800 *men to man it, It is no Frontier, The Country is poor about it, The place exceedingly ruined by our Batteries and Mortar-peeces, and a Fire which fell upon the place since our taking it. If you please to take the garrison of* Farnham, *some out of* Chichester, *and a good part of the Foot which were here under* D'Albier, *and make a strong Quarter at* Newbury, *with three or four Troops of Horse; I dare be confident, it would not only be a curb to* Dennington, *but a Security and Frontier to all these parts, and by lying there will make the Trade most secure between* Bristol *and* London, *for all Carriages: And I believe, the Gentlemen of* Sussex *and* Hantshire *will with more cheerfulnes contribute to maintain a Garrison on the Frontier, then in their bowels, which will have lesse safety in it. Sir, I hope not to delay, but march towards the West to morrow, and to be as diligent as I may in my Expedition thither. I must speak my judgement to you, That if you intend to have your work carried on, Recruits of Foot must be had, and a course taken to pay your Army; else believe me, Sir, it may not be able to answer the work you have for it to do.*

I intreated Col. Hamond *to wait upon you, who was taken by a mistake, whilst we lay before this garrison; whom God safely delivered to us, to our great joy, but to his losse of almost all he had, which the Enemy took from him.*

The

The Lord grant that these mercies may be acknowledged with all thankfulnesse; God exceedingly abounds in his goodnesse to us, and will not be weary, untill Righteousnesse and Peace meet, and that He hath brought forth a glorious work for the happinesse of this poor Kingdome. Wherein desires to serve GOD, and You, with a faithfull heart,

Basingstoak, *Your most humble Servant,*
*Octob.*14. 1645. Oliver Cromwel.

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*Mr.*Peters *Relation to the House of Commons, was as followeth.* §. 9.

Mr. *Peters* relation, supplying divers particulars.

'That he came into *Basing-house* some time after the 'Storm, on Tuesday the 14. of October, 1645. and took a 'view first of the Works, which were many, the circum-'vallation being above a mile compass; the old house had 'stood (as it is reported) 2 or 300 years, a nest of Idolatry, 'the New house surpassing that in beauty and statelinesse, 'and either of them fit to make an Emperours court.

'The Rooms, before the storm (it seems) in both hou-'ses, were all compleatly furnished, Provisions for some 'years, rather then moneths; 400 quarters of Wheat, 'Bacon divers rooms full (containing hundreds of flitches) 'Cheese proportionable, with Oatmeal, Beef, Pork, Beer 'divers cellars full, and that very good.

'A Bed in one room, furnished, that cost 1300.l. Popish 'books many, with Copes, and such Utensils, that in truth 'the House stood in its full pride, and the Enemy was per-'swaded that it would be the last peece of ground that 'would be taken by the Parliament, because they had so 'often foiled our Forces that had formerly appeared be-'fore it. In the severall rooms, and about the house, there 'were slain 74. and only one woman, the daughter of 'Doctor *Griffith*, who by her railing provoked our Soul-'diers (then in heat) into a further passion. There lay 'dead upon the ground, Major *Cuffle* (a man of great ac-'count amongst them, and a notorious Papist) slain by

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'the hands of Major *Harrison*; (that godly and gallant 'Gentleman) and *Robinson* the Player, who a little before 'the Storm, was known to be mocking and scorning the 'Parliament, & our Army. Eight or nine Gentlewomen of 'rank, running forth together, were entertained by the 'Common souldiers somewhat coursly, yet not uncivilly, 'considering the action in hand; the plunder of the soul-'dier continued till Tuesday night: one Souldier had '120 peeces in Gold for his share, others Plate, others 'Jewels; amongst the rest, one got 3 bags of silver, which '(he being not able to keep his own counsel) grew to be 'common pillage amongst the rest, and the fellow had 'but one half crown left for himself at last.

'Also the Souldiers sold the Wheat to Country people, 'which they held up at good rates a while, but afterwards 'the Market fell, and there was some abatements for haste. 'After that they sold the houshold-stuffe, whereof there 'was good store; and the Country loaded away many 'Carts, and continued a great while fetching out all man-'ner of houshold-stuffe, till they had fetched out all the 'Stools, Chairs, and other Lumber, all which they sold 'to the Country people by peece-meale. In all these great 'houses there was not one Iron bar left in al the windows '(save only what was in the fire) before night. And the 'last work of all was the Lead, and by Thursday morning 'they had hardly left one Gutter about the house. And 'what the Souldiers left, the Fire took hold on; which 'made more then ordinary haste; leaving nothing but 'bare wals and chimnies in less then 20 houres, being 'occasioned by the neglect of the Enemy, in quenching a 'Fire-ball of ours at first.

'We know not how to give a just account of the num-'ber of persons that were within; for we have not three 'hundred prisoners, and it may be an hundred slain, whose 'bodies (some being covered with rubbish) came not to 'our view; only riding to the house on Tuesday night, 'we heard divers crying in Vaults for quarter, but our men could

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'could neither come to them, nor they to us. But amongst 'those that we saw slain, one of their Officers lying on 'the ground, seeming so exceeding tall, was measured, and 'from his great toe to his crown was 9 foot in length.

'The Marquis being pressed by Mr. *Peters* arguing with 'him, broke out, and said, *That if the King had no more ground 'in England but* Bazing-house, *he would adventure as he did, and 'so maintain it to his uttermost*, meaning with these Papists: 'comforting himself in this disaster, That *Bazing-house* was 'called Loyalty. But he was soon silenced in the question 'concerning the King and Parliament, only hoping that 'the King might have a day again. And thus the Lord 'was pleased in a few hours to shew us what mortall 'seed all earthly glory grows upon, and how just and 'righteous the wayes of God are, who takes sinners in 'their own snares, and lifteth up the heads of his despised 'people.

'This is now the 20. garrison that hath been taken in 'this Summer by this Army; and I believe most of them, 'the answer of the prayers and trophees of the faith of 'some of Gods servants. The Commander of this Bri-'gade having spent much time with God in prayer the 'night before the storm, and seldome fighting without 'some text of Scripture to support him. This time he 'rested upon that blessed Word of God, written in the 115 'Psal. v. 8. *They that make them are like unto them, so is every 'one that trusteth in them*; which, with some verses going 'before was now accomplished.

'Whereas the House had ordered that the countrey peo-'ple should carry away those buildings, God Almighty 'had decreed touching that beforehand, nothing remain-'ed but a blast of winde to blow down the tottering wals 'and chimnies: Doubtless this providence of God hath a 'double voice, the one unto the Enemy, and the other unto 'us; the Lord help us with skill to improve it. I hope by 'this time the State hath a penny-worth for a penny, 'and I hope they will have full measure and running over.

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'I wish that the payment and recruiting of this Army may 'not be slighted: It is an easie matter to grieve God, in 'our neglects towards him; and not hard to weary one 'another. What if the poor Souldier had some remem-'brance, though small, to leave as the acceptance of this 'service, which is already begun by a * worthy Member 'of this House, who hath appointed some Medals to be 'made of gold to be bestowed upon those that ventured 'on the greatest difficulties.

*Mr. Maynard.

Mr. *Peters* presented the Marquisses own Colours, which he brought from *Basing*, the Motto of which was, *Donec pax reddit terris*; The very same, King *Charles* gave upon his Coronation mony, when he came to the Crown.

But our onely GOD doth usually temper such pleasant Cups unto us; for in the close of this glorious victory, the Death of Major *Bethel* was brought unto us, shot at *Bristol*; and tyred through want of sleep, he is gone into the bosome of the *Lord Iesus*, whom he loved so deerly whilst he lived. I wish he may not go unlamented to his grave, who was so full of God, and the *fairest flower* of the *City* amongst us; Lived without Pride, and dyed full of Faith.

A copy of Verses on the losse of Major *Bethel*.

The ARMIES Teares over Major BETHEL.

Thou gallant Charger, do'st thou wheele about
To sable shades? Or dost thou rather post
To Bethel, (Bethel) *there to make a shout*
Of the great Triumphs of a scorned Host?
Or (blessed Soule) was it unworthy We,
That made thee weary with such Dust to be?

Or, tyred with our New reforming pace,
Tasting some sips of Heaven, do'st therefore haste
To fuller draughts of that Eternal grace,
Fearing thy Spirit might be here imbrac'd?

Fare-

Anno 1645. October.

Farewell, deare Soule; thy great deser-v'd Arrears
We'll pay in others Blood, or our own Tears.

Only let all Ages, when they tell
The unexampled tale of Forty five;
Yea, when these Records to their glory swell,
And be compleated by the Saints alive:
When Naseby, Langport, Bristol *nam'd they heare,*
Let them all say, Sweet Bethel, *he was there.*

B *eare a part in these Laments,*
E *very Soul that longs for Peace;*
T *ruly, who with GOD indents*
H *ere to have thereof a Lease,*
E *nters with himself a warre:*
L *ean on things that truly are.*

CHAP. IV.

The cheap reduction of Tiverton-*Castle, by a strange Providence. The surrender of* Langford-*House.*

BUt to return to my Story. *Saturday, Octob.* 18. Much of the time was spent in raising of Batteries against *Tiverton* Church and Castle: The *General*, with Major gen. *Massey*, oftentimes that day viewed the Works, Castle and Church, for the ordering of the Batteries and Approaches. A Spie was this day from the castle let down in a rope; and being taken by our Guards, threw his Letter by the water side; but being threatned, discovered where the letter was; which being found (where he had thrown it) was read; it was directed to Sir *Iohn Berkley* Governour of *Excester*; it discovered the resolution of Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, to hold out, but yet he desired relief of Sir *Iohn Berkley*.

The work of reducing *Tiverton*, close followed.

A Spy out of *Tiverton* castle taken.

Lords day,

Anno 1645. October.

§. 2. The ſtorming of *Tiverton* reſolved on by a councel of war

The Storm prevented, and *Tiverton* gained by a wonderfull providence.

Lords day, *Octob.* 19. The *General* went early to ſee to the batteries, and the Ordinance being ready planted, a Councel of war was called, wherein it was agreed to ſtorm the Church, Caſtle and Works; and being in debate of the manner of the ſtorm (which was that afternoon to be put in execution) our Ordinance playing hard againſt the works and caſtle, the Chain of the Draw-bridge with a Round ſhot was broken in two, whereupon the bridge fell down, and our men immediately without ſtaying for Orders, poſſeſsed themſelves of the bridge, and entred the works, and poſſeſsed the Churchyard, which ſo terrified the Enemy, that it made them quit their Ordinance, and ſome of their Poſts and Line, and inſtantly fled into the church and caſtle; our men got over the reſt of the bulwarks and line, and purſued the enemy into the church and caſtle, where they cried out in a lamentable manner for quarter, our Souldiers crept in at the Church-windows (they having made faſt the doors) and made all within priſoners, plundered them, and ſtript moſt of them to their ſhirts, yet gave them their lives. The Governour, who had formerly received a Summons, but peremptorily refuſed to hearken to any treaty of ſurrender (though he deſpaired of any relief) ſhut himſelf up into his chamber in the caſtle, and hung out a white flag for a Parley; but being now too late, it would not be hearkned to (ſuch was the fury of the Souldier) yet when they got into the caſtle, and came to the place where he was, they gave him fair quarter.

§. 3. A notable inſtance of a righteous hand upon a falſe man.

There was much Plunder found in the Caſtle (beſides proviſions) There was taken one Major *Sadler*, who formerly ſerved the Parliament, and ran to the Enemy, and had privately ſent and made overtures, what ſervice he would do, if he might be pardoned: but his offers were rejected, and he falling into our hands, was called to a Councel of war, and condemned to ſuffer death for his former treachery; who, to ſave his life, broke priſon (after he was condemned) and eſcaped to *Exceſter*, where he was

was (by his own ſide) called to a Councel of war, for endeavouring to betray their cauſe, after he had undertaken it; and was therefore adjudged to die, and ſuffered death accordingly: it being alleadged againſt him, that he treacherouſly quit his Poſts in the late ſervice of *Tiverton*. Beſides him, who eſcaped us, (but not Juſtice) there was taken priſoners in this place, Sir *Gilbert Talbot* (the Governour) 4 Majors, and about 200 more Officers and Souldiers.

Anno 1645. October.

§. 4. *Langford-houſe* ſurrendred to Lieut. general *Cromwel*.

This day intelligence came, That after Lieut.general *Cromwel* had taken *Baſing*, he immediately marched towards Langford-houſe (neer *Salisbury*) faced the ſame with part of his Brigade, ſent in a Summons; and that the Governour, upon the experience that *Baſing* and *Wincheſter* were not able to reſiſt the Force that was come againſt that place, (conceiving his condition deſperate) hearkned to a Treaty, and ſurrendred the place upon theſe enſuing Articles.

The Articles of *Langford*.

1. *The Commanders in chief of the ſaid garriſon, to ſurrender the ſaid houſe and gariſon to the ſaid Lieutenant gen.* Cromwel, *on the morrow by twelve of the clock, being the* 18. *of October then inſtant.*

2. *All arms and ammunition in the ſaid garriſon, to be delivered to the uſe of the Parliament, without any imbezelling of them.*

3. *The Commanders in chief, to march away with horſe and arms, and the private Souldiers without arms to* Oxford, *within ten dayes, and to have a Troop of horſe for their guard the firſt day, and a Trumpet with a Paſſe the reſt of the way.*

5. *The reſt of the Gentlemen, not exceeding* 14 *more, to march with their ſwords and piſtols, and horſes, if they ſhould lawfully procure them.*

6. *The Commanders in chief, to have a Cart or Waggon allowed them, to carry their goods to* Oxford.

7. *If any Gentlemen of the ſaid garriſon had a deſire to go to any other garriſon or army of the Kings, to have Paſſes to that purpoſe.*

8. *The goods remaining in the ſaid garriſon, to be delivered to the ſeverall Owners thereof, upon demand, within two dayes next following the date hereof.*

Anno 1645. October.

9. *Lieut.col.* Bowles *and Major* Frye *to be left Hostages, untill these Articles should be performed.*

CHAP. V.

Excester *straitned in order to a Siege; with severall Debates and Resolutions thereabout.*

THese 6 Garrisons, of the *Devizes*, *Laicock-house*, *Basing*, *Winchester*, *Langford*, and *Tiverton*, (besides *Berkley-castle*) being reduced since the taking of *Bristol*, there was no garrison in the way between *Excester* and *London*, to interrupt the passage, so that a single man might travel without any fear of the Enemy, (all the obstructing garrisons being cleered) except *Corf-castle* neer the Sea-coasts, (which yet was securely blockt up by the Governour of *Poole*, and Col. *Pickerings* Regiment, sent thither for that purpose.)

A Councel of war called.

Monday, *Octob.* 20. The General and the whole Army marched to *Silverton* and the parts thereabouts (within five or six miles of *Excester*) where a Councel of war was called to consult what was fit next to be done, whether to advance further West (before *Excester* was reduced) or to march up to the Enemy, and relieve *Plymouth*. After a long and serious debate, it was held fit, in regard of the season of the yeare (winter being comming on) and the Souldier already very sickly, and much wearied out by their continuall marches and hard duties; rather to make it their work to straiten *Excester*, then to march further West for the present, and to leave so considerable a garrison upon their backs, wherein were 1000. horse at that instant, besides 4000. Foot, that might annoy the Eastern parts of the Country, as well as the Army in the Rear, if they advanced further. This resolution was not so acceptable to the Gentlemen of those parts, (who would fain have had the Army advance further into the West) and desirous enough was the General to comply with them; but his judge-

Excester resolved to be straitned.

judgement did not lead him to it at this time, for the reasons before mentioned. Wherefore *Tuesday* 21 Octob. the *General* went in person with a small party to *Stoake*, and so on towards *Excester*, till he came within lesse then a mile of the town, viewed that part of the city, and returned back that night to *Silverton*. A counsel of war was againe called, wherein it was concluded, that one part of the Army should march over *Ex*, by the way of *Tharverton*, and the other to *Stoake*-bridge, and parts thereabouts. *Anno* 1645 October.

§. 2. Wednesday, *October* 22. the *General* with a great part of the Army marched to *Newton Siers*, with an intention to have gone that night to *Affington*; but the wayes being narrow, and the dayes short, was inforced to take up their quarter that night at *Newton Siers*, where his Excellency received intelligence that *Goring* went the night before from *Excester* towards *Okehampton*, with the greatest part of the thousand horse before mentioned.

§. 3. Thursday *October* 23. the Army marched early from *Newton Siers* to a Rendezvouz, at the Beacon, within three miles of *Excester*, with intention to go to *Affington* that night: but such was the extremity of wet and unseasonable weather (which it pleased God to send) that in a few hours rain the wayes proved unpassable for our carriages; besides that, the narrownes of the wayes (however represented by some Gentlemen of the countrey with the Army) was found upon conferring with others, to be such, as was altogether incomplyant with the Armies march, and would necessitate them to go many miles about; whereby it was not posible in any seasonable time to get to *Affington* that night. Whereupon unexpectedly the Head-quarters were appointed that night to be at *Crediton*, some six miles from *Excester*, where several of the Enemies horse came in to his Excellency; informing him that *Goring* was gone from *Okehampton* towards *Tavestock*.

§. 4. Friday *October* 24. the Army rested at *Crediton* (horse and man being much wearied out with the extreame wet weather, and their carriages broken) a counsel of war was cal-

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led, whether it was fit to purſue the former reſolution of ſtraitning *Exceſter* on both ſides. Whileſt the buſineſs was in debate, Lieutenant-general *Cromwel* happily came in; and the forces that were ſent under his command to *Baſing* and *Wincheſter*, were by that time come to *Hunniton*.

The good news of *Digby* and *Langdale* routed at *Sherborn*.

This night the Army received the good news of the Lord *Digbies* and *Langdales* being routed at *Sherborne*. The ſum whereof was, that the Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, marching from *Newark*, by the Kings appointment, with ſome 1600 horſe, to joyn with *Montroſſe* in *Yorkſhire*: As they paſſed by *Doncaſter*, and ſo onwards, they beat up our quarters in ſeveral places, and near *Sherborn* took 800 of our men (that drew out there to oppoſe them) laying their Arms on a great heap in the ſtreet of of *Sherborn*, till they could get carriages to carry them away: but before they were ſo provided, Colonel *Copley*, Col. *Lilborne*, and other Commanders of Yorkſhire, marching with all ſpeed, came upon them, and routed them; recovered all our arms and men, took 400 of their men, 600 horſe, many Commanders and perſons of quality; ſlew 40. amongſt whom were Sir *Francis Carnaby*, and Sir *Richard Hutton*; took *Digbies* Coach, and therein many Letters and papers of great conſequence, divers colours, with much rich pillage.

§ 5. A councel of war called. The ſubject of the debate.

Saturday, *October* 25. the buſineſs that was in debate the day before at a counſel of war, was reaſſumed, and after much diſpute, it was reſolved, to march back with all our forces, on the Eaſt of *Ex*, to poſſeſs *Topſham*, and ſettle ſtrong quarters on that ſide, before they advanced any further Weſt to relieve *Plymouth*. Not, but that the *General* and his Officers had that place much in their thoughts, but conceived it not fit to attempt it at this ſeaſon.

The Reaſons of the reſolution.

The reaſons inducing to this reſolution, were chiefly theſe, That nothing could be of that concernment, nor ſo conducing to the advantage of the Kingdom, as the preſerving of this Army in an entire and healthful ſtate, for the future ſervice thereof. And ſuch was the ſickly

ſtate

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ſtate of the Army at this time, as called rather for ſome relaxation, then ſuch extream hard duty, as the relief of Plymouth would have put them upon, eſpecially if they ſhould have ſtaid by it to make it good when they had done. Only to march thither and relieve the Town which (the Enemy had blockt up by divers regular and ſtrong forts, well manned and furniſhed) was ſuch an enterprize, as certainly required a more ſtrong and healthy ſtate of the Army. And when the Army had done this, ſhould they have come back again for winter-quarters? The Enemy ſo eaſily raiſed, might as quickly have ſat down again, and ſo the relief of *Plymouth* would not have been one jot advanced. Or ſhould the Army have taken up their winter-quarters in an Enemies countrey? (ſurrounded with ſtrong garriſons both before and behinde them, beſides a potent Enemy in the field, judged (upon the beſt intelligence) to be equall, if not ſuperiour to them in number of horſe) it is equally evident to what an eminent hazard the Army muſt have been expoſed thereby. And what need was there to put that toile upon the Army? when his *Excellency* and the counſel of war well underſtood (though much was ſuggeſted to the contrary) that ſuch was the condition of *Plymouth*, that they wanted not either men, ammunition or victuals, (having received plentiful proviſions ſent them by ſea) only were impatient to be ſet at liberty for trade.

This day a party of horſe was ſent out towards *Okehampton*, to diſcover where the Enemy was gone, who returned with intelligence, that *Taveſtock* was their head-quarters.

§. 6.

Lords-day Octob. 26. the *General* in purſuance of the reſolution for *Topſham* (after the forenoon Sermon at *Crediton*) marched with the Army back to *Silverton*; two Regiments went to *Stoake*, and thoſe two Regiments that were at *Stoake* advanced that day to *Tepſham*, and three Regiments of horſe with them. This day intelligence came of the taking of *Carmarthen* by Major-General *Laughorne*; the gaining of which town proved the reducing of that

Some Regiments advancing to *Topſham*.

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that County; and that Major-general *Laugborne* had treaty concerning the associating of three Counties more, and had brought the same to good perfection.

§. 7.

Monday *October* 27. the *General* and Army reached *Topsham*; and that night the Enemy fired the houses in the Suburbs of *Excester*, to the number of about 80. which sent many out of the city, complaining of the cruelty of the Enemy: guards were kept that night within two miles of the city.

§. 8. A counsel of war called. The subject of the debate.

Tuesday *October* 28. a counsel of war was called to advise whether to put over forces (on the other side the river *Ex*) to *Affington*, and to make a bridge over at *Topsham*, the better to hold a mutual correspondency between both sides, and what forces should be sent thither: great dispute was about the same, but at last it was resolved (though much against the minde of those Gentlemen, whose sufferings made them earnestly desire a siege on both sides) to wave the putting over of forces to the other side, and the making of a bridge (as which appeared) would be extreamly difficult; and first to secure all on the East of *Ex*, before such time as they possest any quarters on the other side; for to divide the Army at that season of the year (to lye near so great a garrison upon duty, when already a sicknes was amongst our souldiers) was in the opinion of the General and the rest of the Commanders apprehended likely to ruine the Army; and therefore it was resolved to make several garrisons, first on the East side of *Ex* (along the *Clysses* river within three miles of *Excester*) which being once finished, a few men might keep them, and hinder provisions from going into the city, and the whole Army might thereby be at liberty to go on the other side to do the like afterwards: neither could the Bridge have been defended, had it been made, with lesse then 2000 men that must have quartered at *Topsham*, and gone near a mile to do duty at both ends of the Bridge (besides those other little bridges that must have been made upon the watery places beyond the river) would have been such a duty in the

The resolution and reasons of it.

Towards the latter end of this moneth of *Octob.* was *Shelford-house*, (not far from *Newark*) stormed and taken by Major-Gen. *Poinz.*

in the winter time (especially where the Enemy could not be hindred of his choice, with a great force to fall upon the one side, or the other, which he pleased) as might have hazarded our forces. Accordingly, *Bishops-clysse*, *Poultimore*, and *Stoak* were pitcht upon to be made garrisons. Sir *Iohn Bampfield*, a worthy Member of the House of Commons, first giving his consent that his house in *Poultimore* might be made a garrison, in regard it was so much for the service in hand, in the reducing of *Excester*. An Engineer was sent to Bishops-clisse to draw a Line for fortifications about Bedford-house. The *Lyme*-Regiment had the charge of these two garrisons, and Col. *Hamonds* Regiment was to secure and fortifie *Stoake*. *Anno* 1645. October.

Wednesday, 29. It was debated where the head-quarter should be this winter, whilst the Army stayed on the East side, whether at *Topsham*, or not? and upon debate, it was held fit to wave making *Topsham* a quarter at all, and that upon the same reason that moved the General to decline the making a Bridge, and putting over Forces on the other side: therefore upon this resolution (waving *Topsham*) the General having viewed the Fort at *Exmouth*, (which stands upon the sands, and commands the passage at the mouth of the River) sends away the Train of Artillery towards St. *Mary Autree*, and followes after himself, resolving to refresh his Army, who never stood in more need of it, by laying them in the best and most convenient quarters he could. §. 9.

This day his Excellencie heard from Captain *Moulton*, of the taking of *Monmouth* (a considerable garrison) and towards evening, received intelligence by our Spies, that *Gorings* horse, being near 5000. were come into the South-Hams, quartering at *Totnesse*, *Newton-bushel*, and as neer as *Chidley*, (the *Hams* being the only plentifull and unharassed part of Devonshire.) As also, that *Greenvile* was come with some fresh Foot out of *Cornwal*, to *Okehampton*.

§. 10. A letter to his Excellency, from the Pr. of Wales his Highnesse.

At *Autree*, a Trumpeter came to his Excellency from his Highnesse Prince *Charles*, with a Letter, desiring a Passe for

Anno 1645. Novem.

The ſcope of it.

for the Lord *Hopton*, and Lord *Culpepper* to go to the King, upon a deſigne of a mediation of Peace between the King and both Houſes of Parliament; which being a matter of great concernment, the conſideration thereof was put off to the next day, when the Trumpeter was returned with a Letter from the General to the Prince; intimating, That it was no wayes proper for the General to intermeddle with any Propoſitions touching an accommodation between His Majeſty and the Parliament. And therefore had ſent his Letter to the Parliament, from whom his Highneſs muſt expect an anſwer.

The ſumme of his Excellencies anſwer.

§. 11. The Parliament acknowledging their General.

In the interim, a fair Jewel, ſet with rich Diamonds of very great value, was preſented unto the General, by Mr. *Aſh*, and ſome other Members of Parliament, in the name of both Houſes, as a ſignal of that great honour which God had done him, in the great ſervice which by Gods aſsiſtance he performed for this Kingdome at *Naſeby*-Battel; and according to the commands of the Parliament, they tyed it in a blue Ribband, and put it about his neck.

§. 12. The happy news of a ſecond defeat of *Digby* briefly inſerted.

About this time arrived at the Army certain intelligence of a ſecond defeat given the Lord *Digby*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; who, by killing of an hundred men, and the taking of 200 horſe and many priſoners, among whom divers Commanders, by Sir *Iohn Brown*, were reduced to ſo much leſſer number; And were yet further extenuated, as they fled towards *Beeſton-caſtle*, by Colonel *Brigs*, who took 200 more of them: And yet farther, for the eaſe of the Ferry-boat that carried *Digby* to the *Iſle* of *Man*, reduced to the number of 20. (beſides ſome few Great ones that eſcaped with him) by Major-general *Vandrusk*, who took 180. of them flying through Weſtmerland. And here is the end of 1600 of the Kings prime horſe.

About this time alſo were the ſeverall garriſons of *Worton*, *Wiverton*, and *Welbeck* ſurrendred to valiant, and active Major gen *Poyntz*.

And with this came another peece, of the Enemies being routed, *Nevemb*. 1. by Lieut. colonel *Iones*, and Adjutant *Louthian*, where were above 100. ſlain, and about 400 taken priſoners, among whom divers perſons of quality; few of ours wounded, ſcarce any ſlain.

CHAP.

Anno 1645. Novem.

CHAP. VI.

Severall passages between the Prince, *and his* Excellency; *and between his* Excellency, *and* Goring. *Concerning* Pouldrum. *The Enemies preparations to relieve* Excester; *and Ours to meet them, &c.*

MOreover, during the Armies stay at *Autree*, the General was acquainted by a Person of credit, with a desire of the Lord *Goring*, Sir *Iohn Berkley*, and others, to give his *Excellencie* a meeting: which was taken into consideration; and after consultation with the Members of Parliament then present, and divers Officers, the General the next day thus expressed himself to the Gentlemen that had signified the former desire; That if any thing came in writing from the Lord *Goring*, or Sir *Iohn Berkley*, to the aforesaid purpose, he would afford a meeting. Upon this intimation, the next day came a Trumpeter from the Lord *Goring*, with a Letter to the General in these words:

An overture of a meeting made to his Excellency, from the Lord *Goring*, Sir *Iohn Berkley*, and others.

His Excellencies answer

SIR,

I have understood by a Person of honour and quality, of your readines to have a meeting with some of the Generall Officers of both Armies, and some others; wherein there will be a necessity of setling some circumstances, for the avoiding of all mistakes. I have instructed Colonel Scroop, *and Colonel* Philips, *in the particulars thereof; and therefore shall desire that you will be pleased to grant them a Safe-conduct for themselves and two servants, to go to your Quarters, and return.*

A letter from *Goring* thereupon.

Excester, *Novemb.* 12. 1645. *Your humble servant,* Geo. Goring.

This did put both the Officers, and Members of Parliament there, upon serious deliberation afresh; and in issue, this answer was returned by the General:

His Excellency advising thereupon.

My Lord,

According to your Lordships desire, I have sent you herewith a Safe-conduct for Colonel Scroop *and Colonel* Philips *to come to*

The answer his Excellency returned.

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my head-quarter, where I shall be ready to receive them to morrow.
I am, *Your Lordships humble servant,*

Tho: Fairfax.

§. 2. The reasons of his Excellencies entertaining the motion.

One main and principal reason inducing his Excellency (and approved by those he consulted with) to grant the Safe-conduct, was, For that it might likely increase the discontent (or jealousie at least) between *Grenvile*, and the Lord *Gorings* faction, if it were noysed that *Goring* came out to treat, without the privity of *Grenvile*, For, any better effect of the Treaty was not expected, His Excellencie understanding privately, that which they intended to offer, was in such a nature as was not proper for the Army to meddle with.

§. 3.

Col. *Scroop* and Col. *Philips*, upon this Safe-conduct, the next day came to the head-quarter at *Autree*; but comming somewhat late, had not accesse that night to the General, but were entertained by some of the Colonels of the Army untill the next day, when they were presented to the General, who (before such time as they began to say any thing of their errand to him) declared himself to them, to this effect: That if they had any thing to say concerning the surrender of *Excester*, or the disbanding of Armies, or any thing else which was belonging to the General as a Souldier to take notice of, he would hear them, otherwise he could not. And this was no more then was intimated unto them, before they came by Com. gen. *Ireton*, Col. *Pickering*, and the Judge-Advocate: whereupon they answered, That the Instructions that they had, were in order to a general Peace: To which was replied, That that was proper to the cognisance of the Parliament; therefore the General, as a Souldier, (and the Parliaments servant) without their leave, would not say any thing to it. Whereupon the next day they returned back unto *Excester*, much unsatisfied. The General easily perceiving the drift of their intentions was, To have had both Armies engage themselves to force both King and Parliament to Conditions.

The effect of the meeting.

And

And no ſooner did the General ſatisfie himſelf in the ſcope of theſe Overtures from the *Prince*, and the Lord *Goring*; but, by an Expreſſe ſent up to the Parliament, and the Committee of both Kingdoms, he was moſt carefull to give them an account thereof, and how he had entertained the ſame; which it ſeems was but needfull, This *Army* not wanting enemies every where, to give an ill repreſentation of their actions.

Anno 1645. Decemb.

§. 4. His Excellencie acquainting the Parliament with the whole proceeding.

But to return from whence I have digreſsed. From Saturday *Novemb.*15. to Tueſday *Decemb.*2. the General continued at *Autree*, riding about ſometimes, to ſee the finiſhing of the Works at *Broad-cliſſe* and *Poultimore*, and diſpoſing of the quarters for the Foot, who were ſick in moſt places, there dying of Souldiers and Inhabitants in the Town of *Autree*, 7, 8, and 9, a day, for ſeverall weeks together, inſomuch that it was not held ſafe for the head-quarter to be continued there any longer. Col. *Pickering*, that pious, active Gentleman, that lived ſo much to God, and his Country, and divers other Officers, dyed of the *New diſeaſe* in that place; Six of the Generals own family were ſick of it at one time, and throughout the Foot regiments half the Souldiers: yet notwithſtanding, at this very time did the Army undergo very hard cenſures by ſome, for not being in action. But ſo long as Conſcience and Judgement was ſatisfied, that if the ſeaſon of the year, and the abilities of Mens bodies would have admitted a March, it ſhould have been moſt willingly imbraced; and that it was only the Divine providence that had awarded otherwiſe: The Army had the leſs cauſe to take notice of other mens opinions, eſpecially when the Parliament had (by Vote) left the General at liberty to diſpoſe of his Army as he ſhould ſee cauſe.

§. 5.

The Army unworthily cenſured by ſome.

But whoſoever would have me proceed in my ſtory, muſt give me leave firſt to weep a while this ſorrowfull Verſe, over deer Colonel *Pickerings* Hearſe.

Anno 1645. Decemb.

Anagr. { *IOHANNES PICKERING.*
IN God I RECKON HAPINES.

Vain *all our* profer'd Ranſoms *are*,
There's no diſcharge *in the* Graves waſ:
Well * They *may* ſhew, *yet they cannot*,
What a brave Captive *Death hath got.*
Only, *t'*amuſe *our* diſcontent,
(*For Paſsion* kils, *that has no* vent:)
Might thy wiſht preſence *find* excuſe,
(*Of whom we made too little uſe*)
Wee'ld ask, (*ſwift* Poſter) *whoſe* * *great* haſte
Was ne'r before the Kingdoms waſte:)
Why poſts thou from's? Becauſe we * reſt,
Which ſuited not thy active *breſt?*
Did that Antiperiſtaſis
Fire *thy fine Spirits to thy bliſſe?*
Muſt thou be ſcaling *Heaven alone*,
For want of other action?
Would thou hadſt took that leiſure-*time*,
To viſit ſome reſponſal-*Clime.*
Or, muſt hard * Cenſures, (*voyd of love*)
Be expiate *by thy* remove?
Or, Covetous, *couldſt thou not* ſtay
For wages, *till the* end *o'th' day?*
Or could no vantage *mend thy* * ſtature,
(*To ſee our* triumphs) *under* * Nature?
But 'tis in vain to ravel *more*,
W' have nothing but thy Name *t'adore*:
That Oracle *gives the beſt* gueſſe,
Wherein we heare thee thus profeſſe,

IN God I RECKON HAPINES.

* (i) Proffered ranſomes.

* He had done the Kingdome great ſervice, by riding between *England* and *Scotland* before theſe troubles.

* The Army reſted then ſome time at *Autree.*

* The Army was unworthily cenſured at that time, as is obſerved before in the Story.

* He was a little man, but of a great courage.

* *Nature* (i) the Heavens.

Anno 1645. Decemb. §. 6.

The Enemy was much encouraged by the sicknes of our Army, and was confident (as by their Letters which afterwards were intercepted, did appear) it had in a great measure weakned, and would consume the Army to nothing: whereupon they were much animated to raise new Forces under the command of his Highnes Prince *Charles* (the Lord *Goring* having some few dayes before taken shipping at *Dartmouth* for *France*, to fetch over some fresh forces against the Spring, leaving the command of his Horse, in his absence, to the Lord *Wentworth*) and to that purpose sent out Proclamations for the Counties of *Cornwal* and *Devon*, to rise in arms, and to go in person with the Prince, for that his Highnes was resolved to march in person upon the head of them, making no question (as by their Letters we did understand) to make our Forces rise from the East side *Excester*, and inforce our Retreat. And indeed, his Excellencie had certain intelligence, that the Enemy had an Army very considerable, having drawn severall Foot and Horse from their quarters before *Plimouth*, whereunto they received some addition in Foot from *Dartmouth* & *Barnstable*, which with the considerable Recruits of Foot that *Greenvile*, with most extrem and industrious cruelty had raised and brought out of *Cornwall*, did make a body of nine or ten thousand horse and foot, then quartering about *Tavestock*, and upon the edge of *Cornwall*, and also at *Okehampton*, where were 2000. of their foot (besides horse) commanded by Sir *Richard Greenvile*.

The Prince raising *Cornwal* & *Devon*.

§ 7.

Yet a few dayes the Generall continued at *Autree*, but resolved forthwith to remove (in regard the disease increased so fast) to *Tiverton*, which place was agreed on to be an head-quarter, which resolution was actuated on *Saturday*, the Generall having first received intelligence from Captain *Farmer*, of a Bark loaden with commodities of good value, going for *France*, from *Excester*, taken by him between *Topsham* and the Fort.

§. 8. A councell of War called.

Lords-day *December* 7. A councell of War was called, where

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where it was propounded; that in regard the garrisons of *Nutwell*, *Broad-Clisse*, *Poultimore*, and *Stoak*, were now made tenable against any suddaine assault of the Enemy, and possessed by the forces of *Lyme*, some foot of Major-Gen. *Massies*, and some new raised Regiments of the County, whereby *Excester* was perfectly straightened upon the East side, (being by those garrisons made incapable, either to annoy the country, or relieve themselves on this side,) and in regard that now it would be convenient to remove our foot beyond the river, in order both to the straightening of *Excester* on that side, and to the hindering the Enemies recruting of his forces, which at this instant he was strongly indeavouring; that some Regiments should be sent to *Crediton*, a place that stood in a good aire, which likely would much conduce to the health of our souldiers, and lay conveniently for a strong quarter upon the West side of the river: which force was sent under the command of Sir *Hardresse Waller*, a Gentleman faithfull, and well able and ready to undergo that charge; but lest the Enemy upon the advance of our foot thither, should fire the towne (as they had often threatened) a party of Horse and Dragoones were sent all night to get possession of the town, till the foot could get up to them. The next morning being Munday *December* 8. the Dragoones were there by day break, but by reason of the extremity of the weather, the foot could not get to *Crediton* till Tuesday *December* 9. on which day the Horse and Dragoons gave them possession of the town; which within two or three dayes after, became the more usefull to us, by the Generals going thither to order a designe in hand against *Pouldrum* House, by water and land; which being on Friday *December* 12. was immediately put in execucion, only one day intervening; which brought intelligence of the taking of *Latham*-house, in *Lancashire*, with eight pieces of Ordnance, six murthering pieces, five hundred Arms, and proportionable Ammunition: As also of the Kings Propositions to the Parliament for peace, and of his Letter at the same time to Prince *Rupert* against peace. The

The Proposition and result.

Some forces sent under Sir *Hardresse Waller* to possesse *Crediton*; and the blocking up of *Excester* on that side the River, committed to him.

Some Dragoons sent to possesse Crediton before hand.

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§. 9. A design upon *Pouldrum*-house.

The design against *Pouldrum*-house was this, and thus carryed, Lords-day *December* 14. nine of the clock at night, Captain *Deane* (the Comptroller of the Ordnance) was commanded over *Ex* with 200 foot and dragoons, to possesse *Pouldrum*-Castle, but the enemy had some few houres before got 150 men into it, unto those that were there before, which our men not discovering before they had landed, would not return without attempting something; the Church at *Pouldrum* (being not far distant from the Castle) they resolved to possesse, and make the best of it, and accordingly did so, and the next morning they got provisions from *Nutwell*-house unto them into the Church, and began to fortifie the same; the enemy at *Excester* much startled hereat, fearing the Castle would be lost, as well as the River blockt up by the fortifying of this Church; sent therefore on *Monday* the fifteenth, a party of five hundred foot, who joyning with two hundred from the Castle, assaulted our men about seven at night, threw in many hand granadoes amongst them, and so continued storming till ten, but were beaten off with much losse, leaving their dead on the place, and carrying with them many wounded, as appeared by the Snow, that was much stained with their blood as they retreated.

Our party in *Pouldrum*-Church acquitting themselves gallantly.

§. 10.

In this service Captain *Farmer* (Captain of Dragoones) commanded our men, who as they were beyond expectation happy in their successe, (not one man being lost in the storme) so they were resolved to continue in their duty; and notwithstanding the extremity of the cold, by reason of the great frost and snow, and want of all meanes to resist or qualifie the same in the church; having no firing there, they would not quit the same till they received orders so to doe: which hard service (hard in every respect) although they were not immediately discharged of; yet the next day, Sir *Hardresse Waller* marched from *Crediton* with a strong party to *Exminster* to alarm the Enemy, that he might not make a second attempt upon them, till they had fortified the place, or were recalled; which action of

About this time was *Hereford* surprized and taken by a most gallant stratagem.

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The Generals noble care to bring them off.

of Sir *Hardresse Waller* took that effect as was desired: the Enemy being so amazed, that they durst not march out that day, as they had purposed, to attempt the church again, lest our men should get between them and home; and God having blessed the meanes to their preservation hitherto: The Generall considering further the bitter coldness of the weather, and the hardness of the duty they would necessarily be put unto, if they should make good the church; sent orders to them to draw off, which that they might do with the more safety; two Regiments were appointed to draw downe, and alarm the Enemy on that side *Excester*, while they made good their retreat over the River; by meanes whereof on Wednesday *December* 17. The Comptroller, and Captain *Farmer* brought off the men very safe, with their armes and ammunition; the Enemy making no sally out of the Castle upon them, though otherwise they had a faire opportunity to have fallen on them. And these souldiers thus happily delivered, and thus honorably come off, were rewarded with proportions out of the prize, taken by Captain *Farmer* below *Apsham*, at the Generals command.

§. 11 More force sent to Sir *Hardresse Waller* to *Crediton*.

Col. *Okey* annoying the enemy at the Lord *Chichesters* house.

But the Enemy drawing more force to *Okehampton*, two Regiments more were sent to *Crediton*, *December* 18. to assist those that were placed there before; the same day Col. *Okey* with a party of Dragoones fell upon the Enemy at the Lord *Chichesters* house, took a Captaine, 12. prisoners, 19. horses, and returned back to his new formed garrison at *Fulford* House, without the losse of a man. Also information being given that the house of one Mr. *Davis* at *Cannon-Teen*, (being within four miles of *Excester*) stood convenient for a garrison, and might beare an usefull proportion towards the blocking up of *Excester*, and hindering of provision from the *Southams*; some more of Col. *Okeys* Dragoones were ordered thither to possesse the same, who accordingly went and fulfilled their orders, *December* 21. and were no longer in the house, but Munday *December* 22. in the morning, the Enemy sent a force against it, who stormed

§ 12. Mr. *Davis* his house at Cannon-teene garrisoned for the Parliam.

Assaulted by the enemy.

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ſtormed the houſe, burnt the out-houſes; yet Captaine *Woggan* who commanded the Dragoones, behaved himſelfe ſo gallantly, that he beat the Enemy off, killed four, deſperately wounded a Lieutenant-Colonel, and took divers priſoners.

The Enemy repelled.

Tueſday, Dec. 23 His Excellency had intelligence of the Enemies intention to march with their Army to relieve *Exceſter*; and of their preparation of proviſions to that end.

§. 13. Severall Intelligence of the Enemies preparations to releive *Exceſter*.

Decemb. 25. or thereabouts, his Excellency had animadverſion from the Committee of both Kingdoms, of incurſions made by the Kings horſe from *Oxford* into the adjacent parts, doing much miſchiefe thereby; whereupon the Regiment of Colonel *Rainsborough* (then before *Corfe*-Caſtle) was commanded to march from thence to *Abingdon*, and Col. *Fleetwood* with the Generals, his owne, and Col. *Whaleys* Regiments, and ſix troopes of Dragoones was ſent alſo to lye about *Iſlip*, to attend the motion of the Kings horſe, and guard the Aſſociated counties, as alſo in relation to the ſtraightening of *Oxford*.

Fryday *December* 26. The Generall had advertiſement from *Plymouth*, of the Enemies actuating their intentions, advancing in a great body towards the releiſe of *Exceſter*, (as they conceived) which Intelligence was alſo confirmed by ſeveral of our Spies: whereupon a Councel of war was called, wherein it was adjudged expedient to be in a fighting poſture, to receive them, if they advanced; and accordingly ſuch reſolution was taken up; to which they ſaw the more cauſe to adhere, by another Spie which came to them the next day with tidings to the ſame effect; particularizing moreover, that the Prince was to be in perſon in the head of the Army, to countenance the *Corniſh*, and that they would put all upon this Caſt of relieving *Exceſter*. Moſt of the enemies horſe were ſent the next (being the Lords) day, to *Okehampton*, which quickened the Army unto a reſolution of a Rendezvouz between that and *Crediton* on the *Monday*, which was made good accordingly. The horſe and ſome foot being drawn up at *Cadbury*-hill, ſome foure

The Army reſolved to be in readineſſe to receive the Enemy.

The Army advancing towards the Enemy.

Anno 1645. January.

miles from *Crediton*: but upon assurance there that the Enemy did not stir from *Okehampton*, and for that the weather was bitter cold, and the ground so slippery, that horses could not well march, (and for other causes) it was held fit to take up quarters thereabouts: Yet it was observed that this readines and motion of the Army checkt the Enemies further advance; the Army took time to make provisions for a continued march, by carriages on horse-back, these parts admitting no other.

Tuesday, passed with the good news of the surrender of *Skipton*-castle in *Yorkshire*; the same day the Enemy appointed a Rendezvouz again; but the extream hard weather rendring it impossible for our horse to march (unless they were all frosted in an extraordinary manner) kept us still in our quarters.

§. 14. A messenger of the Princes taken.

The next day was delivered into our hands a messenger of the Princes, going to *Excester* for Arms for the Prince his person, who was come to *Dartmouth*, when also his Excellency had intelligence that some Forces for his Majesties service were to be sent over by the Lord *Goring* out of *France*, and to land at *Dartmouth*.

§. 15. Sir *George Chidley*'s house garrisoned for the straitning Excester.

Saturday, *Ian.* 3. The blocking up of *Excester* was so much further endeavoured by the addition of Sir *George Chidley's* house at *Ashton*, to the garrisons which were possest by our forces, the better to stop provisions from going into *Excester*.

§. 16.

The next, being *Lords-day*, brought good news from *Plymouth*, viz. That they had taken two Works, and a Church from the Enemy, at *St. Budeaux*, and therein 105. prisoners, besides 20 Officers: but withall, That the Enemy intended to demand satisfaction for the same of us, and were for that end advancing with a considerable strength to relieve *Excester*.

CHAP.

Anno 1645. January.

CHAP. VII.

The slackening of the siege of Excester, *by the Armies advance to meet the Enemy, (leaving only a Force to block up the City) With their great successe in those two actions. The Defeat of the Enemy at* Bovey-Tracy, *and the taking of* Dartmouth; *with a particular account of their Marches, and lesser Passages.*

VPon this certain, & renewed intelligence; on the morrow, (viz. *Monday Ian.* 5.) a private consultation was had, & divers Officers of the Army sought councel of Heaven that day (keeping it as a private day of humiliation) in answer whereto, God inclined their hearts to resolve of an Advance. The next day, a publique Councel of war was called, and (that the former resolution might appear to be the answer of God) it was in this publique Councel resolved, *Nemine contradicente*, to advance into the *South-Hams*, where the greatest part of the Enemy lay. The Dragoons from *Canonteen* were before-hand with this Resolution, who this day fell into the Enemies quarters, took a Captain, 9 men, and 20 horse. And that this purpose to advance might finde the less interruption; The same day, the *Stockings* and *Shooes* (which the poor *Foot* had so great need of, and had so long expected) came to *Tiverton* most seasonably, to fit them for a March; wherewith they were so well satisfied, as that they shewed much forwardnes to march, without staying for Cloaths, which they had great need of also, being many of them all to tatters, and the weather was extream cold to boot. While the Army was preparing to march, some of our Dragoons from petty garrisons, on *Wednesday*, snatcht at the Enemy at *Huick*, took a Lieutenant, 10 prisoners, 22 horses, and one of their Colours, with this Motto; *Patientia victrix.*

The Army (by a councel of war) resolved to advance towards the Enemy.

Thursday *Ian.* 8. All things being prepared in readinesse for a March, the Horse and Foot (with their Ammunition on horse-back) set forward to *Crediton*; and at the same time, Sir *Hardresse Waller* with two Regiments

§. 2. The Army advancing according to former resolution.

*At this place, Sir *Hardresse Waller* was engaged with a party of the Enemies horse and dragoons, where he slew many of them, took 60 prisoners, 40 horse, and gave an Alarm to the Enemy on all that side the country, whilest the Army in the mean time did the following action at *Bovey-Tracy*.

ments marched from *Crediton* to * *Bow*, as if the Army had bent towards *Okehampton*, (where the Enemy had both horse and foot) when as indeed, it was only to amuse them; For at the same instant, a Brigade of horse and foot marched that night to *Crediton*, and the next day (though very cold, and much snow upon the ground) the same Brigade marched to *Bovey-Tracy* (then the Enemies quarters) Lieut.general *Cromwel* going in person with them, who about six at night fell into their quarters at *Bovey*, (where part of the Lord *Wentworths* Brigade then lay) took about 400 Horse, seven Colours, one of them the Kings colours, with a crown, and *C. R.* upon it. The Enemy in *Bovey* were put to their shifts; yet through the darkness of the night, most of the Men escaped, except a Major and some few Officers more, and about 50 prisoners. It was almost supper time with them when our men entred the Town, most of them at that instant were playing at Cards, but our Souldiers took up the stakes for many of their principal Officers, who being together in one room, threw their stakes of mony out at the window, which whilst our Souldiers were scrambling for, they escaped out at a back-door over the river, and saved their best stakes. In the mean time his Excellency with another part of the Army was advanced from *Tiverton* to *Morton*, within three miles of *Bovey*; but part of the Carriage-horses with the Ammunition, by reason of the Frost, could get no neerer then *Fulford*.

Lieut.gen. *Cromwell* beating up the enemies quarters at *Bovey-Tracy*.

§. 3. The next day (the weather still extream bitter cold) the forces at *Morton*, & at *Bovey-tracy*, had a rendezvouz near *Bovey*, whereat intelligence was brought by the country, that about 120. of those that escaped in the night, were got into *Ellington* church: whereupon a party of horse and foot were cõmanded after them, wch the Enemy in the church understanding, fled away. The Army marched that night towards *Ashburton*, the Enemies head-quarter the night before. A party of horse was sent to see if the Enemy had quit

The former successe improved, by pursuing the enemy from place to place.

quit the town (as his Excellency had intelligence they had done) who finding the enemy at the towns end, were engaged with them, beat the enemies Rearguard through the town, took nine men, and twenty horse, and inforced the rest of their horse to flie severall wayes, being two Regiments of the Lord *Wentworths* Brigade, (that were left of five) three of them being taken at *Bovey-tracy*. *Anno* 1645. January.

Lords day *Ianuary* 11. The Generall, after that by Spies he had sent Intelligence to *Plymouth*, of the retreat of the Enemy, marched with the Army to *Totness* (where the Enemy had a foot quarter, but upon our advance quitted it) leaving one Regiment at *Ashburton*. This *Totnesse* seemes to be one of the finest of an Inland town in *Devon-shire*, and many of the Inhabitants rich; a party was sent from hence towards *Dartmouth*, to discover what scattered forces of the Enemies might be gone that way; this party brought in some Officers prisoners, who seemed to be well apaid with their lot; saying, it was well they were taken, for they had no where to go to, but the Sea. §. 4.

Munday *Ianuary* 12. The Generall taking speciall care to uphold the courage of *Plimouth*, having sent (for more surety, lest the former Messengers should fail) another Messenger, to give them notice of the Enemies retreat; gave orders for two Regiments to be drawn before *Dartmouth*. And at the same time strong parties of horse were sent towards *Tavestock* after the Enemy, which the enemy apprehending to be the Van of our Army, supposing our Army following after them, with great distraction and fear, quit the siege before *Plimouth*, leaving their Forts undemolished, with seven pieces of Ordnance, and four barrels of Powder, making great hast over the River *Tamar* into *Cornwall*. §. 5.

About this time those Regiments of Foot under Colonel *Hamond*, that were assigned to quarter at the town, which was scarse able to afford them Victuals (having caught little Fish of six weeks before) was by a wonderfull, and indeed, no lesse then miraculous providence supplyed, and furnished to thē by such great draughts of Mullets which God was pleased to send in, in that abundance at that time, as the like had not been known before; whereby both Town and Army was plentifully provided for.

In the mean while a Summons was sent in to *Dartmouth*, honourable conditions offered in the same, but rejected by the

A Summons sent in to *Dartmouth*.

Anno 1645. January.

the Governour; forces were commanded upon the guard within half a mile of the Town all night, who encountred with extream bitter cold weather and ſnow, yet were moſt cheerfull upon duty, as they went readily unto it. The next day, the General and the Officers went to take a more particular view of the Town; it was the joynt opinion of them all, that they might carry the ſame by ſtorm. The Enemy, according to their wonted manner, not ſparing to take or deſtroy any thing, whereby they might advantage themſelves, and diſadvantage us; burnt Mr. *Plumley's* houſe, and therein 400 buſhels of Corn threſhed, and as much unthreſhed. In order to a Storm, more Forces were ordered to march to aſsiſt thoſe before *Dartmouth*. By lying three or four cold dayes before it, we loſt nothing but a little time; for by that ſtay, Captain *Batten* (being deſired by the General) was come before the Haven with a Squadron of ſhips to aſsiſt by ſea, and to keep any of their ſhips from going out of the harbour, while we ſtormed by land. *Thurſday* the 15. the Country (upon orders) brought in Ladders: the *Comptroller* was ſent aboard Captain *Batten* for ſome Sea-men, received 200. and allotted them a Poſt to do duty. *Friday* the 16. The *General* himſelf took an account in what readines things were for a ſtorm; More particular intelligence (to that which came before) was given out of the town, what condition they were in there; good Guides were ſent for from *Plymouth*, that were Captain *Roopes* men, and had been formerly inhabitants of *Dartmouth*, to direct our men the beſt way into the town upon the ſtorm. *Saturday*, 17. the General went again to view the Town; all things were concluded on for a ſtorm, and Lots caſt for every man, who ſhould fall on firſt, and who to come on as Reſerves; the Officers of all the Regiments viewed their ſeverall Poſts, and every man provided his guides.

Lords-day, 18. Mr. *Del*, in the morning, and Mr. *Peters*, in the evening, exhorted the ſouldiers to their duty; (For Mr. *Bowles*, who had formerly attended the ſervice of the Army,

Army, being called to his charge at *York*, had taken his leave of his Excellencie, Mr. *Del* ſucceeding in his room) The ſouldiers were all drawn out; about ſeven at night Forlorn hopes were ſet; the evening very milde as at Midſomer, the froſt being newly gone: the Word was given, *God with us*; the ſignal of the Souldiers was, their ſhirts out before and behind. About 11. a clock at night, the ſtorm begun; and after the Enemy had diſcharged once, our Men got under their Canon, and quickly poſſeſſed them, and turned them againſt the Enemy; for the Army had no Peeces at all of their own, the way and weather not admitting any to be drawn againſt that place, where there were an hundred Peeces ready mounted againſt them, (a ſtrange and unparalleld undertaking) The Commanders of every Party poſſeſt thoſe places they were deſigned unto: Lieut. colonel *Pride*, who led on Colonel *Harlowes* Regiment, poſſeſt *Mount-Boon*, wherein were 22 peeces of Ordnance; Colonel *Hamond* poſſeſt the Weſt gate, wherein were 4 Peeces of ordnance, and two in the Flanker: Colonel *Forteſcue* gained *Tunſtal*-church, with 12 Peeces of ordnance, and ſo we became maſters of the whole Town, and the old Caſtle, in which were 5 great Iron guns which commanded the River. In all, our men poſſeſsed themſelves of about 60. peeces of Ordnance in the ſtorm, among which one Braſs Demi-canon. And ſuch was even the miraculous goodneſs of God in this ſtorm, that we loſt but one man, and had very few wounded, notwithſtanding they plyed moſt fiercely both great and ſmall ſhot upon our men from the Forts. The ſtorm ſucceeding ſo well, the Comptroller of the Ordnance was ſent to ſummon two Men of war which lay in the River, which no ſooner received the Summons, but they yielded immediately. There were two great Forts, wherein were about 34 Peeces of ordnance, which ſtood a mile from the town, not taken with the reſt, that beat a Parley three houres together before they were heard; but in iſsue, Sir *Henry Cary*, who was in one of them, had conditions

Anno 1645. January.

Dartmouth ſtormed, and taken.

Anno 1645 January.

conditions to march away, He and his Officers with arms; the Governour, and Lord *Newport*, &c. being in the other Fort, were refused the like conditions, and submitted themselves to mercy.

§. 5.

I should have enlarged the more upon the action of this storm, but that I finde a Letter of the *Generals* to the House of *Peers* concerning the same, which is more worthy to be heard it self, as followeth.

His Excellencies Letter to the House of Peers, concerning the takeing of *Dartmouth*.

My Lords,

After my comming to Totnes, *the Enemy rising in great disorder from their siege at* Plymouth, *leaving their guns and some ammunition behind them, I considered with those about me, of attempting upon* Dartmouth; *and it being concluded affirmatively, I caused two Regiments of Foot to march to* Ditsam, *and two to* Stoke-Flemming, *being on the West side of* Dart *river. I having summoned the place before, resolved upon Sunday night to attempt it by storm, which was agreed to be done in three places; The first Post was on the West-gate, by Colonel* Hamond; *On the North-end of the Town, by Lieut.colonel* Pride; *and on* Tunstal *Church and Works by Col.*Fortescue: *The time resolved upon was in the evening; Our men fell on with great resolution, to whom Colonel* Lamberts *Regiment was a Reserve, and to alarm the Enemy elsewhere. Colonel* Hamond *entred the West-gate, where foure guns were planted, and two upon the Mill-poole, upon his Flank, (the Enemy firing his great guns but once) His men that had the Forlorn-hope did very gallantly (as indeed they did all) and went freely on, and beat off the Enemy, and possessed one Fort after another, viz.* Mount-Flaggon, *the* West-gate, Paradice-Fort, *and beat off the Main guard, where were taken four Lieut.colonels; And so possessed the Town, from the* West-gate, *to* Little-Dartmouth. *In the interim, Lieut.colonel* Pride *attempted the North part of the Town, called* Harnesse; *where beating off the Enemy, he entred, and took about* 80 *prisoners in it, and by it possessed all the North part of the Town, unto the Draw-bridge, which divided the North part from the rest of the Town; where Colonel* Hamonds *men, and his, met. Colonel* Fortescue *with his men*

attempted

Anno 1646. January.

attempted Tunstal *Church, which was very well manned, with above* 100. *men, and having in it* 10. *guns: His men, after some dispute, with good resolution entred the place, and possessed it. So that by this time the Enemy was beaten out of all, except the great Fort on the East side of the River, called* Kingsworth-Fort, *and the Castle, with the Fort that lay over the Castle at the mouth of the Harbour, called* Gallants-Bower; *to which last, the Governour, and the Earl of* Newport, *and as many as escaped us, fled. After they were forced from their Strengths out of the Town; the Governour comming back from the Castle, to see in what posture the Town was, had a remarkable shot, as he was in the Boat: A Musquet-shot was made at the Boat, which pierced the Boat, and both the thighs of one that sate next to him, and about three inches into his own thigh; whereupon he retreated to the Castle. Our Dragoons, with* 2 *companies of our Firelocks, and some Sea-men, were only to alarm* Kingsworth-Fort, *wherein was Sir* Henry Cary *with his Regiment, having in it* 12 *Guns, and* 12 *Barrels of Powder, and convenient proportion of Ammunition. This was a very strong Fort, with about four good Bulwarks, strong enough to make a troublesome resistance: But the Enemy came willingly to Terms; and to save time, I willingly condescended to let Sir* Henry Cary *march away, with the rest, leaving the Arms, Ordnance, Ammunition, with all Provisions in the Fort, to Me, and All engaging themselves never to take up Arms more against the* Parliament; *which was accordingly performed. Next morning, being thus Master of all, but the* Castle, *and* Gallants-Bower, *I summoned that: The* Governour *was willing to listen unto me; but I held him to those terms, upon which after some dispute, he yielded; which was, To deliver himself, and all Officers and Souldiers, upon Quarter. He sent me out Colonel* Seymour, *and Master* Denham, *for Hostages, with whom came out the Earle of* Newport, *and all was this day performed accordingly. In this Fort and Castle were eleven Guns, with proportion of Ammunition and Provisions: We have taken in the Harbour two Men of war; one belonging to the Governour of* Barnstable, *with* 12 *guns, Burthen* 200. *Tuns; the other belonging to* Newcastle, *formerly Captain* Johnsons, *of* 10. *guns.*

Anno 1646 January.

In the Town, One hundred and three Peeces of Ordnance, and about six hundred Prisoners, and one hundred Horse, with good proportion of Arms and Ammunition, an exact particular whereof I am not able to give your Lordships at present.

There being many of the town, Souldiers in Plymouth, *and some Officers; and understanding that that Town hath Two thousand five hundred in garrison, besides Townsmen, I have sent thither for Five hundred Foot for this place, who quickly will increase to more: And to this I desire your approbation; for having found more work to do, I held it not fit to weaken my Army, especially considering the Recruits designed by you, I doubt will be too long before they come.*

I have given your Lordships a brief account of this Service; which I desire may be accompted a sweet mercy of God, in a fitting season, and only ascribed to Him, who (truly) did direct and act it, and made all the preparation to it, both in the ordering our hearts, & giving Health to the Army, who laboured two moneths ago extremely of Sicknesse, but is now in good disposition generally to health. I can say, I find it to be in the hearts of all here, in all integrity to serve you; And that it is so, is still the mercy of GOD: For surely, the successe of your Affairs only depends upon the ordering of a Gratious Providence; which is no lesse visible in your Councels, (which we congratulate) then amongst us; That being the common root and spring of all, and which can and will carry you through the greatest difficulties, and us in serving you, untill God hath finished his own work. Wherein to professe the obligation and readines of my self, and the Army, by the same good hand of GOD, is all the undertaking of

Your Lordships most

Dartmouth, *Ian.*20.
1645.

humble Servant,

THO. FAIRFAX.

Prisoners

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Prisoners taken at DARTMOUTH.

§. 6. Sir *Hugh Pollard*, Governour. Earl of *Newport*. Colonel *Seymour*. Lieutenant-Colonels, 4. Majors, 2. Captains, 15. Lieutenants, 14. Ensigns, 9. and one Cornet. Besides many Country-Gentlemen, Ministers, and Inferior Officers. All the Common-souldiers, being betwixt 800. and 1000. were set at liberty to repair to their dwellings. Ordnance, about 120. mounted; and 2 Men of War in the Harbour.

§. 7. After our men were entred the Town, they had extream wet weather, which continued so the next day, that it much hindred the setling of the Town. *Monday*, 19. Sir *Henry Cary* marched out of the Town, with all his Officers and Souldiers, leaving the Ordnance, Arms and Ammunition therein, to us. Some time was spent this day in the disposing of the Prisoners. The *Engineer*, being a Papist, (as the Implements that he had about him did declare, *viz.* the Masse-book, Cope, Hood, and Surplice, which were found in his chamber) was in danger to have been torne in peeces by the Women of the town, for his cruelty in burning of houses, and other villanous acts. *Tuesday*, 20. the Guns were cleered. The *General* went aboard Captain *Battens* ship, where he was Nobly entertained. All the *Cornish-men* that were prisoners, were set at liberty, and had two shillings a man, to carry them home; That the *Cornish* might see, we had forgot former injuries, and respected them as much as any other County. Commissioners were appointed to dispose of the Prize-goods taken in the Town, towards the reparation of the Well-affected of the Town, that suffered at the Storm, who had the greatest part of the Goods distributed amongst them.

The noble usage of the *Cornish* (though enemies)

Anno 1646. January.

And now the *General*, having reaped ſo great and happy an advantage by his digreſsion from the ſiege of *Exceſter*, (though he left ſufficient Force alſo to block it up) The next day, without any more delay, returned to *Totnes*; Iſſued out Warrants to four Hundreds, to appeare there on *Saturday* at nine of the clock, in order to the ſervice of the Kingdome, and particularly for the good of thoſe Parts.

ANGLIA

Anno 1645. January.

ANGLIA REDIVIVA.

OR,

ENGLAND'S RECOVERY.

PART IV.

CHAP. I.

The Army returning to the Siege at Excester: Pouldram *Castle surrendred: A* French *Vessell struck into* Dartmouth, *wherein Letters of consequence from the Queen: How far the reducing of* Excester *was endeavoured before a second diversion.*

HIS Excellency and the conduct of this Army (in all their motion attending Providence) having answered the call of God in rising from *Excester*, and meeting the Enemy (wherein they found that great assistance and successe that hath been related) now discerning no further advantage offering it selfe against the Field-Enemy at present, his Excellency, with the advice of his Officers, resolves with all speed possible, to return with the Army to the Siege of *Excester*, and to improve the advantage of that further reputation their late successes had given them, in vigorous endeavours against that place; and in the meane time, till the other Forces could follow, some Regiments martched toward *Excester*, a Summons was sent to S. *Edmund Fortescue*, Governor of *Charls-fort* at *Salcomb*; from whence a refusal of surrender was returned, & consultation was had about *Barnstable*.

Saturday Jan. 24. The Country according to appointment of his Excellency, appeared at *Totnes*, in number about 3000. out of whom, upon consultation with the Committees, a Regiment was to be raised of such as were willing, under Colonel *Fowell*: which done, the General §. 1.

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martched to the Lady *Reynolds* her house, whence on the *Lords day* after forenoons Sermon, his Excellency martched to *Chidley*, endeavouring first to take a view of *Pouldram*; before which place Col. *Hammond* was set downe with some force: But night comming on (whilest he had yet two miles thither) he was forced to returne to *Chidley*, whithout viewing the Castle, which ere the next day was happily put out of a capacity of being viewed by him (but in a new Relation;) for about twelve at night the newes came to him of the surrender thereof, and therein five Barrels of Powder, Match and Bullet proportionable, and four pieces of Ordnance.

Pouldram Castle surrendred.

§. 2. A *French* Vessell (by a good Providence) strucke into *Dartmouth* upon a mistake.

Monday 26. Tidings were brought the General of a *French* Vessel that came from *France* with a Packet from the *Queen*, which was struck into *Dartmouth*, presuming it to have still been in the hands of the Kings Forces: and indeed little likelihood was there that it should be in any other, especially so sodainly, and at a time of yeer so unseasonable for action or storm, but that God encouraged the Army to undertake it, and his strong Arm prospered them in their attempt. The Vessel being thus delivered, by immediate Providence, into our hands, the Packet of Letters was yet more strangely preserved and recovered out of the Sea, wherinto it was thrown, when they knew their mistake (according to the *Queens* directions) but God provided a Wave to bring it to the Boat that was sent out to seek it, and so it was brought unto his Excellency; wherein was found Letters from the *Queen*, Lord *Goring*, Lord *Jermin*, *Davenant* and others, intercepted: Some of the Contents were these.

The Packet of Letters (which were of no small consequence) strangly recovered.

The speciall and most observable Contents of the Letters.

The *Queen* by her Letters in answer to some former Letters she had received, touching the *King's* intentions of transporting the *Prince* to *Denmark*, utterly dislikes it, and neither approves of *Holland* or *Flanders*; adviseth the bringing of him into *France*: And as touching his Marriage with the Duke of *Orleance* his Daughter, which seemed to be an objection against it,

it, Shee replyed, That they knew ſhe was engaged elſwhere; and what if he ſhould marry her? the Dutcheſſe of *Orleance* ſo far exceeding them in Riches and potent Alliances might be of great aſſiſtance to the King: But deſires, That he may be diſpoſed of any whither, rather then to come into the hands of the Rebels: touching the *Scots* affairse, ſhe had this expreſſion; That ſhe had ſent *William Murray* fully inſtructed with her mind about it. *Anno* 1646. January.

The Lord *Goring* in his Letter to the Lord *Wentworth* and Sir *John Berkley*, gave them aſſurance, That now the Negotiation with *France* was happily concluded by the induſtry of the Lord *Jermin*.

In his Letter to Sir *Hugh Pollard* the Governour of *Dartmouth*, he doth aſſure him, That by the firſt of *March* he ſhould have five well appointed Men of Warre, of the ſecond rank, the leaſt bearing above thirty pieces of Ordnance, to be ſolely under his command, ſo that he might grow rich upon the ſpoile of the Rebels, or elſe put them to the charge of keeping an whole Navy before him.

The Lord *Widdrington*, not ſo well ſatisfied with the preparations of *France*, uſed this expreſſion in one of his Letters; That he gave all hopes for loſt, for ever returning to his owne Country again, except the buſineſſe of the *Scots* took effect.

But as to the Siege of *Exceſter*, our Forces being drawn neer unto this ſide of the City, a Sūmons was prepared, wherein honorable conditions were offered them; which Summons was ſent in the next day, being *January* 17. Whereunto on the morrow an Anſwer was returned very faire to this purpoſe, That in honour they could not ſurrender upon the termes offered, while they were in no worſe condition, and had ſuch probable hopes of reliefe from the *Prince*.

§. 3. A Summons ſent into *Exceſter*.

The Enemies Anſwer.

Thurſday 29. A Reply was returned, the conditions re-inforced, and further urged, by undertaking in the behalfe of the Parliament and General, that what they pro-

His Excellencies Reply.

Anno 1646. February.

§. 4. The grounds of this second diversion from the Siege of *Excester.*

mised in the Summons should be made good: and this is as farre as they proceeded at this time; being a second time diverted by other action; for newes came this day to the Army, that the Enemies Horse from *Oxford* were come neer *Corfe* Castle, and the Lord *Gorings* Forces were advanced up neer *Barnstable*, portending a designe to joyne together; to prevent which, the General went from *Chidley* to *Tiverton* to give order about that point, sent Colonel *Cook* from thence with three Regiments of Horse of Major General *Massies* Brigade, to attend the Enemies motion, and the next day some Regiments of Horse and Dragoons martched from these parts to a Randezvouz toward the North of *Devon*, though upon second advice they were recalled to Quarters.

§. 5. The feare of another diversion from the Siege of *Excester*, had almost driven the Army to a resolution of storming it, insomuch that Warrants were issued out to all the Hundreds round about *Excester* for Ladders, and also a dispatch to *Plymouth* to send their Scaling ladders for that purpose: which disposition of the Army, what influence it might have upon the Enemy, I know not: but the Lords day *Febr.* 1. a Lieutenant and ten Horse well armed, came in to Sir *Hardresse Waller* from the Enemy, and that night the *Plymouth* Regiment took a Major and twenty Horse neer *Barnstable*; and *Tuesday* following a Lieutenant Colonell and fifteen men more with their Armes, came in from the Enemy; The General in the meane time being returned to *Chidley*.

§. 6. *Thursday* 5. Upon intelligence of the Enemies Horse being gone towards *Dunster*; Colonel *Cook* who had Orders to martch somewhat further Eastward, in order to the *Oxford* horse, that by information from the east, were to be in *Dorsetshire*, had Orders to returne.

Friday 6. Came newes that a Party of Horse of the Enemie (computed by the countries information, fifteen hundred) had put some small reliefe into *Dunster*, taking that opportunity when those Forces that attended ther-

about

about were drawn toward *Corfe* Castle: in their retreat the Country, with the assistance of Colonel *Blakes* Forces, that were not able to oppose so great a Body, and therefore during Reliefe secured themselves in a strong house, fell upon their Rear, slew some, took others prisoners, and disarmed more. The same day the Army received the good newes of *Belvoyr* surrendred: And now followes, to discourse how the hand of Providence led us first into the north of *Devon*, and then into *Cornwall*: Onely first celebrate that good newes of the surrender of *Westchester*, after a long Siege, by that faithfull and indefatigable Commander Sir *William Brereton*, which newes came to the General on the *Lords day*, *Feb.* 8.

Anno 1646. February.

CHAP. II.

Our Army a second time diverted from the Siege of Excester; *with a particular account of the reasons thereof: and the Motion and Actions of the Army occasioned thereby*

Lords day, *Feb.* 8. A Counsel of Warre was called to consider of martching with part of the Army into the north of *Devonshire*, towards *Torrington* and *Barnstable*, for the straightning thereof, and for the better conveniency of Quarter, the Army being much straightned for provisions where they were, as also to possesse those parts, and thereby dispossesse the Enemy, who had some parties of Horse there, which miserably oppressed the Country: whilest they were in this Consultation, certaine intelligence was brought by Spyes, That the Enemy, who had been labouring as for life, to raise the *Cornish*, and had brought a considerable number to *Launceston*, to re-inforce their Army (being in all about four thousand Foot, besides their Horse) were once more with all their strength martching over the River *Tamar* towards *Torrington*, and as the Spyes informed, would be there on *Tuesday* night: likewise Letters from the Lord *Wentworth* to Sir *John Berkley* Governour of *Excester*,

A Counsell of Warre called

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Excester, being at the ſame time intercepted, encouraging him to expect Reliefe ſhortly. Upon this, Orders were given for the drawing of moſt of the Horſe and Foot to a Randezvouz the next day.

A Counſell of Warre called. The ſubject of their debate.

Monday Feb. 9. A Counſel of Warre was called, to adviſe what to doe, and in iſſue it was reſolved to advance towards the Enemy with part of the Army, having already with the reſidue perfectly blocked up *Exceſter* on the weſt ſide alſo, by ſetling Guards and Quarters at *Affington*, *Barley houſe* and *Reymouth-houſe*, within a mile of theCity, and a Garriſon kept at *Powdram*; beſides that ſome of the Foot under the command of Colonel *Shapcoat*, blocked up the Fort at *Exmouth*; by which meanes *Exceſter* was now compleatly ſtraightned and blocked up on both ſides. Accordingly Orders were immediately ſent to the Horſe and Foot to prepare for a martch, and the Forces deſigned on both ſides of *Exceſter* to ſtraighten that place, were commanded to receive Orders from Sir *Hardreſſe Waller*, to whoſe care and judgment the management of that buſineſſe was recommended, whileſt the reſt of the Army advanced to the Enemy.

§. 2. The Army on their martch towards the Enemy.

Tueſday Feb. 10. The General and the Army begun their Martch, and that day martched from *Chidley* to *Crediton* the head Quarter, where the Army reſted a day, till the Treaſure (that was at *Dartmouth*) was come up, and other Forces that were to martch from other Quarters were drawne up to them: The while freſh intelligence was brought to his *Excellency*, that the Enemy with five thouſand Horſe, and four thouſand Foot, were come to *Torrington*, expecting a thouſand Horſe and Foot from *Barnſtable* to joyne with them, all under the command of the Lord *Hopton*, who by a new Commiſſion was made Commander in chiefe, (the Lord *Goring* being in *France*;) who had uſed much expedition in his martch, having martched in one day from *Stratton* to *Torrington*, being eighteen large miles; they brought along with them

them much Cattle and Sheep, which with ſalt and other proviſions that were to come from *Barnſtable*, were for the Reliefe of *Exceſter* : This Intelligence fully reſolving the Army in the Motions and Intentions of the Enemy, engaged them yet deeper in their Reſolutions to make ſpeed towards them, and not paſſing one or two dayes intervened their martch : In this interim tydings were brought the Army, that *Warham* and the Committees there being ſurprized by a party of Horſe from *Oxford*, was by Colonel *Cook* regained, he being with fifteen hundred Horſe then about *Shaftsbury*, and that Colonel *Cromwel*, who commanded the Kings party, was by him taken priſoner, that the Horſe were eſcaped and fled into *Corfe* Caſtle, not apprehended by our Guards through the darkneſſe of the night : Moreover that Mr *Murrey* and Sir *David Conningham* were taken coming out of *France*. *Anno* 1645. February.

Saturday, *Feb.* 14. The Army martched from *Crediton* to *Chimleigh*, being ten miles, the Weather wet, and the way dirty ; the Enemy but a little before our Forces came, were in the Towne, and were beaten out by the *Plymouth* Regiment, Lieutenant-colonel *Wicks* and others taken priſoners. Here his Excellency received intelligence, that the Enemy continued at *Torrington*, and were a conſiderable Army : upon which, *Sunday Febr.* 15. the Army martched early from *Chimleigh*, and had a Randezvouz two miles off in the way to *Torrington*. Our Horſe brought in divers priſoners to the Randezvouz, who confeſt that the Lord *Hopton* was in *Torrington*, and that he had ſent out parties by three of the clock that morning to diſcover our motion ; alſo one of our Spyes came thither out of *Torrington* that morning, aſſuring his Excellency, that the Enemies whole Army was in and about *Torrington*, not expecting our being ſo neer. §. 3.

The Army was drawn to the Randezvouz, with intention to martch to *Torrington*, but the weather proving ſo bad, & the bridges being broken down by the enemy, and beſides

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besides, the day being far spent, put the General upon resolution to order his owne Regiment of Foot, and a party of two hundred Horse, under the command of Captaine *Berry*, to advance three or four mile in the way to *Torrington* to amuze the Enemy, and himselfe with the rest of the Army to return to *Chimleigh*.

A party of Colonel *Butler's* men that were upon the Guard, tooke fourteene men, and seven and twenty Horse (part of the Enemies Guard) and brought them to *Chimleigh*, being most of them of *Goring's* Life-guard; who being brought before the General, confest they heard of our advance. Cattaine *Berry*, who was sent (as before) toward the Enemy, returned with his party of two hundred Horse, informing the General, that they had met with a party of the Enemy about the same number, that the Enemy charged him, but he had, by the assistance of God, routed them, and sore wounded Lieutenant-colonel *Dundasse*, who led on the party, and brought him and others away prisoners; but *Dundasse* was so sore wounded, that he was forced to be left at a country Village upon his Parolle, to render himselfe a prisoner if he recovered; which accordingly he very punctually performed; and the General in commiseration of his condition, being disabled for service by reason of his Wounds, upon his tender, to engage himselfe never to beare Armes against the Parliament, granted him his liberty.

§. 4. * *Monday, February* 16. The Drummes Beat by four of the clocke in the Morning; The generall Randezvouz of the Army was appointed to bee at *Rings-Ash*, about three Miles from *Chimleigh*; where accordingly by seven of the clocke in the Morning, the

* It should be remembred here, that upon the Armies advance to *Torrington*, Colonel *Cooke*, who alwayes readily received, and punctually observed his Orders, was sent with Major-General *Massie's* Horse to lye before *Barnstable*, and upon that part of *Devonshire*, to be in a posture to interrupt the Enemies Horse, in case upon the Armies advance into *Cornwal*, they should attempt to break through.

the whole Army was drawne up in Battalia, Horſe and Foot, on the *Moore*, five miles ſhort of *Torrington*, and ſo martched in order ready for a preſent engagement, in caſe the Enemy ſhould attempt any thing in our martch through the narrow Lanes; the Forelorn-Hope of horſe, commanded by Major *Stephens* and Captaine *Moleneux*, being advanced towards *Stephenſton* (Maſter *Rolls* his houſe neer *Torrington*) his Excellency underſtood, that the Enemy had two hundred Dragoons in the Houſe, whereupon a commanded Party of Horſe and Foot were ſent to fall on them, but upon the advance of our Forces towards them, the Enemy quit the place; yet our Horſe martching faſt, engaged their Reare, took ſeverall of their Dragoons priſoners, and afterwards the Forelorn-Hope of Horſe on both ſides were much engaged in the narrow and dirty Lanes; at laſt, we beat them from Maſter *Rolls* his houſe all along the Lane almoſt to *Torrington*. About five of the clock in the Evening the Van of the Army was drawn up in the Park, the Forelorn-Hope of Foot was drawne out neer the Forelorn-Hope of Horſe in the mid-way between Maſter *Rolls* houſe and *Torrington*, and there lined the Hedges to make good the retreat of the Horſe, the Enemy likewiſe drew out of the Towne four or five Cloſes off, and lined the Hedges with Muſquetteers within a Cloſe of ours, and flankt their Foot with Horſe; whereupon good reſerves were ſent to ſecond our Forelorn-Hope of Foot, leaſt the enemy knowing the ground, and we being ſtrangers unto it, might ſuddenly encompaſſe us (it being by this time dark night, and the whole Army being then come up, having martched ten miles that day;) about eight at night the Enemy drew off from ſome of the Cloſes they formerly poſſeſt; whereupon we gained the ground they quitted, & a Counſel of war being called, whether it was adviſable it might engage the Enemies Body then in the town, who were ready with the beſt advātages of ground & Barricado's to receive us; it was the general ſenſe of the

Anno 1646. February.

The Army engaged with the Enemy neere *Torrington*.

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Counſell to make good our ground and double our Guards till the next morning, that we might the better take view of the places where we were like to engage; whereupon the General and Lieutenant-General went from Maſter *Rolls* his houſe to ſee the Guards accordingly ſet, but hearing a noyſe in the Towne, as if the Enemy were retreating, and being loath they ſhould goe away without an affront, to that purpoſe, and that we might get certaine knowledge whether they were going off or not, a ſmall Party of Dragoons were ſent to fire on the Enemy neer the Barricadoes and Hedges; the Enemy anſwered us with a round Volley of ſhot, thereupon the Forlorn Hope of Foot went and engaged themſelves to bring off the Dragoons, and the reſerve fell on to bring off the Forlorn-Hope: And being thus far engaged, the General being on the Field, and ſeeing the generall reſolution of the Souldiery, held fit, that the whole Regiments in order, after them, ſhould fall on, and ſo both ſides were accordingly engaged in the dark, for ſome two hours, till we beat them from the Hedges, & within their Barricadoes, which were very ſtrong, and where ſome of their men diſputed the entrance of our Forces with puſh of Pike, and butt end of Musket for a long time; at laſt it pleaſed God to give us the Victory, our Foot firſt entring the Towne, and afterwards the Horſe, who chaſed the Enemy through the Towne, the Lord *Hopton* bringing up the Reare, had his Horſe ſhot dead under him in the middle of the Town; Their Horſe once facing about in the ſtreet, cauſed our Foot to retreat, but more of our Horſe comming up purſued them to the Bridges, and through the other Barracadoes at the further end of the Towne, where we had no ſooner placed Guards at the ſeverall Avenues, and had drawne our whole Army of Foot and moſt of our Horſe into the Towne, but the Magazine of neer eighty barrels of Powder, which the Lord *Hopton* had in the Church, was fired by a deſperate villaine, one *Watts*, whom the Ene-

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my had hired with thirty pounds for that purpose, as he himselfe confessed the next day, when he was pul'd out from under the rubbish and timber; and the Lead, Stones, Timber and Iron-work of the Church were blowne up into the Ayre, and scattered all over the Towne and Fields about it where our Forces were; yet it pleased God miraculously to preserve the Army, that few were slaine besides the Enemies (that were prisoners in the Church where the Magazine was blowne up) and most of our men that guarded them, who were killed and buried in the ruines: And here was Gods great mercy unto us, that the General being there in the streets, escaped with his life so narrowly, there falling a web of Lead with all its force, which killed the Horse of one Master *Rhoads*, of the Life-guard, who was thereon next to the General in the street, but doing neither him nor the General any hurt. There were taken in the Towne about six hundred prisoners, besides Officers, great store of Armes (the Lanes and Fields being bestrewed with them) all their Foot were scattered, their Horse fled that night towards *Cornwal* in great confusion; the prisoners we took confessed they had about four thousand Foot and four thousand Horse at least: the service was very hot, we had many wounded, it was stoutly maintained on both sides for the time. *Anno* 1646. February.

If any particular be omitted in this Relation, let the Generals Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons supply the same, which here followeth, with a List of the slaine and taken in this fight. §. 5.

To the Honourable *William Lenthall* Esquire; SPEAKER of the Honourable House of COMMONS.

Master Speaker,

His Excellencies Letter concerning the Fight at *Torrington*.

PLymouth *being set free, and* Dartmouth *taken, I sent Colonel* Hammond *with part of the Foot to possesse part of*

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of the houses neer Excester *for the blocking of it up on the West side of the River, as formerly I had done on the East, and lay with the rest of the Army, so as to countenance both that Work, and the raising of some Forces in the* Southams *to lye about* Totnes *for the securing of that Country, and to keep the Enemy from comming of that side of* Devonshire *againe, when the Army should remove to the other: These two things, with the continuall foule weather at that time, and the absence of Colonel* Cook, *with so many of the Horse, occasioned my stay thereabouts above a fortnight; in which time the houses being competently fortified, and the Forces raising in the* Southams *in good forwardnesse, I drew the Army up towards* Crediton, *with purpose to advance into the North of* Devonshire *also, either by the taking of* Barnstable, *or by blocking of it up, and raising a Force in that wel affected corner to keep it in, so as having all cleer or made fast behind me, I might the better follow the remaining Field-Forces of the Enemy into* Cornwal. *And to continue the blocking up of* Excester *on the West side, I left Sir* Hardresse Waller *with three Regiments of Foot and one of Horse of this Army, and advanced with five Regiments of Horse and seven Regiments of Foot, and five Troops of Dragoons, the rest of the Horse and Dragoons being absent with Colonel* Cook *in* Dorsetshire, *but then sent for to come up, when I was resolved upon my advance this way. The Enemy at the same time advanced out of* Cornwal *with all the Foot to* Torrington, *about which their Horse did lye before, and began to fortifie the Towne: Their intentions therein, as we conceived, and doe since further find, were by the advantage of this place and their Garrison of* Barnstable *so neer it, to make this part of* Devonshire *more surely theirs, and more difficult for us to come into, and lying so much the neerer to* Excester *(against which they supposed this Army wholly engaged) to take their best advantages from hence and from* Chimley, *which they meant also to have possessed, to relieve* Excester *on the North side, or disturb us in the Siege; and it is probable they might have a further purpose in their po-*

sture

ſture here, to ſecure the landing of Iriſh *or* Welſh *ſupplies ſo much the forwarder towards the Eaſt.*

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On Saturday *laſt, I advanced from* Crediton *to* Chimleigh, *where by many priſoners I was informed, That the Lord* Hopton *had hereabouts foure thouſand Horſe, and three thouſand Foot; Wee beleeved them to be about two thouſand Foot or upwards, and three thouſand Horſe; the extreame foulneſſe of Weather that day and the next, occaſioned me not to advance from about* Chimleigh, *for the next night, ſave only one Foot Quarter and an Horſe Guard advanced to* Ring-Aſh, *three miles towards the Enemy, to ſecure a Randezvouz ſo much the neerer to them; for the day following I underſtood by the beſt Intelligence, that the Enemy was reſolved to make good their ſtation, and ſet their reſt upon it to fight us there if we would come up to them; and truly men in their condition could not hope (al things conſidered) to have more for it, their Horſe for nũber ſuperior to what I brought up with me, their Foot, as I find ſince, not much inferiour; and if they could with all their force make good this Towne, and put us to lye in the Field, there being no Villages neer it that could ſhelter the Army, the wet weather continuing, which was then moſt likely, would have forced us to draw back and make our fire Armes little uſefull, either for aſſault or defence; and beſides, we were like, for matter of proviſions, to be forced to draw off firſt, they having both by their poſture, with the plentifull Country of* Cornwal *behind them, and a River at their backs, ſecuring alſo a good part of* Devonſhire *unto them, and by their ſtrength of Horſe, much advantage for longer ſubſiſtence then we; and we by the barrenneſſe of the place where we muſt have lyen before them, eſpecially for Horſe meat, their Garriſon of* Barnſtable *lying partly behind us, their Horſe more numerous then ours, which might with ſtronger parties cut off our ſupplyes, had little poſſibility to ſubſiſt long before them. Theſe Conſiderations we had in our eye to diſcourage us from going on, as I beleeve they had to encourage them to ſtand; yet on the other ſide, finding that by reaſon of the barrenneſſe*

and

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and long exhausting of our Quarters behind us, we could neither keep our Horse so close together as to lye safe so neer the Enemy, nor indeed find subsistence for the Army, either where we were, or in any other Quarters more backward, where we could lye so as to secure the Siege of Excester *from reliefe, and upon all considerations conceiving the affaires of the Kingdome did require us, and God by all did call us to make a present attempt upon the Enemy; Wee resolved to goe on, to try what God would doe for us, and trust him for weather, subsistence and all things.*

Accordingly, on Monday morning I drew out the Army to an early Randezvouz at Ring-ash, *within six miles of the Enemy; the weather still continued very wet, and so by all signes was like to hold till we were advanced from the Randezvouz; but suddenly, when we were upon Martch, it, beyond all expectation, began to be faire and dry, and so continued, whereas we had scarce seene one faire blast for many dayes before. The Enemy (as we understood by the way) had all their Horse drawne together about* Torrington, *and with their foot prepared to defend the Towne, which they had fortified with good barricadoes of earth cast up at every avenew, and a competent line patcht up round about it, their Horse standing by to flanke the same, and some within to scoure the Streets. Our Forlorne-Hope had order to advance to* Stephenson Parke, *about a mile from the Towne, and there to stay for the drawing up of the Army, there being no other place fit for that purpose neerer to the Towne on that side we came on. But when we came neere, we understood that the Enemy had with two hundred Dragoons possest the House in the Parke, and were fortifying it, being of it selfe very strong; but upon our neerer approach, their Dragoons quitted the House, and our Forlorn-Hope falling on them, took many prisoners, and pursuing them neer the Towne, were engaged so far as they could not well draw back to the Parke, which occasioned the sending up of stronger Parties to make them good where they were, or bring them off; and at last, there being some feare that the Enemy would*

would draw about them and hem them in, Colonel Hammond *was sent up with three Regiments of Foot, being his owne, Colonel* Harlowes, *and mine, and some more Horse to lye for reserves unto them; by which time the night was growne on, so that it was not thought fit, unlesse the Enemy appeared to be drawing away, to attempt any thing further upon the Towne till morning, in regard none of us knew the ground, nor the advantages or disadvantages of it; but about nine of the clock, there being some apprehension of the Enemies drawing away, by reason of their drawing back some Out-guards, small Parties were sent out towards the Townes end to make a certaine discovery, which going very neer their Works, before the Enemy made any firing, but being at last entertained with a great Volley of shot, and thereupon supposed to be engaged, stronger Parties were sent up to relieve them, and after them the three Regiments went up for reserves, till at last they fell on in earnest; after very hot firings, our men comming up to the Barricadoes and Line, the dispute continued long at push of Pike and with butt ends of Musketts, till at last it pleased God to make the Enemy fly from their Works, and give our men the entrance: After which our men were twice repulsed by their Horse, and almost driven out againe, but Colonel* Hammond *with some other Officers and a few Souldiers, made a stop at the Barricadoes, and so making good their re-entrance, rallyed their men and went on againe, Major* Stephens *with their Forlorn Hope of Horse comming seasonably up to second them, the Enemies Foot ran severall wayes, most of them leaving their Armes, but most of their Officers, with the assistance of Horse, made good their owne retreat out of the Towne towards the Bridge, and taking the advantage of straight passages, to make often stands against our men, gave time for many of their Foot to get over the Bridge; Their Horse without the Towne, after some attempts at other Avenues, to have broken in againe upon us, being repulsed, at last went all away over another Bridge, and at severall other passes of the River, and all fell Westward; the ground where their Horse*

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Horse had stood and the Bridge they went over lying so beyond the Towne, as our Horse could not come at them but through the Towne, which by reason of straight passages through severall Barricadoes was very tedious, by meanes wereof, and by reason of continued straight lanes the Enemy had to retreat by after they were over the River, as also by the advantage of the night, and by their perfect knowledge of the Country, and our ignorance therein, our Horse could doe little execution upon the pursuit, but Parties being sent out severall wayes to follow them, as those disadvantages would admit, did the best they could, and brought back many prisoners and Horses, we took many prisoners in the Towne, who being put into the Church where the Enemies Magazine *lay, of above four score barrels of Powder, as is reported, besides other Ammunition, either purposely by some desperate Prisoner, or casually by some Souldier, the Powder was fired, whereby the Church was quite blown up, the Prisoners and most of our men that guarded them were killed and overwhelmed in the Ruines; the houses of the Towne shaken and shattered, and our men all the Town over much endangered by the stones, timber and lead, which with the blast were carried up very high, and scattered in great abundance all the Town over, and beyond; yet it pleased God that few of our men were slaine or hurt thereby, save those in the Church, onely our losse of men otherwise in this service was small, though many wounded, it being a hotter service then any storme this Army hath before been upon, wherein God gave our men great resolution; and Colonel* Hammond *especially and other Officers engaged with him, behaved themselves with much resolution, courage and diligence, recovering the ground after their men were twice repulsed: Of Prisoners taken in this service about two hundred were blowne up, two hundred have taken up Armes with us, and about two hundred more common Souldiers remaine Prisoners; besides many Officers, Gentlemen and servants, not many slaine, but their Foot so dispersed, as that of about three thousand, which the most credible persons do affirme they had there,*

and

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and we find by a List, taken among the Lord Hopton's *Papers, themselves did accompt them more, we cannot heare of above four hundred that they carried off with them into* Cornwal, *whither their Horse also are gone, being much broken and dispersed as well as their Foot. By the Considerations and circumstances in this businesse, which I have here touched upon, you will perceive whose hand it was that led us to it, and gave such successe in it; and truly there were many more evident appearances of the good hand of God, therein, then I can set forth, let all the honour be to him alone for ever, being desirous, as God shall see it good, and further enable me, to improve the advantage of this successe to the uttermost: The next day having sent some Regiments of Horse and Foot to advance unto Quarters up towards* Holsworthy *to set the Enemy more home into* Cornwal, *and with more terror upon them, I sent also one Regiment of Foot, with some Horse, back towards* Barnstable *to possesse the Earl of* Baths *house at* North-Tavestock, *about a mile from* Barnstable *on this side the River, whereby that Garrison will be easily kept in on this side, and I shall try what will be done upon it otherwayes, whilest the Army takes a little rest hereabouts, which the unseasonable Martches, miserable Quarters, & hard Duty both Horse and Foot, for many dayes, have been put unto, doe necessarily require: But I conceive that so soon as the Army can be fitted for the purpose, it would be best to follow the Enemy home and throughly into* Cornwal; *the breaking of that Body of Horse that's left there being the likeliest meanes to prevent or discourage the landing of any* Forraign *Forces in these parts, or the raising of any more out of* Cornwal: *In order to which I must earnestly recommend to your care two things especially; The one, to provide by the disposall of your Forces in the Mid-land parts, that by excursions from* Oxford *hitherward, I may not be diverted from prosecution of the Work in* Cornwal, *to send againe that way, nor the Sieges of* Excester *and* Barnstable *disturbed when I am engaged further West: The other, That money may be speeded, if any ways possible, but for a moneth or six weeks to*

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enable the Horse as well as Foot to pay Quarters in Cornwal, *whereby the oppositions that People might make would in all likelihood be taken off, and their affections or good opinions gained, to make them helpfull to us against their present oppressors. There came unto me this day a young man from* Truro, *who certifieth me, That Sir* Walter Dudley *came very lately from* France, *to let those about the* Prince *know, that if there were an absolute necessity they could bring over their men with a faire wind from* France *to be here by the middle of the next moneth; expressing, that they had neer* 8000. *Foot, and a thousand Horse in readinesse, and three months pay provided for them, besides ten thousand pound in bullion daily expected, a Mint being ready to coyne the same, but yet intimated a conveniency in the giving a little more time for their comming over; whereupon Sir* John Culpepper *was to goe in all haste to* France *upon* Friday *last, as is supposed, on purpose eitheir to hasten al, or a good part of those Forces over; I think it will be very good that as much Shiping as may be obtained be hastened into those parts; I shall upon this Information, and the good successe God hath been pleased to give us, so dispose of the Army, as may most effectually conduce to a speedy and through settlement of these Westerne parts of the Kingdome; therefore I desire you againe to have a speciall care, that the Forces about* Oxford *be not permitted to range into these parts, when the Army is like to be engaged so far West, lest it occasion the division of our Forces, and hinder the accomplishment of that we desire to effect. I remaine*

Your most humble Servant,

Great Torrington
Feb. 19. 1645.

THO. FAIRFAX.

More particularly there was taken here, Lieutenant-Colonel *Wood*, eight Captaines, Commissary *Boney*, six Lieutenants, one Cornet, three Ensignes, one Chirurgion, four Serjeants, two and fifty Troopers, one hundred seven and twenty Gentlemen, and about two hundred

dred common Souldiers, in all, four hundred three and thirty, whereof two hundred have taken up Armes, being (as they said) forced in by the Enemy; neer three thousand Armes (broken and whole) most of their Ammunition blowne up in the Church, eight Colours brought in, whereof one the Lord *Hopton's* owne, with this Motto, I WILL STRIVE TO SERVE MY SOVERAIGNE KING. *Anno* 1646. February.

Slaine, Major *Threave*, Captaine *Frye*, and divers Officers, two hundred Souldiers, besides those two hundred blowne up in the Church, the Lord *Hopton* and Lord *Caple* wounded, besides divers others of quality; the Lord *Hopton's* Commission to be General under the Prince, Sir *George Digbye's* to be Governour of the Forces before *Plymouth*, and other Papers of consequence taken, and about four hundred or five hundred pounds in Money taken at the Lord *Hopton's* Quarters, with much plunder left in Portmantles there, and in other places behind them.

Tuesday Feb. 17. The General rested at *Torrington*, that day being spent in securing the prisoners, and taking Lists of the names, and sending some Forces towards *Barnstable*; and that the Enemy might be kept in a continuall alarum and feare by our pursuing of them, a Party were sent towards *Holsworth*, to fall upon their Quarters; whereupon they quit that place, and the Country informed, that their Horse were all fled into *Cornwal*, & that a great terror was upon them; and those few scattered Foot that escaped in the dark at *Torrington*, who all of them both Horse and Foot (as his Excellency understood the next day) drew into a Body in *Cornwal*, to whom were now joyned the Princes Regiment, of about eight hundred Horse, which with some other *Cornish* Horse, not before joyned to them, made up a Body of five thousand Horse, much superiour in number to ours: with this body of Horse, and about a thousand Foot (most *Cornish*) they kept Guards on the §. 6.

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other ſide of the River *Tamar*, and this day there came by twenty and forty at a time of their Foot (being moſt *Devonſhire* men) that were ſcattered the night before, out of the Woods, ſome with their Armes, and others without them, and liſted themſelves in the Army; expreſſing, that they onely waited for an opportunity to get to us; ſo that this laſt defeat was in a manner, the very ruining of all their Foot.

§. 7. Commiſſary General *Ireton* ſent to view *Barnſtable*. About this time Major-General *Laughorne* obtained great ſucceſſe againſt the Enemy at *Cardiffe* in *Glamorganſhire*, about 400 of them ſlaine, and 500 taken priſoners.

Thurſday Feb. 19. Commiſſary-General *Ireton* was ſent with a Party to view the Garriſon of *Barnſtable*, and what places were fit to make Quarters and to keep Guards about the ſame, whereupon one Regiment was ſent to the Earle of *Bathes* at *Taveſtock* to poſſeſſt it for Quarters: That day there were three Ships in *Biddiford* which ſtruck in thither, thinking it had been in the Enemies power, their burthen was ſmall; the Veſſels were afterwards, upon Petition, releaſed, the owners being perſons that had not voluntarily contributed againſt the Parliament. This night the General returned back to Maſter *Rolls* his houſe at *Stephenſon*, in regard the Quarter at *Torrington* was inconvenient, the Windowes ſhaken in pieces, and the houſes ſo ſhattered with the great blaſt, that they could not performe a convenient ſhelter from the raine, it being a time of extreame wet weather.

CHAP. III.

His Excellency with the Army advancing into Cornwal, *driving the Enemy before them, and poſſeſſing their Quarters: A gallant piece of Service performed by Colenel* Butler *and his Party neer* Stratton. *Prince* Charles *giving all for loſt by his Excellencies preſſing ſo hard upon them, betakes himſelfe to* Scilly: *An advantage to the Parliaments Cauſe by a Packet of Letters from* Ireland, *taken at* Padſtow.

§. 1. *Friday* 20. It was taken into conſideration, how far forth it was expedient to move towards *Cornwall* with

with the maine Forces, to improve the advantage we had upon the Enemy: which businesse was also further advised on the next day

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At a Counsel of Warre, where it was resolved (*nemine contradicente*) to martch into *Cornwall*: The Reasons inducing them to that Vote, were first, To prevent the landing of any Forces out of *France*; of which the Letters taken at *Dartmouth* gave an intimation: Secondly, to destroy the Field-enemy, and by consequence settle the West: Thirdly, *Excester* and *Barnstable* would not probably hold out if the Field force were once subdued; whilest that stood, they could not in honor yeeld, and therefore it was thought fit rather to follow the Enemy into *Cornwal* to subdue them, then to stay to reduce *Excester* and *Barnstable*, and then to pursue them, for that those Garrisons would be dying for want of provisions, whilest the Army should be in pursuit of the foresaid intentions.

A Counsell of War. Their Resolution, and the Reasons thereof.

Lords day Feb. 22. Orders were given to bring up some small quantity of Money that was at *Tiverton* to the Army, that upon their martch into *Cornwal*, there might be supply.

§. 2.

Monday Feb. 23. Part of the Army martched from *Torrington* to *Holsworthy*, being twelve long miles, dirty way; and the rest from *Biddiford*, *Tavestock*, &c. to *Torrington*, being fifteen miles, and the wayes deep: Before the Van of the Army got into *Holsworth*, Colonel *Butler* was commanded before with a Party of Horse and four hundred Dragoons, to force his passage over the River *Tamar*, and if conveniently he could, to fall into the Enemies Quarters; and Captaine *Woggan*, who was before sent with a small Party of Dragoons, took five and twenty Horse and some Prisoners, and brought them to *Holsworthy*.

The Army martching into *Cornwall*.

Wednesday 25. The Army had a Randezvouz neer *Tomerton*, where Intelligence came, That Colonel *Butler* had fallen upon the Enemy, and taken between three and four-

§. 3. A considerable performance of Colonel *Butler*.

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four hundred Horſe and eighty Priſoners, and put Major General *Web*, with the Forces under his command to flight, (this ſervice was performed neer *Stratton*;) and thereupon our Forces entred *Stratton*, where the people were much taken with their civility. This day the Army marched to *Launceſton*, ten long miles, being twelve at night before the Rear came up within two miles of the Towne, three Scouts were taken, who informed of Colonel *Baſſets* being in the Towne with five hundred Foot of Colonel *Tremayne's*, and ſome Horſe: a Forlon Hope was ſent before to demand the Towne, the Gates were ſhut upon them, the Enemy reſiſted, two of them were ſlaine, about an hundred taken, at laſt the Enemy was put to flight in great diſorder, by the darkneſſe of the night, narrowneſſe and ſteepneſſe of the wayes, moſt of them eſcaped; and our men poſſeſſed the Towne which had been garriſoned by them.

Thurſday 26. The head Quarter continued at *Launceſton*, the Foot being much wearied out with the two dayes march before: The General viewed the ancient Caſtle of *Launceſton*, ſituated upon a Mount, raiſed very high, but not fortified: the Works and Mounts on the top of the Hill the Enemy left ſtanding undemoliſhed. Many *Corniſh* were taken priſoners in the Towne the night before, who being brought before the General this day, had twelve pence apeece given them, and Paſſes to goe to their homes: the Townes people in *Launceſton* were much affected with ſuch merciſull uſage. The Army in their march into *Cornwal*, thus far had much cauſe to obſerve the peoples frights, quitting their Habitations in feare of the Army; the Enemy having inſinuated ſuch an ill opinion of it into them, endeavouring to make them beleeve by Oaths and Imprecations, that no *Corniſh* was to have quarter at our hands; of which prejudice and miſpriſſion, after the people were undeceived, they frequented the Markets again as in former time.

This

This day a Letter was ſent to *Plymouth* for the *Corniſh* Gentlemen there to haſten to the General to *Launceſton*; the Rear-Guard of our Horſe were appointed to quarter along the River *Tamar*, the better to prevent the breaking through of the Enemies Horſe, an evill which his Excellency had ever a watchfull eye upon to prevent; Meſſengers were ſent to Colonel *Cook*, who was left before *Barnſtable* with Major-General *Maſſies* Horſe (all except the *Lyme* Regiment) to keep good Scouts out, to fall on the Flank of the Enemy, in caſe they attempted to paſſe by; Captaine *Farmer* was ſent with a Company of Dragoons to poſſeſſe a Houſe neer *Camelford*, to gaine intelligence, and the more to amuſe the Enemy, touching our advance after them; and thereupon to enforce them to keep their Horſe in a Body, that they might not take Quarters, and ſo to weaken and diſcourage them from breaking through. *Anno* 1646. February. §. 4.

Friday the 27. The Head Quarters continuing ſtill at *Launceſton*, the *Plymouth* Regiments of Foot were ſent unto, to come from *Taveſtock* thither, and the reſidue to lye on the paſſes upon the River, the more effectually to interrupt the Enemy, if he attempted to break through. §. 5.

Saturday the 28. His Excellency had intelligence, That *Salt-Aſh* was quit by the Enemy, and their Works left undemoliſhed; that the Governour of *Mount-Edgcombe* was reſolved to conclude upon a Treaty negotiated by Maſter *Peeters*: The Army was ordered this day to Quarters, and advanced four or five miles towards *Bodman*, that the Rear of our Horſe might quarter with more conveniency, and cloſer together; and to the end, the next day all the Army, both Horſe and Foot, might martch cloſe in a Body, in regard of the continued expectation that was of the Enemies Horſe breaking through, upon the advantage of a very open way (much of it being Downes;) other Meſſengers were ſent alſo to Colonel *Cook*, for more ſurety and caution, to be in readi-

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readineſſe in caſe the Enemy ſhould attempt to break through; for to prevent that, ſtill was the greateſt care of the General, knowing that if the Horſe got Eaſt and joyned with the Kings force, it might prolong the War, and much diſturb the peace of the Mid-land Counties; likewiſe a Poſt was ſent to Colonel *Whaley* to draw from *Oxfordſhire* towards *Wiltſhire* with ſome Regiments of his Horſe that he had before *Oxford*, the better to encounter with the Enemies Horſe, that would be to purpoſe harraſed out with their martch (in caſe they did break through) by a hard purſuit of them, which his Excellency intended.

§. 6. About this time *Abbington* like to have bin ſurpriſed by a great Force from *Oxford*, was gallantly defended.

Lords day, March 1. It happened to be a bitter cold froſt, the Randezvouz of the Army was that day about ſix miles from *Launceſton*, upon the *Moores*; a Party of Horſe being ſent out, diſcovered the Enemies Scouts, and not farre from Saint *Bliſland*, took eight of them belonging to a Guard of three hundred Horſe, which they kept but a little before our Army; the Scouts confeſt they knew nothing of our approach that day, but expected us the next; that the three hundred Horſe they had upon the Guard (they thought) were drawne off; we had no ſooner advanced a little farther but the Van of our Army diſcovered their ſaid Guard, who faced about; our Army made an halt till our Reare was come up; the Evening drawing on, and having four miles yet to *Bodman*, it was held fit to quarter the Body of the Army in the Field, about Saint *Bliſland*, which was the head Quarter (a very poor Village;) and this was done both for ſecurity to lye cloſe together, being ſo neer an Enemy; and for expedition, to be the readier for a martch the next morning. Beſides, it was held much advantage for the Army to lye cloſe this night whereby they might keep good Horſe Guards, the better to diſcover and check the Enemy, if he ſhould ſeek to break through.

A little before they took the Enemies Scouts, Intelligence came, that our Dragoons under Captaine *Farmer*

mer and Captaine *Woggan* were engaged with the Enemy as they were martching from the Houſe they poſſeſt to joyne with the Army; whereupon a Party of two thouſand Horſe were commanded under the Lieutenant General to fetch off our Dragoons, but before the Horſe came up, they had acquitted themſelves well, the Enemy was retired, and they were comming on to the Army. That Party of the Enemy was commanded by Sir *James Smith*, and had they not taken the nick of time and gone away when they did, they had been all taken in their retreat by our Horſe, which came ſo inſtantly after them, that they had like to have gained the paſſe. This night his Excellency had intelligence, that the Enemy had quit *Bodman* about ten at night, Horſe and Foot retreating yet further Weſt, and that the Lord *Hopton* (otherwiſe Sir *Ralph Hopton*) brought up the Reare, moſt of the men (poore creatures) being drunk when they went away, to mend their hard fortune.

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The Enemy retreating.

Whither *Hopton* went.

Monday early in the morning, the Army following them, martched towards *Bodman*, and had a Randezvouz on the Downes on this ſide *Bodman*; from thence part of the Horſe and Foot were commanded to *Ware-Bridge*, being a paſſage that was ſuſpected very convenient for the Enemy, in caſe they intended to break Eaſtward; likewiſe Guards were commanded to *Padſtow*, for caution, leſt there the Enemy ſhould get over the River; and alſo the better to countenance the Townef-men that ſtood upon their guard againſt the Enemy. This day four Troopers purſued a party of two and fortyMuſquetteers of the Enemy beyond *Bodman*, with their Muskets laden and matches lighted, and after the rate of a miracle brought them away priſoners, ſuch feare was upon them (from Heaven certainly;) likewiſe ſix Troopers purſued the Enemy on the left hand as farre as *Leſtithel*, made them quit their Guards there, and hearing that Ammunition was going to *Foy* in Wane loads, purſued the Convoy thither, forced them

His Excellency advancing after them.

About this time *Aſhby-de-la-Zouch*, a Garriſon in *Northamptonſhire*, ſurrendred to the Parliament.

Two actions little leſſe then miraculous.

Anno 1646. March.

them to leave the Ammunition, and ſo brought back four Wane loads of Match, Powder, Bullet and barrels of Muskets, and ſafely convoyed the ſame to the head Quarter in *Bodman*: the Troopers that did this action were rewarded; but who is able to acknowledge the goodneſſe and power of that God by whom they did theſe exployts! Moreover, a Party of our Horſe this day took Sir *John Greenvils* Lieutenant-Colonel and others.

Tueſday March 3. The Army reſted at *Bodman*. Conſultation was had, what courſe was to be taken to keep the Enemy ſtill before the Army, their head Quarters then being at *Truro*, their neereſt Quarters about Saint *Columb*, *Grampond* and *Tregny*, between which Townes and *Truro* they lay then quartered, keeping their maine Guard of Horſe at *Caſtle ô Deniſſe*: All the paſſes from the North Sea to the South Sea, were taken into conſideration, and Guards of Horſe and Foot diſpoſed unto them, and the Country were enjoyned to barricadoe up the Lanes, and keep men upon the Foards.

Prince *Charles* gone to *Scilly*.

Wedneſday March 4. His Excellency had certaine intelligence, that the Prince was imbarqued and ſet ſale for *Scilly* with his Lords and Gentlemen, giving all for loſt, and ſo evidently irrecoverable did their condition appeare to all, that their refuge of lyes failed them, and they did not ſtick to ſay in deſperation at their departure, That all was loſt. The Prince his flying much diſheartned the Enemy; and what a work ſhould it have upon us? It might become us here to ſtay and pauſe a while, I cannot but run upon that Scripture in my mind, *Iſaiah* 51. 12, 13, 14. verſes. *Who art thou, that thou ſhouldſt be afraid of a man, that ſhall dye, and of the ſon of man, which ſhall be as graſſe? and forgetteſt the Lord thy Maker, that hath ſtretched forth the Heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth, and haſt feared continually every day, becauſe of the fury of the Oppreſſor, as if he were ready to deſtroy? and where is the fury of the Oppreſſor? The cap-*

The diſcouragement it was to the Enemy.

tive

tive exile hasteneth that he may be loosed, and that he should not dye in the pit, or that his Bread should faile. The poor *Cornish*, like the captive exile, hastened to be delivered, lest they should dye in the pit, and therefore took up Armes on any side to make an end of the Warre, and restore a peace of any fashion, for the fury of the Oppressor; and where is the fury of the Oppressor? A Ship hath embarqued them, a strong wind hath carried them away, *Scilly* hath opened her Armes and received them, &c. but I must remember my story.

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The conditions for the surrender of *Mount-Edgcomb*, a place of great strength and consideration, were this day presented to the General by Master *Coriton*, Master *Lower*, Master *Glanvile*, and Master *Trevisa*, Gentlemen of the Country, who were glad of the opportunity to present themselves to the General for his favour; The Propositions were ratified by his Excellency, and Letters of recommendation were agreed unto, to be drawne and sent on their behalfe to the Parliament; their seasonable comming in was a good service, and Master *Peter's* industry in this Negotiation was great and worthy all acceptation and acknowledgment.

A Sumons was this day sent unto some few Hundreds of the Country, to appeare on *Friday* following upon the *Downes* at *Bodman*, and strong Parties were sent out to see if they could meet with the Enemy; who meeting with some of their Guards forced them to retreat beyond Saint *Collomb*. This night the General had intelligence, that a Ship was come into *Padstow* from *Ireland*; that the Townes people seized on't, and stood on their guard against the Enemy, and sent to our Dragoons, who quartered neer them, for their assistance.

Thursday 5. The Dragoons comming to their assistance, boarded the Vessell, some of the men were put to the sword, others sore wounded, Captaine *Allen* of *Waterford* an *Irish* Rebel, had his life spared, to the intent to make use of his Confession; the Townes people

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were violent against them; the Packet-Letters they brought were throwne over Board; yet by the diligence of the Officers of Dragoons, were found floating upon the water: which being brought to the General, there was found amonst them, Letters from the Earle of *Glamorgan*, that six thousand *Irish* were ready to be transported, and four thousand more should be ready by the first of *May*; That three hundred speciall *Irish* were appointed for the Prince his Life-guard, but *Allen* confest, that an hundred of them were to be put into the *Monnt*, an hundred into *Pendennis*, and the other hundred to be about the Prince, in case he should approve of this disposall. There were Letters also of the Lord *Digbies* taken in that Packet, being a narrative of his proceedings against the Earle of *Glamorgan*, expressing how swimmingly he had carried his Body in that businesse: Also Letters from the Earle of *Ormond*. The Letters from *Glamorgan* to the King were not found. Master *Coriton* and the rest of the Gentlemen who came from *Mount-Edgcomb*, being so opportunely here when the Packet came, had the Original Letters shewed unto them, which gave them such satisfaction, as that they freely expreſt themselves, that what force they could raise in the country should be assisting to the Parliament for the opposing of all *Irish*, or any Forraigners whatsoever, that should be brought over.

CHAP. IV.

His Excellency with the Army driving up the Enemy into Cornwal: *A Summons sent to Sir* Ralph Hopton *and his Forces to come in, with the severall transactions of that businesse untill the disbanding of all his Forces, fully related, &c.*

IT was intended, that the Army should advance on the morrow, but upon consultation it was held fit to stay that martch, and to consider of a Summons to be sent unto

unto the Lord *Hopton*; which was accordingly prepared, and sent away by the General's Trumpet; which Summons followeth in these words:

Anno 1646. March.

Sir,

The Summons his Excellency sent to Sir *Ralph Hopton*.

THrough the goodnesse of God to his people, and his just hand against their enemies, your Forces being reduc't to such condition, as (to my sense) the good hand of God continuing with us, wherein alone we trust, they are not like either to have subsistence or shelter long where they are, or to escape thence, nor if they could, have they whither to goe to have better: I have thought good, for prevention of more bloodshed, or of further hardship or extremity to any, but such whose hearts God shall harden to their owne destruction, to send you this Summons, for your selfe and them to lay downe Armes, and withall a tender of such conditions (upon a present surrender and engagement, never to beare Armes against the Parliament) as may be better then any thing they can rationally expect by further standing out.

First therefore, to the Souldiery in generall, English *and* Forreigners, *I shall grant liberty either to goe beyond Sea, or to their homes in* England, *as they please; and to such* English *as shall choose to live at home, my protection for the liberty of their persons, and for the immunity of their estates from all plunder or violence of Souldiers, and all to goe their wayes with what they have, saving Horses and Armes; but for Officers in Commission and Gentlemen of quality, I shall allow them to goe with Horses for themselves and one servant or more, suteable to their quality, and with Armes befitting Gentlemen in a condition of peace; and such Officers as would goe beyond Sea for other Service, to take with them their Armes and full number of Horses answerable to their Offices.*

To all Troopers and inferiour sort of Horse-Officers bringing in and delivering up of their Horses and Armes, twenty shillings a man in lieu of their Horses to carry them home: To English *Gentlemen of considerable estates, my*

Passe

Anno 1646. March.

Passe and Recommendation to the Parliament for their moderate composition.

Lastly, for your selfe (besides what is before implyed to you in common with others) you may be assured of such mediation to the Parliament on your behalfe, both from my selfe and others, as for one whom (for personall worth and many vertues, but especially for your care of, & moderation toward the Country) we honour and esteem above any other of your Party, whose error (supposing you more swayed with principles of honour and conscience then others) we most pitty, and whose happinesse (so farre as consistent with the publicke welfare) we should delight in more then in your least suffering.

These things (not from any need or other ends then humane and Christian) having offered, I leave to your consideration and theirs whom they concerne, desiring your and their speedy resolution, which I wish may be such as shall be most for the honour of God, the peace and welfare of this poor Kingdome, and for your and their good, so far as may stand therewith.

And having herein discharged (as I conceive) the duty of an honest man, a Souldier and a Christian, if God shall see it good to let your hearts be hardened against your own peace, I shall (though with some regreet for that ill that shall ensue to any, yet with cheerfulnesse and rejoycing at the righteous judgement of God) pursue my charge and trust for the publick in another way, not doubting of the same presence and blessing which God hath hitherto vouchsafed in the same Cause to the weak endeavours of

March 5. 1645. **T. F.**

Instructions were likewise prepared for those that were to offer something to the Country that should appeare the next morning.

Friday March 6. His Excellency had intelligence, the Enemies Horse began to draw together, as if they were resolved

resolved to break through, for now was the time for them to doe it, or never; for one dayes advance more, would drive them into so narrow a compasse, that it was in vain to think of it afterwards. This was made known to the Country people, at their meeting upon the *Downes*, whereupon there were above a thousand of them exprest much willingnesse to assist in the blocking up of all passages and wayes, that might prevent the Enemies breaking through; and the *Irish* Letters being shewed and read unto them by Master *Peters*, did much heighten their resolution to aide and assist the Parliament against the Forreigners; and not onely so, but the forwardnesse they exprest to assist against the present Enemy in their Country, with the great joy and content they shewed at the Armies being come thither for their reliefe, (saying they had not seen such a day this three yeers) was beyond expectation: and certainly there was the great hand and good providence of God in the opportune bringing in of this Packet of Letters thither, whereby the Country was so much wonne unto us. The happy event of this day had a further accession by the news of the taking of *Corfe* Castle by a stratagem and storm, managed by the discretion of that worthy & prudent Gentleman, Colonel *Bingham*, Governour of *Poole*.

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Strict Orders were given to all our Forces upon the Guards to be very vigilant this night, and on the morrow a martch was intended for the whole Army.

Accordingly *March* 7. The Army martched early to a Randezvouz, some four miles from *Bodman*, towards Saint *Collombe*, but the weather proving extreame wet and the place they desired to reach that night being a long martch, it was held fit to take up quarter in the Villages thereabouts for as many as the places could receive, and the General with the rest of the Army returned back to *Bodman*.

But to keep the Enemy waking, that they might not refresh their Horse by any rest in their Quarters, Colonel

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nel *Rich* was ſent with a thouſand Horſe and Dragoons to fall on the Enemies Guards and Quarters, and to bring in what priſoners he could light upon; which accordingly he did neer Saint *Columbe*, beat the Enemies Out-Guards to their Maine Guard, their maine Guard being about ſix hundred (moſt of them the Princes Life guard and Gentlemen) then commanded by Major-General *Pert*, who ſeeing no hopes of retreat, drew out to give a Charge, and gave a good home-charge to our firſt Diviſion; Maior-General *Pert* himſelf charged through, but being ſhot, was taken priſoner; inſtantly the Enemy was put to the rout before the reſt of our Diviſions could come up: That Diviſion of ours that was commanded by Quartermaſter-General *Fincher*, who firſt charged them, had the purſuit and execution of the Enemy for three or four miles, wherein many were wounded and ſlaine, about an hundred taken priſoners, and about three hundred Horſe.

But by reaſon the General and part of the Army retreated back this day to *Bodman*, the Malignants began to rejoyce; upon preſumption that the Army was affronted, and hereof they were ſo confident, that they conveyed it up with much expedition to *Oxford*, where it is certaine, they had publick rejoycing for the great Victory obtained againſt FAIRFAX his Forces in *Cornwal*.

Lords day March 8. Though the day were very rainy, the Army marched to other Quarters, within ſix or ſeven miles of *Truro*, to Saint *Stephens*, Saint *Blaſe*, and other parts: Major-General *Pert* was brought to the head Quarters ſore wounded, he was a proper, ſtout, gallant man; all meanes was uſed for his recovery, if it might have been. He ſatisfied divers there, that thoſe men that were ſo routed were the Princes Regiment, (moſt of them Gentlemen and Reformadoes:) That the Summons ſent from the General to the Lord *Hopton* was not publiſhed: The Copy of the Summons being

read

read unto him, he said, that the conditions therein mentioned would be readily accepted by the Souldiery, and if it were once published in the Army, and refused by the Officers, it would break them to pieces. In Major-General *Pert's* pocket there was found a Letter intended to be sent to the Lords that were about the Prince, to this purpose: *That the Kings condition is so low, is not our fault; we are not able to break through the Enemy, nor strong enough to fight them, therefore are resolved to compound for our selves, and leave you to doe what you please,*

Anno 1646. March.

This day the Lord *Hopton* returned back the General's Trumpet without Answer to the Summons, onely with this Apology; *That by reason of the interruption the last night, he could not send a particular Answer to the General, but would send one very shortly:* Which that he might vindicate from a delatory excuse, he made haste; and this day towards the Evening an Answer came from the Lord *Hopton*, wherein he seemed willing to fancy the King and Parliament into a Treaty and Cessation, and desired to know if it were not so; as the Answer it selfe will shew, the Copy whereof followeth.

Viz. By Colonel *Rich* his beating of their Guard.

Sir,

I Received yours, bearing date the fift of this Moneth; wherein I must acknowledge much kindnesse from you, and a very Christian consideration of sparing blood: But one thing there is, I am confident you have too much honour to expect from me; which is, that to avoid any danger, or to enjoy any worldly advantage, I will renounce my Masters House, to whom I am both a sworne Subject, and a sworne Servant; That I must professe I am resolved to undergoe all Fortunes with him, and, if there shall be cause, to suffer any thing, rather then in the least poynt to taint my honour in that particular; and I hope there is not a man of any consideration in this Army under my command, that is not so resolved: yet in all honest and honourable wayes, to procure the peace of this Kingdome, and the sparing of Christian blood, I

Sir *Ralph Hoptons* answer to his Excellencies Summons.

 take

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take God to witnesse, I am, and still have been most desirous: And I heare from good hands, that our gracious Soveraigne is at present so farre advanced in a Treaty with the Parliament, as that he hath promised to passe four of the principall of their Bils proposed, whereof the entrusting of the Militia *for seven yeers, in hands agreed between them, is one. I desire you to deal freely with me in that particular; for if that be so, it will spare the labour of further Treaty, being for my part, ready to obey whatsoever his Majesty shall agree to. God hath indeed of late humbled us with many ill successes, which I acknowledge as a very certaine evidence of his just judgment against us for our personall crimes: Yet give me leave to say, your present prosperity cannot be so certaine an evidence of his being altogether pleased with you. It is true, we are reduced to a lower condition then we have been in, yet have we a gallant Body of Horse, that being preserved to a generall accord, may be for good use against our common Enemies; and being otherwise prest, I may say it without vanity, want not a resolution, at lest, to sell our selves at a deare rate against any oddes. Your Propositions, though they be not wholly consented to, yet if a generall accord, much more desirable, be not in a likely forwardnesse to prevent them, I shall be willing that eight Commanders of ours, with three Country Gentlemen, give a meeting as soon as you please, to any equall number of yours, at any indifferent place, to consult of this great businesse, and to conclude of some Propositions that may be reasonable and honourable for both Parts; wherein I hope God will so blesse our cleer intentions, as may produce a probable inducement to a generall Peace, according to the unfained desire of*

March 8. 1645. Your Servant

RALPH HOPTON.

But this Art would not do, my Lord *Hoptons* Magick is not strong enough to condense the meer ayre of his owne

owne fancy into a Cessation before our Armies, as by the Generals Reply to this Answer, the Reader may satisfie himselfe; which here followes.

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My Lord:

His Excellencies Reply.

I Should most truly and freely informe your Lordship the best I could, in any thing that might lead you to a right understanding of things, in order to the peace of the Kingdome, or the reall good of your selfe and those with you, so farre as may stand with my trust and duty to the publick, to what I conceive your more certaine knowledge of that your desire to be informed in concerning the Kings offers to the Parliament, would not be prejudiciall: But the truth is, I can give you no other satisfaction or assurance therein then this: That the King hath made some offers to the Parliament; and amongst them, one concerning the Militia. *Something to the purpose, as you say you have heard; but the just certainty what his last overtures are, or how far they are advanced to a generall accord, I cannot at present certifie. I do not heare they have proceeded so farre as to a Treaty; And I beleeve, that as the Parliament may be discouraged from the way of Treaty by former experiences of the fruitlesnesse thereof, and the ill use the same hath been designed or driven unto,* viz. *onely to gaine advantages for Warre, without reall intentions for Peace; so the late overtures that way are the lesse like to be successfull, by reason of the cleer and certaine discoveries the Parliament have had, That his Majesty at the same time was and is labouring by Agents in all parts to draw in Forraigne Forces, and especially that the Earle of* Glamorgan *by Commission from his Majesty, had concluded a Peace with the* Irish *Rebels, on tearmes extreamly dishonourable and prejudiciall, upon the onely condition of sending over Force under the command of that Lord, to invade* England; *whereof I presume you cannot but have heard. And though his Majesty did in a Letter to the Parliament, disavow any such agreement, and pretended he had given order to the Lord* Digby *for the attainting and impeaching the Earle*

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of Glamorgan *of high Treason, for what he had done therein: yet by late discoveries to the Parliament, and especially by Letters intercepted the other day at* Padstow, *from the Lord* Digby, *the Earle of* Glamorgan, *and others, to Secretary* Nicholas, *your selfe, Sir* Edward Hide, *the Lord* Culpepper, *and others, it is most cleer and evident, that the arresting of the Earle of* Glamorgan *was onely for a present colour to salve reputation with the people, and continue their delusion till designes were ripe for execution; for the same peace is fully concluded with the Rebels, the King to have the ayde conditioned upon the same agreement, and the Earle of* Glamorgan *at liberty againe; and to command that Force in chiefe.*

Now for the overture of a meeting, to treat further about the Propositions I sent, though I know nothing materiall that I can adde or alter, except in circumstances, yet I shall not refuse or decline such a meeting, or ought else that probably tends to the saving of blood, or further misery to any, Provided, the meeting be speedily, and number of persons not to exceed four or five. But, my Lord, when you consider what I have before related concerning Forraigne *supplies, which I have reason to think you know & beleeve; you see what cause I have to be jealous of advantages sought by delayes; and not to intermit any time, or omit any opportunity, to prosecute the service I have in hand: And that there may be no colour of your expecting that forbearance on my part, which you offer on yours, I doe the more hasten back my resolution to you: In pursuance whereof, I doe not despise nor shall insult upon your present condition. I question not, nor yet shall, I hope, be much moved with the resolution of your men; I presume not on former successes nor present advantage in fleshly power, but desire to trust in God alone, whose favour and blessing to this Army above others, I doe not account in what is past, or expect in future, to be for any precedence in merit or goodnesse of ours, whereby we should be more pleasing to him then others, but from his owne Free grace and goodnesse towards his people, whose welfare, with the common good of the King-*

Kingdome, we ſeek and deſire with all faithfulneſſe and integrity to purſue. And ſo committing the iſſue of all to his good pleaſure, I remaine

Your humble Servant

March 9. 1645.

THO. FAIRFAX.

Anno 1646. March.

Moreover, beſides the proportion this Anſwer might beare to the better information of the Lord *Hopton*, his Excellency (to ſatisfie him more fully) commanded ſome of the Regiments to advance this day to *Tregny* (an ill ſigne of a Ceſſation) and the next day the Army advanced two ſeverall wayes, part of it following to *Tregny*, (the head Quarter that night) another part of it to *Probus*, and thoſe parts. But ſuch was the force of the Lord *Hopton's* imagination upon his owne Souldiers, that they inſtead of asking, acted a Ceſſation; when our Forlorne of Horſe comming neer theirs, not far from *Probus*, they did not endeavour to put themſelves in order to receive us, nor did they make any reſiſtance, but ſtood ſtill: our men much wondring thereat. And what was the cauſe? but a Ceſſation between the Armies (as they beleeved, or would ſeem to beleeve) for ſo ſoon as our men came neer, they cryed, *A Ceſſation, a Ceſſation:* ours cryed, *No, no, there was none:* and much adoe had Commiſſary-generall *Ireton*, and other Officers, to perſwade them there was none; notwithſtanding, ſince they were ſo poſſeſſed and deluded, we wiſht them to be gone, and we would take no advantage of them. The Enemy expreſſing much ſorrow (that there was not a Ceſſation as they were informed) retired, ſeeming alſo to be ſomewhat affected, that they had ſo noble and ingenuous an Enemy, that took not this advantage to do them any hurt, as we might have done, there being no Ceſſation.

The Lord *Hopton* ſeeing his ſtratagem would not take, but he muſt beg a Ceſſation if he would have it, and

Anno 1646. March. The Lord *Hopton* sends for a Treaty.

and that his men were so startled at the advance of our Army, sent this night about twelve of the clock, for a Treaty, naming the place, *Tresillian-Bridge*, if his Excellency approved of it: The Trumpet was returned about three in the morning, That the General did hearken to a Treaty, and would appoint Commissioners to meet at the place proposed by the Lord *Hopton*. Hereupon Commissioners on both sides were nominated to meet at nine the next day, being *Tuesday* morning (*March* 10.) But the General being unwilling to lose time, gave Orders for a martch: accordingly the Army that *Tuesday* advanced by breake of day, and martched to a Randezvouz within two miles of *Truro* by ten of the clock, where the Lord *Hopton's* Trumpeter brought a safe Conduct for our Commissioners, and they having received the like from us, a Cessation was agreed to; but withall, a Message was sent to the Lord *Hopton* from the General, That he intended to quarter his Army at *Truro* and Saint *Allen* that night, which he thought fit to give him notice of, that none of his Forces might be left in the Towne when our Souldiers entred. This much disrelished with the Lord *Hopton*, and his Commissioners that he sent, had much reluctancy against it. The General, upon conference with the Commissioners, was content to let them have Saint *Allen* for their Quarter; his Excellency reserving still *Truro* (the prime Quarter) to himselfe. And here we had the Enemy in a pound, so that he had but six miles bredth to break through, if he attempted it. And now we having the Passe at *Truro*, the Lord *Hopton* drew his Forces to quarter more Westward, and the Treaty was adjourned till next Morning, and a Cessation observed on both Sides.

Wednesday the 11. The Commissioners on both sides met againe, but could not make any great progresse into the Treaty; the Cessation was continued for a day longer: abont one hundred and twenty Musquetteers came

came in this day with their Armes, and Colours flying, being of Colonel *Trevanian's* Regiment : also divers Colonels, Knights and Gentlemen of quality, sent to the General, making knowne their desires, to be received into the protection of the Parliament; which so disheartned Colonel *Trevanian*, then with his Regiment at *Perin*, that late that evening he sent unto his Excellency, desiring he might be included in the Treaty with the Lord *Hopton*, and have the same conditions that other Officers were to have. These things so operated with the Governour of Saint *Mawes* Castle, a principall Fort that had a great command of the Haven at *Falmouth*, that he sent to the General to be received into favour : And although *Arrundell* the Governour of *Pendennis*, sent to command him to come into the Castle of *Pendennis*, he fearing some evill intended against him, refused and persisted in his former desire : whereupon the General sent him conditions, with a Summons; which were accepted, and he agreed to surrender.

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By reason of the Cessation, our Troopers mixed with the Enemies; and upon this bruit abroad (though without ground) that the Enemies Troopers should lose their Horses, they to make some advantage of them, coursed good store of their best Horses to our men.

By twelve of the clock this night, all the materiall poynts of the Treaty were concluded, matters of circumstance onely remained, which yet were so necessary to be concluded, in order to the perfecting of the Treaty, that the next day was allowed (and the Cessation continued) for the finishing thereof. When the Treaty was fully ended, and Hostages appointed, the same day Saint *Mawes* Castle was surrendred, and thirteen pieces of Ordnance in it (whereof two great Brasse Pieces, of about four thousand weight apiece) and our Foot were sent to possesse it.

The Treaty being thus ended, with great joy did the Enemies Officers receive our conditions, and wisht they had

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had ſooner known our intentions towards them. Thoſe that ſeemed moſt diſcontented, were the common Troopers that were to be diſmounted, who therefore to mend their conditions, had changed away their beſt Horſes, for advantage, before the disbanding. And it is not to be credited, how much our Army did get into the Enemies eſteem during the Ceſſation, and what ſorrowfull expreſſions many of them did make, that they han been ſo deluded concerning our carriage; ingenuouſly confeſſing, that the civility of our Army had been ever till now concealed from them. Officers and Souldiers unanimouſly deſired imployment for *Ireland*; being willing to take the Sacrament Oath (for that they propoſed) or to enter into what other Obligation ſhould be thought fit, That as they would never beare Armes againſt the Parliament in *England*, ſo that they would not, if they were imployed in *Ireland* by the Parliament, deſiſt from purſuing of their commands againſt the *Iriſh* Rebels, upon any countermand or other invitation of the Kings: affirming, that they had ſufficiently ſmarted already for being enticed by him.

Saturday was appointed to be the day of disbanding, which yet of very neceſſity was put off till the next day; in the meane time one hundred and twenty more of the Enemies Foot, with Colours, came in; and now all things being agreed, the Commiſſioners of both ſides ſupt this night with the General.

The next day, which was appointed for the Disbanding, was the *Lords day*, in which the Army would have been glad to have reſted, but in regard time was precious, and the country ſuffered ſo much by the Enemies Forces that lay upon them, they by good warrant preferred mercy and neceſſity before ſacrifice, and the *French* Regiment, under the command of *Monſieur Laplane*, which was to be the firſt disbanded, was that day brought to the place appointed for Disbanding. Their Horſes were very poore, they having before, by private

private contracts, put off the best of them. There were about three hundred dismounted; but they having made their markets before, most of their Horses (as was but just) were turned back upon their owne hands, as not worth the twenty shillings an Horse, which they were to receive according to the agreement. In the space of five dayes more was the work finished, and the whole Field force of the Enemy in the West of *England* disbanded; *viz.* On *Monday* two Brigades of Horse. *Tuesday* 17. the two Brigades of the Lord *Cleveland's* and Major-General *Web's*. *Wednesday* 18. part of the Lord *Wentworth's*, Colonel *Bovile's* Brigade, Lord *Hopton's* Life-guard, and Sir *Richard Greenvil's* Life-guard. *Thursday* two Brigades more, of which the Lord *Goring's* was one, and the Princes Life-guard. *Friday* 20. the two last Troops of all the *Cornish* Horse were disbanded. The number of Brigades in all that were disbanded, were nine; *viz.* the *French* Brigade, consisting of three Regiments: The Lord *Wentmorth's* Brigade, consisting of four Regiments: Sir *James Smith's* Brigade, consisting of three Regiments: The Lord *Cleveland's* Brigade, consisting of four Regiments: Major-General *Web's* of three Regiments: The Lord *Hopton's* Brigade, commanded by Colonel *Bovile*: The Lord *Goring's* Brigade of five Regiments: The Princes Life-guard, consisting of nine Troops, being seven hundred men, armed: Sir *Richard Greenvil's* Reformadoes. The men that were dismounted are proper and lusty men.

Anno 1646. March.

To the Honourable *William Lenthall* Esquire; SPEAKER of the Honourable House of COMMONS.

SIR,

WHilst I lay at Bodman *for the necessary refreshment of the Army, and to block up the Passages from* Bodman *to the North and South Sea, I sent a Summons, with*

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Propositions, to Sir Ralph Hopton, *and the Army under his command (A true Copy whereof I have here inclosed) being encouraged thereunto by some of the Enemies Officers and Souldiers, who came in to me, and informed of their inclinablenesse to Conditions; and hoping thereby either to bring them to such termes as should be to your advantage, or would distract and weaken them; and withall understanding by the intercepted Letters I sent you, that an* Irish Infantry *was ready to be shipt for* England, *I thought fit to try all meanes which in probability might break their Body of* Cavalry *upon the place. When I had dispatched these Propositions to the Enemy, I advanced upon Monday with all the Army from* Bodman *towards* Truro, *being then the Enemies head Quarters, and to* Tregny, *where I quartered that night. Sir* Ralph Hopton *sent a Trumpeter to me with a Letter, desiring to have Commissioners apointed on both sides, to meet at* Tresilian-Bridge *the next day, with power to treat and conclude, which I assented to: The Treaty accordingly began, the Commissioners meeting about four a clock in the Afternoon, and I in the meane time advancing the quarters of the Army to* Truro *and Saint* Allen: *After some time spent between the Commissioners, this agreement was made, a Copy whereof I have here also enclosed; and in execution thereof, this day we began to disband the* French *Brigade under Colonel* Lapland: *To morrow we proceed with three other Brigades, they having nine in all; and shall endeaveur to shorten this work as much as may be. Truly Sir, this must needs be acknowledged for an admirable mercy from the same gracious hand of providence that hath hitherto gone along with you, that so considerable a force as this should be so baffled, first at* Torrington, *and afterwards should put themselves, as it were, into a Net; whereby they were necessitated to take termes, to the utter Ruine of so great a Bodie of* Cavalry; *which according to all our information, and the confession of our Enemies, was not lesse at the time of the Treatie, then four or five thousand Horse. The Articles of Agreement will speak the mercie, and needs*

no

no comment; yet I hope I may make this observation upon them, that thereby not onely so great a Body of Cavalry *is broken, but so many both Officers and Souldiers disobliged from taking armes against you, and this at such a season when a* Forraigne *Aide so ready, as the Earle of* Glamorgan's *Letters sent up formerly (and now sent you) speake at large, the timely freeing of us for other services that remaine, with discouragement put upon the Enemies Garrisons in these parts, which we hope will cause them the more speedily to come in, we trust will be good consequences of this work: It's the desire of us all, the praise of all may be returned to God, to whom it is onely due. The reputation of this hath already produced a surrender of Saint* Mawes *Castle, wherein we found about thirteen Guns, and good proportion of Ammunition; which place gives you a better interest in* Falmouth-Harbour, *then the Enemy hath: For by the advantage hereof, you may bring in Shipping without hazard, which they cannot. It hath also occasioned the comming in of between three hundred and four hundred Foot of the Enemies, with their Armes, to me; and given the Countries such heart against them, That in* Peryn *(a Towne formerly not very well affected) and in Saint* Ive *they stand upon their Guards against the Enemy: For further particulars concerning this businesse, I referre you to Master* Peters, *who since he came into this County (where he was borne) hath very much furthered the service, in the bringing of the Country in so freely to the protection of the Parliament: I remaine*

Anno 1646. March.

Your most humble Servant

THO. FAIRFAX.

Anno 1646. March.

TRURO, March 14. 1645.

Articles of Agreement concluded betwixt Commissary Generall Ireton, *Colonell* John Lambert, *Colonell* John St. Aubin, *Commissary Generall* Stane, *Captaine* Edward Herle, *and* Richard Deane, *Comptroller of the Ordnance, Commissioners appointed on the behalfe of his Excellency Sir* THOMAS FAIRFAX *Knight, Generall of the Parliaments Army, on the one part: And Colonell* Charles Goring, *Colonell* Marcus Trevor, *Colonell* Thomas Panton, *Colonell* Jordan Bovill, *Sir* Richard Prideaux *Knight, and Major* Goteer, *Commissioners appointed on the behalfe of the Right Honourable the Lord* HOPTON, *Generall of his Majesties Army, on the other part; as followeth:*

I.

IT is concluded and agreed, That no person in the Lord *Hopton's* Army, not formerly by name excepted by the Parliament from pardon, shall be excluded from the privilege of this Treaty, either as being a Forreigner, or for having formerly served the Parliament; but shall equally have the benefit of what shall upon this Treaty be granted to other persons of that quality that they are of in the Army: And for any persons by name excepted by the Parliament, they shall have present liberty (if they desire it) to goe beyond Seas, with like recommendation and equipage as others of like quality; or if they desire to live at home in *England*, to make their addresses to the Parliament, for that, or other purpose, they shall have leave and reasonable time so to do, and the General's protection to live quietly and at liberty in any place they shall nominate and chuse within the Parliaments Quarters, untill they have received the Parliaments Resolution; And if the Parliament shall not think fit to grant such their desires, they shall then have leave and Passes to goe beyond Sea, as before, or to any

any of the King's Armies or Garrisons, as they shall think fit. *Anno* 1646. March.

II. That the Army and Forces under the command of the Lord *Hopton*, shall within six dayes after the date hereof be wholy disbanded and discharged by the Lord *Hopton*, and the Generall Officers, Colonels, and other Officers under his command according to the severall charges in manner hereafter expressed.

III. That all common Troopers, Corporals of Horse, Farriers and Sadlers, that are mounted, being of, or belonging to the Forces under the command of the right honourable the Lord *Hopton*, shall bring in and deliver up their Horses, with their Bridles and Saddles, and all their Armes, unto his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, or unto whom he shall appoint to receive them, in manner, time and place, as is hereafter exprest; Provided, that all Corporals, and such common Troopers as shall appeare Gentlemen of worth, and such other Troopers as shall goe beyond Sea, shall be allowed to keep and carry away with them their Swords.

IV. That upon performance hereof, they shall receive twenty shillings a man, or keep their Horses, and shall have their Passes to goe to their homes in *England*, or beyond Sea, with their Bag and Baggage, which they shall have leave to carry with them, or dispose of them as they please; and those to whom Swords are allowed, as before, to passe with their Swords.

V. That the Commission-Officers of Horse under the Lord *Hopton*, for their severall Troops respectively, shall cause the said Horses and Armes to be duly delivered in without changes, spoyling or imbezlement among themselves, according to the effect of the first Article before-going.

VI. That this being performed, all the said Commission-Officers of Horse in present command, and all Trumpeters belonging to them, shall have liberty to goe away, either to their homes in *England*, or beyond the Seas, with

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with their Bag and Baggage: And also, they shall have such number of Horses and Equipage, as is hereafter allowed, according to their severall qualities: That is to say,

First, For those that shall chuse to goe beyond the Seas, the full number of Horses and Fire-armes, if they have so many of their owne.

To Trumpeters one Horse a piece, and their Trumpets.
To Quartermasters two Horses and one case of Pistols.
To Cornets three Horses and two case of Pistols.
To Lieutenants four Horses and three case of Pistols.
To Captaines, Majors and Lieutenant-Colonels, six Horses and four case of Pistols.
To Colonels eight Horses and six case of Pistols.
To the Adjutant-generall six Horses and four case of Pistols.
To the other Adjutants of Brigades, three Horses a piece and one case of Pistols.
To the Scoutmaster-generall six Horses and two case of Pistols.
To the Quartermaster-generall six Horses and two case of Pistols.
To the Marshall-generall four Horses and one case of Pistols.
To the Deputy Quartermaster-generall two Horses.
To the Deputy Scoutmaster one Horse.
To the Major-generall twelve Horses and six case of Pistols.
To the Commissary-generall of Horse provisions, three Horses and a case of Pistols.
To the Commissary-generall of Victuals, three Horses and one case of Pistols.
To the Chirurgion-generall three Horses.
To Quartermasters of Brigades three Horses and one case of Pistols.
To Chirurgions of Regiments two Horses.
To all these, except Chirurgions, their defensive Armes, and Swords for themselves and their servants; and to every Field Officer one Carabine, and Chirurgions their swords.

Secondly,

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Secondly, Those that shall chuse to abide in *England*, with the General Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX his Protection, and to live at home, shall have their Proportions as followeth.

The Trumpeters one Horse a piece and their Trumpets.
To Quartermasters one Horse a piece.
To Cornets and Lieutenants two Horses a piece and one case of Pistols.
To Captaines three Horses a piece and one case of Pistols.
To Majors four horses a piece and one case of Pistols.
To Lieutenant-Colonels five horses a piece and one case of Pistols.
To Colonels six horses a piece and two case of Pistols.
To the Major-generall ten horses, three case of Pistols.
To the Adjutant-generall six horses, one case of Pistols.
To the Adjutants of Brigades one horse a piece and one case of Pistols.
To the Quartermaster-generall six horses, one case of Pistols.
To the Marshall-generall three horses, one case of Pistols.
To the Deputy Quartermaster-generall two horses.
To the Scoutmaster-generall four horses, one case of Pistols.

All these to have Swords for themselves and their Servants.

To the Commissary of horse provision, two horses and a case of Pistols.
To the Commissary of Victuals, two horses, a case of pistols.
To the Deputy Scoutmaster one horse.
To the Quartermasters of Brigades two horses.
To the Chirurgion-generall two horses.
To Chirurgions of Regiments one horse.
To Chaplaines two horses.

All these, except Chaplaines, to have Swords for themselves and their Servants.

VII. That the precedent Articles concerning the surrender of Troopers Horses. &c. being performed; if any Officer

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Officer in command that chuſeth to live at home, ſhall appeare to have more Horſes of his owne, then what he is before allowed by the laſt precedent Article, the Commiſſioners of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his part, will recommend it to his Excellencies favour, that they may enjoy the benefit of ſuch Horſes of their own, to the ſame number as Officers of like quality that are to goe beyond the Seas.

VIII That of the Reformadoe Officers that chuſe to live at home in *England*, Reformadoe Quartermaſters ſhall have the ſame conditions as Coporals in command; Cornets and Lieutenants ſhall goe away with one Horſe a piece; Captaines, Majors and Lieutenant-Colonels with two Horſes a piece, and Colonels with three Horſes a piece, if they have ſo many of their owne, and one caſe of Piſtols: thoſe Reformadoes that deſire to goe beyond Seas, to have halfe the proportion of Horſes and Arms allowed in that caſe to Officers of the like quality in preſent command, if they have them of their owne, and all of them to goe with Swords, Bag and Baggage, or diſpoſe thereof at pleaſure.

IX. That all Gentlemen of quality in Armes or not in Armes, but living under the protection of the ſaid Army, ſhall have liberty either to goe to their own houſes, or beyond the Seas, with Bag and Baggage, and Equipage according to their ſeverall qualities, as followeth; That is to ſay,

A Knight with four Horſes, three Servants, one caſe of Piſtols, and their Swords.

An Eſquire with three Horſes, two Servants, one caſe of Piſtols, and their Swords.

A Gentleman with two Horſes, one Servant, one caſe of Piſtols, and their Swords.

A Gentleman of loweſt rank, with one Horſe for himſelfe, and a Sword.

Schollers and Clergymen to have one Horſe at the leaſt, or more, according to their different degrees, at the Generals diſcretion.

X. That

X. That to all those who according to the effect of these Articles shall chuse to goe beyond the Sea, Passes shall be granted from the General Sir *Thomas Fairfax* accordingly, and to those who being *English*, shall chuse to live at home, Passes for that purpose, and protections for the liberty of their persons, and also for the freedome of their Estates from all plunder and violence of Souldiers; and that such Gentlemen, or others, that have considerable Estates, may have the General's Letters of Recommendation to the Parliament (if desired) for their moderate composition. *Anno* 1646. March.

XI. That after the performance of these Articles so farre to disbanding and delivering up of what is to be delivered, All Officers and Souldiers that shall, according to these Articles, chuse to goe beyond the Seas, shall have sufficient Quarters assigned them by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, neer convenient Ports for their transportation; and that they shall have twenty eight dayes allowed to stay in *England*, from the day of their severall disbanding, and that the charge of quartering their Horses be discharged by themselves after the first fourteen dayes for the time of their further stay; That the Generall will appoint men to take care that Shipping shall be provided for transporting their Persons, Armes, Bag and Baggage, they paying the accustomed rates.

XII. That a certaine number of Officers of the Lord *Hopton's* Army, not exceeding forty, upon the Lord *Hopton's* Commissioners request, shall be permitted to have passes for themselves, and their Servants, Horses and necessaries to goe to *Oxford*; Provided, that their Servants exceed not the number of two, their Horses three, to every one respectively.

XIII. That the Lord *Hopton* shall be allowed for his owne use, all his Horses; Provided, they exceed not the number of forty; and Armes for himselfe and twelve men; and that the Lord *Wentworth* shall have all his Horses; Provided, they exceed not five and twenty, and

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Armes for himselfe and eight men, and places assigned them for conveniency of Quarters.

XIV. That such *English* men as shall chuse to abide in *England* at their homes, and all Forreigners of the said Army, shall engage themselves by promise, in such forme as is herewith agreed on, not to beare Armes any more against the Parliament of *England*, nor to act any thing wilfully prejudiciall to the Parliaments affaires, without first rendring themselves prisoners to the Parliament: And likewise all such *English* as shall chuse to goe beyond Sea, shall engage themselves in the like promise for three yeers next ensuing the date hereof, or otherwise shall lose the benefit of these Articles, excepting the Lord *Hopton* and Lord *Wentworth*, and the number of Officers allowed to goe to *Oxford* in the twelfth Article before-going, who are by the intention of these Articles left free from such engagement.

XV. That all Horses, Armes and Furniture of Warre belonging to, or in the hands of any person in the said Army, not allowed in the precedent or subsequent Articles, to be carried away, shall be delivered up to such persons, and at such places neer *Truro*, or Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his head Quarters, as his Excellency shall appoint, within six dayes after the date hereof, without spoyle or imbezlement, at the care as well of the General's Officers of the said Army, and all Commanders in their severall charges, as by the persons themselves to whom such Armes or Furniture of Warre do belong, or in whose custody they were.

XVI. That whosoever shall after the conclusion of this Treaty, purposely break, spoyle or imbezle any of the Armes, Horses or Furniture, agreed and concluded to be delivered up in this Treaty, shall forfeit the benefit due unto him by any Article in the Treaty. And if any of the said Army after the conclusion of this Treaty, shall plunder, or wilfully do any violence unto any Inhabitants of the Country, he shall give satisfaction unto

to the persons so wronged, or lose the benefit of the Treaty; and that the Commissioners of both parties, or any three of them, whereof one or more to be of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his party, and one or more to be of the Lord *Hopton's*, shall have power to heare and determine all such cases accordingly.

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XVII. That the said Army and Forces under the command of the Lord *Hopton*, from the time of the conclusion of this Treaty, untill the time of their drawing out to be disbanded, as in the ensuing Articles, shall be quartered in such places Westward from *Truro*, as Sir *Thomas Fairfax* shall appoint, which shall be large enough for their accommodation, and that the Cessation of Armes, and of all Acts of Hostility betwixt the two Armies shall continue unto the time of the compleat disbanding of the Lord *Hopton's* Army.

XVIII. That for the disbanding of the said Forces, and delivering up of Horses, Armes, &c. In performance of the precedent Articles, Every Brigade and Regiment under the Lord *Hopton's* command, shall by their respective Commanders be drawne out into such places of Randezvouz, within two miles of *Truro*, or Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his head Quarters, and upon such dayes as Sir *Thomas Fairfax* shall for them joyntly or severally appoint, notice of the same being given to his Excellency in writing sixteen hours beforehand, under the Commissioners of the Lord *Hopton's* part, or any of them, two or more of whom shall for that and other purposes continue at Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his head Quarters, untill the disbanding be finished, and that the Quartermaster general, or Adjutant of the Lord *Hopton's* with one Horsman from every Brigade, shall also be there with them, and that none of the said Brigades or Regiments shall be drawne out of their Quarters (which shall be assigned to them as before) otherwise then upon, and according to such notice from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* as before, except to and for their ordinary Guards.

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XIX. That to, or before the drawing out of the ſeverall Brigades or Regiments to ſuch Randezvouz as before, the chiefe Commanders of them reſpectively, ſhall deliver unto whom Sir *Thomas Fairfax* ſhall appoint, a true and perfect Liſt of the Regiments and Troops in the ſeverall Brigades, and of all Officers and Souldiers in their ſeverall Troops, expreſſing by name which of them do chuſe to goe beyond Sea, and which do goe to live at home; as alſo who are Reformadoes, and in what degree of command they have ſerved: and that at the ſame times and places, the Horſes, Armes and Furniture, by vertue of the precedent Articles to be delivered up, ſhall be delivered up accordingly; and all the Officers and ſouldiers disbanded and diſcharged, and there ſhall receive their paſſes, with Warrants for quarters by the way for one night in a place, and be conveyed towards their ſeverall homes, as farre as *Chard*, if they goe ſo farre, or unto Quarters aſſigned them for their tranſportation, according to the precedent Articles.

That for the further performance of theſe Articles, two Colonels of each Army ſhall be mutually delivered and kept as Hoſtages.

H. Ireton.	Charles Goring.
Jo. Lambert.	Marcus Trevor.
Jo. S[t] Aubin.	Thomas Panton.
William Stane.	Jordan Bovill.
Edward Herle.	Richard Prideaux.
Richard Deane.	Jean Goteer.

There came in to the General during the Treaty, many Lieutenant-Colonels, Serjeant-Majors and Captaines.

Many Gentlemen of quality.

Ninety and ſix common Souldiers from *Peryn* with Armes.

Twelve more followed them.

One

One hundred more with their Arms and Colours, of Colonel *Trevanian's* Regiment. *Anno* 1646. March.

One hundred Officers and souldiers of Colonel *Champernoon's* Regiment, *Falmouth* by this means, and the surrender of St *Mawes*, was ours on one side the Harbour.

Now having given you the Narrative, give me leave to make some few observations on this succesfull progresse, even to the Lands end, which may well be the subject of greatest admiration and thankfulnesse: The hard task the Army had in forcing up so great a Body as 5000 of the Enemies Horse, into such a narrow neck of land, through a Country so cragged, in such a season of the yeer, the ground all covered over with Snow, the wayes so slippery, and the Weather so bitter cold, by a hard frost of that continuance, as had not been knowne for many yeers before, may well be compared with *Hannibal's* forcing his passage into *Italy* through the frozen *Alps* with Fire and Vinegar: That five thousand Horse and more should be forced to capitulate and yeeld themselves to an Army comming short of that number in Horse, is that which History can hardly paralell, and Posterity will scarce beleeve. And the benefit is as great as the wonder: For had this Body of Horse escaped into the Mid-land parts, they might in probability have much protracted the Warre: and if they, the Lord *Ashlye's* Foot, and the Kings other Forces about *Oxford* had joyned together, they would have been very considerable in the Field, and so would necessarily have occasioned the diversion of the Army from the work they had in hand, *viz.* the Reduction of the West, which was of that vast importance to the Kingdom, considering the Negotiations that were in *France* & *Ireland*, for the present bringing over Forces thither (as by the intercepted Letters from those parts severally did appeare) that nothing could be greater: But by this good hand of God upon us, this Body of the Enemy is secured, their joyning prevented, and all the mischiefe

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mischiefe that would have ensued thereupon, and *Cornwal* reduced: Which last particular, that you may see what a considerable summe (alone and by it selfe) it amounts unto; cast it up and consider it, as it was a Country having convenient Ports & Harbours both for *France* and *Ireland*, whose naturall scituation was very strong and apt for defence, being all very mountainous, and enwrapt with the Sea on all sides, except toward *Devonshire*, and there bounded by the River *Tamar*, which in a right line, runs almost from Sea to Sea. From which advantages, it hath been in ancient times, one of the last places of retreat in the Kingdome, and hath ever made saving conditions for it selfe in those overflowing inundations both of *Saxons* and *Normans*. Since the beginning of our late Warres, it and its Forces have been more then once fatally disastrous to our former Armies, and had ever been from the beginning of the Warres in the possession of the Enemy, the people more generally disaffected to the Parliament then any other part of the Kingdome, from whence the King, as from a never failing Spring, was constantly supplied with a choyce and able Infantry.

All which particulars whosoever doth consider, will acknowledge, that the reducing of this County was as difficult as desirable: And this is another happy fruit of the disbanding those Horse, and not only the reduction of that County of *Cornwall*, but the absolute conquest of the West of *England*; most of the Enemies Garrisons there onely waiting to see what would become of these Horse, upon whom they depended for relieſe.

All which considered and put together, this service may well live a lasting Monument, to the glory of God, and the honour of the Instruments.

Moreover, during this space, while the Enemies Forces were disbanding, as an additionall to the occurrences of these five dayes, *Monday* 16. another Packet of the Lord

Lord *Glamorgan's* taken at *Peryn*, was brought to the General, being a Duplicate of those Letters taken at *Padstow*, (another Vessell being newly landed there out of *Ireland*, not knowing but that it was still in the Kings hand) and that evening was *Peryn* possest by our Foot, who were received with much joy by the Towne's people. *Anno* 1646 March.

Tuesday 17. Lieutenant-Colonel *Ingoldsbey* (a stout and valiant man) going to view *Pendennis* Castle, received a shot from some of the Enemies Musquetteers behind the Mud-walls, of which he dyed within three hours.

Wednesday, The General went to view *Pendennis*, and possessed *Pennycome-Quick*; also *Dennis* Fort with twenty six pieces of Ordnance, and thirty barrels of Powder was the same day surrendred to the General; and *Pensans* and Saint *Ives* stood upon their guards against *Goring's* Forces.

Thursday, Above an hundred men came with their Armes from *Michael's Mount*, and tendred themselves to serve in the Army.

CHAP. V.

The Army returning to the Siege of Excester, *with all the particulars of the Treaty, and surrender of the same.*

THe whole Field-Force of the Enemy being thus happily reduced, Orders were given out immediately for the Army to martch back Eastward: *Saturday* 21. the General accordingly martched from *Truro* to *Bodman*, and the rest of the Army to other Quarters, where they rested the *Lords day*. *Monday* 23. Consultation was had with the Gentlemen for the settlement of those parts. The Lord *Mohune* and others came to his Excellency that day. *Tuesday* 24. Further debate was had concerning the ordering of the disbanded Horse, who plundered

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plundered the Country as they went, and they were all called over by the List at the Bridges they were to passe over, to see that none had more Horse with them then were allowed them at the disbanding place. *Wednesday* 25. The General and Lieutenant-General and some of the generall Officers, went to *Plymouth* and viewed the Forts and Works, whilest the Army martched another way, by *Launceston*: The Governour and the Towne entertaining the General very honourably, three hundred pieces of Ordnance discharged to welcome him thither.

Thursday 26. The Parliament-men, and other Gentlemen of the Country met the General at *Plymouth*; conference was had concerning the defensive posture of that County, and the speedy sending over of the *French* that were disbanded; and accordingly Ships were provided.

Friday 27. The General martched from *Plymouth* to *Oakhampton*, four and twenty miles, by *Tavestock*, and the Army martched from *Launceston* that day within five miles of *Oakhampton*.

Saturday 28. His Excellency had newes of Sir *Jacob Astleys* being taken, and of the routing of his Army by the Forces under the command of Colonel *Morgan*, Sir *William Brereton*, and Colonel *Birch*, and of Sir *Charles Lucas* being taken by Colonel *Fleetwood*, who with his Horse hindred the conjunction of all the *Oxford* Horse with the Lord *Ashley*. The General rested this day at *Oakhampton* till the rest of the Army came up.

Lords day, *March* 29. They martched from *Oakhampton* to *Crediton*, fourteen miles; some part of the Army went that night to *Newton Siers*, being eighteen miles: Orders were given to possesse *Heavytree*, a Village lying within halfe a mile of *Excester*, lest the Enemy should sally out, and burne those Villages upon the approach of the Army.

Monday, *March* 30. The General resting at *Crediton*, some

some more Foot advanced close to *Excester*; a Summons was prepared to be sent in. Anno 1646. March.

Tuesday, March 31. The General drew all his Army round the City within Musquet shot; and as he passed by them, at every post, our men that lay there gave a volley of shot and a great shout; and so on the other side the River, there being Bridges made over; and presently after his Excellency sent in a Summons, and came to quarter that night at *Colomb John*, the rest of the Army to *Silverton* and other parts. The Summons being prepared, was sent in; and ran thus.

SIR,

BEing returned with my Army from the West, where God in his wisdome saw it good to bestow a dry and bloodlesse Victory, upon me, to the great peace and quiet of those parts, and conceiving it my duty likewise to endeavour the good of this County, which by the occasion of your Garrison is necessarily obstructed, I thought fit once more to send you a Summons to deliver up to me the City of Excester, *with the Castle, Forts, Armes, Ammunition, and Magazine belonging to the same; beleeving that by this time you are satisfied of the reliefe from the Princes Army, and may equally be of all reliefe to come from any other place, if your intelligence and knowledge were the same with ours: There is nothing more induceth me hereunto then an unfained zeale toward any bloodshed, and, as much as in me lyes, to preserve that City, which hath already suffered deeply in these unnaturall distractions, from further or greater misery: Though I shall not boast of my numbers or strength, yet I must needs tell you that I doubt not but the same power which hath formerly made difficult things easie, will answer this, and will acquit me from being accompted the occasion of those inconveniencies and miseries which necessarily will ensue upon your refusall. Sir, I shall expect your speedy and positive Answer herein, and rest*

March 31. 1646. Your Servant

Hh THO. FAIRFAX.

Anno 1646. April.

Wednesday, April 1. Sir *John Berkley* returned this Answer to the Summons.

SIR,

UPon your Summons I called a Counsel of Warre, where after some debate, it was determined to treat with you, or with whom you should appoint, and to conclude upon just and honourable termes: And to that purpose, I desire a safe Conduct for these persons to repaire to your head Quarters, with their servants, on Friday *morning, and to returne at their pleasure: I remaine*

Your Servant

April 1. 1646.

JOHN BERKLEY.

Those first named by Sir *John Berkley* were,

Sir *Henry Berkley.*	Capt. *Fitz Garret.*
Mr. *Wil. Ashburnham.*	Mr. *Robert Walker.*
Sir *George Cary.*	Mr. *Thomas Knight.*
Mr. *Jo. Weare.*	Mr. *Thomas Kendal.*
Colonel *Godolphine.*	Mr. *Thomas Foard.*

Whereupon *Thursday, April* 2. his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax* returned this Answer.

SIR,

IHave received yours, whereby I understand, that in pursuance of my demand in my Summons, you have determined to treat with me by Commissioners; and in order to that have sent a List of ten Gentlemen, which you desire for Commissioners on your behalfe, of which there is none in particular that I take exceptions unto; yet because I desire to carry on the Businesse with cleernesse and expedition, which by so great a number cannot be so well effected, I thought fit to propound unto you the number of six, that being as many as conveniently can be used in a businesse of this nature: Upon your

your consent hereunto and Answer, I shall, according to your desire, send you a safe conduct for a proportionable number of Commissioners; and in the mean time shall rest

April 1. 1646. Your Servant

THO. FAIRFAX.

Anno 1646. April.

I agree the time to begin on *Friday* next, according to your desire; the place *Poultymore-house*: I have sent a List of the Commissiouers on my part.

Lieut. Gen. *Hammond*.	Col. *Harley*.
Col. Sir *Hardresse Waller*.	Col. *Fry*.
Col. *Lambert*.	Commissary *Stane*.

Thursday Apr. 2. Commissioners were appointed, and a safe conduct granted: *Friday* 3. the Treaty began at *Poultymore*, S. *Jo. Bamfields* house. This day his Excellency had the newes of the surrender of *Denison*: *Saturday*, *Sunday*, *Monday*, *Tuesday* and *Wednesday*, the Treaty continued, sitting close at it every day, and the most part of the night, till they had concluded it. That which most retarded the proceding, was some high demands and fruitlesse quæries, in behalfe of the Clergy, *viz.* the Bishops, Deanes, Prebends, and other Cathedrall men there, wherein our Commissioners held them up to what was reasonable; and after much time consumed therein, they were willing to accept of what we were willing to grant, and so on *Thursday*, *April* 9. the Articles were signed by Sir *John Berkley*, in the presence of our Commissioners, and by the General in the presence of their Commissioners; which Articles were as followeth.

Onely, first, let it be remembred, that after there was an entrance upon the Treaty at *Excester*, and that it was probable to come to a good conclusion, his Excellency losing no time, sent Commissary-general *Ireton*, with his owne Rgiment, and Colonel *Riche's*, and some other Regiments of Horse, to *Oxford*, to hinder Provisions

Anno 1646. March.

from going in thither, and to take all advantages against the Enemy: His Excellency intending to make all speed himselfe after the work done at *Excester*, to lay Siege thereto.

Articles of Agreement concluded on by Thomas Hammond, *Lieutenant-general of the Ordnance*, *Colonel Sir* Hardresse Waller, *Colonel* Edward Harley, *Colonel* Lambert, *Commissary-general* Stane, *and Major* Watson, *Scoutmaster-general*, *Commissioners on the behalfe of the right Honourable his Excellency Sir* THOMAS FAIRFAX, *General of the Parliaments Forces*, *on the one Party: And Sir* Henry Berkly, *Sir* George Cary, *Colonel* Ashburnham, *Colonel* Godolphin, *Captaine* Fitz-Gerald, *Master* Jo. Weare, *Master* Robert Walker, *and Master* Thomas Knight, *Commissioners on the behalfe of Sir* John Berkley *Knight*, *Governour of the City of* Excester, *on the other Party*, *touching and concerning the Rendition of the said City and Garrison as followeth:*

I.

THat the City and Garrison of *Excester*, together with the Castle, and all Forts and Mounts, places of defence, of, or belonging to the same; with all Ordnance, Armes and Ammunition, Provisions and Furniture of Warre belonging to the Garrison (excepting what shall be excepted in the ensuing Articles) shall be delivered unto Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, General of the Parliaments Forces, or to any whom he shall appoint to receive them, for the use of the Parliament, on *Monday* next after the date hereof, being the thirteenth of this instant *April*, by twelve of the clock at noon.

II. That if any Officer, Souldier, or any person included in these Articles, wrong or plunder in Person or Goods (in their martch away, or before) any Citizen or Couutry man, or any person whatsoever, shall as far as he is able, give satisfaction to the persons so injured

red, at the Judgment of his Excellency, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*. *Anno* 1646 March.

III. That if any Officer, Souldier, or any perſon (included in theſe Articles) ſhall, after the date hereof, wilfully break, deface, ſpoile or imbezle any Armes, or other Proviſions of Warre whatſoever, by the precedent Articles to be ſurrendred as aforeſaid, ſhall loſe the benefit of the enſuing Articles.

IV. That the Princeſſe *Henrietta* and her Governeſſe, with her Houſhold, ſhall have full liberty to paſſe with their Plate, Moneys and Goods, within twenty dayes after the concluſion of this Treaty (when ſhe ſhall deſire) to any place within the Continent of *England* or Dominion of *Wales*, at the election of the Governeſſe, and there to remaine untill his Majeſties pleaſure be further known touching her ſetling; and that the Governeſſe ſhal have liberty to ſend to the King, to know his pleaſure herein, accordingly to diſpoſe of her Highneſſe within the aforeſaid limitation of places, and that fit and convenient Carriages be provided for their paſſage, at reaſonable rates.

V. That the Cathedrall Church, nor any other Church within the City ſhall be defaced, or any thing belonging thereunto ſpoiled or taken away by any Souldier or perſon of either ſide whatſoever.

VI. That the Governour, together with all Lords, Clergy-men, Gentlemen, Captaines, Officers, Troopers and common Souldiers, ſhall martch out of the City on *Monday* next, the thirteenth of *April*, by twelve of the clock at noon, with their Horſes, full Armes, Bag and Baggage, and their Goods, Colours flying, Drums beating, Matches lighted, Bullets, full Bandaliers, with ſufficient convoyes unto *Oxford*, or unto *Helſton* in *Cornwal*, at their ſeverall elections, and in caſe the Governour of *Oxford* ſhall refuſe to receive the common Souldiers that ſhall martch thither, they are there to deliver up their Armes to the convoy, and have paſſes to repaire to their

Anno 1646. April.

their ſeverall homes, and thoſe that martch unto *Helſton* are there to he disbanded, and to have Paſſes to their ſeverall homes. That all Troopers and common Souldiers which martch not as aforeſaid ſhall deliver up their Armes, except their Swords, and have liberty to goe to their owne homes with Bag and Baggage, and ſhall not be compelled to take up Armes againſt the King; provided alſo that all Officers and Gentlemen that ſhall chuſe to goe to *Oxford*, and not taking up Armes, ſhall repaire into the Parliaments quarters within forty dayes after the date hereof, and ſhall enjoy the benefit of theſe Articles.

VII. That all thoſe which ſhall martch to the Garriſons aforeſaid, ſhall have free quarter in their martch, and not be obliged to martch above ten miles a day, and that ſuch other Souldiers as are Inhabitants in the City, ſhall receive free liberty to martch out, or remaine therein, without being compelled to take up Armes againſt the King: And if any Souldiers fall ſicke upon their martch, that convenient carriages and Accommodations ſhall be provided for them.

VIII. That all Lords, Gentlemen, Clergy-men, Chaplaines and Officers, that ſhall chuſe to goe beyond the Seas, ſhall martch away with their full Armes for their owne uſe; and that all common Souldiers ſhall martch away with their full Armes, with a ſufficient convoy unto the Port which they ſhall chuſe for their tranſportation: Which Armes they ſhall there lay down and deliver unto the Governour of the next garriſon belonging to the Parliament; the ſaid Governour providing for their ſafety during the time of their abode there, where they ſhall be aſſiſted for the procuring Veſſels and Shipping for their tranſportation at the accuſtomed Rates, and ſhall have free Quarter for one and twenty dayes allowed to provide for their paſſage. After which time ſhall be expired, the ſame Officers and Souldiers paying for their Quarters, ſhall have liberty

to

to ſtay untill Shipping be provided, and weather ſeaſonable; and that during their ſtay, or before, it ſhall be permitted, that any two of them may goe to *London*, to treat with any Forraigne Ambaſſadour or Agent, for a Commiſſion to be entertained beyond the Seas.

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IX. That neither the Officers, Souldiers, nor any perſon whatſoever, in their going out of the City, ſhall be reproached, or have any diſgracefull ſpeeches, or affront offered to them, or any of their perſons wronged, rifled, ſearched, or their goods ſeized, or taken away from them by any perſon whatſoever.

X. That the Governour, Lords, Gentlemen, Clergy-men, Chaplaines, Commanders, Officers and Souldiers, comprized in theſe Articles, ſhall be allowed and aſſiſted in, of providing ſufficient Carriages at reaſonable Rates to carry away their Bag, Baggage and Goods; and that care be taken by the future Governour of the ſaid City, for the curing of ſuch ſick or wounded Officers and Souldiers as ſhall be left in the City, and that upon recovery, they ſhall have Paſſes to repaire to their own houſes reſpectively.

XI. That the Parliament Forces come not into the City untill the King's Forces be martched out, except one hundred and fifty Foot, and one Troop of Horſe, with their Officers.

XII. That no Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Clergy men, Chaplaines (excepting thoſe, who are by name excepted by Parliament from pardon and compoſition) Officers, Citizens, and Souldiers, and all other perſons comprized within theſe Articles, ſhall be queſtioned, or accountable for any Act paſt by them done (or by any other by their procurement) relating unto the unhappy differences betwixt his Majeſty and Parliament, they ſubmitting themſelves to reaſonable and moderate compoſition for their Eſtates, which the General Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, ſhall really endeavour with the Parliament, that it ſhall not exceed two yeers value of any mans reall

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reall Eſtate reſpectively, and for perſonall, according to the ordinary rule, not exceeding the proportion aforeſaid; which compoſition being made, they ſhall have indemnity for their perſons, and enjoy their Eſtates and all other Immunities, without payment of any fifth or twentieth part, or any other Taxes or Impoſitions, except what ſhall be hereafter charged upon them in common, with other Subjects of this Kingdome, by authority of Parliament.

XIII. That all Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Clergy and Chaplaines (excepted in the precedent Articles) ſhall have liberty to goe unto any of the King's garriſons, and to have a ſafe conduct for themſelves and ſervants, to goe unto the Parliament to obtaine their compoſition for their Eſtates, and Indemnity for their perſons; which (though it prove ineffectuall) yet nevertheleſſe they ſhall have four moneths time next after the date of theſe Articles, to endeavour their peace, or to goe beyond the Seas, and ſhall have Paſſes for that purpoſe.

XIV. That all Horſes, Armes, Money, and other goods whatſoever, taken as lawfull prizes of War, before or during the Siege, now in the City, be continued in the poſſeſſion of the preſent poſſeſſors.

XV. That al Officers, Gentlemen, Citizens, Inhabitants, Clergy-men, Chaplaines, Souldiers, and all other perſons within the City, during the time of their making their compoſition, ſhal have free liberty either to inhabit within the ſame City, or ſhall have free liberty at any time to depart with their Families, goods and Eſtates, unto any part of this Kingdome in the Parliaments Quarters; and before compoſition made, the Merchants and Tradeſ-men to enjoy their Merchandizing and Trades; and after compoſition made, all others (now prohibited by Ordinances of Parliament) to enjoy and exerciſe their profeſſions, or goe beyond the Seas; and they, and every of them, ſhall have power to diſpoſe and ſell to their

their owne uſes, either by themſelves or others, whatſoever part of their Goods or Eſtates they ſhall not carry or convey away with them: And all Inhabitants, which did inhabite within the City, within ſeven months paſt, having made their compoſitions as aboveſaid, ſhall enjoy the benefit of this and the twelfth and the two and twentieth Articles.

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XVI. That all Charters, Cuſtomes, Privileges, Franchiſes, Liberties, Lands, Eſtates, Goods and Debts, of the Major, Aldermen, Bayliffe, Commonalty, as a Corporation, and all other Corporations of the ſaid City, ſhall be enjoyed by them, and that the ancient government thereof remaine as formerly.

XVII. That if any perſons or Inhabitants which are comprized within theſe Articles, ſhall break any of them; That ſuch breach ſhall onely touch and concerne ſuch perſons, and they to make ſuch ſatisfaction for the ſame as the cauſe doth require.

XVIII. That all perſons comprized within theſe Articles, ſhall have a certificate under the hand of his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, or the future Governour of the City, that ſuch perſons were in the City at that time of the ſurrendring thereof, and are to have the benefit of theſe Articles.

XIX. That his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax* give aſſurance; That all Officers and Souldiers in the Parliaments Army, and all others under his command, ſhall duly and exactly obſerve all Articles aforeſaid: And that if they, or any of them, ſhall directly or indirectly violate or infringe the ſame, upon complaint thereof, Juſtice may be done, and reparation made.

XX. That the Inhabitants of the City ſhall be eaſed and freed from all free Quarter or billet of Souldiers, except in caſes of urgent neceſſity, other then for lodging, and that to be ordered and diſpoſed by the advice of the Major or his Deputy.

XXI. That no Oath, Covenant, Proteſtation or

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Subſcription (relating thereunto) ſhall be impoſed upon any perſon whatſoever comprized within theſe Articles, but onely ſuch as ſhall bind all perſons aforeſaid, not to beare Armes againſt the Parliament of *England*, now ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, nor wilfully doe any Act prejudiciall unto their Affaires, whileſt they remain in their quarters; except the perſons aforeſaid ſhall firſt render themſelves unto the Parliament, who ſhall cauſe them to be ſecured if they think fit.

XXII. That for the further and cleerer underſtanding of the precedent Articles, it is hereby declared, that the true meaning of them is; That all perſons comprized within theſe Articles, ſhall quietly and peaceably enjoy all their Goods, Debts and Moveables during the ſpace of four moneths next enſuing, and be free from all Oaths, Covenants and Proteſtations, and have liberty within the time of the ſaid four moneths, in caſe they ſhall not make their compoſition with the Parliament (and ſhall be reſolved to goe beyond Seas) to diſpoſe of their ſaid Goods, Debts and Moveables allowed by theſe Articles, and to depart the Kingdome, if they ſhall think fit, and to have paſſes for that purpoſe, or otherwiſe to ſtay in the Kingdome.

XXIII. That *Mount-Radford*, and the Ward in S^t^. *Thomas* Pariſh, with the proviſions of Warre thereunto belonging, be delivered unto his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, or whom he ſhall appoint to receive them, in aſſurance of the performance of the precedent Articles, to morrow by ſix of the clock in the afternoon, being the ſeventh of *April*; and that four ſuch Gentlemen or Officers as his Excellency ſhall approve of, ſhall be delivered at the ſame time as Hoſtages for the performance of the foregoing Articles on the one part, and two Hoſtages, ſuch as Sir *John Berkley* Knight, Governour of the City of *Exceſter* ſhall approve of, and appoint to be received for performance on the other part.

XXIV. Laſtly, that theſe Articles be ratified and con-

confirmed mutually by his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax* on the one part, and Sir *John Berkley* Knight, Governour of the City on the other part.

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I doe hereby ratifie and confirme the Articles abovesaid, agreed on by the Commissioners on my part.

April 9. 1646.

THO. FAIRFAX.

The conditions it is confest are honourable for the Enemies acceptance, yet no way dishonourable for Souldiers to grant, considering the consequence of the timely surrender of that place.

The time for the surrender of the Towne was not till *Monday*, they desiring that time to put up their Baggage, and prepare themselves to martch forth: The General thinking it not fit to lose so much time, as to stay till *Monday* (though the weather was unseasonable) martched away that night, after the Articles were signed, to *Tiverton*, designing his martch for *Barnstable*.

CHAP. VI.

The Particulars of the Treaty and surrender of Barnstable; *and the Resolutions and Motions of the Army after the Reduction thereof till they came to* Oxford.

FRiday the 10. The General came before *Barnstable*, Summoned the Towne, and received a civill Answer from the Governour, inclining to a Treaty; which began the next day, and held all that day, and part of the day following, which was the *Lords day*, (when it was concluded, much upon the same Articles in effect with those of *Excester*) and the Castle and the Towne was delivered into our hands, as a security for surrender of the Fort at eight dayes end; Colonel *Shef-*

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field being appointed by the General to ſtay till the ſurrender, and ſee the Articles performed.

This Treaty was carried on and concluded by Commiſſary-General *Stane*, who was ſole Commiſſioner for his Excellency, a Gentleman of great fidelity, who for this, and ſundry other actions of advantage to this Army, well deſerves an honourable mentioning.

Upon the concluding of *Barnſtable* Articles, two Regiments of Foot were commanded from before *Barnſtable*, to martch to *Dunſter*, and to face the Caſtle, whileſt the General's Summons was ſent in to the Governour; who embraced a Treaty: and after ſome time ſpent in capitulations, Surrendred the Caſtle to Colonell *Blake*.

Monday the 13. The General ſet his face toward *Exceſter*, deſirous to have been there to have ſeen their martching forth, that the Articles might not be violated; but the weather proved ſo unreaſonable wet, that he came ſhort: But ſuch was the vigilancy of the Lieutenant-General and the Officers, and indeed ſuch was the temper of the Army, that there was not the leaſt violation of the Articles.

I ſhall conclude this Narration of *Exceſter* with the commemoration of the great diligence, faithfulneſſe and induſtry of Sir *Hardreſſe Waller*, who being left in truſt by the General (when he martched into *Cornwal*) with the command of the Forces on both ſides of *Exceſter*, to ſtraiten the Enemy, and hinder them of proviſions, and keep the Enemy from making incurſions into the Country, performed therein the part of a gallant Gentleman, and an experienced Souldier.

Tueſday, *Wedneſday*, *Thurſday* and *Friday*, the 14, 15, 16, and 17. of *April*, The General ſtayed in *Exceſter*, ſetled things in order, to the ſafety of that place; and for the eaſe of the Country, and that he might keep his own Army entire for more publick ſervice, reduced three Country Regiments of Foot into one, *viz.* the Regiment of

of Colonel *Shapcoat*, who had done good ſervice at *Tiverton*, and the Fort at *Exmouth*; and the Regiment which Colonel *Frye* had very readily raiſed for the then preſent ſervice of the Weſt; and the Regiment of Colonel *Weare*, which had been likewiſe imployed in the ſame ſervice. Theſe three Regiments formed into one, was ordered for the defence of the Garriſon of *Exceſter*, under the command of Colonel *Hamond*, whom the General appointed Governour of the Garriſon. *Anno* 1646. April.

Saturday April 18. The General began his martch toward *Oxford*, and Quartered that night at *Chard* (being eighteen miles from *Exceſter*;) the Foot and Train having had Orders two dayes before to advance forward. Severall Informations came from our Forces before *Oxford*, That it was common talk in *Oxford*, that the King would eſcape thence; others ſaid, That he would come into this Army; and others conjectured (that which ſince hath fallen out) That he would goe another way: all care was taken by our Forces thereabouts (as you may well think it concerned them) that this prize, at laſt, might not eſcape them.

Sunday the 19. The General martched to *Dorcheſter*, where moſt of the Army quartered that night: *Monday* the 20. the General martched from *Dorcheſter* to *Saliſbury*, the Traine and Foot to *Blandford*: the Generall ſtayed at *Saliſbury*, *Tueſday*, *Wedneſday* and *Thurſday*, the while the Army and Traine of Artillery were come up, and till all that were behind were come up from their ſeverall Quarters: Sundry Complaints were brought thither unto his Excellency, of the violation of *Exceſter* and *Cornwall* Articles by the Committees Troops of ſeverall Counties, taking from divers their Horſes and Armes, and other neceſſaries, which by the Articles they were to carry away with them: an act of ſo much incivility to the General, as well as injuſtice to the ſufferers, as deſerves to be noted *Nigro Carbone*, but that I know his Excellency deſires not ſuch revenge:

But

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But so many Barbarismes of this kind were there, as were they particularly related, would make such a Volume, as would scarce be imagined.

Friday the 24. Part of the Army martched to *Andover*, whither the General also purposed to have gone that night; but Providence ordered it otherwise, detaining him at *Salisbury* till next morning, and then he went to *Andover*, where the head Quarter was that night: Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* was two or three dayes before gone for *London*, at the Generals desire, to give the Parliament an account of the state of the West of *England*, which God had now so happily reduced to their obedience.

Sunday the 26. The General rested at *Andover*, where he received the newes that *Woodstock* was surrendred upon Treaty, unto Colonel *Rainsborow*, who had gallantly attempted it by storme some few dayes before, wherein he received some losse.

Monday the 27. The General martched to *Newbery*, where the next day he received Intelligence of the Kings being escaped out of *Oxford*, in a disguised manner, with his Lock cut off, or tyed up at lest, his Beard shaved, and in the habit of a Serving-man, * with a Cloke-bag be-

* *Positisque insignibus Aulæ,*
Egreditur famuli raptos indutus amictus,
In dubiis tutum est inopem simulare Tyrãno,
Quãto igitur mũdi dominis securius ævum
Vivus pauper agit? Luc. Pharsal. lib. 8.

—— *In a distressed time*
'Tis safe for Kings like poorest men to seem;
Therfore how much livs he thats truly poor,
Safer then Kings?

hind him, waiting upon Master *John Ashburnham*: great doubting and questioning there was, Whither his Majesty was gone, but within few dayes after, it was resolved by certaine intelligence, that he was received into the *Scots* Army, being first entertained at the Quarters of the *French* Agent, who not long before had been in *Oxford*.

It is much to the honour of his Excellencies Army to be mentioned, and to the honour of those Officers in particular

particular, to whom, being then about *Woodstock*, private Overtures were made by some from Court (pretending the Kings privity and consent thereto) for receiving his Majesty, who was minded to cast himselfe upon them: but to their great honour be it knowne and published, such was their tendernesse and faithfulnesse in that point, that conceiving it derogatory to the honour and power of the Parliament (for his Majesty to wave that highest Court, and addresse himselfe to any others in such a nature) &therfore inconsistent with their trust and duty, being the Servants of the State, to owne or entertain any such thing; they certified the Parliament thereof, and understanding this to be their sense also, they absolutely refused to be tampered with concerning that matter. The King on the other hand was as little to be wrought upon, to addresse himself to his Parliament, the issue wherof was that precipitate resolution and disposall of himself, as is related before. And now O *England* take up a Lamentation over your King, that to all his Errors he should contract such obstinacy and irreconcilable prejudice against his Parliament, and that he should be so farre mistaken as while he seeks to avoyd the surmized prejudice and dishonour, of referring himselfe to his Parliament, to run himselfe on a reall dishonour in seeking a shadow under their Servants: Unhappy greatnesse, that Priviledges Kings from hearing of their faults plainly as meaner men, and splits them on the shelfe of self willed obstinacy, rather then it wil suffer thē to amēd or acknowledge them. But tis not my work to Cōment but to relate, onely to set a character on the integrity of this Army, I have said thus much; it may be thought too much niceneſſe and scrupulosity in them to refuse such a proffer, but whosoever shall consider what is hinted before, must approve of their doing; if others had done the like, they had done but their duty.

Anno 1646. April.

Thursday the 30. His Excellency martched to *East-Hondred*: this day the Duke of *Lenox*, Earle of *Lindsay* and

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and others came from *Oxford* to *Woodstock*, and rendred themselves to our Forces there: also Sir *William Vaughan*, Sir *George Strowd*, Sir *Phillip Mountaine*, Sir *John Cansfield* and divers others, came in to Commissary-general *Ireton*, with about three hundred Horse, after the King had given them the slip, much about the same time.

CHAP. VII.

The Siege of Oxford, *the Particulars of the Treaty, and surrender thereof; with the influence of the fate of* Oxford *upon the remaining Garrisons.*

OXFORD, the King's royall Garrison, the place of the King's ordinary residence and retreat, hath, like a Parenthesis, included all the Action of this Army, between the two Sieges of it; being first in intentition and attempt, though last in execution and reduction.

May the 1. Being that day twelve-moneth that this Army first martched into the Field, the General with his Army came before *Oxford* (wherein was Prince *Rupert*, Prince *Maurice*, and a great part of the Nobility and Gentry of *England*) with intention to sit downe before it, and lay Siege to it. The Army was drawne to a Randezvouz between *Abington* and *Garsington*; the head Quarter was that night at *Garsington*: At the Randezvouz Major general *Skippon*, who ever since the Battle at *Naseby* had laine under the cure of his wounds, and had suffered divers incisions, by reason of a piece of Armour which was lodged in the wound, being now (by the blessing of God) well recovered, came to the Army, and was received with much joy, and many acclamations of the Souldiers.

May the 2. There was a generall Randezvouz of the Army, Horse and Foot, upon *Burlington-Green*, and thence the Forces were distributed to severall Quarters, to

at *Heddington*, *Marſton*, and the Townes thereabouts.

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The third of *May*, The General with the Officers of the Army, took a ſurvey of *Oxford*, which they found to have received many materiall alterations and additions of advantage ſince their laſt being before it; & though it was alwayes juſtly accounted a place of great ſtrength, yet now it was made incomparably more ſtrong then ever; [which is very eaſie to be beleeved, if you doe but conſider, It had been from the beginning of the Warres the King's head Quarter and Garriſon, his chiefe place of reſidence and retreat, where his Counſel, and moſt of the Nobility that had left the Parliament attended him: its place being almoſt in the Center of the Kingdome, gave it no ſmall advantage for the ſending out of Parties upon any deſigne. Beſides that, it was ſurrounded about with many ſmall Garriſons of the Kings, as *Radcoat*, *Farrington*, *Wallingford*, *Sherborn-houſe*, *Borſtal*, which were as ſo many out-works unto it;] the ſcituation of it, in reference to the ground it ſtood upon, rendred it very apt for defence, being placed betwixt the two Rivers *Iſis* and *Charwel*; upon the weſt ſide of it ran ſeverall Branches of the River *Iſis*, ſome of which running cloſe by the Towne wals, was a great defence to it; upon the Eaſt ſide ran the River *Charwel*, which by making Locks at *Clements* Bridge, they had cauſed to overflow the Medowes, ſo that round the City, to the extent of three parts of it (all except the north ſide, that was ſomewhat higher ground) was ſurrounded with water, and abſolutely unapproachable: To this the Line about the City (newly finiſhed) they found to be very high, having many ſtrong Bulworks ſo regularly flanking one another, that nothing could be more exactly done: round about the Line, both upon the Bulworks and the Curtin, was ſtrongly ſet with ſtorm-poles; upon the out-ſide of the Ditch round the Line, it was ſtrongly Palliſadoed, and without that againe, were digged ſeverall pits in the ground, that a ſingle Foot-man

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could not without difficulty approach the brink of the Ditch: within the Towne there was five thousand good Foot, most of them of the King's old Infantry, which served him from the beginning of the Wars, and withall they were well stored with a plentifull Magazine of Victuals, Ammunition and Provisions for War; in a word, whatever art or industry could doe to make a place impregnable, was very liberally bestowed here. All which strength being apprehended and considered by the General, he concluded, that this was no place to be taken at a running pull, but likely rather to prove a businesse of time, hazard and industry: Whereupon, at a Counsel of Warre at *Heddington*, it was resolved to fix our Quarters: our first Quarter to be upon *Heddington* Hill, where was ordered to be made a very large and great Work, or Intrenchment, of capacity to receive and lodge three thousand men: as also, that a Bridge should be laid over the River *Charwel* close by *Marston*, that another Quarter might be gone in hand withall between the Rivers, wherein it was intended most of our Foot should be lodged, that being all the ground we had to approach on: Warrants were sent out unto the Country round about for Spades, Pick-axes, &c. for that purpose; as also, a Letter to the Committee for the Army to hasten more Ammunition, with all Requisites for the Siege, as Tents for Souldiers, &c. from *London*: Which were no sooner come from thence, but the great Work upon *Heddington* Hill was instantly falne in hand withall, and finished in three or four dayes time, to admiration; the souldiers being paid so much by the rod for working thereat: This Work was committed to Major-General *Skippon*. In the meane time, the Bridge intended was made over the River *Charwel*, neer *Marston*, where another Quarter was possessed, and a Line drawn from *Isis* to *Charwel*, and a great Work made on that side the Water: Colonel *Rainsborough* commanded this Work, there was a third under the command of Colonel

Colonel *Lambert*, the fourth of Colonel *Herbert*; and a Line was begun to be drawn from the great Fort on *Heddington* Hill over againſt Saint *Clements*. *Anno* 1646. May.

The management and carrying on of theſe Works, Lines and Approaches, was recommended to the care and skill of Major-general *Skippon*, who went through the ſame with much dexterity.

By the intelligence of divers that came out of the City his Excellency was further ſatisfied and confirmed concerning the Enemies great ſtrength within, and proviſion for to hold out.

So ſoon as the ſeverall Poſts were aſſigned to the Army before *Oxford*, ſeverall Forces were taken forth and deſigned for the blocking up of other Garriſons, *viz.* ſome for *Farringdon*, under the command of Colonel Sir *Robert Pye*; others for *Radcot*, under the command of Colonel *Cook*; and others for *Wallingford*, under the command of Colonel *Paine*, and Colonel *Barkeſtend* on *Berkſhire* ſide, and Colonel *Temple* on *Oxfordſhire* ſide: others for *Borſtal-houſe*; and as many Horſe as could be ſpared were ſent towards *Worceſter*, for the ſtraitning of that garriſon, till ſuch time as the Army were at liberty to advance thither: An account of all which ſeverally ſhall be given in due place.

But before I proceed any further, an account of the ſurrender of *Banbury* Caſtle comes next to be given in.

The Relation of *Banbury*.

Banbury, once a great and faire Market-Towne before the late troubles (but now having ſcarce the one halfe ſtanding to gaze on the ruines of the other) was ever till now unfortunate in all meanes and endeavours uſed for its recovery, having laine under the poſſeſſion and tyranny of the Enemy from the beginning, without almoſt any intermiſſion, which happened to it partly through the commodiouſneſſe of its ſcituation for the Enemie, as lying but eighteene miles North from *Oxford*, and in ſuch a convenient place as gave it a command into divers other Counties, viz. *Northampton-*

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ſhire, *Warwickeſhire*, &c. from out of which it gathered large contributions for *Oxford*; The ſweetneſſe that the Enemy taſted in the fruits and effects they reaped by this Garriſon, made them, that upon all our attempts to reduce it, they ſtill were ready with great Forces to relieve it: But yet I cannot but alſo look upon, and obſerve therein, a ſpeciall hand and intimation of God againſt that profeſſing place, where in a manner judgment began, as at the Houſe of God, and was removed with one of the laſt, I pray God ſanctifie it to them.

The ſtrange ſights that were ſeen over that Towne ſixteen yeers agoe, in the night time, when as the appearance of fighting, pikes puſhing one againſt another, was diſcerned in the Ayre, &c. whereof I was an eye-witneſſe, with many others, might portend the ſad fate that hath ſince befallen that miſerable place, and the parts thereabouts.

The Forces imployed in the reducing of that place were about 1000 Foot, and ſome four Troops of Horſe, all under the command of that approved Gentleman Colonel *Whaley*: They lay eleven weeks before the Caſtle; ſo ſoon as they came before it, they entrencht themſelves by a Line drawn round the Towne, for their better ſecurity from any force without: which done, they ſapt up towards the Caſtle, ran over ſeverall Galleries, over the outmoſt Mote, and ſo wrought into the Enemies Works; the Enemy countermining them, ſprang one Mine upon them, but through Gods mercy did no great hurt; and alſo flinging downe ſtones upon them, and hand Granadoes amongſt them, rendred their duty very hard and hazardous; yet through the goodneſſe of God, and the courage of the Souldiers, we wrought ſo farre into the Enemies Works, as put them out of all hopes of keeping the Caſtle, which conſtrained them to a parley and ſurrender of the Caſtle, Armes, Ordnance, Ammunition and Victuals, upon theſe enſuing Articles.

Viz.

Viz. I. *The Governour Sir* William Compton, *and Sir* Charles Compton *his Brother, to martch forth with one Horse and Armes a piece, two servants attending them, and to have two moneths liberty to goe beyond Sea.* Anno 1646. May.

II. *All Captaines to martch forth with one Horse apiece and their Swords.*

III. *All the rest to martch forth without Armes, to be disbanded a mile from the Towne, to have Passes to martch to their severall homes, or to goe beyond Sea, and to have free Quarter martching ten miles a day.*

IV. *All both Officers and Souldiers to leave halfe their moneys behind them.*

There were found in the Castle eleven pieces of Ordnance, eleven barrels of Powder, and foure hundred Armes.

This Castle, though decayed through time, yet was recovered and revived by art and industry, unto an incredible strength, much beyond many places of greater name and reputation, & often had our Forces bin defeated before it; & but that now was Gods time and season for the rendition of it, no other successe could have been expected by these Forces, the Castle standing in its full pride and strength, being well recovered of all its wounds and batteries received in former assaults; and having impregnible Works about it, and great variety of invention bestowed upon it. But to returne from whence I digressed, to the siege of *Oxford.*

Onr four Quarters being setled under their Canon shot, and a Line begun to be drawne from the great Fort on *Heddington* Hill round Saint *Clements* (lying without *Magdalen* Bridge) his Excellency sent in a Summons to Sir *Thomas Glenham* Governour of *Oxford*, requiring the surrender of that Garrison: The Copy whereof followeth.

SIR,

I *Doe by these, summon you to deliver up the City of* Oxford *into my hands, for the use of the Parliament; I very*

much

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much desire the preservation of that place (so famous for learning) from ruine, which inevitably is like to fall upon it, except you concurre: You may have honourable termes for your selfe, and all within the Garrison, if you seasonably accept thereof. I desire your Answer this day, and remaine

Your Servant

May 11. 1646.

THO. FAIRFAX.

The same day also his Excellency sent a Summons to the Governour of *Borstal-house*, to the same effect for the substance; the copy whereof followeth.

SIR,

I *Doe by these, summon you to deliver up the Garrison of* Borstal-house *into my hands, for the use of the Parliament; you may have honourable terms for your selfe, and all within your Garrison, if you seasonably accept thereof. I desire your Answer this day.*

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As also the like to *Radcoat*.

And the same to *Wallingford*.

These four Summons were sent to the severall Garrisons *May* 11.

Sir *Thomas Glenham* Governour of *Oxford*, returned Answer to the Summons the same day, as followeth.

SIR,

I *Have received your Letter, summoning me to surrender the City, which was given me in trust for his Majesties use; but in respect there are many persons of Eminency, I must desire you to receive for Answer a Request, that you will be pleased to send a safe Conduct for Sir* John Mounson, *and Master* Phillip Warwick, *to repaire unto you at such*

such a time and place as you shall appoint, by whom you shall understand what for the present is desired, I remaine

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May 11. 1646. Your humble Servant

THO. GLENHAM.

According as was desired, passes were granted for Sir *John Mounson* and Master *Phillip Warwick*, to come out of *Oxford* that day, and meet our Commissioners, Colonel *Rainsborough*, Colonel *Harlow*, and Colonel *Lambert*, who were ready to receive them at the time and place appointed: That which they had in commission, was a desire from the Governour Sir *Thomas Glenham*, of liberty to send to the King to know his pleasure, upon signification whereof from his Majesty, they would returne a positive answer to his Excellency immediately.

Our Commissioners endeavoured to perswade them the vanity of any such desire, and the Generals impatiency of any such delay, advising them rather to take the present opportunity, least they afterwards fell short of these termes they might now have by present compliance.

But Sir *John Mounson* and Master *Warwick* (it seems) were so bound up and limited in their Commissions, that at present, they could not undertake any thing in answer hereto, but returning to *Oxford*, took time till the morrow, promising more then. One of the Generals Trumpeters was appointed to goe with them into *Oxford*, to bring their Answer the next morning.

On *Tuesday May* 12. The Trumpeter returned with a desire from Sir *Thomas Glenham*, that in regard there were, besides the Duke of *Yorke* and the two Princes, many other persons of eminency, Lords, Knights and Parliament men (otherwise Juncto men) and other Gentry and Clergy, besides the Inhabitants, all concerned in the businesse (to whom things could not possibly be

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be represented fully in so short a time) that further time might be granted by his Excellency.

Whereupon, that what time would be lost that way, might be saved the other, all things went on for the siege, the dispatch of the Line was hastened, and order was given for the drawing up of the Batteries.

The same day Prince *Rupert*, and with him neere an hundred Horse, went forth of *Oxford* on Colonel *Rainsborough's* side, to take the aire; (Prince *Rupert* riding without Boots, only in his Shoos and Stockings) a Party of our men martched up towards them, and fired upon them; in which skirmish Prince *Rupert* had a shot in the right shoulder (but pierced no bone) whereupon they retreated to *Oxford*, where all sorts were very busie that day and the two following dayes, consulting and advising.

But in issue, *Thursday* 14. the Governour of *Oxford* sent to make knowne his desire to treat by Commissioners, which was accepted of; and a counsel of Warre being called, it was concluded of Master *Crook's* house at *Marston* should be the place, and on *Monday* following the Treaty to begin.

May 15. The Enemy made another sally out of *Oxford*, and a Party of ours skirmished with them; we lost two men.

Lords day, *May* 17. The Governour of *Oxford* sent forth the names of the Commissioners for Treaty on his behalfe, desiring his Excellency to returne the like number.

The names of both were,

On Sir *Tho. Glenhams* part.	On his Excellency Sir *Tho. Fairfax* part.
Sir *John Mounson.*	Lieut. Gen. *Hamond.*
Sir *John Heyden.*	Colonel *Ireton.*
Sir *Thomas Gardner.*	Colonel *Lambert.*
Sir *George Bynion.*	Colonel *Rich.*

Colonel

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Sir *Richard Willis*.
Sir *Stephen Hawkins*.
Colonel *Gosnold*.
Colonel *Tyllier*.
Doctor *Zouch*.
Thomas Chisley, Esq.
M. *John Dutton*.
M. *Jeffrey Palmer*.
M. *Phillip Warwick*.
Capt. *Robert Mead*.

Colonel *Harley*.
Scoutmaster-Gen. *Watson*.
Major *Desborough*.
Major *Harison*.
M. *Herbert*.
M. *Waller*.

Four more to be named afterwards.

Upon the receipt of the names of the *Oxford* Commissioners, Sir *George Bynion* was excepted, as being exempted from pardon by the Parliaments Propositions.

Much about this time also, was brought to the Army the newes of the surrender of *Newark*; it had been long besieged on the one side by Major-General *Poyntz*, and on the other side by the *Scottish* Forces: It was yeelded to the *English* Forces, commanded by Major-General *Poyntz*, who had given abundant demonstration of no lesse faithfulnesse and diligence, then expert Souldiery in his attendance on that service. The *Scottish* Forces presently upon the Kings comming to them, retreated back in great haste from *Newark* northward, before the Town was delivered, or the Articles signed, pretending the cause of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Army advancing toward them; whereof there was little likelihood, they being engaged before *Oxford*, nor did so much as a Horse stirre that way. But to returne to the Siege of *Oxford*.

A Treaty being resolved and accepted on both sides, and to begin *Monday* the 18. Sir *Thomas Glenham* sent to the General, desiring, that in regard it was usuall at all Treaties to have a Secretary on each part, That Master *H. Davison* his Secretary might have a Passe to come

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forth with their Commiſſioners, which was aſſented unto; and Maſter *William Clark* was appointed to aſſiſt the Commiſſioners on our part. The Commiſſioners on the behalfe of the Governour and Garriſon of *Oxford*, made their demands, which his Excellency ſent up to the Parliament by Colonel *Rich*, and Scoutmaſter-General *Watſon*, two of the Commiſſioners for the Treaty, on his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax* part, putting off the Treaty till the pleaſure of the Parliament were knowne concerning them. The heads of ſome of the principall of them were theſe. *Viz.*

1. *To have liberty to ſend to the King, to know his Majeſties pleaſure, Whether they ſhall ſurrender or not?*

2. *That Prince* Rupert *and Prince* Maurice *have protection to remaine in any part of this Kingdome, to have no Oath impoſed on them, to be at liberty, to do as ſhall ſeem good unto them at any time hereafter.*

3. *The Governour and all Officers and Souldiers to martch out in as full equipage, as any ſince theſe Wars; with ſix Guns, ten barrels of Powder, and to have thirty days time to know the King's pleaſure how he will diſpoſe of them.*

4. *The Privy Seale and Great Seale to goe to the King.* And ſuch as theſe.

The Houſe of Commons upon reading of them, conceived them ſo high, that they thought not fit ſo much as to debate them, but referd it to the General in what way he thonght fit to proſecute the reducing of that place.

May 24. or within a day ſooner or later, was *Radcoat houſe* ſurrendred, after it had endured great extremity by our Granadoes, one whereof falling on the top of a Tower, made ſearfull work, tearing it into a thouſand pieces, and ſending it ſeverall wayes, and at laſt falling into the Cellar, let out all their Beere: There were an hundred men in it, who were to goe to their ſeverall homes, leaving their Armes behind them.

His Excellency upon the forementioned returne from the Parliament, prepared Propoſitions to offer to the Garriſon

Garrison and sent them into *Oxford* on *Saturday May* 30. Whereupon at the desire of the Enemy, the Treaty (which upon their flying so high in their demands, had been discontinued, if not broken off) was renewed againe, they being willing to treat upon his Excellencies Propositions, submitting therein (as themselves said) to the fate of the Kingdome, rather then any way distrusting their owne strength, or the Garrisons tenablenesse. *Anno* 1646. June.

During this Treaty, a Captaine of the Garrison of *Oxford* was taken (in a Fishermans habit) carrying Letters to the King from Sir *Thomas Glemham* and Secretary *Nicholas*; relating the condition of the Garrison, and how long probably they could hold out.

A few dayes before the Treaty ended, when the Enemy peceived it was like to succeed, they played with their Canon day and night into our Leaguers and Quarters, discharging sometimes neer two hundred shots in a day, at randome, as was conceived, rather to spend their Powder then to doe any great execution, though they shewed good skill, in that they levelled their pieces, so as they shot into the Leaguer on *Heddington-hill* (and on that side Lieutenant-Colonel *Cotsworth* was slaine with a great shot) and likewise into the Leaguer on Colonel *Rainsborough's* side, where they killed with their shot a Sutler and others in their Tents: Our Canon in recompence, playd fiercely upon the enemy, and much annoyed them in their Works and Colledges, till at last, a cessation of great shot was agreed to on both sides.

Upon *Saturday*, *June* 20. The Treaty for the surrender of *Oxford* was finished between the Commissioners, and concluded upon the ensuing Articles.

The same morning that the Treaty for *Oxford* was concluded, *Farrington* Garrison sent also to capitulate, the Governour thereof Sir *George Lisle*, being then in *Oxford*, and to be briefe, surrendred upon condition to have the benefit of *Oxford* Articles; and so they were included in the same Agreement.

Anno 1646. June.

Articles of Agreement concluded and agreed June 20. *by the right honourable Sir* Richard Lane *Knight, Lord Keeper of the great Seal of* England, Francis *Lord* Cottington, *Lord high Treasurer of* England, William *Marquesse of* Hertford, Edward *Earl of* Dorset, *Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties honorable Houshold,* Thomas *Earl of* Southampton, Francis *Earl of* Chichester, Francis *Lord* Seymor, *Sir* Edward Nicholas *Knight, one of his Majesties principall Secretaries of State, all of them being of his Majesties most honorable Privy Councel, and Sir* Thomas Glenham *Knight, and Governour of* Oxford, *on the one party; And his Excellency Sir* Thomas Fairfax *Knight, General of the Forces raised for the Parliament, on the other party, for and concerning the rendring of the Garrison of* Oxford, *as followeth:*

THat the Garrison of *Oxford*, with the Castle, Forts, Mounts, and places of Defence whatsoever, With all the Ordnance, Arms, Ammunition, and Provisions of War, with all Magazines and Stores thereunto belonging, exceping what is allowed in the ensuing Articles, shall be delivered to the General Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, or whom he shall appoint, without wilfull spoyl or embezlement, upon *Wednesday* the 24. of this instant *June* 1646. at Ten of the Clock in the Morning, or thereabouts.

II. That his Highnesse the Duke of *Yorke* shall have an honorable Convoy to *London*, where other of his Majesties Children are, attended by his Officers and Servants, and fitting accommodation for the removall of His Houshold and goods thither; And shall have an Honorable provision befitting his Dignity, appointed for Him by the Parliament, and to remaine there untill His Majesties pleasure be knowne, touching His setling there or elswhere; and then to be disposed accordingly to any place within fourscore miles of *London*, and shal have such

Officers

Officers and Servants to continue about him as the Parliament ſhall approve. *Anno* 1646. June.

III. That their Highneſſes Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, ſhall have liberty and Paſſes for themſelves, with their Servants, Horſes, Armes and Goods (the number of their Horſes for them and their Traine, not exceeding ſeventy) to repaire to any place within fifty miles of *London*, ſo it be not within twenty miles of *London*, without leave from the Parliament, nor in any Garriſon, and there to abide for the ſpace of ſix moneths after the Rendring, free from any moleſtation by impoſition of Oaths, or otherwiſe; and ſhall have Paſſes to goe beyond the Seas at any time within the ſaid ſix moneths, with their ſaid Servants, Horſes, Armes and Goods, they engaging themſelves upon their Honours, not to uſe the liberty hereby granted in the meane time to any Hoſtility againſt the Parliament of *England* ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, or any way wilfully to the prejudice of their Affaires. And they are to have the benefit of ſuch the enſuing Articles as may concerne them.

IV. That the Seales called the Great Seale, Privy Seale, Signet, and the Seales of the Kings Bench, Exchequer, Court of Wards, Dutchy, Admiralty and Prerogative, as alſo the Sword of State, ſhall at ſuch time, and in the preſence of two ſuch perſons as the General Sir *Thomas Fairfax* ſhall appoint, be lockt up in a cheſt, and left in the publick Library: and if any of the aforenamed particulars ſhall not be then accordingly produced, the default thereof ſhall not be charged upon any other perſon then ſuch as hath the cuſtody thereof, and ſhall wilfully detaine or imbezle the ſame.

V. That Sir *Thomas Glenham* Knight, &c. Governour of *Oxford*, with his Servants, and all that to him belongs, and all Officers and Souldiers of Horſe and Foot, and of the Traine of Artillery (as well Reformed Officers and Souldiers as others) with their Servants, and all that pertains unto them, ſhall martch out of the City of

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of *Oxon*. with their Horſes and compleat Armes that properly belong unto them, proportionable to their preſent or paſt commands, flying Colours, Trumpets ſounding, Drums beating, Matches lighted at both ends, Bullet in Their Mouthes, and every Souldier to have twelve Charges of Powder, Match and Bullet proportionable, and with Bag and Baggage, to any place within fifteen miles of *Oxford*, which the Governour ſhall chooſe, where ſuch of the common ſouldiers as deſire to goe to their owne homes, or friends, ſhall lay downe their Armes, which ſhall be delivered up to ſuch as the General Sir *Thomas Fairfax* ſhall appoint to receive them. And all Officers and ſouldiers, as well reformed as others, that ſhall deſire to goe to their homes or friends, ſhall have the Generals Paſſe and protection for their peaceable repaire to, and abode at the ſeverall places they ſhall deſire to goe unto, and ſhall have free Quarter allowed them in all their martch from *Oxon.* to thoſe ſeveral palaces; the Officers, as well reformed as others, to paſſe with Equipage of Horſes and compleat Armes, anſwerable to their preſent or paſt commands, and common Troopers with their Horſes and ſwords only; and all to paſſe with Bag & Baggage as aforeſaid. And that all other Officers and ſouldiers (in caſe there be any ſuch) that ſhall deſire to take Entertainment from any Forreigne Kingdome or State, ſhal have free Quarter allowed them for twenty eight dayes from their martch out of *Oxon*, and ſhal have Paſſes for their Officers, not excceding ten, with their Horſes and two ſervants apiece to goe to *London* to treat with any Forreigne Embaſſadour or Agent for Entertainment: And all of them ſhal have Liberty and Paſſes to martch (the Officers with their compleat Armes and Horſes proportionable to their preſent or paſt commands, and the common Souldiers with their Armes, and all with Bag and Baggage) to the Quarters neer to *Harwich* or *Portſmouth*, or to any Port between them, to be tranſported: Which

Which Armes (except Officers compleat Armes and Horſes, and Swords for the common Souldiers, which they may tranſport) they ſhall there lay down and deliver to ſuch as the General ſhall appoint, or unto the Governour of the next Garriſon belonging unto the Parliament, who ſhall take care for their ſafety during their abode there, and until Shipping can be provided, and weather ſeaſonable, they paying for their Quarter after the ſaid twenty eight dayes expired, and ſhal aſſiſt them for procuring Veſſels and Shipping for their tranſportation at the uſual Rates accuſtomed for Fraight; the Officers and Souldiers and others before tranſportation engaging themſelves by promiſe, not to returne into this Kingdome in Hoſtility againſt the Parliament in Bodies as they goe, or in conjunction with other Forces, or in command of any Forces invading this Kingdome: And no Oath or any other Engagements of this or the like nature to be, during their ſaid ſtay, or at their tranſportation impoſed upon them, ſaving an engagement by promiſe, not to doe any act of Hoſtility, or of wilful prejudice againſt the Parliament, during their ſaid ſtay in *England*. And it is declared, That thoſe of the three Auxiliary Regiments conſiſting of Gentlemen and their Servants, Schollers, Citizens and Inhabitants, who are not properly of the Garriſon in pay; and ſuch reformed Officers and Souldiers who ſhal not be willing to martch forth, ſhal not be forced to martch out upon this Article, but ſhal have the benefit of the following Articles, to remove, or remaine in *Oxford*, and in all things elſe which may concerne them; and thoſe alſo who ſhal martch forth, ſhall have the benefit of the enſuing Articles in all things, except for remaining in *Oxford*.

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VI. That the Governour ſhal be allowed and aſſiſted in the procuring a ſufficient number of Carts, Teems and Boats and other neceſſaries, for the carrying away all Goods allowed in theſe Articles, belonging to any Officers

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cers or persons of quality now residing in the Garrison, they paying the accustomed Rates: And that such persons as cannot presently, through want of Carriages or otherwise, convey them away, shal be assisted with Carriages at any time within three moneths for the disposing thereof.

VII. That no Officer or Souldier, nor any person whatsoever comprized in this capitulation, shal be reproached, or have any disgraceful speeches, or affronts offered to them, or be stopped, plundered, or injured in their Marrch, Randezvouz or Quarters, Journeys or places of abode: And if any such thing shal fall out, satisfaction shal be given at the judgment of any two or more of the Commissioners, they being equall in number of each party; nor shal the persons aforesaid nor any of them be inticed or compelled to take up Armes against the King; nor be imprisoned, restrained, sued or molested for any matter or cause whatsoever before the Rendring of the Garrison, be it of publick or private interest, during six moneths after the rendring thereof: And if any Officer, Souldier or person be sick or wounded, that they cannot at present enjoy the benefit of these Articles, that such persons shal have liberty to stay until they be recovered, and fit accommodation and subsistence shall be provided for them during their stay, and then to enjoy the benefit of these Articles.

VIII. That all Horses, Armes, Money, and other Goods whatsoever taken as lawful prize of Warre, before or during the Siege, and now remaining in the City, be continued in the possession of the present possessors.

IX. That these Articles shall extend to the use and and benefit of all strangers of any Forraigne Kingdome or State residing within this garrison, together with their Wives, Children, Servants, Horses, Armes, Goods, Money and Debts.

X. That all persons included within these Articles, without

without exception of any (other then the Souldiers, that are to marth out upon the fift Article) ſhall have liberty during the ſpace of three Months after the rendring of the Gariſon, either to remaine in *Oxford*, or to remove themſelves with their Families, Goods, Horſes, and all things that properly belong to them or to their diſpoſition: And all Noblemen, Gentlemen and perſons of qualities with their Armes and other equipage, to their Houſes or Friends, without any prejudice to their Friends for receiving them.

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XI. That all Lords, Gentlemen, Clergy-men, Officers, Souldiers, and all other perſons in *Oxon*, or comprized within this capitulation, who have Eſtates reall or perſonal under or liable to Sequeſtrations according to Ordinance of Parliament, and ſhal deſire to compound for them (except perſons by name excepted by Ordinance of Parliament from pardon ſhal at any time within ſix moneths after rendring the Garriſon of *Oxford* be admitted to compound for their Eſtates: which compoſition ſhall not exceed two yeers Revenue for Eſtates of Inheritance: and for Eſtates for Lives, yeers, and other reall and perſonal Eſtates, ſhall not exceed the proportion aforeſaid for Inheritances, according to the value of them. And that all perſons aforeſaid, whoſe dwelling-houſes are ſequeſtrated (except before excepted) may after the rendring of the Garriſon, repaire to them, and there abide, convenient time being allowed to ſuch as are placed there under the Sequeſtrations for their removal: And it is agreed, That all the profits and Revenues ariſing out of their Eſtates (after the day of entring their names as Compounders) ſhal remaine in the hands of the Tenants or Occupiers, to be anſwered to the Compounders, when they have perfected their agreements for their compoſitions, and that they ſhall have liberty and the Generals paſſe and protection for their peaceable repaire to, and abode at their ſeverall Houſes or Friends, and to goe to *London* to attend their

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Compoſitions, or elſwhere upon their neceſſary occaſions, with freedome of their perſons from Oaths, Engagements and Moleſtations, during the ſpace of ſix moneths, and after, ſo long as they proſecute their compoſitions, without wilful default or neglect on their part, except an Engagement by Promiſe, not to beare Armes againſt the Parliament, nor wilfully doe any act prejudicial to their Affaires, ſo long as they remaine in their Quarters: And it is further agreed, That from and after their compoſitions made, they ſhall be forthwith reſtored to, and enjoy their Eſtates, and all other Immunities, as other Subjects, together with their Rents and Profits, from the time of entring their names, diſcharged of ſequeſtrations, and from fifth and twentieth parts, and other payments and impoſitions, except ſuch as ſhall be generall and common to them with others.

XII. That no Lords, Gentlemen, Clergy-men, Schollars, Officers, Souldiers, Citizens, nor any other perſons included in this capitulation (except the perſons mentioned before to be excepted from pardon) ſhall be moleſted or queſtioned for any thing ſaid or done, in, or concerning this War, or relating to the unhappy differences between his Majeſty and the Parliament, they ſubmitting to compoſition, as in the preceding Article; and that the perſons before mentioned to be excepted from pardon, ſhall have the benefit of this Article, during the ſpace of ſix moneths, from the Rendring of the Garriſon, and after, if they be admitted to, and agree for their compoſitions.

XIII. That the perſons mentioned before to be excepted from pardon, ſhall have liberty, and the General's Paſſe and Protection for themſelves, Families, Horſes, Goods, and all things that properly belong unto them now in *Oxford*, to goe unto, and abide at their owne Houſes or their Friends, for the ſpace of ſix moneths after the Rendring of the Garriſon, and within that time to repaire unto *London* to endeavour compoſition for their

their eſtates, and indemnity of their perſons, and to make their peace; and if they cannot obtain it, ſhall have Paſſes to goe beyond the Seas at any time within the ſaid ſix moneths; and that no other engagement ſhall be put upon them, ſave by promiſe, not to bear Armes againſt the Parliament, nor wilfully do any act prejudicial to their Affairs, ſo long as they remain in their Quarters. *Anno* 1646. May.

XIV. That the Chancellour, Maſters and Schollers of the Univerſity of *Oxon*, and the Governours and Students of Chriſts-Church of King *Henry* the eighth his Foundation, and all other Heads and Governours, Maſters, Fellowes and Schollers of the Colleges, Hals and Bodies corporate, and Societies of the ſame Univerſity, and the publick Profeſſors and Readers, and the Orator thereof, and all other perſons belonging to the ſaid Univerſity, or to any Colleges or Hals therein, ſhall and may according to their Statutes, charters and cuſtomes, enjoy their ancient forme of Government, ſubordinate to the immediate authority and power of Parliament: And that all the Rights, Privileges, Franchizes, Lands, Tenements, Houſes, Poſſeſſions, Rents, Revenues, Hereditaments, Libraries, Debts, Goods and Chattels belonging to the ſaid Univerſity, or to Chriſt-church, or to any Colleges or Hals in the ſaid Univerſity (except ſuch rents and Revenues as have been already taken and received by Ordinance of Parliament) ſhall be enjoyed by them reſpectively, as aforeſaid, free from Sequeſtrations, Fines, Taxes, and all other Moleſtations whatſoever, for, or under colour of any thing whatſoever relating to this preſent War, or to the unhappy differences between his Majeſty and the Parliament: And that all Churches, Chappels, Colledges, Hals, Libraries, Schooles, and publick Buildings, within or belonging to the city or Univerſity, or to Chriſts-church, or the ſeverall Colleges or Hals thereof, ſhall be preſerved from defacing and ſpoyle: And if any removall ſhall be made by the Parliament of any Head or other Members of the Univerſity,

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Christs Church, Colledges or Hals, that those so removed, shall enjoy their profits during the space of six moneths after the rendring of *Oxon*, and shall have convenient time allowed them for removall of themselves and their Goods from their Lodgings: Provided, that this shall not extend to retard any Reformation there intended by the Parliament, or give them any liberty to intermeddle in the Government.

XV. That the Major, Bayliffe and Commonalty, and all Corporations within the City, shall enjoy their ancient Government, and their Charters, Customes, Franchizes, Liberties, Lands, Goods and Debts, and all things else whatsoever which belong to them as Corporations subordinate to the immediate authority and power of Parliament, and shall not be molested or questioned by colour of any thing before the rendring of this Garrison, done, or ordered by them in the capacity of Corporations, relating to the differences between His Majesty and the Parliament.

XVI. That the Citizens and Inhabitants of the City, shall not be charged with free quarter, or billet of Souldiers, other then for lodging (except in urgent time of necessity) and that to be ordered and disposed by the advice of the Major, or his Deputy; and that in all Publike Taxes they shall be charged proportionably with the County: And that no Scholar, Citizen, or Inhabitant in the University and City of *Oxford*, shal be troubled or questioned for taking up Arms in the Garison by expresse Command during the time it was a Garison, for the defence therof: And that the Scholars, Citizens and Inhabitants shall have the benefit of this Capitulation, in all things that may concern them.

XVII. That no Officer, Souldier, or other person who by the Articles are to martch out of the City or Suburbs, or to martch in, shall Plunder, spoyl or injure any Scholar, Citizen, or Inhabitant, or other person in *Oxford*, in their persons, goods, or estates, or carry away

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away any thing that is properly belonging to any of them.

XVIII. That all Ladies, Gentlewomen, and other women now in *Oxon*, whose Husbands or Friends are absent from thence, may have passes and protections for themselves, servants and goods to goe to, and remaine at the houses of their Husbands or at their Friends, as they shall desire, and to goe or send to *London*, or elswhere, to obtaine the Allowances out of their Husbands or Parents Estates, allotted them by Ordinance of Parliament.

XIX. That such of his Majesties Houshold-Servants who shall desire to goe to his Majesty, may have free liberty and passes to goe accordingly, at any time within one moneth next after the rendring of the garrison: And that His Majesties Houshold-stuffe, and other his peculiar goods which are now in *Oxford*, may be carried to His Majesties House at *Hampton-Court*; and his Servants under whose charge or custody any of them are, shall be allowed and assisted in the procuring of Carts, Boates, and Carriages for the removal of them thither, and there to remaine till His Majesty shall otherwise dispose of them, and then to be sent or disposed accordingly. And that such of His Majesties Servants who are not able for the present to goe to Him, shall have liberty, passes and protections to goe to, and remaine at his Majesties said House at *Hampton-Court*, and have liberty to attend the Committee for his Majesties Revenue, to procure a competent Allowance out of his Majesties Revenues for their subsistence, until his Majesty shall otherwise provide for, or dispose of them.

XX. That all Clergy-men now in *Oxford*, who shall not upon composition or otherwise, be restored to their Church-livings, shall have liberty to goe to *London*, to obtaine some fitting allowance for the livelihood of themselves and their Families.

XXI. That it is Intended, Declared and Agreed, That

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That all persons comprized within these Articles, shall peaceably and quietly enjoy all their Goods, Debts and Moveables allowed by these Articles, during the space of six moneths after Rendring the Garrison: And that they shall be free from all Oaths, Engagements and Molestations, except an Engagement by promise not to beare Armes against the Parliament, nor wilfully do any act prejudicial to their Affaires, so long as they remaine in their Quarters. And that they shall have liberty within the space of six moneths (in case they shall be resolved to goe beyond Seas) to dispose of their Goods, Debts and Moveables allowed by these Articles, and depart the Kingdome, if they think fit; And to have passes for their transportation, or otherwise to stay in the Kingdome.

XXII. That if any of these Articles shall in any point be broken or violated by any person or persons in *Oxford*, or cōprized within this capitulation, the fault and punishment shall be upon him or them onely who made the breach or violation, and shall not be imputed to, or charged upon any other not assenting thereunto, or not an actor in it.

XXIII. That the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earle of *Lindsey*, and their Servants that came forth with them, shall enjoy the benefit of these Articles in whatsoever may concerne them.

XXIV. That the Garrisons of *Farringdon* shall be rendred to his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the Governour, Gentlemen, Souldiers, and all other of what quality soever within those Garrisons, shall enjoy the benefit of these Articles in every particular which may concerne them, they rendring the Garrison accordingly as *Oxford*.

XXV. That all persons comprized in these Articles, shall (upon request) have a certificate under the hand of his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, or the future Governour of the city, That such persons were in the city

City at the time of the surrender therof, and are to have the benefit of these Articles.

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XXVI. That the General Sir *Thomas Fairfax* shall give a Passe to one or two Messengers, with their Servants, to goe unto the King, to give Him an account of the proceedings upon this Treaty, and conclusion thereof, and to returne and receive the benefit of these Articles.

On *Wednesday* the 24. of *June*, the day appointed, the Towne was accordingly surrendred: The Enemy martched out about twelve of the clock; a Guard of our Foot was appointed for them to martch through, which extended in length from Saint *Clements* neer *Maudlin-Bridge*, to *Shotover-Hill*: Our Horse were drawne up into severall Bodies in severall places in the Reare of the Foot: There martched out in a Body well Armed, with Colours flying and Drums beating, about three thousand, who had not the least injury or affront offered them in their martch through our men, which the Governour Sir *Thomas Glenham* hath since acknowledged, much to the honour of the Army: Besides that Body, there went forth that day before and after them about five hundred, most of them Horse men and private persons engaged in the Siege. There likewise martched forth this day at the North gate, all those that went to *Yorkeshire* and *Gloucestershire* and those parts, who had a Convoy for that purpose, being a considerable number: those that martched forth when Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* went forth on *Monday*, and those that followed them on *Tuesday* (when other Gentlemen of quality left the City) were in all about three hundred persons, most of them men of quality, and their Attendants. After his Excellency had possession of the Towne, it was the continuall imployment of some, to make Passes for those that were yet left behind, and not martched out of the Towne with the Body; there were above two thousand

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ſand Paſſes made after the forementioned Forces were gone, as by a particular Liſt of every mans name was reckoned, whereof many were Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen of quality, the reſt Officers and Reformadoes, and ſome Schollers. Likewiſe after his Excellency had the Garriſon, the three Regiments of Auxiliaries, conſiſting of two thouſand men, were diſbanded, and their Armes brought in: Thoſe that martched out upon *Wedneſday*, about nine hundred of them laid down their Armes when they came to *Tame*, and received Paſſes to goe to their ſeverall Houſes, and their Armes were brought into *Oxford:* One thouſand one hundred of them liſted themſelves for Forraigne ſervice. There were found in the Magazine ſeventy Barrels of Powder; beſides, they had two Mils which ſupplied them daily with Powder. There were in the Towne thirty eight pieces of Ordnance, whereof twenty ſix were Braſſe: For proviſions of Victuals, by what was found in the Stores, and by what was informed they had in the Stores before they ſold it to the Townesmen, during the Treaty, to raiſe Moneys to pay their Souldiers, there was not leſſe then ſix moneths proviſions. The Souldiers were much diſcontented, and much ado there was to keep them from doing violence to the Lords, for no other cauſe but for being the occaſion, as they ſaid, of delivering up the Towne; a fault which alas they could not help; the ſtrength of the Works about the Towne was found to be ſuch, as reſolved it in the minds of all underſtanding men, to be much for the Parliaments ſervice that the town was taken by conditions, eſpecially conſidering what unſeaſonable weather followed; that if the Siege had continued but to the day of ſurrender, we muſt have been forced to have quit ſome of our leaguers, the fields being overflown with water. The Citizens were provided till Chriſtmas with Proviſions, and did make no queſtion but of Corne, Beef, Bacon, Salt, Butter and Cheeſe, there was plenty for the ſaid time: freſh meat for the great ones,

ones, being the onely thing complained of as a want, and yet was found some store of that at the surrender.

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Somewhat in Vindication of the Articles of
OXFORD.

SUch is the *delicacy* of the spirit of man, that when Mercies flow *richly* and fully in, we grow *curious* to please, and God must come in to us then as we would have him, or we shall scarce thank him for any thing he gives, like some that returne full from feasting, with whom an ordinary dish finds no acceptance: thus it was in the businesse of this surrender, because the Conquest came not up to every point of *expectation* or *humour*; therefore it must not be acknowledged by some, as if men would give Lawes to Providence, and Armies must conquer just as we appoint, and we must draw lines for successe to move in, and unlesse God save us by our own card and compasse, we scarce allow such a businesse a place in our Calender.

The House of Commons in much honour and justice upon receiving and reading the Agreement for *Oxford*, which his Excellency by an Expresse sent up to them, did by Vote approve and ratifie the same; but others, whether from ignorance or prejudice, or what other cause, I say not, seemed not to be so well satisfied therewith, exclaming against the Army, and questioning their honour and integrity in this proceeding.

The House of Commons approving the agreement with *Oxford*.

I would gladly demand of such, How Delinquency and offences, *so Garrisoned* and Fortified against Law, as those in *Oxford* were, could well have been brought to an higher degree of suffering and expiation, without staking a *treble value* of men, and of successe, and running an hazard of bringing all the glory of so much conquest back againe, and with danger of reversing all the successe we had; and for my part, I think those Victories most glorious that are cleanest from Blood, and that Warre most Christian, that (*the common safety, which is the end of Warre, provided and secured*) is as little stained or *pur-*

The Delinquency of the *Oxonians* extraordinarily garrison'd.

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pled as may be; and there is more of *God* and of *Israel*, where Cities fall at the breath of Trumpets (as of Rams Horns) and the *Summons* overcome more then the *slaughter*; and thus hath this army prevailed, by taking in the Inhabitants before the Cities, and mens hearts before their persons.

The Relation of *Oxford* to learning respected in the Armies proceeding by Treaty.

And I would demand one thing more of any that have either love or *learning*, How *Oxford* a place of *Books* and *Colleges*, could have been reduced into its *Gowne* and Peace, but by a motion as *calme* as peaceable, as little destructive, and as suitable to the *ingeny* of such a place of Arts; but this is the least in the Ballance with the other considerations.

The Vindication of the Agreement held forth in the light of the entire transaction.

And because men are *rationall*, and would be rather *argued* then *perswaded* to beleeve: I shall hold out the whole businesse in the intirenesse and transaction of it, that all may be rather convinced and engaged by argument and truth, that things were faire and just, and highly advantagious, then meerly desired or entreated to beleeve so.

His Excellency appearing with the Army from the West before this City (leaving behind him no remembrance of an Enemy, but dayes of praises for victories) was not without its advantage to the surrender.

His Excellency with the Army appearing before *Oxford*, observably the very day twelve moneth that he first matched forth.

The first day of *May* he appeared before *Oxford*, being that day twelvemoneth he martched into the Field, which perhaps might be safely observed (without superstition) to be of Providence, as if the same day which was for beginning, must be for finishing of the work; *A Christian may soberly observe those Conjunctures which the superstitious adore.*

The Quarters setled.

The head Quarter was at *Garsington*, three miles from *Oxford*; it was the sixt of *May* before the Quarters about the City and the severall Posts were appointed, and the Leaguer designed in order to a close Siege, the Souldiers casting up their Trenches (to secure their Leaguers) Lines, Works and Approaches, with the great Work upon *Heddington Hill*. These

These things I mention, because they are in some order to the procuring of the Treaty; for the appearance of the Army in this way of digestion and approach, did ripen the Enemy to treat; and this close and orderly management of things without, was not without its influence upon those within.

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May 11. His Excellency summoned the Garrison: and as the Leafes of some Trees move easily at a gentle wind, so some in the Garrison at the ayre of this Summons, were in motion to answer it by a Treaty: so as by this the pulse of the Enemy were observed at that distance, to beat towards a surrender, which could not but a little engage his Excellency to a further pursuit of this meanes, being so providentially corresponded with in the first designe of it.

The Garrison summoned.

And now after the Summons for surrender, the Treaty begins, the Commissioners on both sides meeting at Master *Crook's* at *Marston*: but the *Oxford* Commissioners were so high in some demands (one of which was to be free from all Sequestration) that his Excellency thought it not fit to proceed with them, but acquainred the House of Commons therewith (as still desirous to move as much as might be in the wisdome and sense of that Counsel that first entrusted him) and making them by such a pause and refusall, to know themselves a beleaguered Enemy: These were advantages not to be forgotten in this work: but before the Treaty brake off, a Spye was taken with Letters to his Majesty from Sir *Edward Nicholas* and Sir *Thomas Glenham*; which Spye was a Captaine in the Garrison, that freely casheered himselfe into a Fishermans habit for a time to do that work; the Fisherman was caught himselfe with his Letters, after he was got on his way as farre as *Banbury*: Which Letters opened one Mystery of the Garrison, Which was divided Counsells and Designes of the Lords and Souldiery, and how able they were to Defend the Place, And how the

The Treaty begun. The *Oxford* Commissioners ighen their demands

His Excellency thereupon putting off the Treaty, and acquainting the Parliament with the Enemies demands.

A Spye out of *Oxford* taken with Letters.

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The advantage by intercepting those Letters.

Lords had overpow red them into a Treaty, because of his Majesties power committed to them at his departure; so as here were some more advantages gained; a knowledge how much a Treaty did divide and unclapse them, who else had been at unity for their owne preservation, and a discovery of their strength and resolutions, which were so considerable, as it appeared, that a Treaty was the best and safest argument to obtaine the place, and to disperse the Enemy into more Faction by offering conditions, who were at as much distance as could be within the same Wals, by this way of proceeding against them, and made Enemies to one another, who else had been all as one Enemy against us; and now they were already disbanded in Counsels, a good preamble to the disbanding of their Garrison.

His Excellency preparing and sending in Propositions of his owne.

The Treaty being thus broke off, upon occasion of the Enemies high demands, and their Propositions being wholly laid aside, other Propositions were prepared and digested by his Excellency and the Commissioners on our part, which were not framed without much debate, and taking the affaires of the Kingdome according to their then present posture, into prospect and consideration, as they stood in relation to this Businesse.

These Propositions were sent into the Garrison, and the Treaty was reinforced on both sides; yet now his Excellency treated as one who rather gave Lawes, then took any reciprocally from them: having sent them such Propositions, as by advice with his Officers, were just and honourable, and as from which he could not vary (save in point of circumstance or explanation.)

His Excellency not so engaged to a Treaty, as to agree to dishonourable termes, but rather advising how to reduce it by force.

In this renewed Treaty, there appeared yet much difficulty and aversnesse on the Enemies part, I meane in their Commissioners. Whereupon a Counsell of War was held by his Excellency, to consider yet of reducing the Garrison by force, if the Enemy should flye off in the Treaty: This was the fullest Counsel since this Army martched, consisting of the *General*, *Major-General*, *Lieutenant*

Lieutenant-General of Horse, Commissary General, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, The General Officers of Horse and Foot, besides the *Colonels*, *Lieutenant-Colonels* and *Majors* of the Army. I observe this to take off all aspersions of dark and private proceedings by parties and factions, and to strengthen the reputation of such intelligence, such Counsels and grounds, as were received and proceeded on. *Anno* 1646. June.

At a Counsel of WARRE held at *Marston*, at the Leaguer before *Oxford*, *June* 9. 1646.

Present,

The *General*.	Judge *Advocate*.
Major Gen. *Skippon*.	Colonel *Bulstrod*.
Lieuten Gen. *Cromwel*.	Adjutant-Gen. *Evelyn*.
Lieut. Gen. *Hamond*.	Adjutant-Gen. *Gray*.
Commis. Gen. *Ireton*.	Scoutmaster-General.
Colonel *Sheffield*.	Qu. mast Gen. *Fincher*.
Col. Sir *Hardresse Waller*	Qu. mast. Ge. *Gravenor*
Colonel *Graves*.	Lieut. Col. *Bowen*.
Colonel *Lambert*.	Lieut. Col. *Ewers*.
Colonel *Ingoldesby*.	Lieut. Col. *Hewson*.
Colonel *Herbert*.	Lieut. Col. *Ashfield*.
Colonel *Rainsborough*.	*Th. Herbert* Esq; Commissioner of Parl.
Colonel *Harley*.	
Colonel *Okey*.	Major *Desborow*.
Comptroler of the *Ordn*.	Major *Alford*.
Colonel *Pindar*.	Major *Horton*.

The Resolves of the Counsel were, first, That there were four thousand Foot and three hundred Horse, by their best intelligence, in that Garrison for Defence.

The second was, That they might hold out six months before

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before they wanted provisions of Victuall and Ammunition.

The third was, That it was not adviseable to storme *Oxford.*

The fourth was, That the most probable way was reducing it by approaches, in case they could not close by Treaty.

The City now appearing in this Reputation of considerablenesse, we shall look over into particulars of its strength, Souldiery, Ammunition and Victuals.

The strength of the Garrison.

For its strength, it was surrounded on all sides, but the North, with Rivers and Meadowes overflowne, so as it was onely approachable on the North side; and this way was onely approved on by the Counsel of Warre, and yet this way there were two Lines and Works, which in Reasons of Warre would have stood in no little cost and Blood; for against every Port of the second Line, were Colleges (which however once places of Books and Peace, yet now served as petty Castles of defence;) which thing was worthy to be considered, not so much out of tendernesse to them, or indulgency to the Blood of this Army, but out of providence to the Kingdome, whose Guard it was: As for them, it is well knowne they were never such Husbands of their Blood, when the State stood in need of it.

The store of Ammunition.

For Ammunition and Victuall, it was well stored, there being Amunition which well husbanded might have served them six moneths, and Victual for as long (so as themselves and their Artillery would have both lived and determined together.)

The numbers of Souldiers very considerable.

For the Souldiery, there wanted no numbers for that businesse, four thousand, according to the best intelligence (and as afterward by passes did appeare) above three thousand, beside Reformadoe, Scholars, Townesmen; who, though a Miscellany, yet would all have been men of Warre, and of one profession in a time of defence.

And

And beside all this, we had the name and reputation of the Governour Sir *Thomas Glenham* to take in, who hath been knowne into places, that had been otherwise of a dejected fortune, to put life and spirit; witnesse his performance at *York*, which (after the totall routing of the Kings Army before the wals of that City) being beleaguered by the three Generals, with greatest advantage possible, stepping immediately from the Victory to the Leaguer, he yet defended till he obtained honourable conditions.

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And after that despaired of no lesse at *Carlisle*, where he endured ten moneths siege, submittiug to eat dogges and horseflesh, before he would yeeld without honourable conditions.

So as according to this account, consider what expence of time and blood would have issued in carrying on the approaches for the reducement by force; *December* being a moneth they might very well have reached unto, which must necessarily have engaged the Army into so much winter, water, cold and difficulty, as that the issue might (in reason of Warre) have proved as sad for the Besiegers, all things considered, as for those in the City; three moneths time would have been the least; and when all things had been ripe for enforcing, the hazard of how many honest, gallant men against earth and wals, against Lines and Colleges?

But surely we flow not so with good men in the Kingdome, that we should be so indifferently prodigall of those we have, if Victories may be purchased cheaper, and at an easier rate, beside the spoyle and firing of Colleges, and it may be, of that famous Library, which how it would have stood with the Reputation of this State, to destroy places of Arts so freely, let others judge.

A Treaty therefore being judged the best and most counselable way, His Excellency and the Commissioners resolved to enforce it, and that not onely in respect to the Army upon the forementioned considerations of the difficulty,

The particular grounds of concluding the Treaty upon such Articles.

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difficulty, danger and tediousnesse of other wayes, but also with reference to the State of the Kingdome, and divers other considerations. As

First, in relation to the many other Garrisons of the Enemy yet unreduced, as *Worcester*, *Wallingford*, *Ragland*, *Farringdon*, *Borstall*, with divers others, which did all beare up in the existence and being of this, and were linked to this, as to the Head and Garrison-royall of all the Enemies, that like members of one body, they could not but live and dye together, so as this Cities surrender would shake all the other into a Treaty, and the taking in of this, would take in the rest, being all threded upon one string of dependency.

Secondly, the Negotiations of the King in Forraigne parts for assistance, particularly in *France*, as is cleer by the *French* Agent, who received his Majesty first in his Quarters, and Negotiated with him at *Newcastle*, and by *Ashburnham's* dispatch into *France* (notwithstanding the Parliaments demand of him) all which put together (though we would rather quench then cherish any suspition of such a Neighbour State) yet it cannot but be judged well beseeming his Excellency and his Counsell, wisely to provide, and put cases of things to come, and occur and prevent (if it may be) dangers possible, being well assured we deale with an Enemy, who hath lost neither Wit, Friends, Activity nor Resolution, to play his Game once more over, if he knew at what Card to begin.

Thirdly, the suspitions and jealousies that were kindling towards some in our Brethrens Army, upon the sodaine Alarum of his Majesties reception there, and some other passages from the North; not that the Army did conclude a doubt or suspition of them, but rather hasten to be upon such a free and strong interest and disengagement, as might sooner put all things into better correspondency, while both Armies are fairly at liberty in their owne interests, and upon equall bottomes, whereby

whereby a third designing party (I meane the Kings) might not work npon the inequality of the other two; Temptation and Opportunity being the worst Enemies that honest men have. *Anno* 1646. June.

Fourthly, the Treaty in *Ireland* for a peace with those there, and to make that peace a way of waftage over for some new supplies into *England*; which though then was but by divine intelligence discerned, yet now things are cleerer and more certaine.

Fiftly, the arming the Parliament with a free and unengaged Army (as came to passe by the surrender of this City) so as now they might treat or capitulate, as a Kingdome upon its owne interest and bottome, with the more honour, and with no more condiscention, then love and justice would perswade them; surely they that know the difference betwixt a State, attended on by a free and entire Army in times of designe and distraction and beginnings of settlement, and betwixt a State served by broken Regiments, and an engaged Force or Army, cannot judge the freeing and disingaging this Army so soon from the attendance of *Oxford*, to a meere attendance upon the State in a time of such high concernments, to be lesse then a Counsel both of necessity and of advancement to the Kingdome.

And now I shall fairly remove some Objections, which may be moats in the eyes of some, and hinder their discerning the fairnesse of this proceeding.

First, that of permitting excepted persons to goe unpunished; but I cannot grant this Objection so farre, that they did goe unpunished, unlesse all justice and righteousnesse runne downe onely in the blood of the Offender: Indeed the State of *Israel* fought by such Lawes against the Nations, as in the case of *Agag*; but how farre such Lawes are rules to the State of Christians, who are not under that judiciall policy and speciall precepts, I leave to be disputed: but surely those six excepted persons went not unpunished, they received

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loſſe of all (one of them an Eſtate worth an hundred thouſand pounds) and if yet nothing but life be juſtice, they loſt that too ; I meane, their life in this Kingdome, being never more to live in this State, ſo as in a manner they are dead to us, though not unto themſelves ; nor could their life be ſo eaſily come at, without the loſſe of many, it may be, more deare and precious ; and had the approaches and ſtorme gone on, who can undertake thoſe few, thoſe ſix excepted perſons, might not have eſcaped ? and then how had this aſſay of juſtice ſucceeded ? ſurely juſtice is not all of one colour, all purple, there is puniſhment by baniſhment, and confiſcation as well as death ; and ſuppoſe after the loſſe of many an honourable ſpirit to purchaſe ſix men, they had been taken and delivered up, there are wayes of eſcape from States as well as Armies.

For that other Objection of the exemption from the Oath or Covenant for ſix moneths ; why ſhould it be a crime to his Excellency now, which was none to the Lieutenant-General of the *Scots* Army, who at *Carliſle* granted that Article, *To be excepted from any Oath whatſoever* (as by referring to the ſaid Articles may appear) and our General grants but an exemption for ſix moneths ; how is it that offences are more fairly interpreted in *Scotch* then *Engliſh?* And it is not amiſſe to conſider *Redding*, once a Garriſon of the Enemies, yet ſurrendred upon honourable conditions, to the Earle of *Eſſex*, his Excellency, then General ; *Oxford* and *Redding* differing but in three things : Firſt, *Oxford* was more conſiderable and *Redding* leſſe : ſecondly, the Delinquents of *Redding* martched out of the Towne, and thoſe of *Oxford* out of the Kingdome : thirdly, *Redding* had but four Barrels of Powder when they capitulated, *Oxford* a plentifull Magazine.

After all theſe things, I wonder how any can find fault with this Army or Souldiery, for diſpatch of their work ſo ſoon ; and never till now (and now by what Law I know

know not) was it an offence to haveWarre ſoon ended? Let me aſke what hath this Army done ill in this buſineſſe? Hath it not done juſtice upon Offenders? it may be not juſtice of our very faſhion, according to ſuch a very patterne of ſome, becauſe they could not conquer juſt by a rule, but as neceſſity of State and Warre would ſuffer them: Hath this Army by this ſurrender failed of that plunder and rich ſpoile they might have had in the ſtorme? This was a fault wherein the Souldiery were more conſcionable then covetous: and me thinks we ſhould eaſily pardon them in this, That they had rather end the Warre to the Kingdomes, then their owne advantage. *Anno* 1646 June.

Hath this Army by this ſurrender been more free, entire, and at liberty, to guard both State and Parliament? me thinks this ſhould be onely the griefe of our Enemies not of our Friends.

Hath this Army by this ſurrender brought in ſo many other Garriſons, as follow in this Story,&c? ſurely ſuch wayes of fighting as leave the Enemy ſcarce an intereſt in the Kingdome, is a new kind of failing, and an offence not heard of till our times, wherein ingratitude and reproaches are by too many thought good pay for greateſt ſervices.

Hath this Army by this ſurrender and diſingagement, awed and affrighted the gatherings of new Parties to increaſe the old? this is indeed a miſchief; but to whom? even to every one that is not a lover of the Kingdomes ſafety.

Hath this Army by a ſpirit more Almighty then their owne, brought home an Olive to this State, after ſuch overflowings of War and Blood, and ſhall not the Dove be taken into the Arke? ſhall there be no preſervation for them that preſerve others?

Anno 1646. June.

CHAP. VIII.

The Siege and Surrender of Worceſter *and* Wallingford.

AFter the Surrender of *Banbury* Caſtle, Colonel *Whaley* was ſent with ſome few Troops of Horſe to *Worceſter*, for the better keeping in of the Enemy; Colonel *Morgan* who was before ſuch time attending that ſervice with the *Gloceſterſhire* Forces, was ordered by the General to *Ragland*, to command in chieſe thoſe Forces that ſhould be imployed for the reducing of that place, if upon the Summons ſent into *Worceſter* the Enemy ſtood off and would not treat; which accordingly falling out, the Enemy in *Worceſter* returning a very high and preſumptory Anſwer upon the Summons that was ſent into them, and making higher demands then were granted to *Oxford*. Colonel *Morgan* according to his Orders, martched to *Ragland*, leaving Colonel *Whaley* (to attend the ſervice before *Worceſter*) who with the Forces of the Counties of *Worceſter* and *Shropſhire*, together with ſome Forces of *Newport-pagnel*, *Warwick* and *Northampton*, lay before it, ſo as to keep off reliefe and hinder the Enemy from getting in proviſions from the Country: But there was a great want of Foot for a regular and cloſe Siege, which when the ſervice of *Oxford* was over, and that Garriſon ſurrendred, was inſtantly ſupplyed, Colonel *Rainsborough* being ſent with a Brigade thither, who no ſooner came before the Towne, but he laid his Foot Quarters cloſe to the Enemies Works, and in two or three nights (according to much judgment and reſolution) raiſed a Work, which much annoyed the Enemies great Fort: whereupon they came to a capitulation, and being much diſtracted with the ſurrender of *Oxford*, and fearing if they neglected their opportunity, they ſhould have no conditions at all, expecting the whole power of the Army to come upon them, They came to conditions as followeth:

Articles

Anno 1646. July.

Articles of Agreement for the Surrender of the City of *Worcester*, and the Forts belonging thereunto, concluded *July* 19. 1646. between Colonel *Thomas Rainsborough*, on the behalfe of his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, General of the Forces raised by the Parliament, and Colonel *Henry Washington*, Governour of *Worcester*.

THat the City of Worcester *with all Forts, Ordnance, Armes, Ammunition, Stores and Provision of War thereunto belonging, shall be delivered, without wilfull spoyle and imbeazlement, unto his Excellency Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *or to such as he shall appoint to receive them, upon the* 22. *of this instant* July *at ten of the Clocke in the morning, in such manner and with such exceptions as are contained in the ensuing Articles.*

II. *That on the* 23 *of* July *the Governour and all Officers and Souldiers of the Garison, with all other persons therein that will, shall march out of* Worcester *with their Horses, Armes, and Baggage belonging to them, to any place within one mile of* Worcester, *which the Governour shall chuse, where all their Horses and Armes, except what allowed in the insuing Articles, shall be delivered up to such as his Excellency Sir* Thomas Fairfax *shall appoint. All the Souldiers shall be disbanded, and all such both Officers and Souldiers, and others, as shall ingage themselves by promise never to beare Armes any more against the Parliament of* England, *nor doe any thing wilfully to the prejudice of their affaires, shall have the benefit of these ensuing Articles.*

III. *That all such as shall desire to goe to their owne homes, or private friends, shall have the Generals Passes and protection for their peaceable repaire to and aboad at their severall places they shall desire to goe unto; The Governour to passe with all Horses, Armes, and Baggage properly belonging to him, and each Colonel to passe with three Horses, and each Lieutenant Colonell and Serjeant Major with*

Anno 1646. July.

with two Horses, each Captain, Lieutenant and Cornet with one Horse, and every person not under the degree of an Esquire with three Horses, and all of them with their Armes and goods properly belonging to them to be carried on their Horses, and all Souldiers with their Swords and such Baggage as properly belong to them, which they carry about them.

IV. That all persons which are to have the benefit of the preceding Articles, shall, if they desire it, have Passes to goe beyond Seas, provided they depart this Kingdome within two Months after the surrender of the Town.

V. That the City and Garison of Worcester, *and all the Inhabitants thereof shall be preserved from all plunder and violence of the Souldier.*

VI. That Sir William Russell, *now residing in* Worcester *be excepted from any benefit of these Articles.*

Signed and Sealed HEN. WASHINGTON.
July 19. 1646.

When the forementioned Forces were sent unto *Worcester*, another Brigade was sent to *Ragland*, and the Generals Regiment, with Colonel *Lilburnes*, were sent to assist our Forces before *Wallingford*; by whose accession the Siege being strengthned, presently a Summons was sent into the Castle; the Governour perceiving new Forces to face the Garrison, (and that by so fatall an occasion and disaster to them as the surrender of *Oxford*) came to a Treaty, which took effect, and was concluded upon these Articles.

Articles of Agreement concluded and agreed by his Excellency Sir *Tho. Fairfax* Knight, General of the Forces raised by the Parliament, on the one Party; and Col. *Tho. Blag*, Governor of *Wallingford*, on the other Party: for and concerning the rendring of the Garison of *Wallingford* Castle and Town, *July* 22. 1646.

I. *THat the Castle and Towne of* Wallingford, *with all the Ordnance, Armes, Ammunitions, Stores and Provisions*

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Provisions of War thereunto belonging, shall be delivered up without wilfull spoile or imbezlement, unto his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, *or such as he shal appoint to receive the same, upon* Wednesday *the* 29. *of* July, 1646. *by nine of the clock in the morning, in such manner, and with such exceptions as are contained in the ensuing Articles.*

II. *That on the said* 29. *day of* July *the Governour and all Officers and Souldiers of the Garrison, with all other persons therein (that will) shall martch out of* Wallingford *with their Horses and Armes properly belonging to them, (proportionable to their present and past commands or imployments) with flying Colours, Trumpets sounding, Drums beating, Matches lighted at both ends, Bullet in their mouthes, and every Souldier twelve Charges of Powder, Match and Bullet proportionable, with one piece of Ordnance, with equipage, and with Bag and Baggage, to any place within ten miles of* Wallingford, *which the Governour shall choose, where (in regard his Majesty hath no Garrison left open, nor Army neer) all their Horses and Armes, except what are allowed in the ensuing Articles, shall be delivered up to such as his Excellency* Sir Thomas Fairfax *shall appoint; all the Souldiers shall be disbanded, and all such, both Officers, Souldiers and others as shall engage themselves by Promise, never to beare Armes against the Parliament, nor to doe any thing wilfully to the prejudice of their Affaires, during their abode in the Parliaments Quarters, shall have the benefit of the ensuing Articles; That is to say;*

III. *That all such as shall desire to go to their homes or private Friends (who shall not be prejudiced for receiving them) shall have the Generals Passe and Protection for their peaceable repaire to, and abode at the severall places they shall so desire to go unto; The Governour, Officers and Gentlemen to passe with Equipage of Horses and Armes answerable to their present and past commands or qualities; and all both Officers, Souldiers and others, to passe with Bag and Baggage, and the Troopers only with their Swords, and their Bag and Baggage.*

IV. *That*

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IV. That all such (if there be any) who shall desire to take entertainment for Forraigne Service, shall have Passes for their Officers (not exceeding four) with their Horses and two Servants apiece, to goe to London *to treat with any Foraigne Ambassadour or Agent for entertainment, and all of them shall have liberty and Passes to martch (the Officers with Equipage of Horses and Armes properly their owne, and answerable to their present past and commands, the common Souldiers with their Swords, and all with* Bag *and Baggage) to the Quarters neer unto* Harwich *or* Southampton, *or to any Port between them, to be transported, where they shall be assisted in the procuring of Vessels and Shipping for their transportation, at the usuall Rates accustomed for Fraight, by the Governour of the next Garison or Port Towne, who shall also take care for their safety and accommodation with Quarters, untill Shipping be provided and Weather seasonable, they paying for the same after twenty eight dayes from the Render.*

V. That all the persons now in Wallingford *(not being of the Souldiery of the Garison) shall have liberty and protections for their Persons and Goods to stay in the Towne of* Wallingford *one moneth after the Rendring (if they desire it) and then to have the Generals Passe and Protection, as others going out at the Rendring, upon the like engagement; and that any person whatsoever (who being sick or wounded, cannot at present Remove) shall have liberty to stay till they be Recovered or able to goe away, and shall have fit accommodation and subsistence provided for them during such their stay, and then shall enjoy the benefit of these Articles.*

VI. That no person whatsoever comprized in this capitulation, shall be Reproached, Reviled, Affronted, Plundered or Injured in their Martch, Randezvouz or Quarters, Journies or places of abode, by these Articles allowed, nor shall be compelled to beare Armes, nor be Imprisoned, Restrained, Sued, Molested or Damnified for any matter whatsoever, of pulick or private concernment, Relating to the

the present War, the matter or grounds thereof, arising before the Rendring of the Garison, during the space of six moneths after the Rendring thereof, nor be compelled to take any Oaths or other Engagements then what is mentioned in the second Article, during the time of six moneths, and to have liberty during the said time, to travell about their lawfull affaires. Anno 1646. July.

VII. That all Horses and other Goods now in Wallingford, *taken as lawfull prize of War, or properly belonging to the Governour or Officers of the Garison, before or during the Siege, shall be continued in the possession of the present possessors, except such as are to be delivered up by the Tenor of these Articles.*

VIII. That such Houshold-stuffe and Goods now in Wallingford, *as shall appeare to the General, or such as he shall depute for that purpose, to have been borrowed by any Officer or Gentleman in the Garison, for their use and accommodation in the Garison, shall be restored back to the Owners.*

IX. That if any person or persons shall wilfully violate these Articles in any part, the guilt thereof shall be imputed to such person or persons onely, and shall not prejudice any other, not acting or consenting to the same.

X. That the Governour and three more such Officers and Gentlemen as he shall name, shall have Passes from the General for themselves, with two Servants a piece, their Horses, Swords, Pistols, and necessaries, to goe to the King to give him an account of the said Garison, and to returne to their homes, or Friends: And that five weeks shall be allowed for this Journey, which shall not be reckoned any part of the six moneths mentioned in the sixth Article, but he and they shall be allowed six moneths after the end of the said five weeks.

XI. That no Officer, Souldier, or other person, who by the Articles are to martch out of the Castle or Town of Wallingford, *(or shall martch in) shall plunder, spoile, injure any Inhabitant or other Person therein, in their Persons,*

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Goods or Estates, or carry away any thing that is properly belonging to any of them.

XII. That all persons comprized within these Articles shall peaceably and quietly enjoy all their Goods, Debts and Moveables, during the space of six moneths after the Rendring, and shall have liberty within the said space (if they shall resolve to goe beyond the Seas) to dispose of their said Goods, Debts and Moveables, and to depart the Kingdome with the same, as they shall thinke fit and desire, and shall have Passes for their Transportation accordingly from his Excellency.

XIII. That all persons comprived in these Articles, shall, upon request, have a Certificate under the hand of the General, or such as he shall appoint, that such persons were in the Castle and Towne of Wallingford *at the time of the Rendring thereof, and are to have the Benefit of these Articles.*

XIV. That the Townsmen and Inhabitants of the Town of Wallingford *shall not be troubled or questioned for any thing said or written by any of them, nor the Corporation thereof prejudiced for any thing done by any of them by expresse command, since it was a Garison, and that they shall have the benefit of these Articles in all things that may concerne them.*

XV. That Master John Chamberlaine *of* Sherborne, *shall have the benefit of these Articles.*

THO. FAIRFAX.

After the Articles were Signed and Sealed, and the day of surrender agreed upon, a Party of Officers and Souldiers, upon some discontent, mutined against the Governour, and dividing themselves from the rest, came in a threatning way, presenting their Muskets at him, if they might not have their wils and demands granted: Whereupon the Governour was necessitated privately to send for the Passes, and to deliver the Castle a day sooner

ſooner then intended, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Jackson* was enforced to draw in his Regiment into the Towne between the two Parties (the Mutiners and the Governours Party) to enforce an orderly delivery of the Garriſon: The tuition of this Garriſon was by his Excellency committed to that vigilant and faithfull Commander Adjutant *Evelyn*, Adjutant-General of the Horſe. *Anno* 1646. Auguſt.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Reduction of Ragland *Caſtle and* Pendennis.

OXford Garriſon having run to its period of obſtinacy againſt the Parliament, and being now reduced, many other Garriſons that attended its fate fell with it, even like ripe fruit, with an eaſie touch: But theſe two Garriſons of *Ragland* and *Pendennis*, like winter fruit, hung long on. *Ragland* Caſtle, a ſtrong hold in *Wales*, Garriſoned for the King under the command of the Marqueſſe of *Worceſter*, ſcituated conveniently to command all the parts of *South-Wales*, being ſtraightned by ſome Forces of Sir *Trevor Williams* and Major-General *Langhorne*, before Colonel *Morgan* was ordered from *Worceſter* thither, to command in chiefe the Forces that were, and ſhould be ſent before it, was at length formidably and cloſely beſieged: The ſame Captaine-Engineer that gave ſo good demonſtration of his skill at *Banbury*, at the reduction of that Caſtle, Captaine *Hooper*, was imployed here; and ſo ſoon as he could get Spades and Shovels, he went moſt dexterouſly to work againſt this Caſtle of *Ragland*; Colonel *Morgan* at firſt had but fifteen hundred men to carry on the deſigne; the Enemy was eight hundred ſtrong within in Horſe and Foot, and made divers deſperate ſallies upon Colonel *Morgan*, who received him as gallantly, and in every of them was perſonally engaged, with great hazard to himſelfe in particular: In one ſally, the Enemy took a Colour of ours,

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the Cornet loſt his life withall; In exchange whereof, a Major and Captain of the Enemies was ſlaine, and divers wounded on the Enemies part: But at length, by the addition of two thouſand more to Colonel *Morgan* from his Excellencies Army, after *Oxford* was over, as is noted before: the Enemy in the Caſtle was reduced to more caution, and taught to lye cloſer.

And eſpecially when his Excellency in perſon was come thither from the *Bath* to put life into the Siege, which was by that time in a good forwardneſſe, both for their Works and Approaches: Who being come, ſent in this Summons into the Caſtle.

MY LORD,

BEing come into theſe parts with ſuch a ſtrength as I may not doubt, but with the ſame good hand of providence that hath hitherto bleſſed us, in ſhort time to reduce the Garriſon of *Ragland* to the obedience of the Parliament; I have in order therto thought good to ſend your Lordſhip this ſummons; hereby requiring you to deliver up to me for the Parliaments uſe, the ſaid Garriſon and Caſtle of *Ragland*, which as it onely obſtructs the Kingdomes univerſall peace, the rendition may beget ſuch tearms, as by delay or vain hopes cannot hereafter be expected. *I remaine*

Leaguer before Ragland, *Aug.* 7. 1646.

My Lord,
Your Lordſhips moſt humble ſervant,
THOMAS FAIRFAX.

which Summons begat an intercourſe of many Meſſages from one ſide to the other; with the copies whereof I ſhall continue that part of the Story.

SIR,

ALthough my infirmities might juſtly claime priviledge in ſo ſudden an anſwer; yet becauſe you deſire it, and I not willing to delay your time to your letter of ſummons to deliver up my Houſe, and the one-

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ly house now in my possession to cover my head in; these are to let you know, that if you did understand the condition I am in, I dare say out of your judgement you will not thinke it a reasonable demand; I am loath to be the Author of mine owne ruine on both sides, and therefore desire to have leave to send to his Majesty to know his pleasure, what he will have done with his Garrison. As for my House, I presume he will command nothing, neither am I knowing how either by Law or conscience I should be forced out of it. To this I desire your returne, and rest

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Your Excellencies humble servant,
H. WORCESTER.

MY LORD,

TOuching your sending to his Majesty, it is that which hath been denied to the most considerable Garrisons of *England*, further then an account to his Majesty of the thing done upon the surrender, which I doe also freely grant to your Lordship: And for that distinction which your Lordship is pleased to make, it is your House; If it had not been formed into a Garrison, I should not have troubled your Lordship with a Summons, and were it dis-garrisoned, neither you nor your House should receive any disquiet from me, or any that belong unto me.

This I thought good to returne to yours, and thereby to discharge my selfe before God and the world, of all extremities and sad consequences that will ensue upon the refusall of the rendition of your Garrison, upon my Summons.

I remaine yours,
THO. FAIRFAX.

SIR,

IDoe so much conside in your Honour, as that being at stake, concerning leave to send to his Majesty, I will at this time forbeare to make further motion in it: Onely one thing which is extraordinary, I offer to your consi-

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consideration for the just cause, besides my Allegeance of my reasonable request: which is, That upon his Majesties promise of satisfaction, I am above twenty thousand pounds out of purse, and if I should doe any thing displeasing unto him, I am sure all that is lost, and no benefit to the Parliament. If you knew how well known I was in *Henry* Earle of *Huntington's* time, unto your noble Grandfather at *York*, I am assured I should receive that favour at your hands that safely you might afford. God knowes, if I might quietly receive my meanes of subsistence, and be in security with the Parliaments approbation, and freed from the malice of those Gentlemen that are of the Committee within this County, I should quickly quit my selfe of the Garrison, for I have no great cause to take delight in it. I have that high esteem of your worth, noblenesse and true judgment, that knowing you will offer nothing ignoble or unworthy for me to doe, as the case stands with me, I desire to know what Conditions I may have, and I will returne you present answer, and in the meane time I rest,

Your humble servant

H. WORCESTER.

MY LORD,

ACcording to your Lordships desire, I have returned you conditions, such as may be fit and satisfactory to the Souldiery. To your Lordship and Family, I have granted quiet and security from all violence of any that belongs to me: I would perswade your Lordship not to fear any ill or disrespect from the Committee of this County (I shall easily reconcile that Party) or that they will doe any thing, but as they shall receive order from the Parliament. By this meanes you are at liberty to send to the Parliament, and upon a present surrender and submission to their mercy and favour, your Lordship cannot but think to receive better termes for your selfe, then if you stand it out to the last extremity; when

when besides the hazard of your person, and of those in your Family (which I do presume are deare to you) and the spoyle of the Castle, which cannot be avoyded in extreame undertakes against it. Your Lordship hath no reason to expect better then the Marquesse of *Winchester* received; who in making good *Basing-house* to the last, narrowly escaped in his owne person, lost his friends, subjected those that escaped to great frights, and hazard his House and Estate to utter ruine, and himselfe to extremity of Justice. Touching your Lordships twenty thousand pound, your Lordship hath liberty to solicite about that, by the same hands your Lordship shall give an account of the surrender to his Majesty. I desire your Lordship upon receipt of these, to dismisse my Trumpeter, and to returne Answer by one of your owne.

Anno 1646 August.

THO. FAIRFAX.

SIR,

THe difficulty of resolution by the Souldiers and Officers (other then I thought) causeth my request for your patience in not giving you full answer to the conditions you sent me yesterday; but as soon as I shall obtaine it, you shall not be long without it. But one thing, and that of moment, I desire to be satisfied in; whether if any conclusion should be made, that afterward I shall be left to the mercy of the Parliament for alteration at their will and pleasures; and if it be so, I shall endeavour in vain to study more about it: For example, in my Lord of *Shrewsbury* his case, and divers others, how conditions have been broken, doth a little affright me: I know by your will and consent it should never be; but Souldiers are unruly, and the Parliament unquestionable, and therefore I beseech you pardon my just cause of fear, and I will rest,

Your humble Servant

H. WORCESTER.

MY LORD,

I Have perused your Letter of this eleventh of *August.* As to your scruple wherein you desire to be satisfied

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(ſo far as I underſtand it) I can onely give you this reſolution, That wat I grant, I will undertake ſhall be made good: As to the inſtance you give in my Lord of *Shrewſburie's* caſe, the actors in that breach (who were none of my Army) have received their cenſure, and by this time I beleeve the execution. But here, if any concluſion be made while I ſtay, I dare undertake there ſhall be no ſuch thing, or if any, there ſhall be reparation.

THO. FAIRFAX.

SIR,

FOr the better accommodation of theſe unhappy diſferences, if you pleaſe that there may be a ceſſation of Armes and working, and to engage your Honour for the returne of my Commiſſioners to morrow by ten of the clock, they ſhall wait upon you in your Leaguer, where they ſhall vindicate me for being the onely obſtruction of the generall peace: So in expectation of your ſodaine Anſwer, I reſt,

Your humble Servant,

H. WORCESTER.

MY LORD,

HAving not yet received in any of your Letters a direct anſwer to the conditions I ſent you; I have no grounds or conſideration for ſuch a ceſſation of Armes and working, as in your Letter you deſire; but if it be your purpoſe to returne your anſwer by Commiſſioners, I ſhall by the hour you mention, appoint Commiſſioners of mine owne to receive the ſame in the Leaguer, as you deſire, and engage my ſelfe for the ſafe returne of yours, not exceeding ſix Commiſſioners, and as many ſervants: And in order to this, I ſhall be content there be a ceſſation of Armes and working from nine of the clock to morrow morning till two in the afternoon.

Yours, &c.

THO. FAIRFAX.

SIR,

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SIR,

HAd I not thought you had been in the Leaguer, to the end that Propositions from the place in answer to yours, might have been first presented unto you, and to avoid delayes, which I thought your side would best like of, it was resolved to send Commissioners together with our Propositions; but considering it was otherwise, I have sent you such as I am advised unto, to take into your consideration, and because there is some addition to yours, I would have been glad you had heard the just reasons thereof, to the end you might not have been perswaded to slight them without just cause; your pleasure for the ordering of businesse, I at your leisure expect, and if you please, the dismission of this Messenger; and so rest

Your humble servant,
H. WORCESTER.

MY LORD,

IHave perused the Propositions sent out by your Commissioners, which I find such as deserve no answer: I have offered your Lordship and the rest conditions which you may yet have if you accept in time: if there be any thing in them obscure, needing explanation or wanting circumstantials, for the better performing of the things intended therein, I shall be willing to appoint Commissioners on my part to treat with yours to that purpose, upon those Propositions of mine, provided you send Commissioners instructed with power to treat and conclude, and returne your resolution herein by six of the clock this evening.

Yours, &c.
August 14. 1646. THO. FAIRFAX.

In the meane time our Approaches went on towards the Castle, our maine Work was some sixty yards from theirs, we had planted four Mortar-pieces in one place, and two Mortar-pieces at another, each Mortar-piece carrying a Granadoe shell twelve inches diameter.

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August the 14. His Excellency (who was every day in the Trenches) appointed a new approach, which the Engineer, Captaine *Hooper*, had so farre proceeded in as to throw up approaches of an hundred yards in circuit, making, exacting running Trenches, so secure, as if they were Works against a storm, comming within sixty yards of their Works.

August 15. The Marquesse sent forth his desire to treat, upon the Generals Propositions; whereupon the Treaty was appointed at Master *Oates* his house (about a mile and a halfe from *Ragland*,) to begin at two of the clock that afternoon: His Excellencies Commissioners were Colonel *Morgan*, Colonel *Birch*, Master *Herbert*, one of the Commissioners of Parliament, residing in the Army, Quartermaster General *Gravesnor*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Ashfield*, and Major *Tulida*.

By *Monday August* 17. The Treaty was concluded (the Marquesse casting himselfe upon the mercy of the Parliament) according to the ensuing Articles.

Articles concluded and agreed upon betwixt his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax* Knight, General of the Forces raised by the Parliament, on the one part: and the right honourable the Marquesse and Earle of *Worcester*, Governour of the Castle and Garrison of *Ragland*, on the other part: for and concerning the surrender of the Castle and Garrison of *Ragland*.

I. *THat the Castle and Garrison of* Ragland, *with all the Ordnance, Armes, Ammunition, and provision of War thereunto belonging, shall be delivered up without wilfull spoyle, unto his Excellency Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *or such as he shall appoint to receive the same on* Wednesday *next, being the nineteenth day of this instant* August, *by ten a clock in the forenoon, in such forme as shall be expressed in the ensuing Articles.*

II. *That upon the said nineteenth day of* August, *the Officers,*

Officers, Gentlemen and Souldiers of the Garison, with all other persons therein, shall martch out of the said Garison with their Horses and Armes, with Colours flying, Drums beating, Trumpet sounding, Matches lighted at both ends, Bullet in their mouthes, and every Souldier with twelve charges of Powder, Match and Bullet proportionable, and Bag and Baggage, to any place within ten miles of the Garison, where the Governour shall nominate: Where, in respect his Majesty hath no Garison in England, *nor Army any where within this Kingdome and Dominion of* Wales, *their Armes shall be delivered up to such as his Excellency shall appoint to receive them, where the Souldiers shall be Disbanded; and that all both Officers, Gentlemen and Souldiers shall have the benefit of these ensuing Articles, except persons excepted from Pardon and Composition, they engaging themselves not to beare Armes hereafter against the Parliament, nor doe any thing during their abode in the Parliaments Quarters, prejudiciall to their Affaires.* Anno 1646. August.

III. That all such as desire to goe to their owne homes, or to their private Friends, shall have the General's Passe and Protection for their peaceable repaire to, and abode at the severall places they shall desire to goe unto, the Officers and Gentlemen to passe with their Horses and Armes; also such Officers or Gentlemen, Reformed or not Reformed, that want Horses, shall martch with their Arms; and all Officers, Gentlemen, Souldiers and others shall passe with Bag and Baggage.

IV. That all Officers, Gentlemen and others, comprized within this present Capitulation, shall have three moneths time allowed them to remaine in any place within the Parliaments Quarters, for the endeavouring their Peace and Composition, and all Gentlemen that desire to goe beyond the Seas, shall have their Passes for themselves and their Servants, and all other Necessaries to any Sea Port to Ship themselves, they paying the usuall Rate; Provided, They goe within three Moneths after the

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said surrender; and that all Gentlemen, Officers and others as shall desire to take Foraigne entertainment, shall without exception have Passes for themselves and servants to goe to London *or elswhere, to treat with any Ambassadour or other to that purpose, with their Bag and Baggage, to martch to any Sea Port to be transported whither they please, they likewise paying the usuall Rates accustomed.*

V. That such as are wounded or sick, shall either have liberty to stay in the Castle, or be removed to such other places as the Governour shall choose for their Recovery.

VI. That no Officers, Gentlemen or Souldiers during these three moneths, shall be questioned for any word spoken or acts done, Relating to this War, since the commencement of it; That no person comprized within these Articles be Reproached, Affronted, Plundered or Injured in their martch, quarters or places of abode, or any person that shall Receive them, shall be molested, or suffer any prejudice therefore, but shall have liberty during the limited time to passe about their lawfull occasions; Provided, they act nothing to the prejudice of the Parliament; and in case any of these Articles be broken by any particular person, that the punishment extend no further then the party so offending, and that all these Articles may be faithfully observed, according to the true intent thereof, without any cavil or mental Reservation to infringe them or any of them.

On *Wednesday August* 19. The Castle was surrendred (according to agreement) to his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, for the use of the Parliament; the Enemy was no sooner martched forth, but his Excellency entred the Castle, took a view of it, had some conference with the Marquesse, and afterwards went that night to *Chepstow*, where he was nobly entertained by the Committee there; from whence on *Thursday* 20. he returned to his Quarters at *Bath*.

This Castle of *Ragland* was a very strong piece, having a deep Mote encompassing it, besides the River running by

by it; there were delivered up with it twenty pieces of Ordnance, onely three Barrels of Powder, but they had a Mill, with which they could make a Barrell a day: there was found great ſtore of Corne and Mault, Wine of all ſorts, and Beere; the Horſes they had left were not many, & thoſe that were, almoſt ſtarved for want of Hay, of which they had none left, & not many Oats, ſo that the Horſes had like to have eaten one another for want of meat, and therefore were tyed with chains: there was alſo great ſtore of Goods & rich Furniture found in the Caſtle, which his Excellency committed to the care and cuſtody of Maſter *Herbert* Commiſſioner of the Army, Mr. *Roger Williams* and Major *Tuliday* to be inventoried; and in caſe any of the welaffected of the country could make a juſt claime to any of them, as being violently taken from them, or they compelled to bring them in thither, they ſhould have them reſtored.

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There martched out of the Caſtle the Marqueſſe of *Worceſter*, the Lord *Charley* the Marqueſſes Sonne, the Counteſſe of *Glamorgan*, the Lady *Jones*, Sir *Phillip Jones*, Doctor *Bayley*, Commiſſary *Guilliam*, four Colonels, eighty two Captaines, ſixteen Lieutenants, ſix Cornets, four Enſignes, four Quartermaſters, fifty two Eſquires and Gentlemen: Not any that martched forth had the leaſt incivility offered them by our Souldiers, but the Articles punctually obſerved to them.

After the Reduction of *Ragland*, his Excellencies Forces being at liberty, and there being three or four Garriſons in *North-Wales* yet unreduced, before which Major-General *Mitton* was with ſome Forces, his Excellency ſent to Major-General *Mitton*, offering him, for the more expeditious reduction of thoſe places, to ſend him either Foot, Horſe or Artilery.

But his Excellency underſtanding from him, that he had more Forces from the country then he could well maintain, his Excellency commanded the Forces intended that way, to martch to Quarters neer *Oxford*, leaving the

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the work of reducing those Garrisons wholly to Major-General *Mitton*, who had given so great testimony both of his ability and faithfulnesse in former actions. And now to *Pendennis*.

Pendennis castle, a strong Hold in the utmost parts of *Cornwal*, standing upon the Sea, commanding in a great part the Harbour of *Falmouth*, where Ships that Trade to the East frequently put in, Garrisoned for the King under the command of *John Arundel* of *Trease* Esquire, was blockt up by part of his Excellencies Army, under the command of Colonel *Fortescue* by land, and by Captaine *Batten* (Viceadmiral of the Parliaments Ships) by Sea: about the latter end of *July* the Enemy made a sally by Botes to fetch in reliefe, but were forced back with losse.

About ten dayes before which a Summons was sent them, but they, in hope of Reliefe by Ships from Saint *Mallowes*, returned a deniall; and after those Ships were by contrary windes beaten to *Morleys*, yet the Enemy persisted in his obstinacy, expecting a propitious blast to bring their Reliefe to them; nor could the fate of *Oxford*, *Worcester* and *Litchfield* surrendred, comming to their eares, work them to any other resolution then to hold out, without his Majesties speciall Warrant to surrender, whom the Governour was very earnest to obtaine liberty to send unto; or if not to the King, at lest to the Prince, and would faine have perswaded Colonel *Fortescue* to condiscend thereto, as but a common curtesie, but could not prevaile, he not understanding it so: by a Lieutenant of ours, whom Colonel *Fortescue* exchanged another of theirs for, he understood that a Shallop had gone forth about the 26 of *July* to the Prince his Highnesse, to certifie him of their condition, unable to hold out many dayes without Reliefe.

Captaine *Batten* kept ten large Boats and Barges well manned, before the mouth of the Harbour every night, within command of the castle, drawing them off in the morning

morning: One morning when he was newly drawne off, a Shallop got in by ſtealth, which cauſed great triumph in the Caſtle; but 'twas conceived (and Colonel *Forteſcue* was ſo informed by good hands) that little Reliefe was in it, ſave a Hogs-head or two of Wine. *Anno* 1646. Auguſt.

Some Overtures were made to the Enemy within, to goe for *Flanders*, an Agent from the King of *Spaine* came for that purpoſe, deſiring to ſpeak with ſome of the Souldiers in the Caſtle, while ſome of ours ſhould be by; which being granted, he made an Overture to ſome Papiſt Officers of entertainment in the King of *Spaine's* ſervice in *Flanders*; they deſired to be ſatisfied of the Agents authority, and to ſee the conditions; which being readily condiſcended unto and performed on the Agents part, they anſwered him, That at preſent they were engaged, but ſhould they be once free, next to their preſent Maſter they would ſerve his Majeſty of *Spaine*: This curteſie was taken well from Colonel *Forteſcue* by the Enemy and the Agent; and certainly any thing belonging meerly to civility, without involving danger in its conſequence, was never denied by him.

The Enemy in the Caſtle kept fires all night, for direction to any Reliefe that ſhould make towards them. They were very prodigall of their powder, making two hundred great ſhot in the ſpace of three dayes at our men, but without any great execution, only three of our men being ſlaine thereby: The Work of keeping them in ſo ſtraitly from Reliefe, was very great, and was not performed without very hard duty to our Souldiers, the Enemy within being ſo numerous, which therefore redounds as much to the honour of the Beſiegers: and Captaine *Batten* with his Ships by Sea was no leſſe careſull and vigilant, though indeed he wanted Shallops and Pinaces for the ſervice.

Some dayes after the forementioned Shallop, there came

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came in another to the Castle, but it was conceived not much more Reliefe in that then in the former, and that because the Governour sent about the same time a Letter to Colonel *Fortescue*, to know if he had power to treat with him, and whether he could make good the conditions he should grant; alleaging, that otherwise it would be a dishonour to him to treat, and the agreement to be contradicted by any other: Colonel *Fortescue* returned answer, He had power to treat and to make good the agreement: Whereupon the Governour took two dayes time to consider, and in issue, embraced a Treaty; Commissioners were named on both parts.

The time appointed for the Treaty to begin was *Monday, August* 10. when accordingly the Commissioners on both sides met, the Enemy making his demands, ours offering their propositions, which held them till *Wednesday* noon, when their Commissioners brake off, and went away in great discontent at the tearmes that were offered them; but on *Friday* 14. the winds were laid, and the the Treaty (by Colonel *Fortescue's* art) came on againe, and by *Saturday* night the 15. all was concluded, save the time of surrender, which was agreed the next day, and the Articles signed, which were as followeth.

Articles agreed on the 16. of *August, Anno Dom.* 1646. between Sir *Abraham Shipman*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Richard Arundel*, Colonel *William Slaughter*, Colonel *Charles Jennings*, Colonel *Lewis Tremaine*, *Nevil Bligh*, and *Joseph June* Esquire, Lieutenant-colonel *Anthony Brocket*, on the behalfe of the Honourable *John Arundel* of *Treacise* Esquire, Governour of the Castle of *Pendennis*, of the one Party: And Colonel *John* S^t^. *Arbin* Esquire, high Sheriffe of the county of *Cornwal*, Sir *John Ayscue* Knight, Colonel *Robert Bennet*, Lieutenant-colonel *Edward Herle*, Lieutenant-colonel *Thomas Fitch*, Leiutenant colonel *Richard Townsend*, Major *Thomas Jennings*, and

and Capt. *Walter Mainard*, on the behalfe of the honourable Colonel *Richard Fortescue*, Commander in cheif under his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, of all the Forces of Horse and Foot within the County of *Cornwall*; and the honourable Captaine *William Batton*, Vice Admirall and Commander in cheife of the whole Fleet imployed for the Service of King and Parliment, on the other party. *Anno* 1646. August.

THat the Castle of Pendennis *with al Fortresses, Forts, Fortifications therunto belonging, the Ship and all other Vessels lying under the Castle, with the Furniture and Provisions unto them appertaining. All Ordnance of all sorts, with their equipage, and all Arms, Ammunition, Provisions, and all other Implements of War, Necessaries, and Commodities of, and belonging to the said Castle and Garison (except what otherwise shall be disposed by these Articles) shall without any manner of diminution, spoile or imbezlement, be delivered upon* Munday, *the seventeenth day of this instant* August, *at two of the clock in the afternoon, into the hands and custody of the two Commanders in chiefe by Sea and Land respectively, or such person or persons as shall be by them appointed for the receiving of the same. And that immediately upon signing the said Articles, the said persons shall be admitted into the Castle to see the just performance of the Premises, and Hostages given for the due observance of them.*

II. *That* John Arundel *of* Trecise *Esquire, Governour of the said Castle of* Pendennis, *with his Family and Retinue, and all Officers and Souldiers of Horse and Foot, and all the Traine of Artillery, and of the Ships, as well Reformado'd Officers as others. And all Gentlemen, Clergymen and their Familyes and Servants, shall martch out of the Castle of* Pendennis, *with their Horses, compleat Armes, and other Equipages according to their present or past commands and qualities, with flying Colours, Trumpets sounding, Drums beating, Matches lighted at both*

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ends, Bullets in their mouthes, and every Soudier twelve charges of Powder, with Bullets and Match proportionable, with all their owne proper Goods, Bag and Baggage, with a safe convoy unto Arwinch Downes *: And because His Majesty hath neither Army nor Garison in* England *to our knowledge, they shall there lay downe Armes (saving their Swords) unlesse such who are Officers in Commission, who with their servants are to retain their arms according to their qualities. Country Gentlemen and their Servants their Swords only, Ensignes their Colours, where such Persons as Colonel* Fortescue *shall appoint are to receive them. And as many as desire it are to have Let-Passes from the Commanders in chiefe to passe to their severall Dwellings, or to such other places under the power of the Parliament, or beyond the Seas, as they shal desire, and not be plundered, searched or injured in their March, or after, they not doing any thing to the prejudice of the Parliments Affaires; and no man to be prejudiced for giving any of the persons comprized in the said Articles entertainment in their houses: And that the old garison Souldiers who have houses in the Castle, shall have 28. dayes after the surrender, for the removing and disposing of their Goods.*

III. That the Princes Servants with their Arms, and al Commanders, Officers, Gentlemen, Ladies, Gentlewomen, Clergymen and all others with their retinue that desire it, shall have liberty to passe with their Bag and Baggage, and what else is allowed in the Articles beyond the Seas, and to that purpose, there shall be provided by the Vice-Admiral a sufficient number of navigable Vessels, with a safe convoy for their safe transporting from the Haven of Falmouth, *within 28. dayes after the surrender of the said Castle, to be landed at Saint* Maloes *in* France *: and in the meane time to be signed free Quarters at convenient places by Colonell* Fortescue *Commander in cheif; and during the said time that they be not Plundered, or Injured, they acting nothing prejudiciall to the Parliament affaires.*

IV. That Colonel Wise *and all Officers and Souldiers of*

of his Regiment, or as many of them as desire it may be shipt in Falmouth Harbour *in Vessels, to be provided by the Vice Admirall, and landed at* Swansey *in* Wales: *And that such are of the County of* Cornwall *to be shipt and landed at* Looe, *and those that be of* Devon, *to be landed at* Yalme; *and all to be shipt with Bag and Baggage, and such Armes as formerly allowed them, nor to be Plundered nor Injured in their passage.* Anno 1646. August.

V. That whereas by reason of the long siege of the Castle of Pendennis, *many of the Officers and Souldiers of the said garison are growne into great nessity of all such things as might enable them to martch to their severall Dwellings, many sicke and wounded: And to the intent they may be supplyed with necessaries for their accommodations within the time limited to them by these Articles. It is promised and consented unto by the Commissioners for the Leaguer, to and with the Commissioners for the Castle, that five hundreth pounds sterling shall be delivered into the hands of the Commissioners of the Castle, or any three of them, at eight of the clocke to morrow morning at* Penrin, *to be distributed vmong the Officers and Souldiers aforesaid, as they shall thinke fit. And they are not to take any free quarter in their martches.*

VI. That all Goods taken from any person for the accommodation of this Garison or any person therein, shall be restored to their proper Owners, or such as they shall appoint; and all Goods now in the Castle that properly belong to any other persons, shall be restored to the Owners thereof. And if any person carry away any Goods not properly belonging unto him, & deny to deliver them upon demand in presence of any Officer in Commission, he shall loose his Bag and Baggage, and have such punishment as the now Governour of the Castle and the Commanders in cheife, or any two of them shall thinke fit. But all persons may retaine whatsoever was taken from persons in Armes, as lawfull prize of War.

VII. That the Governor and all Field-Officers with their severall retinues shall be allowed cariage by Sea or Land to

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carry away their said Goods to any Place within their County.

VIII. That no Officer, Souldier or other person comprized in these Articles, shall be reproached, or have any disgracefull words or affronts offered, or be stopt, Searched, Plundered or Injured in their martches, Rendezvouz, Quarters, Journeys, places of aboad, or passages by Sea or Land; and if any such thing be done, satisfaction to be made according to the judgement of any two Commissioners or more, being of equall number of each party; nor shall any of the persons aforesaid be compelled to take up Arms against the King, nor be imprisoned for any cause of publick or private concernment during the space of twenty eight dayes after the surrender of the said Castle, nor for any cause of publique concernment, or twenty eight dayes after the said twenty eight dayes are ended.

IX. That if any person within the Garison be sicke or wounded, that they cannot take the benefit of the Articles at present; they shall have liberty to stay, and be provided for at convenient places untill they recover, aud then they shall have the fruit and benefit of these Articles.

X. That all persons comprized in this capitulation shall enjoy their Estates reall and personall, they submitting to all Orders and Ordinances of Parliament, and shall fully enjoy the benefit of these Articles.

XI. That all Prisoners of Warre, of either side, be set at liberty, and that liberty be given immediately after the surrender of the said Castle to the Governour thereof, to give notice to their friends of the surrender of the said Castle. And that no Vessell comming with reliefe within ten dayes after the surrender shall be made prize.

XII. That if any of these Articles shall in any point be broke or violated by any person or persons in Pendennis *or comprized within this capitulation, the fault and punishment shall be upon them or him onely who made the breach or violation, and shall not be imputed or charged on any other not assenting thereunto or acting therein.*

XIII. That all persons comprized in these Articles, shall upon

upon request have certificate under the hands of the Commander in chiefe respectively, that such persons were in the Castle at the time of the surrender thereof, and were otherwise to have the benefit of these Articles.

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XIV. That the Commanders in chiefe respectively shall give Passes to one or two Messengers with their Servants not exceeding six, to goe to the King by Sea or Land from the Governour, to give an account to Him of the proceedings of this Treaty, and conclusion thereof, and to returne and receive the benefit of these Articles.

XV. That Commissioners be appointed on both sides for the performance of the Articles, and places appointed for the accommodation of sick men.

XVI. That confirmation of all the precedent Articles shall be procured from the Parliament, or from his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax *within forty dayes after the signing of these Articles.*

Neere to *Pendennis* is the *Mount* in *Cornwall* (omitted to be mentioned in its just order) which was surrendred to *Colonell Hamond*, who lay before it with some of the foot of this Army, and obtained the surrender of it some few dayes after the surrender of *Excester*: The Governour of the *Mount* was Sir *Arthur Basset*; the Marquesse of *Hamilton* was in it, fifteene peeces of Ordnance, with great store of Ammunition and Provisions were gained with it.

It is a place of great strength, the Tyde flowing about it twice a day, which rendred the reduction of it a service of great difficnlty and consequence, and Redounding much to the honour of Colonel *Hamond*, who underwent the same; whose Merits also in that singular Service of setling Quarters on the West-side of *Excester* at Saint *Thomas* Hospitall, &c. within halfe Musket-shot of the Enemy; afterwards martching to *Torrington* with his Regiment, deserves a speciall note to be put upon it.

Besides this of the Mount, there is one Service more omitted

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omitted to be mentioned in its proper place, *viz.* The reduction of *Borstall-House*, which was some few dayes before the surrender of *Oxford*, agreed to be surrendred upon conditions.

And thus yon have a *true* (though plaine and briefe) account of the *Actions* of this *Army*, which God *reserved* for such a time as our *lowest* estate, when his *season* was to deliver us. It was once intended, the Story should have broken off at *Oxford*, but you see it is cōtinued to the last piece of Service performed by this Army, though somewhat more briefly then the *former* Actions; which was for want of those Materials of *Observaiions* and *Collections*, which were furnished me in the compiling of the Story till then, by *One*, to whom all that reap any satisfaction by this Story, owe great thanks for his diligence and faithfulnesse therein.

And now there being no Enemy either in Field or Garrison, his Excellency after soue smal time of refreshment and rest from his continuall wearinesse and action, was by the Parliament Ordered from *Oxford* into the *West*, there to disband Major-General *Massies* Brigade; whither accordingly he immediately martched, *viz.* to the *Devizes*, where in the space of eight dayes, his Excellency disbanded the whole Brigade, consisting of two thousand five hundred Horse; whom (to give them their due) he found for the most part, *prepared* to obey the Ordinance of Parliament; which was the more commendable, in respect that of many moneths Arreares which were behind, they received but six weeks pay, which yet is not wholly to be reckoned to the *ingenuity* of the men, but in a great part to the *carefulnesse* and prudence of Major-General *Massie*, Colonel *Cook*, and the rest of the *Officers*: Divers of the Disbanded come from very *remote* Countries, and had Passes some for *Egypt*, others for *Mesopotamia* and *Æthyopia*.

This work was no sooner over, but it pleased God to visit the *General* with a sore fit of the *Stone*: Saint *Paul*

Paul needed a *Thorne in the flesh*; and by *thirst* and lack of water *Sampson* (after his great *Exploits*) might know himselfe to be a *Man*. This fit continued on him for many dayes together; so soon as he was recovered, he made a Journey to *London*: This was the *first* time of his visiting *London* since he martched forth with the Army, having a small desire to see that place till he could bring an *Olive branch* in his mouth, choosing rather to hasten *Peace*, then spin out the *War*, which made a humble *Tent* more acceptable to him till he had attained his end, then a glorious *City*.

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His Excellency comming to *London Novemb.* 12. while he was yet some miles off the City, he was met by the *Mliitia* of the City: He who had so often *encountred* a Militia of *Enemies*, is now *embraced* by a Militia of *Friends*, who had no other Errand but to thank him, who had done so much, as that he had left nothing for them to doe, but to fetch in this *Man of War*, who had converted them to *Men of Peace*, who through his *Watchfulnesse* and Valour had excused them from stirring out of their *city* to fight a *Battell*; onely now in the interest of their owne honour, they were drawne out to bring in the *Prize* of so many Battels, even *Englands Peace*.

Many wel-affected *Citizens* also went forth with the Militia, upon this Expedition, and the *hearts* of thousands ran and met him, whose *persons* were not seen there.

No sooner was he come to Town, but (the next day) both Houses of PARLIAMENT were in motion to acknowledge their GENERAL, and make a *congratulatory* Visit to him, communicating their sense the one House to the other therein, and making these repective ORDERS thereupon.

DIE

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DIE VENERIS, *Novemb.* 13. 1646.

ORdered by the LORDS Assembled in PARLIAMENT, that it is left to the SPEAKER of this House, what to speak to Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX from this House, upon these severall Heads, *viz.* To Congratulate his comming to this Towne, and to acknowledge his good Service done to the Parliament and Kingdome.

JOHN BROWNE.

DIE VENERIS, 13. *Novemb.* 1646.

ORdered by the COMMONS Assembled in PARLIAMENT, That Master SPEAKER and the whole House doe to Morrow at ten of the clock, give a Visit to Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX, General of the PARLIAMENTS FORCES, and returne him the Thanks of the COMMONS of *England*, and an Acknowledgment of the great Blessings of ALMIGHTY GOD upon his faithfull Services, wise Conduct and great Valour in the whole discharge of the great TRUST committed unto him, and reducing the distracted Affaires of this KINGDOME to this happy condition and Issue.

H. ELSYNGE *Cler. Parl. D. Com.*

Thus

Thus those that honour God, God will honour, and those that seek onely, and are content with that honour that is of *God*, shall (sometimes) perchance have the honour that is of *Men* last into the Bargaine.

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On *Saturday*, *November* 14. Both Houses actuated their Orders and Intentions; and first, the Right honourable EDWARD Earle of *Manchester*, Speaker of the House of Lords, *pro tempore*, accompanied with the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, and divers other Peers of the Kingdome, went together in their Coaches to his Excellencies house in *Queenstreet*, to *congratulate* his Excellencies *Successes* and happy *returne*, according to the *Order* of their House, which the Earle of *Manchester* enlarged with divers Expressions of gratitude and honour to his Excellency; *In the Name of the House of* PEERS, *giving his Excellency Thanks for all his Care and Paines, in the defence of the Publick, expressing their great Esteem of his memorable Services, and faithfull Performance of the Trust reposed in him, which their Lordships should alwayes have in remembrance, and be ready upon all Occasions, to expresse their Gratitude unto him.*

The Contents of the Earle of *Manchester's* Speech.

And when they had done, and were gone (with never a jot lesse Honour, I trow, for that which they had left upon his Excellency) the House of COMMONS also attended their SPEAKER on the same Errand; where WILLIAM LENTHAL Esquire, *Speaker* of that House, delivered himselfe to this Effect:

SIR,

I Have a very hard Taske to performe to present the Respects *of the House of* Commons *according to your Excellencies* Merit, *and their desires to effect this accordinly, I should have informed my self from Histories that have preserved the memories of the famous Worthies of former Ages and should*

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have taken the Dimensions of the largest Coronts and Trophies wherewith they are made Glorious, and even those would rather straighten then enlarge the Temples of yours Excellency; or else I should have consulted some of the most Learned and Eloquent Oratours, who have set forth the glorious Gests *performed in former times, whereby I might have insisted on some* Paralell *for your* Wisdome, Piety, Justice *and* Valour; *but I conceive the Vertues and Successe which God hath bestowed upon you, were very hardly to be matcht, and rather needed more* Industry *and Memory to* Enumerate, *then* Oratory *to* Polish.

Heretofore when I read the Histories of the Acts of famous Princes and Warriours, in this or other Nat ions, it was not without some Jealousie, *that in them there was some mixture and glosses of Oratory and Art, the more to set off, and give Lustre to the Acts, as Arguments of Emulation, for others to follow the Foot-steps of their Vertues; but the Actions of your Excellency will adde Lustre and Beliefe to them, being all verified in you: And (indeed) here, considering the swift Martches, and the Ex peditions in these grand and difficult Attempts, which were prosecuted and effected by your Excellency, I may say,* The Almighty came Riding on the Wings of the Wind, *for these were nothing else but the* Magnalia Dei, *acted in and by you his Instrument.*

It was the Custome of the ancient Romans, *after*

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a glorious and ſucceſſull Prince, to derive his Name to Poſterity, in memorie of his Vertues, as after that great Prince JULIUS CÆSAR, *his Succeſſors retained the Name of* CÆSARS, *as* AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, TYBERIUS CÆSAR, *&c. Thus hereafter all Famous and Victorious ſucceeding Generals in this Kingdome (if the time ſhall prove ſo unfortunate) will deſire the addition of the Name of* FAIRFAX.

And ſurely the Honour of the late Lord General was not, whiles he lived, any way eclipſed by the ſucceſſion of your Excellency in his Command, but rather augmented, whiles each retained the brightneſſe of his owne Honour, having both Rayes enough to enlighten a Kingdome, then overſet with Clouds and thick darkneſſe.

I ſhall need to ſay no more but this, That the World will admire *your Excellencies Worth, Poſterity will honour your* Name; *and that the whole Houſe of Commons, in the Name of the Commons of* England, *doth returne you Thanks for your faithfull and memorable Services; the beginning, continuance and effect whereof, I muſt ſolely attribute to the Almighty (the Lord of Hoſts and Victories.)*

But never had *Julius Cæſar* the honor in thoſe *Civil wars* when he came to *Rome* as a *Conquerour*; one poor *Metellus* confronts him and gives check to his Victory, ſweld ſpirit, breaking up the Doors of *Saturnes Temple*: Indeed there is a manifeſt cauſe of difference; *Cæſar* did not plead the

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Senates cause did not fight for the *Roman* Liberties. The *Senate* fled when *Cæsar* drew neare, but his Excellencies Warre was the Parliments *Peace*; by his *Motion* they *sat still.*

Happy man may I say of him that is able to Engage *Kingdomes* and *Parliaments* in such *Respects* and Dutyes, and happy *Kingdome* and *Parliament* also, for whose *Extreame* and low Condition God Reserves such a *chosen* Vessell.

To all which his Excellency made a very modest returne, Expressing, *How much he Esteemed himselfe Honoured by the great Respects of the Houses towards him, and that he accounted it his greatest Happinesse under God to be in the least kind Instrumentall for theirs and the Kingdomes good.*

So great was the benefit and Obligation of his Excellencies Services, that the *Lord Major* and *Aldermen* in their owne and Cities interest, feeling the same, particularly could not *discharge* themselves in their Consciences to acknowledge to their General in their *representive* the Commons of *England*; but on the *Tuesday* following came with a Train of Coaches to his Excellencies house, in the name, and on the behalfe of the City, to render Thanks unto him, by whose *watchfulnesse* this famous City, so much longed for by the Enemy, was preserved from being *sackt* and *plundered*, as well as the Kingdome *recovered*: Master *Glyn* the Recorder was their Mouth, to this effect:

SIR,

I *Am to declare unto you, in the behalf of the* Lord Major, *and the whole City, that they in the first place, blesse Almighty God for the great Victories and Successes wherewith it hath pleased God to Crowne your faithfull Endeavours: And next,*

they

they give your Excellency hearty Thanks for your great and incomparable Services, whereby you have setled the City and whole Kingdome in so peaceable a Condition, as it is at this day.

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To which his Excellency gave a very modest Reply in way of Thankfulnesse for that Visit, and the Respects of the City towards him: And in close, the Recorder further gave his Excellency to understand; *That the City intended very shortly to make a further acknowledgment of their Thankfulnesse, and to give a greater Testimony of the high Esteeem they had of his Excellency.*

And thus I have brought his Excellency to *Towne*, and here I could be glad to leave him, *Pacem te possimus omnes*, but I must carry him *Forth* againe, but 'tis not to *War* nor Battell, 'tis to *discharge* Armies and Souldiers, that *England* may, if it be the Will of God, be a *quiet Habitation* againe, and the noyse of *War* not heard in it. His Excellency had not long staid at *London*, but he was Ordered to provide a *Convoy* to goe with the two hundred thousand pounds for the *Scottish* Army, upon their *martching* out of *England*. His Excellency living more to the Publick Service and Commonalty then his owne *Ease* or Accommodation: On *Thursday Decemb.* 18. went from *London* towards *Northampton*, having before ordered most of his Forces to advance to those parts, and appointed three Regiments of Horse, *viz.* Colonel Sir *Robert Pye's*, Colonel *Grave's* and Colonel *Rossiter's*; and three Regiments of Foot, *viz.* Major-General *Skippon's*, Colonel *Lilburnes*, and Colonel Sir *Hardresse Waller's*, to martch under the command of Major-General *Skippon*, as a *Convoy* to the said *Money* to *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*; a tedious Winter martch, being neer

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neer two hundred miles from the place where some of them received the Money; yet the better to be undergone, when it ends not in *fighting*, as many tedious Martches of this Army have done.

And thus you have an account of six Regiments, how they are disposed, the rest of the Army I leave in their *Quarters*, to practice Saint *John Baptists* Lesson, *Doe violence to no man, and be content with your Wages.*

And would to God I might here set *Finis* to our *English Troubles*, as well as to this *History*: *Times* and *Issues* are in the Hand of *God*; we cannot know what is *to come*, let us look over and *recount* with thankfulnesse what God hath done for us, who for his *Works sake* among us, is glorious in the Eyes of *all Nations*; yea, in the Consciences of our *Enemies*, who cannot but confesse, *our Rock is not as their Rock*; if he be not glorious in *our Eyes*, tis the least can be said, *his Mercies have been ill bestowed upon us.*

It may be expected here, I should conclude with a *Panegyrick* of the *Army*, and a *Paræenetick* to the *Kingdome*, to *Love* and *Honour* them: but me thinks there should be no *need* of that, the *whole Story* proclaimes their *Worth* and *Merit*; their *Name* is *Engraven* by *God* himselfe, as with the Poynt of a *Dyamond*, on the *Gates* and *Wals* of many of our *chiefe* Places; Yea, they have *Sown* a *Name* to themselves in the *Earth*, and *Watered* it with their *Blood* in many places of this Kingdome: and if all those *great Works* God hath done for

for the Kingdome by them, have not yet prevail ed for a *Precious* and honourable *Esteem* of them, *in vaine* should I attempt to be their *Advocate*: Onely I shall take the *Boldnesse* to say (knowing within what *compasse* I speak) that they who think such men not *fit* to *serve* a *State*, they must (undoubtedly) question whether it were *for the Service* of the State, that which they have done; for they who shall acknowledge the *Reducing* the Kingdome to its *Peace*, and to the *Parliaments Obedience*, by *Vanquishing* their Enemies and Strengths, to be *good Service*, must needs acknowledge those that did it to be *good Servants*, and worthy of all Honour and *Acceptation* therein: And they that would perswade otherwise, it is not because they know how to have the State *better served*, but because they think it is *served too well*, and are not so much Enemies to these *particular men*, as to the *Commonwealth*; and were *all* of their mind (which God forbid) should we be served with such as would take our *Money*, and *doe little* for it, that would *spin out* and *protract* the Warre, as these have *contracted* it; that would serve us in *Stewes* and *Tavernes*, and *drink away* the Kingdomes *Cares* and *Sorrowes*, yea the Kingdomes *Blood* in Bouls of *Wine*, and fight with *God* (instead of his *Enemies*) by *Oaths* and *Blasphemies*, and all horrible *Wickednesses*, we were *well served*.

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If such as these be *good* Souldiers and *Servants* to

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a *State*, I confesse this is not the *Guise* of *this Army*: But if *Valour* and *Faithfulnesse*, *Prudence* and *Activity* be the qualifications of *good Souldiers*, these will obtaine a Name among the *First*; or if *tedious Martches* and *vehement Battails*, and *fierce storming* of *impregnable Strengths*, be any *demonstration* of these things, we want them not.

But tis time to *Retreat*; let us be *thankefull* to *God*, and we shall not be *unworthy* to his *Instruments*. I shall only adde a *Character* of the *Army*, that those who have approved themselves so wel in their *Actions* may be better knowne to us in their Spirits and Principles, and then I shall leave them to the *Acceptance* of God, and the Censure of the World.

A

A CHARACTER OF THE ARMY.

First, of the *General* Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX.

I Shall here passe over his Extraction, Education and contract, as having been toucht upon before, and now to begin with him as General, which He began to be in as little a copy and proportion as hath been knowne, setting out with an Army scarce large enough for his title; so as he began as all true naturall growths and encreasings, from seeds and small beginnings, and so grew up more naturally then artificially into compleatnesse, rather by providence then violence, rather by course then wonder; as if God rather then men should make him and his Army grow.

His way of steerage and conduct at first, was amongst men in reputation for Religion, as if the best place he could find for counsel and action was there where God was; and he prospered accordingly, as if Providence would let him see, there is the best *Policy* where there is the best *Piety*.

He wanted one thing, and yet had the more by such a want; and that was a Privado or Favourite of passion, as if providence had intended him for *men*, and therefore would keep him from *man*: Men were rather his *Friends* then his *Favourites*, and his *Judgment* was rather enamoured of men, then his *Affections*; Religion and the *Publick* being the best lines for great men to *live* and *love* by.

He never discovered passions abroad in counsels or actions, what he had at home in himself, he (not others) knew; and this was of advantage, both to what was advised and what was done; for the businesse of War is best managed by peace at home, and those counsels that are least troubled themselves, bring over most trouble to the

Enemy, and the Steersman that sits at Helme, had not need to have the palsie in his hand.

In counsels for action, he was ever ready to let those reasons that had most appearance of God prevaile; as if he had observed *Faith* to be of more successe in these Battailes, then *Reason*.

His carriage in this Warre hath beene constant action, diligence and vigilance, being never lesse in title, then when any thing was to do, as if to be General raised him onely to do more, not to be more then others.

He was not without love, clemency and meeknesse, by which he kept his Army lesse stained in the Blood of his Enemy; but not lesse Victorious; for by this he only drew lesse blood, but more men to him.

In the midst of our *Troubles* in *Religion*, he was thus farre in *Peace*, that he could beare the *different* opinions in their *unity* to the publick, seeing the Work goe on as well as if all had been of one mind, and weighed men (as we hope) by love to God, and to the publick, and by this he kept cleer from dashing against *God* and *good men*, in pretence of *opinion*: and thus the work hath been done with as mueh appearance of God, as hath been seen in many Ages.

He was still for action in Field or Fortification, esteeming nothing unfeasible for God, and for man to doe in Gods strength, if they would up and be doing; and thus his suceesse hath run through a line crosse to that of old Souldiery, of long Sieges and slow approaches; and he hath done all so soon, because he was ever doing.

For his love to Religion, that is a businesse as well of the heart as of the hand, of power as of forme, and we hope he is that to God that he is to others; if we may judge mens pietie by their practice, he is not wanting in Religious duties, in reading, in exercises; but God and not men must commend him in this.

For his personage, he is tall, yet not above just pro-

proportion, yet taller (as ſome ſay) when he is in the Field, then at home, as if Victory were in his ſpirit beforehand, and raiſed him higher then his ordinary ſtature.

His body is not without its infirmities, as of *Rheums* and *Diſtillations*, which ſometimes cauſe an impediment in his ſpeech: Thus Providence pitches him in a Tent, ſomething crazy, in a Body weakned by War and Watchfulneſſe, that he may live humbly, and know himſelf to be but man in the hands of God, and be a man as well of infirmity as of glory.

Thus I have writ him over, I hope, in truth to thoſe that know him, but rather for thoſe that know him not but by Pen or Picture, yet with this clauſe, That what is good in him, we may not know to be his owne, but his that gave him it; even his who is the Author and Finiſher of all our good.

THE Officers of this Army, as you may read, are ſuch, as knew little more of War, then our owne unhappy Warres had taught them, except ſome few, ſo as men could not contribute much to this work: Indeed I may ſay this, they were better chriſtians then ſouldiers, and wiſer in faith then in fighting, and could beleeve a Victory ſooner then contrive it; and yet I think they were as wiſe in the way of Souldiery as the little time and experience they had could make them.

Theſe Officers, many of them with their Souldiery, were much in prayer and reading Scripture, an exerciſe that Souldiers till of late have uſed but little, and thus then went on and proſpered: men conquer better as they are Saints, then Souldiers; and in the countries where they came, they left ſomething of God as well as of *Cæſar* behind them, ſomething of piety as well as Pay.

They were much in Juſtice upon Offenders, that they might be ſtill in ſome degree of Reformation in their

Military ſtate. Armies are too great Bodies to be found in all parts at once.

The Army was (what by example and juſtice) kept in good order, both reſpectively to it ſelfe, and the country: nor was it their pay that pacified them; for had they not had more civility then money, things had not been ſo fairly managed.

They were many of them differing in opinion, yet not in action nor buſineſſe; they all agreed to preſerve the Kingdome; they proſpered more in their unity, then uniformity; and whatever their opinions were, yet they plundered none with them, they betrayed none with them, nor diſobeyed the State with them, and they were more viſibly pious and peaceable in their opinions, then many we call more orthodox.

They were generally conſtant and conſcientious in duties, and by ſuch ſoberneſſe and ſtrictneſſe conquered much upon the vanity and looſneſſe of the Enemy; many of thoſe fought by principle as well as pay, and that made the work goe better on, where it was not made ſo much matter of merchandize as of conſcience: They were little mutinous or diſputing commands; by which peace the Warre was better ended.

There was much amity and unity amongſt the Officers, while they were in action, and in the Field, and no viſible Emulations and Paſſions to break their Ranks, which made the publick fare better. That Boat can goe but ſlowly where the Oares rowe ſeverall wayes; the beſt Expeditions is by things that goe one way.

The Army was faire in their martches to Friends, and mercifull in Battaile and ſucceſſe to Enemies, by which they got ſome love from Enemies, though more from Friends.

This Army went on better by two more wheels of Treaſurers and a Committee; the Treaſurers were men of publick ſpirits to the State and Army, and were uſually ready to preſent ſome pay upon every ſucceſſe, which

which was like wine after work, and cheered up the common spirits to more activity.

The Committee which the House of Commons formed, were men wise, provident, active and faithfull in providing Ammunition, Armes, Recruits of men, cloathes: And that Family must needs thrive that hath good Stewards.

Thus you have a Copy of our Army; we will not say they have no faults, but those they have, we wish rather reformed then read by the World.

A LIST of the Names of the OFFICERS in chiefe of Foot and Horse, the Train of ARTILERY, and other Officers, under the command of His *Excellency* Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX; As Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors and Captaines, &c.

GENERAL OFFICERS.

HIS Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General.
Major General *Skippon*, Major General to the whole Army.
Lieutenan Gen. *Cromwel*, Lieut. Gen. of Horse.
Lieut. Gen. *Hamond*, Lieut. Gen. of the Ordnance.
Commissary-Gen. *Ireton*, Com. Gen. of the Horse.

The TREASURERS *at Warre*, viz.

ALDERMEN.
- Sir *John Wollaston* Knight.
- *Thomas Adams* Esquire.
- *John Warner* Esquire.
- *Thomas Andrewes* Esquire.
- *George Wytham* Esquire.

ESQUIRES.
- *Francis Allien.*
- *Abraham Chambrelan.*
- *John Dethyck.*

Captaine *Blackwel*, Deputy-Treasurer at Warres.

Com-

Commiſ. Gen. *Stane*, Commiſ. Gen. of the Muſters
Major *Watſon* Scoutmaſter Gen. to the Army.
Quartermaſter Gen. *Spencer*, Quartermaſter Gen. of Foot (now Quartermaſter Gen. *Graveſnor.*)
Quarterm. Gen. *Fincher*, Quarterm. Gen. of Horſe

Colonel *Pindar.*
Harcourt Laighton.
Thomas Herbert.
Capt: *Potter*, ſlaine at Naſeby (now Capt: *Vincent Potter*, Eſq;)
} Commiſſioners of Parliament reſiding in the Army.

Captaine *Flemming.*
Captaine *Evelyn.*
} Adjutants Gen. of Horſe.

Lieutenant-Col: *Gray* Adjutant Gen: of the Foot.
Captaine *Deane* comptroller of the Ordnance.
John *Mi's* Eſquire, Judge Advocate.
John Ruſhworth Eſquire, Secretary to the General and Counſel of Warre.
Maſter *Boles* Chaplaine to the Army.
Commiſſary *Orpin*, Commiſſary Gen: of Victuals, (now Commiſſary *Cowling.*)
Capt: *Cooke*, Commiſſary Gen: of Horſe-Proviſions, ſlaine at *Naſeby* (now Commiſſary *Jones.*)
Maſter *Richardſon* Waggon-maſter General.

Doctor *Payne.*
Doctor *Strawhill.* (ſince Dr: *French.*)
} Phyſitians to the Army.

Maſter *Web*, Apothecary to the Army.
Maſter *Winter* Chirurgion to the Generals owne Perſon.

Captaine

Captaine Wykes, Marſhal-General of Foot.
Capt: Rich: Lawrence, Marſhal-Gen: of Horſe.
Mr: Fran: Child, Markmaſter-Gen: of the Horſe.
Maſter Robert Wolſey, Aſſiſtant to the Quartermaſter-Gen: of Foot, (wounded at *Naſeby.*)
M: James Standiſh } Deputies to the commiſſary-
M: Rich: Gerard } Gen: of Muſters.
M: Thomas Wragge } Clerks to the Secretary.
M: William Clarke }
M: Richard Chadwel } Meſſengers to the Army
M: Conſtantine Heath }

For the Foot.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Col.
His owne Company commanded by Capt: Forteſcue, ſince Capt: Aidley.
Lievtenant col: Jackſon.
Major Cook, dyed before Briſtol.
Capt: Gooday, now Maj.
Capt: Boyce.
Capt: Muſket.
Capt: Maneſte (dead) Cap. Wolfe.
Capt: Highfield.
Capt: White.
Capt: Bland, ſince Capt: Leigh.

Major Gen. *Skippon.*
Lieutenant-Col: Frances, ſlaine at Naſeby.
Major Aſhfield, now Lieutenant-colonel.
Capt: Samuel Clark, now Major.
Capt: Streater.
Capt: Harriſon.
Capt: John Clark.
Capt: Bowen.
Capt: Gibbon.
Capt: Cobbet.
Capt: Symonds.

Sir *Hardreſſe Waller*, Col.
Lieutena-col: Cotteſworth ſlain before Oxford, now Lieutenant-col. Salmon.
Major Smith.
Capt: Howard.
Capt: Waade.
Capt: Hill, ſlain before Briſtol, now Capt: Aske.
Capt: Gorges.
Capt: Clark.

Capt.

Capt: Thomas.
Capt: Hodden.

Colonel Hamond.
Lieutenant-col: Ewre.
Major Sanders.
Capt: Disney.
Capt: Chara
Capt: Smith
Capt: Johu Boyce
Capt: John Puckle
Capt: Stratton
Capt: Rolfe.

Colonel Harley
Lieutenant-colonel Pride
Major Cowell
Capt: Goff
Captain Gregson, wounded at Rerkley
Caot: Sampson, wounded at Bridgewater
Capt: Hinder, wounded at Bristol.
Capt: Forgison
Capt: Mason
Capt: Lago.

Colonel Mountague, since colonel Lamberts
Lieutenant-collon. Grimes
Major Kelsey, since Major Rogers
Ca tain Blethen
Captain Nunney
Captain Biscoe.
Captain Rogers.
Capt. Wilks, slain at Basing.
now Capt. Cadwel.
Capt. Thomas Disney.
Capt: Sanders.

Colonel Lloyd, slaine at Taunton, since Colonel Herbert.
Lieutenant-colonel Gray.
Major Read (now Lieutenant-colonel) wounded at Taunton, now Major Waade.
Capt: Wilks, slain at Taunton.
Captain Gettins, dyed in Gloucestershire, now
Capt. Lundy, wounded at Berkley.
Capt. Wigfal, slain at Berkley-castle.
Captain Melvin, wounded at Bristol.
Captain Spooner.
Captain Short.

Colonel Pickering (dyed at Antre) now Colo. Hewsons.
Lieutenant-colon. Hewson (now Colonel.)
Major Jubbs (now Lieutenant-colonel.)
Capt. Axtel (now Major.)
Capt. Husbands (now Capt. Grimes.)
Capt. Jenkens, slain at Faringdon, after Capt. Tomkins, slain at Naseby; now Captain Toppington.

Capt.

Capt: Carter.
Capt: Silverwood.
Capt: Gayle, slain at Bristol
Capt: Price.

Colonel Fortescue.
Lieutenant-colo. Richbell slaine at Taunton.
Lieutenant-col: Dursey slain at Bristol, Lieuten: col: Ingoldsby slaine at Pendennis, now Leutenant-col: Cobbet.
Major Jennings.
Capt: Gettins, now Capt: Farley.
Capt: Fownes, slain at Tiverton.
Capt: Young.
Ca: Gollidge, slain at Taunton
Capt: Whitton.
Capt: Bushell.
Colonel Ingoldesby.
Lieutenant-col: Farringdon (now Lieut: col: Kelsey.
Major Cromwel, slaine at Bristol, since Maj: Ducket
Capt: Henry Ingoldesby.
C: Gibson, now C: Stephens
Capt: Allen.
Cap: Ward slain at Bristol, since Cap: Williams, since Capt: Tho: Ingoldesby.
Capt: Mils.
Ca: Bamfield, now C: Wagshaft.
Capt: Grimes.

For the Traine.

Lieutenant-Gen: Hamond, Lieu: gen: of the Ordnan.
Capt: Deane, Comptroller of the Ordnance.
Master Hugh Peter, Chaplaine to the Traine.
Peter Manteau van Dalem, Engineere-General.
Capt: Hooper, Engineere Extraordinary.
Eval Tercene, chief Engin:
Master Lyon, } Engineers
Mr: Tomlinson }
Master Francis Furin, Master-Gunner of the Field.
Master Matthew Martin, Paymaster to the Traine.

Colonel Rainsborow.
Lieutenant-col: Bowen.
Major Done, slain at Sherburn, Major Crosse slain there, Major Edwards.
C: Crosse, slain at Sherburn
Capt: Edwards.
Capt: Drury.
Capt: Dancer.
Capt: Creamer, wounded at Sherburne.
Capt: Sterne, slaine at Bristol
Colonel Weldon, now Colonel Lilburne.
Lieutenant-col: Kempson.
Major Masters.
Capt: Peckham.
Capt: Fenton.
Capt: Franklin slain at Exeter, now Capt: Holmes.

Capt. Dorman.
Capt. Tolhust.
Capt. Munday, dead in the West, now Capt. Welden
Capt: Kaine.

Master Phips, Commissary of Ammunition.
Mr. Tho. Robinson, Com. of the Draught-Horse.

Firelocks.

Cap. Lieutenant Desborow
Capt. Lieutenant Brent.

Capt: of Pioners.

Captaine Cheese.

For the Horse.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, General
His Troop commanded by Captaine Gladman.
Major Desborow.
Capt. Lawrence.
Capt. Browne.
Capt. Packet
Capt. Berry.

Colonel Butler.
Major Horton.
Capt. Foley.
Capt. Gardner.
Capt. Pennyfether.
Capt. Perry, dead, now Capt. Bethel.

Colonel Tho. Sheffeild.
Major Fincher.
Capt. Robotham.
Capt. Rainsborow
Capt Martin.
Capt. Evelyn.

Col. Fleetwood.
Major Harrison.
Capt. Coleman.
Capt Selby slain at Naseby, now Capt. Laughton.
Capt. Zanchy.
Capt. Howard.

Colonel Rossiter.
Major Twisleton.
Capt. Anthony Markham.
Capt. Jo. Nelthrop.
Capt. Peart.
Capt. Henry Markham.

Lieutenant-Gen. *Cromwel.*
Major Huntington.
Capt. Jenkins.
Capt. Middleton.
Capt. John Reynolds.
Capt. Bush, slain at Naseby, since Capt. Blackwell.

Colonel Rich.
Major Alford.
Capt. Nevil.
Capt. Ireton.
Capt. Dendy, now Capt. Husbands.
Capt. Bough, now Capt. Hawys.

Colonel Sir Robert Pye.
Major Tomlinson.
Capt. Margery.
Capt. Knight.
Capt. Barry.
Capt. Rawlins.

Colonel Whaley.
Maj. Bethel, slain before Bristol.

Capt.

Capt: Swallow, now Major
Capt: Groves.
Capt: Cannon.
Capt: Evanſon.

Colonel Graves.
Major Scroop.
Capt: Fleming (Adjutant-General.)
Capt. Lord Calfield.
Capt: Bragge.
Capt: Barton.

Colonel Ireton, commiſſary General.
Major Sedaſcue.
Capt. Guilliams, ſlaine at Briſtol, ſince capt. Pretty
Capt: Gibbons
Cap: Hoſkins, ſlain at Naſeby, ſince capt: Cecill
Capt: Bury, now cap: Morgan.

His Excellencies Life-Guard

Capt: Doyley, now Capt: Hall.

Dragoones.

Colonel Okey.
Major Moore.
Capt: Farmer.
Capt: Mercer.
Capt: Abbots.
Capt: Farre.
Capt: Bridge.
Capt: Woggan.
Cap: Skirmager
Capt: Turpin, ſince Capt: Neale.

A JOURNAL of every dayes Martch of the ARMY under the command of his Excellency Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX; with the names of the Townes and Villages where the Head Quarters have been; the diſtance of miles, and how many nights the Quarters continued in each Towne or Village.

1645.	*Towns and Villages.*	Counties.	mi.	ni.
April 30	From Windſor to Reding.	*Berkſh:*	12	1
May 1	to Theale		4	1
2	To Newbery		11	2
4	To Andover	*Wiltſh:*	12	1
5	To Salisbury		15	1
6	To Sixpenny Hauley	*Dorſetſh.*	10	1
7	To Blandford		7	1

 8 To

1645.	*Towns and Villages.*	Counties.	mi.	nig
8	To Wichampton.		7	1
	The same day a Party martched West-ward to relieve Taunton.			
9	To Ringwood.	*Hampsh.*	10	1
10	To Rumsey.		14	2
12	To Alresford.		14	1
13	To Whitchurch.		10	1
14	To Nebwury	*Berksh.*	10	3
17	To Blewberry.		10	2
19	To Newnam.	*Oxon.*	9	1
20	To Garsington.		2	2
22	To Marston and the Siege of Oxford.		4	14
June 5	To Mars Gibbon.	*Buckinghamsh.*	9	1
6	To Great Brickhill.		12	1
7	To Sherrington.		8	2
9	To Stony Stretford.		4	2
11	To Wotton.	*Northamptonsh.*	8	1
12	To Killingbury.		4	1
13	To Guilesbury.		6	1
14	To the Battaile at *Naseby*, and from thence to Harborough, *Leicestersh.*		6	1
15	To Kibworth, to great Glin.		7	1
16	To Knighton, and Leicester Siege.		6	2
18	To Leicester.		1½	2
20	To Lutterworth.		10	1
21	To Lillington.	*Warwicksh.*	10½	1
22	To Warwick.		2	1
23	To Clifford.	*Gloucestersh.*	7	1
24	To Campden.		6	1
25	To Norledge.		14	1
26	To Lechlade.		8	1
27	To Wambro.	*Wiltsh.*	7	1
28	To Marlingbury.		7	2
			30	To

1645.	*Towns and Villages.*	Counties,	mil.	nig.
30	To Ambersbury.		14	1
July 1	To Burchalk.		11	1
2	To Blandford.	*Dorsetsh.*	12	1
3	To Dorchester.		12	1
4	To Beamister.		12	1
5	To Crookhorne.	*Somersetsh.*	4	2
7	To Evill.		8	1
8	To Ivelchester.		3	1
9	To Long Sutton.		4	1
10	To the Battaile at Langport, and to Midlesey.		9	1
11	To Weston and Bridgwater siege.		2	15
21	*Bridgwater stormed, part taken.*			
22	*Bridgewater yeelded.*			
26	To Marcock.		13	2
28	To Wels.		15	4
30	Bath *surrendred.*			
Augu. 1	To Queen Cammel		12	1
2	To Sherborne.	*Dorsetsh.*	4	17
15	*Sherborne Castle taken.*			
18	To Castle Carey.	*Somersetsh.*	8	1
19	To Shepton Mallet.		6	1
20	To Bishops Chew.		12	2
22	To Canesham.		5	3
25	To Stableton.	*Gloucestersh.*	4	17
Sept. 10	Bristol *stormed, some of the Works and Line taken.*			
11	To Bristol surrendred.		2	5
15	*Farley Castle surrendred.*	*Somersetsh.*		
16	To Bath.		10	1
17	To Trubridge.	*Wiltsh.*	7	1
18	To Devizes.		7	8
23	*Lacock-House surrendred.* *Vize-castle surrendred.*			
26	*Barckle, the castle taken.*	*Glonceſt.*		

To

1645.	*Towns and Villages.*	Counties,	mil.	nig.
26	To East-Lavington		4	1
	A Party martched towards Winchester *and* Basing-House.			
27	To Warmister.		8	3
Sept. 30	To Shaftsbury.	*Dorsetsh.*	12	2
Octob. 2	To Midleton.		15	1
3	To Dorchester.		8	1
4	To Beamister:		12	2
6	To Chard.	*Somersetsh:*	8	8
14	To Hunniton.	*Devonsh:*	12	1
15	To Cullumpton.		7	2
17	To Tiverton:		4½	3
19	*The Castle of* Tiverton *taken.*			
20	To Silverton.		5	2
22	To Newton Syer.		5	1
23	To Crediton.		3	3
26	To Silverton.		8	1
27	To Topsham.		8	5
Nov. 1	To Poultimore and Broad Cliffe.		5	1.
2	To Wimple.		3	2
4	To Mary Antre.		3	32
Decē. 6	To Tiverton.		12	33
Jan. 8	To Morton.		20	1
9	To Bovy Tracy, took three or four hundred Horse.		6	1
10	To Ashburton.		6	1
11	To Totnes.		5	8
19	To Dartmouth, stormed and taken.		7	2
21	To Totnes.		7	3
24	To Newton Bushel.		7	1
25	To Chidlay.		5	16
	That day Poulderham *Castle taken.*			
Febr. 10	To Crediton.		12	4
14	To Chimleigh.		9	2
16	To Stephenston, master *Roules* his house, that night faced Torrington, and entred.		8	8

24 To

A Table of the Motion and Action of the Army under the Command of His Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, From *April* 15. 1645. To *August* 19. 1646. VVherein is expreſt what Battels were fought, what Places of ſtrength were taken, whether by Storm, or Surrender, the number of Slain, of Priſoners, what Ordnance, Arms, and Colours were taken: The name of the Commander in Chief, the day of the Moneth when, the COUNTY where the ACTION was done.

The Moneth, and Day.	The Yeare.	Battels fought. Places Relieved, Taken, and particul. ingagements	The manner How.	Daies of the ſiege & time in fight	Number of slain or ſiege.	Number of priſoners taken.	Number of Ordnance taken.	Number of Arms.	Number of Colours.	The chief Commander of ours in each deſigne.	Commanders of the Enemies.	The County.	Horſe.
April 15	1645	Rout at Iſlip	By a party of horſe.	2 houres	60	200		400	The qu. & 3 others.	Lieut. Gen. *Cromwel*	Ear. of *Northampton*	Oxfordſhire	500
April 16	1645	Bletchington houſ	By a Party of horſe and dragoons.	4 houres		150		450	3	Lieut. Gen. *Cromwel*	Col. *Windebanke*	Oxfordſhire	72
April 26	1645	neer Farringdon	By a party of horſe.	2 houres	10	40		50	3	Col. *Io. Fiennes*		Berkſhire	150
April 27	1645	Bampton-Buſh	By a party of horſe.	2 houres		230		200		Lieut. Gen. *Cromwel*	Col. Sir *W. Vaughan*	Oxfordſhire	60
May 11	1645	Taunton relieved the firſt time.	By part of the Army.	54	200 ſlain in the ſiege.	200		260		Col. *Welden*	General *Goring*	Somerſetſhire	30
May 22	1645	Oxford foot and horſe Routed.	By a party of horſe.		3	200		200	1	Adjutant *Flemming*	Capt. *Gardiner*	Oxfordſhire	12
May 24	1645	Godſtow-houſe	quitted		2	10		30		General *Fairfax*		Oxfordſhire	6
June 1	1645	Gaunt-houſe	yielded	3	2	82		100		Col. *Rainsborough*		Oxfordſhire	
June 14	1645	Naſeby Battell	fought in	2 houres	800	4500	12 and two Mort-pieces	8000	112	Gen. *Fairfax*	King Charles, Prince Rupert, and Prince Maurice.	Northamptonſhire	200
June 18	1645	Leiceſter town	yielded	3	6		14	2600	8	Gen. *Fairfax*	Lord *Haſtings*	Leiceſterſhire	300
June 27	1645	Highworth garriſ	yielded	3 houres	4	70		180	2	Gen. *Fairfax*	Major *Hen*	Wiltſhire	12
July 3	1645	Taunton	Relieved the ſecond time.	5 week.	1000 of the enemies.	400		400		Gen. *Fairfax*	Lord *Goring*	Somerſetſhire	460
July 8	1645	Ilcheſter garriſon	quit	1				18		Gen. *Fairfax*	Col. *Phelips*	Somerſetſhire	
July	1645	Ilmore Fight	By a party of horſe.	2 houres	50	200		300	9	Major Gen. *Maſſie*	Lord *Goring*	Somerſetſhire	300
July 10	1645	Lampore Battell, Lampore Garriſon.	Fought and quit.	1	60	1600	2	2500	32	Gen. *Fairfax*	Lord *Goring*	Somerſetſhire	1200
July 13	1645	Burrough hil fort	yielded	4	8	151		200		Col. *Okey*		Somerſetſhire	
July 23	1645	Bridgewater	ſtormed	11	30	1600	44	3000	9	Gen. *Fairfax*	Col. *Windham*	Somerſetſhire	200
July 30	1645	Bath City	yielded	1		140	6	400	2	Col. *Rich*	Sir *Thomas Bridges*	Somerſetſhire	11
Auguſt 4	1645	A Club-Army on Hamilton-hill.	routed	1 houre	60	400		600	12	Lieut. Gen. *Cromwel*	Maſter Bravel of Compton.	Dorſetſhire	
Auguſt 15	1645	Sherburne Caſtle	Battell and ſtormed.	16	200 of ours.	340	19	600	2	Gen. *Fairfax*	Sir *Lewis Dives*	Dorſetſhire	30
Auguſt 20	1645	Nunny Caſtle	yielded	2	5			100		Col. *Rainsborough*	Capt. *Turbervile*	Somerſetſhire	
Auguſt 28	1645	Portſhorpoint Fo.	yielded	6	3		6	140	1	Lieut. Col. *Kempſon*		Somerſetſhire	
Septemb. 10	1645	Briſtol City	ſtormed	18	150 of ours.	200	151	[illegible]	9	Gen. *Fairfax*	Prince *Rupert*	Somerſetſhire, and Glouceſterſhire.	20
Septemb. 23	1645	Devizes Caſtle	yielded	7	5		2	400		Gen. *Fairfax*	Sir *Charles Lloyde*	Wiltſhire	
Septemb. 24	1645	Laicock houſe	yielded	2						Col. *Pickering*	Col. *Bovill*	Wiltſhire	
Septemb. 25	1645	Berkley Caſtle	ſtormed	9	40	90	11	500		Col. *Rainsborough*	Sir *Charles Lucas*	Glouceſterſhire	
October 8	1645	Wincheſter Caſtle	yielded	6	4		7	500		Lieut. Gen. *Cromwel*	Lord *Oagle*	Hantſhire	
October 14	1645	Baſing houſe	ſtormed	6	40	300	11	500		Lieut. Gen. *Cromwel*	Marq. of *Wincheſter*	Hantſhire	80
October 18	1645	Langford houſe	yielded	1						Lieut. Gen. *Cromwel*	Sir *Barth. Pell*	Wiltſhire	
October 20	1645	Tiverton caſtle	ſtormed	6	4	200	4	400	2	Gen. *Fairfax*	Sir *Gilbert Talbot*	Devonſhire	20
January 8	1645	Near Barnſtaple, quarters beaten up.	By a party of horſe.			80		100	2	A Captain of the Plimouth Regiment.	Sir *Allen Apſley*	Devonſhire	80
January	1645	Bowe fight	By a party	3 houres		60		100		Sir *Hardreſſe Waller*		Devonſhire	40
January 9	1645	Bovy-Tracy quarters beaten up.	By a party of horſe and foot.		12	60		200	2 one of the K. with Col.	Lieut. Gen. *Cromwel*	Lord *Wentworth*	Devonſhire	350
January 16	1645	Plimouth ſiege raiſed.	By the advance of the Army.			22	5 left in the works.	80		Gen. *Fairfax*	Major General Sir John Digby.	Devonſhire	
January 19	1645	Dartmouth	ſtormed	7	20	800	106	1600	14	Gen. *Fairfax*	Sir *Hugh Pollard*	Devonſhire	60
January 25	1645	Poulderham caſtle	yielded	1			2	300		Col. *Hamond*	Sir *Meredith*	Devonſhire	
February 16	1645	Torrington	ſtormed		60	400	80 barr. of powd. fired	1600	9	Gen *Fairfax*	Lord Hopton, Lord Wentworth, Lord Capell.	Devonſhire	70
February 24	1645	Engagement of horſe near Stratton.	By a party		12	40		250	4	Col. *Butler*	Major Gen. *Web*	Devonſhire	300
February 25	1645	Launceſton	quitted after diſpute.	2 houres	3	160		200		Gen. *Fairfax*		Cornwall	30
February 28	1645	Saltaſh garriſon	quitted				3 left in the works.			Gen. *Fairfax*		Cornwall	
February 29	1645	Liſard Town	quitted				3			Gen. *Fairfax*		Cornwall	
March 3	1645	Mount Edgcomb	yielded				5			Gen. *Fairfax*	Col. *Edgecombe*	Cornwall	
March 3	1645	Foy Town	quitted			60	10	140		Gen. *Fairfax*		Cornwall	
March	1645	Caſtle-Dennis engagement of horſe.	By a party			100		300		Col. *Rich*	Major Gen. *Pert*	Cornwall	300
March 13	1645	S Mawes caſtle	yielded				12	160	2	Gen. *Fairfax*		Cornwall	
March 14	1645	Treaty at Truro	Horſe diſbanded.					2000	22 Colours of horſe.	Gen. *Fairfax*	L. *Hopton*, L. *Wentw.*	Cornwall	4500 diſbanded.
March 16	1645	Exmouth Fort	yielded	46			16			Col. Sir *Har. Waller*	Col. *Arundell*	Devonſhire	
March 16	1645	Dennis Fort	yielded				22	200	2	Gen. *Fairfax*		Cornwall	
April	1646	Corfe caſtle	By ſtratagem and Petard.	48	11		5			Col. *Bingham*	Major *Laurence*	Dorſetſhire	
April 13	1646	Exceſter city	yielded	180	100	40	75	1500		Gen. *Fairfax*	Sir *Iohn Berkley*	Devonſhire	
April 15	1646	S Michaels mount	yielded	15			15	400		Col. *Hamond*	Sir *Arthur Baſſet*	Cornwall	
April 20	1646	Barnſtaple Town, Caſtle, and Fort.	yielded	30	20		35	400		Gen. *Fairfax*	Sir *Allen Apſley*	Devonſhire	
April	1646	Dunſter Caſtle	yielded	150	20		6	200		Col. *Blagge*	Col. *Windham*	Somerſetſhire	
April	1646	Woodſtock gar.	yielded	20	40		2			Col. *Rainsborough*	Capt. *Fawcet*	Oxfordſhire	
May	1646	Salcomb Fort	yielded	50			8			Col. *Welden*	Col. *Forteſcue*	Devonſhire	
May	1646	Banbury Caſtle	yielded		8		9	600	8	Col. *Whaley*	Sir *William Compton*	Oxfordſhire	
May	1646	Radcot Fort	yielded	15	6		2	140		Col. *Saunderſon*	Col. *Palmer*	Berkſhire	
June 10	1646	Borſtall Houſe	yielded	18			5	300		Gen. *Fairfax*	Sir *William Compton*	Buckinghamſhire	
June 24	1646	Oxford City	yielded	55	60		300	2000		Gen. *Fairfax*	The Lords of the privy Councell, and Sir Thomas Glemham.	Oxfordſhire	
June 24	1646	Farringdon houſ.	yielded	55	40		4	500		Sir *Robert Pye*	Sir *William Courtney*	Oxfordſhire	
July 22	1646	Worceſter City	yielded		20		25	1500		Col. *Rainsborough*	Col *Waſhington*	Worceſterſhire	
July 27	1646	Wallingford caſt.	yielded	65	5		7	800	7	Gen. *Fairfax*	Col. *Thomas Blagge*	Berkſhire	
Auguſt 17	1646	Pendennis caſtle	yielded		17		94	860		Col. *Forteſcue*	Col. Arundell, and Sir John Digby.	Cornwall	
Auguſt 19	1646	Ragland caſtle	yielded		20		23	500		Gen. *Fairfax*	Marq. of *Worceſter*	Munmouthſhire	

Place this Table between folio 334. and 335.

1645.	*Townes and Villages.*	Counties.	mi.	ni.
24	To Houlſworthy.		10	1
25	To Launceſton.	*Cornw.*	10	4
March 1	To Bliſland.		16	1
2	To Bodman.		4	5
7	To a Randezvouz at Lanevet, and back to Bodman.		6	2
9	To Tregny.		15	1
10	To Truro.		6	11
	Goring's *Army of Horſe ſurrendred and disbanded.*			
21	To Bodman.		20	5
1646.				
26	To Launceſton (*the General to Plymouth*)		20	2
28	To Okehampton.	*Devonſh:*	15	1
29	To Crediton.		14	2
31	To view the Siege at Exceſter, and to Collumb John.		13	13
Apr. 13	To Exceſter ſurrendred.		4	5
18	To Chard.	*Somerſetſh:*	24	1
19	To Dorcheſter.	*Dorſetſh.*	22	1
20	To Salisbury.	*Wiltſh:*	32	4
25	To Andivor.		15	2
27	To Newbury.	*Berkſh.*	13	3
30	To Eaſt Hendred.		12	1
May 1	To Garſington.	*Oxon:*	9	1
2	To Heddendon.		3	53
June 24	To Oxford, ſurrendred.		1	0

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