

thereby, should be repaired by the authority of Parliament, out of the estates of those persons who had been most active and assistant to the King in that designe.

Sir JOHN by Letters informed the Parliament in what condition the Town was, desiring onely (so it might speedily be done) a supply of Money and Victuals, with five hundred men. Upon which, by command of Parliament, Drums were beat up in *London*, and other adjacent places, for Souldiers to be sent to *Hull* by Sea. The Earl of *Warwick* was desired by the Houses to send two of the King's ships from the *Downs* to *Hull*, to do as Sir JOHN HOTHAM should direct for his best assistance. And Sir JOHN MELDRUM a Scottish Gentleman, an expert and brave Commander, was appointed to assist Sir JOHN in that service.

The King's Army were not confident to carry the Town by plain force, making their approaches with great difficulty and disadvantage, and those for the most part in the night-time, when undiscovered they burnt two Mills about the Town; they therefore had recourse to subtilty; and knowing some within the Walls fit for their purpose, a Plot was therefore laid to fire the town in four places, which whilst the souldiers and inhabitants were busie in quenching, two thousand of the King's Army should assault the walls. The signe to those within the town, when to fire those places, was, when they discerned a fire on *Beverley-Minster*, this should be assurance to them within the town that they without were ready for the assault. But this treason had no successe, being discovered by one of the instruments, and confessed to Sir JOHN HOTHAM. Many particular services were done both by Land and Water, by Barks and Boats upon the River *Humber*.

The town-men of *Hull* were so far provoked by this treacherous designe of their enemies, and so much animated against them, that they all entered into Pay; and now the Walls could not contain them; but five hundred

hundred of the town, conducted by Sir JOHN MELDRUM, issued out, about the end of *July*, upon their besiegers; who seeing their approach, prepared courageously to receive and encounter them: but they were but a small part of the King's Forces which were resolute to fight; the other part, which consisted of the Trained Bands of that Countrey, were not forward to be engaged against their neighbours: the King's Horse, and most resolute assistants, seeing themselves deserted by the Foot, retired as fast as they could to *Beverley*: but Sir JOHN MELDRUM pursued them, slew two, and took thirty prisoners in the pursuit. And not long after, when the supplies from *London* arrived at *Hull*, Sir JOHN MELDRUM, with a greater Force, made so fierce a sally upon his enemies, as caused most of the Leaguer to retire disorderly, one and twenty of them being slain, and fifteen taken prisoners. Sir JOHN MELDRUM following the advantage of his successe with a swift motion, arrived suddenly at a Leaguer-town called *Aulby*, between three and four miles from *Hull*; where the King's magazine was kept in a Barn, in which was a great quantity of Ammunition, Powder, and Fire-balls, and certain Engineers employed there for making of Fire-works: Sir JOHN suddenly set upon it in the night, drove away the Guard, who consisted most of Trained Bands, and other *York-shire* men, bearing no great affection to the War; and therefore ran more speedily away, leaving their Arms behinde them: much of the Ammunition and other Arms they took away with them, fired the Barn, the Powder, and Fire-works, and what else they could not carry with them, and returned safely again into *Hull*.

The King calling a Council of War, and considering the ill successe of his proceedings, and the preciousnesse of that time which he consumed there, by their advice resolved to break up his siege before *Hull*, and march away; the chief men about him laying the

the fault of this failing upon the unskilfulnesse of the Countrey Captains, and cowardice of the Trained Bands. The King probably might have sped better, if Sir JOHN PENINGTON could have brought part of the Navie to his assistance: but that was seized by the Earl of *Warwick*; of which it will be now time to speak more particularly.

The Earl of *Warwick* had in former times been so great a lover of the Sea-service, and so well experienced in those affairs, being besides a man of Courage, of Religious life, and known Fidelity to his Country, that among all the Noble-men at this time, he was esteemed by the Parliament (in this important businesse of settling their *Militia* by Land and Sea) the fittest man to take Command of the Navie as Lord Admiral. According to that, an Ordinance of both Houses was drawn up, to confer the Office on him.

The King had given the employment to Sir JOHN PENINGTON, a man who had long been Vice-Admiral, and a successful Commander; and had written his Letters to the Earl of *Warwick*, with a strict Command to quit the Place. The Earl of *Warwick* was in a great straight between two such high Commands, being gone down to take possession of the Navie, and therefore called a Council of War, acquainting them all both with the Ordinance of Parliament, and the King's Letters. But the Earl himself was swayed in conscience to give obedience rather to the Ordinance of Parliament; and the reason of it himself gives in a Letter directed to a Lord of the House. *When I considered (saith he) the great care which I have seen in the Parliaments of this Kingdom, for the good and safety both of King and Kingdom, and every man's particular in them; and that they are the great Council, by whose authority the Kings of England have ever spoken to their Subjects; I was resolved to continue in this employment, until I shall be revoked by that Authority that hath intrusted me with it.*

Most

Most of the Captains took up unanimously the same resolution that the Earl did, excepting five, which were the Rere-Admiral, Captain FOGGE, Captain BAILY, Captain SLINGSBY, and Captain WAKE, who alleadged that they had the King's Command to obey Sir JOHN PENINGTON, whom he had appointed Admiral in stead of the Earl of *Northumberland*. These five had gotten together round, to make defence against the Earl: but he came to Anchor about them, and having begirt them, summoned them again; upon which three of them came in, and submitted: two onely, Captain SLINGSBY and Captain WAKE stood out. The Earl let flie a Gun over them, and turned up the Glasse upon them, sending his Boat, and most of the Boats in the Fleet, to let them know their danger, if they came not within that space. But so peremptory was their answer, that the Masters and Sailors grew impatient; and although they had no Arms, assaulted them, seized upon those Captains, being armed with their Pistols and swords, strook their Yards and Top-masts, and brought them to the Earl. Thus by the wonderful courage of these unarmed men, the businesse was ended without effusion of any blood, when the Earl was ready to give fire upon them.

Within few days after, another addition of strength was brought to the Earl of *Warwick* by an accident. A great and strong ship of the King's, called *The Lion*, putting to Sea from *Holland*, and bound for *Newcastle*, being much distressed with fowl weather, was driven into the *Downs*. Captain FOXE, who commanded that ship, saluted the Earl of *Warwick*, who presently acquainted the Captain with the Ordinance of Parliament, whereby his Lordship had commanded of those ships, requiring his submission thereunto. The Captain at first refused to yeeld obedience to the Ordinance, and thereupon was presently elapt in hold: but all his Officers in the ship submitted themselves, and

and strook their Sails and Top-yards in token of obedience to the said Ordinance. This ship was very considerable, carrying two and forty great Pieces of brasse Ordnance; besides, a little Vessel laden with Gun-powder of a great value, was taken also together with this ship. The Earl was informed by some of her men, that young Prince RUPERT and Prince MARRICE, with divers other Commanders, intended to have come from *Holland* in this ship, the *Lion*. But after three days and three nights storm at Sea, those two Princes (in a sick and weak condition) landed again in *Holland*.

The King hearing of the surprisal of the *Lion*, sent a Messenger to the Earl of *Warwick*, to demand her again, with all the goods therein, and that she should be brought to *Scarborough*. But the Earl returned an Answer to this effect, that the Parliament had intrusted him with the Care of the Fleet, and that that ship was a part thereof: therefore he humbly besought his Majestie to pardon him; for without their consent he might not part with her; and that he knew of no goods within her belonging to his Majestie.

But leaving the Earl of *Warwick* to his Sea-employments, it is time to return to those warlike Levies and Preparations which were made by Land: for now the fatal time was come, when those long and tedious Paper-conflicts of Declarations, Petitions, and Proclamations, were turned into actual and bloody Wars, and the Pens seconded by drawn swords.

On the twelfth of *July 1642*, the Parliament voted that an Army should be raised for the safety of the King's Person, and defence of the Parliament; for so they called it, desiring to joyn together what seemed to be at so great a distance and enmity.

The Earl of *Essex* was by a great and unanimous consent of both Houses chosen General of that Army, and of all Forces raised for the Parliament; with whom they protested to live and die in that Cause.

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The Earl of *Essex* was a Gentleman of a noble and most untainted reputation, of undoubted loyalty to his Country and Prince; having always (what course soever the Court steered) served in an honourable way, the right Interest of the English Nation, and the Protestant Religion; and to that end had formerly engaged himself in the *Palatine* War, and service of the *Netherland* United Provinces: insomuch as at this time, when they sought a Lord to undertake the high charge of commanding in chief, there seemed to be no choice at all; but we may say of this Election, as PATERCULUS did of another, *Non querendus erat quem eligerent, sed eligendus qui eminebat*.

The Parliament at that time were very able to raise Forces, and arm them well, by reason of the great masse of Money and Plate which to that purpose was heaped up in *Guild-hall*, and daily increased by the free Contribution of those that were well-affected to the Parliament Cause: where not onely the wealthiest Citizens and Gentlemen who were neer-dwellers, brought in their large bags and goblets; but the poorer sort, like that widow in the Gospel, presented their mites also; insomuch that it was a common Jeer of men disaffected to the Cause, to call it the *Thimble and Bodkin-Army*.

The Earl of *Essex* was very careful and industrious in raising of his Army; in which he desired to have as great a Body of Horse as could conveniently be gotten, by reason that he conceived his chief work was to seek out the King's Forces, and prevent their spoiling of the Country, and disarming several Counties, to furnish themselves. And indeed, his Forces, considering the long Peace of *England*, and unreadinesse of Arms, were not onely raised, but well armed in a short time. Many of the Lords who then sat in the House of Peers (besides those Lords who went into divers Counties to settle the *Militia*, and therefore raised Forces for safety of those several Places) lifted themselves in

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the Lord General's Army, and took Commissions as Colonels; the Lord ROBERTS, the Lord SAINT-JOHN eldest son to the Earl of *Bullenbrook*, the Lord of *Rochford* eldest son to the Earl of *Dover*: and many Gentlemen of the House of Commons, of greatest rank and quality there, took Commissions for Horse and Foot-service in that Army; of whom these were some: Sir JOHN MERRICK, who was made Serjeant-Major-General of that Army; the Lord GREY of *Grooby*, son to the Earl of *Stamford*; Master DENZIL HOLLIS, Master HAMDEN, Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, Sir WILLIAM WALLER, Sir SAMUEL LUKE, Sir HENRY CHOLMLY, Master GRANTHAM, Master WHITLOCK, with divers others. The Earl of *Bedford*, within two days after that the Earl of *Essex* was chosen *Generalissimo*, was voted to be General of the Horse.

CHAP.



CHAP. VI.

A brief Relation of the condition of divers Counties in England, when the Parliaments Ordinance for the Militia, and the Kings Commission of Array were put in execution. With a mention of some Lords and others who were actors on either side. The Lord Maior of London committed to the Tower, and sentenced by the Parliament. A mention of some Declarations, Messages, and Answers that passed between the King and the two Houses of Parliament.

DURING the time that this Army was raising for the Parliament, to be conducted by his Excellency in person, the King with small strength as yet, was removing from place to place to gather Forces, and draw people to his side. Of whose proceedings, and by what degrees he increased in power, I shall speak hereafter in a continued Series, to avoid confusion in the Story. But in the mean time, the Parliaments Ordinance of *Militia*, and the King's Commission of *Array*, were juggling together almost in every County: the greatest of the English Nobility on both sides appearing personally, to seize upon those places which were de-

puted to them either by the King or by the Parliament. No Ordinances from the One, or Proclamations from the Other, could now give any further stop to this general and spreading Mischief. God was not pleased that one Chimney should contain this Civil fire; but small sparks of it were daily kindling in every part of the Land.

Let it not therefore seem amisse, if in the first place I make a brief Relation into what posture every particular County, or most of them, had endeavoured to put themselves, during that time, which was since the twelfth of *July*, when the first apparant denouncing of War began, and the General was elected in Parliament; till the three and twentieth of *October*, when it broke out into a fierce and cruel Battel. But let not the Reader expect any full or perfect Narration of this, which would take up too great a time, and prove as tedious as unnecessary. The onely reason why I have entered into it, is to inform the Reader what Lords and Gentlemen did first appear in action on either side, in those particular Counties, that in the progresse of the Story he may be better acquainted with those names, whose Actions proved of so high concernment in the future War. Nor can any perfect Judgement be made of the affections or condition of any one County in this brief Narration of so short a time: for scarce was there any City or Shire, but endured in processe of time many Changes, and became altered from their first condition, either by unconstancy of affections, or else enforced to take a new side, as they were threatned by approaching Armies of either party, when the War grew to a greater height.

In some Counties there was no strugling at all, one side wholly prevailing, and the Peoples affections bending the same way: as it appeared in *Lincolnshire* at the first, (which was the first account given to the Parliament of their *Militia*, and where some circumstances are of that note, as to make it justly deserve a more particular

particular recital then other places). when the Lord *WILLOUGHBY* of *Parham* went down thither, being chosen by the Parliament Lord Lieutenant of that County. This young Lord being come to *Lincoln*, expresseth to the Parliament what cheertul and hearty obedience he found from the Captains and Officers of the Trained Bands, and in how good a posture they were, beyond all expectation; considering the unhappinesse of the Plague being then in the Town, which hindered the appearance of some: but that was fully supplied by a Company of Voluntiers, equal in number and goodnesse of Arms to the Trained Bands. Yet that Change which I spake of before, did afterwards sadly appear in this County, which was afterwards as much divided in it self as any part of *England*; and by that means a most unhappie seat of War, often gained and regained by either side. *Lincolnshire* was then very forward for the Lord *WILLOUGHBY* (however afterward he found some resistance from the Earl of *Lindsey*, who sided with the King) as he wrote up to the Parliament, and sent also to them the King's Letter, and his own Answer: Which are both fit to be inserted into the Story, being the first of that kinde, and much unfolding the nature of the businesse.

The King's Letter to the Lord *WILLOUGHBY*
of *Parham*.

CHARLES REX.

Right Trusty and Welbeloved, We greet you well. Whereas We understand that you have begun to assemble, train and muster the Trained Bands of Our County of *Lincoln*, under pretence of an Ordinance of Parliament whereto We have not given Our consent, which is not onely contrary to the Law, but to Our Command and Pleasure, signified by Our Proclamation sent to Our high Sheriff of that Our County. Wherefore, that you may not hereafter

hereafter plead ignorance of such Our Prohibition, We do by these Our Letters command and charge you, upon your Allegiance, to desist and forbear to raise, train, exercise, or assemble together any part of the Trained Bands of Our County, either by your self, or by any others employed under you, or by warrant from you. And because you may, for what you have already done concerning the Militia of that Our County, plead, that you had not so particular a Command, We shall passe by what you have already done therein, so as presently; upon your receipt hereof, you shall desist and give over meddling any further with any thing concerning the Militia of that Our County. But if you shall not presently desist; and forbear meddling therewith, We are resolved to call you to a strict account for your disobedience therein, after so many particular and legal Commands given you, upon your Allegiance, to the contrary; and shall esteem and proceed against you, as a disturber of the Peace of the Kingdom.

Given at Our Court at York the fourth of
June, 1642.
To Our Right Trusty and Welbeloved, the Lord
Lord WILLOUGHBY of Parham.

The Lord WILLOUGHBY of Parham his Letter,
in Answer to His Majestie:

SIR,

As there can be nothing of greater unhappinesse to me, then to receive a Command from Your Majestie whereunto my endeavours cannot give so readily an obedience as my affections; so I must confesse the difficulty. at this time not a little, how to expresse that Duty which I owe to Your Majesties late Commands, and not falsifie that Trust reposed in me by Your high Court of Parliament; through whose particular directions I am now come into this County to settle the Militia, according to the Ordinance of Parliament, which by the Votes of my Lord LITTLETON, and

and others in the House of Peers, better versed in the Laws then my self, passed as a legal thing; and hath since been confirmed (if I mistake not) by his example, and Your Majesties Chief Justice Sir JOHN BANKS, both in accepting their Ordinance, and nominating their Deputy-Lieutenants: how much further they proceeded, I know not.

But, Sir, if the opinions of those great Lawyers drew me into an act unsutable to Your Majesties liking, I hope the want of years will excuse my want of judgement. And since by the Command of the Parliament, I am now so far engaged in their Service, as the sending out Warrants to summon the County to meet me this day at Lincoln, and afterwards in other places; I do most humbly beseech Your Majestie not to impose that Command on me, which must needs render me false to those that relie on me, and so make me more unhappie then any other misery that can fall upon me.

These things, Sir, I once more humbly beseech Your Majestie may be taken into Your Gracious consideration; and that You would never be pleased to harbour any misconceit of me, or of this Action; since nothing hath yet passed by my Commands here, or ever shall, but what shall tend to the honour and safety of Your Majesties Person, to the preservation of the Peace of Your Kingdoms, and to the content (I hope) of all Your Majesties Subjects in these parts, amongst whom I remain

Your Majesties most humble and
most dutiful Subject and Servant,
FRA. WILLOUGHBY.

Upon the receipt of these Letters, the Lords sent a Message to the House of Commons, in which they expressed how much they did value and approve the endeavours of this Lord, in a service so much importing the safety of this Kingdom, not doubting of their readinesse to concur with them, upon all occasions

ons to manifest the sense they have, and shall retain of his deservings ; which appear the greater , by how much the difficulties (appearing by the circumstances of those Letters) have been greater. The Lords therefore , as they resolved to make his Interest their own , in this Service for the publike good and safety of the Kingdom ; so they desired the Commons to joyn with them in so just and necessary a work. To this the House of Commons consented , and resolved to joyn with the Lords in this Vote , making the like resolution also for the Deputy-Lieutenants for the County of *Lincoln*, and desired the Lords concurrence therein. Upon which it was ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that they agree with the House of Commons for the resolution concerning the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of *Lincoln*.

In *Essex* also , which proved a most unanimous County , and by that means continued in peace and happinesse , the Earl of *Warwick* (whose care and action was not confined onely to the Sea) chosen Lord Lieutenant by the Parliament , when he went down to muster and exercise the Country , was received with great applause. The Trained Bands were not onely compleat , but increased by Voluntiers to unusual numbers ; and so affectionate to that Cause they were in general , that they presented a Petition to the Earl of *Warwick* and the Deputy-Lieutenants, in the name of all the Captains and Lieutenants of the several Companies, and in the name of all persons belonging to the Trained Bands. To which Petition, when it was read in the field , they expressed a full consent by their general acclamations and applause in every Company. The Earl of *Warwick* therefore sent the Petition to the Parliament, to let them see the extraordinary alacrity and affection of that County of *Essex* to them : which was in these words which follow.

To

To the Right Honourable ROBERT Earl of Warwick , Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Essex ; and to the worthy Gentlemen the Deputy-Lieutenants of the same County , confided in by the most Honourable the high Court of Parliament :

“ We the Captains and Lieutenants, with the full consent of the Trained Bands and Voluntiers of the County now assembled , having , before the accessse of this present Parliament , seen our Religion, our Laws and Liberties brought to the brink of ruine and subversion, by the results of most desperate and wicked Counsels , could not but with exceeding joy behold the assembling and continuance of so great and faithful a Councel (the Representative Body of this Kingdom) and with most certain confidence commit thereto all that was dear unto us.

“ And having also seen the late hellish designs and actings of a malignant party in this Kingdom , and the bloody Rebellion in *Ireland*, all working to retard the progresse, or subvert the being of this worthy Parliament, and therein to bereave us of all our hopes of Reformation, or future peace and happinesse to this Church or State ; we cannot but ascribe all glory & praise unto the Lord of lords, & expresse most hearty thankfulness to his blessed Instruments, that great Assembly, for their undaunted resolutions, unparallell'd endeavours, and happy proceedings for the common good. And herein (as not the least means of our safety) for the most necessary and seasonable Ordinance of theirs touching the *Militia*, whereby we are put under the Command and Guidance of so noble a Lord , and such worthy Gentlemen ; whereunto we humbly desire this present day and meeting may be an evidence and pledge of our free and willing obedience.

“ Having intrusted our Religion, our Laws, and all into the hands of that great and most faithful Councel the Parliament , whose care and fidelity we have

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“ so

"so abundantly found, we even bleed to see the heart
 "and actions of our Royal King (contrary to his own
 "Royal expressions) declining from the Counsels of
 "his Parliament, & carried after other Counsels, whom,
 "as the Laws and Constitutions of this Land have not
 "known nor reposed upon; so we (for our own parts)
 "neither will nor dare intrust with our Religion or
 "Laws: and whom, we verily believe, could they
 "prevail against that highest Court, (under God our
 "chiefest Bulwark and Defence) would soon deprive
 "us both of Religion and Law, and (notwithstanding
 "all their specious pretences) reduce us to a condition
 "no lesse miserable then slavish.

"From the deep apprehensions of all which, we do
 "freely and heartily promise and tender our persons
 "and estates to assist and defend (to the uttermost)
 "the high Court of Parliament now assembled, the
 "Members, Power and Priviledges thereof; and
 "therein, his Majesties Person and Authority, and
 "the Kingdoms Peace, (according to our late Prote-
 "station) against all contrary Counsels, Power, or
 "force of Arms whatsoever, which shall be reared up
 "or attempted against them.

"And this our humble Acknowledgement and Re-
 "solution, (which, we doubt not, will be accorded
 "unto by all good Subjects) we humbly desire your
 "Honour and Worships to tender, on our behalf, to
 "that most honourable Assembly of Parliament: for
 "whose happie progresse and successe we shall daily
 "pray.

Subscribed,

J. KITELEY, HENRY FARRE, JOHN BALLEET, JOHN
 FLEMMING, WILLIAM MARSHAM, ROBERT BARRING-
 TON, Captains. THO. HARPER, JOHN WOODCOCK,
 RICH. LAWRENCE, GEORGE COLWEL, THO. CLARK,
 WIMLIAM BURLS, Lieutenants.

The Parliament were very forward to expresse their
 approbation of this most affectionate Declaration of
 the

the *Essex* men, and returned them an Answer; part of
 which was in this manner.

*This just and faithful resolution of theirs to the pub-
 like good, the Lords and Commons do not onely approve,
 but commend; assuring them, that as their endeavours
 have been for the Peace and Happinesse of the King and
 Kingdom; so they will persist in discharge of the great
 and publike Trust which lies upon them; to go thorow
 all difficulties which may oppose the publike Peace and
 Welfare of this Kingdom; and will upon all occasions be
 ready to expresse particularly to those persons, that respect
 which is due to persons from whom they have received
 so great assurance of affection and fidelity.*

In *Kent* there was cheerful obedience (without any
 open opposition) shewed to the Ordinance of the *Mili-
 tia*; as it appeared by their Petition and Proclamation,
 and more by their real and constant actions. True it is,
 that some Gentlemen of that County were not much
 affected to the Parliaments Cause, who did according-
 ly frame a displeasing Petition to the Houses, and
 brought it up to *London*, accompanied with many Gen-
 tlemen of that County: but the Parliament having no-
 tice of it, sent Officers, and disarmed those Gentlemen
 who brought the Petition, before they passed over *Lon-
 don-bridge*: and the two which presented it to the
 House of Commons, Sir WILLIAM BUTLER and M. RI-
 CHARD LOVELACE, were both committed. Those in *Kent*
 who favoured the King's party and Commission of
Array, were not a number considerable enough to
 bring that County into any combustion; the Gentle-
 men which adhered to the Parliament used so great a
 care and industry in settling the *Militia*, in disarming
 those few (but great) Papists among them, in raising
 Arms, and taxing themselves at high rates for the ser-
 vice of the Parliament, that they not onely preserved
 their own County in quiet, but gave great assistance to
 the Parliament-Armies in other places, as will appear
 in the sequel of this Story.

The Eastern end of *Suffex* (it being a long and narrow County lying for many miles upon the Sea) stood firm to the Parliament, and were very industrious in setting of the *Militia*, by which means they were so happy, as to preserve themselves in peace and quietness. But the Western part of that County, by means of many revolted Members of the Parliament, inhabitants there, together with their Allies and friends, was at the first in some distraction, though it continued not very long.

Surrey and *Middlesex*, by fortune of their situation, could not but side with, and by consequence be protected by the Parliament.

The Eastern Counties, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, and *Cambridgeshire*, once the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*, were happily kept from the beginning without any great combustion; though it were certain that many of the chief Gentry in those Counties, bended in their affections to the King's Commission of *Array*: but they were not a part strong enough to engage their Countries in a War: For the Free-holders and Yeomen in general adhered to the Parliament; and those Gentlemen who attempted to raise men, or draw Forces together, or provide Arms for the King, were soon curbed, and all their endeavours crushed at the beginning, by those of the other side; especially by the great wisdom and indefatigable industry of Master *OLIVER CRUMWEL*, a Member of the House of Commons, who had taken a Commission for Colonel of Horse from the Parliament: of whose particular actions, there will be high occasion to discourse hereafter.

The County of *Southampton* began at the first to be divided, and continued so, being long and variously perplexed with the changing fortunes of either side. Colonel *GORING*, eldest son to the Lord *GORING*, who had been, the year before, a means to detect that Conspiracie of bringing the Northern Army against the

the Parliament, (of which already hath been spoken) and by that, grown into some Trust with the Parliament, of which he was a Member, was sent down to *Portsmouth*, to keep that place for them; and three thousand pounds allowed him for the charges of Fortification. He receiving that money from the Parliament, broke his Trust, and kept the Place for the King against them; with what success, shall hereafter be declared. But immediately after his revolt, the Earl of *Portland*, Governour of the Isle of *Wight*, a man suspected by the Parliament, was committed to custody in *London*, for security of his person, lest he should comply with Colonel *GORING*, and command that Island for the King's party. The Government of *Wight* was then committed to the Earl of *Pembrook*, a man of whose fidelity the Parliament doubted not.

Though the Southern and Eastern parts of *England* enjoyed some shew of rest, the Counties more remote from *London*, toward the North and West, could not at all partake of that happiness.

In *Lancashire* the Lord *STRANGE*, son to the Earl of *Derby*, who was made Lord Lieutenant of *Lancashire* and *Cheeshire* by the King, seeking to put the Commission of *Array* in execution, found great resistance from the Parliamentary Gentlemen, Sir *THOMAS STANLEY*, Master *HOLLAND*, Master *HOLCRAFT*, Master *EGERTON*, Master *BOOTH*, as also Master *ASH-TON*, and Master *MOOR*, both Members of the House of Commons; by whom, within the space of few months, he was quite driven out of the County, and that Shire wholly ruled by the Parliament, though it abounded more with Papists than any other.

The Lord *STRANGE* upon the fifteenth day of *July* had made an attempt to gain *Manchester*, and by those Gentlemen was repulsed; where one man was slain; which was the first blood shed in these Civil Wars. But this Lord was not at all fortunate in service against the Parliament; who not long after, returned again with

with a great Force, consisting of three thousand men, to the Town of *Manchester*; where, after he had sharply besieged it for the space of two whole weeks, he was at last quite beaten, with the losse of many of his men.

In *Cheshire* also, the other County of which he was made Lieutenant by the King, his fortune was no better; where he was resisted by Sir WILLIAM BRERETON and other Gentlemen, and hindered from seizing the Magazine of that County, as he intended: Nor could the Earl of *Rivers*, whom the King had put into the Commission of *Array* (being a Papist) assist him sufficiently to make good that County for the King, but that the Papists were all disarmed there by those Protestant Gentlemen that adhered to the Parliament.

Further North, the Countries were more full of variance. The Earl of *Newcastle*, with a strong Garrison, kept for the King the Town of *Newcastle*. And the Earl of *Cumberland*, made Lord-Lieutenant of *Yorkshire* by the King, was active in putting the Commission of *Array* in execution: but resisted they were by the Lord FAIRFAX, and others of the Parliamentary Gentlemen. But this business of the North shall now be passed over, deserving a larger Story hereafter, when time shall require, to speak of the Earl of *Newcastle*'s greatness, and the various fortunes of the Lord FAIRFAX, and his son Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX.

In *Derbyshire*, where many great Lords and Gentlemen inhabited, none at all of note stood for the Parliament, but Sir JOHN GELL and his brother: of whose actions it will be seasonable to speak in another place.

Staffordshire and *Nottinghamshire* were in no lesse combustion.

In *Leicestershire* the troubles were far greater, and early begun by Master HENRY HASTINGS, second son to the Earl of *Huntingdon*, whom the King had made

made Sheriff of that County, and put into the Commission of *Array*; who raised great Forces to seize upon the Magazine of that County. Against whom the Earl of *Stamford* was sent by the Parliament, as Lord Lieutenant, with a considerable strength: who arriving there, did much curb the proceedings of Master HASTINGS, and took possession of the Town of *Leicester*.

Great was the Contention about that time in *Warwickshire*, between the Earl of *Northampton* for the King, and the Lord BROOK for the Parliament, not without sharp encounters, and slaughter on either side. The Earl having seized the Ordnance at *Barbury*, marched with great fury into *Warwickshire*, spoiling the Country as he went, though not without opposition of the people, and the Lord BROOK'S Forces; against whom he could not at all prevail.

The Earl of *Pembrook* had settled the *Militia* in *Wiltshire* with small ado, though it continued not long so. And the Earl of *Holland* in *Berkshire*, being but faintly resisted by the Earl of *Berkshire*, the Lord LOVELACE, and others. For soon after, the Earl of *Berkshire*, together with Sir JOHN CURSON, Sir ROBERT DORMER, and others for the Commission of *Array*, who came to *Watlington* in *Oxfordshire*, to seize the Magazine of that part of the County, which was laid up in that Town, were there taken prisoners, and sent up to the Parliament by Colonel HAMDEN and Colonel GOODWIN, two Members of the House of Commons, and Knights of the Shire for *Buckingham*.

But the further that this Discourse travels Westward, the greater and more remarkable you shall finde such contestations; especially considering the number of Lords and Gentlemen of great rank, and many of them Members of Parliament, who sided with the King against the Parliament, and were therefore afterward voted out of the House. One great Head there was of all those Western Counties, WILLIAM Marquesse

Marquesse of *Hartford*, whom the King, by his Commission of *Array*, had appointed Chief, and made him Lord Lieutenant-General of *Devon*, *Cornwal*, *Somerset*, *Dorset*, *Wilts*, *Southampton*, *Gloucester*, *Berks*, *Oxford*, *Hereford*, and seven Counties within the Principality of *Wales*: who, notwithstanding his high Command, was never able to atchieve any great matter for the King's side; so much were the common people of the West at that time inclined to the Parliament, and so active were those Gentlemen who stood for it; such as were the sons of Sir FRANCIS POPHAM, Master ALEXANDER POPHAM, HUGH, and EDWARD, who were more animated by the example of their aged father; Master STRODE a Deputy-Lieutenant, and others, against all those frequent attempts which the Marquesse made.

Great was the number of considerable men in those Countries, which took part with the Marquesse against the Parliament, and very industrious in their several Stations, to put in execution the Commission of *Array*; as the Lord PAWLET, Sir RALPH HOPTON, and Sir JOHN STOWEL, both Members of the House of Commons, and for that reason put out of the House. Sir RICHARD SLANY in *Cornwal*, another Member, put out also for the same cause; as likewise were Sir EDWARD RODNEY and Master COVENTRY, both Parliament-men, who followed the Marquesse in some of his actions. Sir BEVILE GREENVILE an active man, another Member of Parliament, was very industrious for the *Array*, both in *Cornwal* and *Devon*, joyning himself with the Earl of *Bath*, who came for that purpose to his house at *Tastock* in *Devonshire*, and assisted by many Gentlemen, as Master CULINS, Sheriff of that County, M. BAMFIELD, M. ASHFORD, M. GIFFORD, M. SAINTHIL, Baronet SEYMOUR, and M. COURTNEY; to whose assistance Squire ROGERS came with Forces out of *Dorsetshire*.

Various were the Successes which Marquesse *Hartford*,

ford, assisted by so many of the Gentry, found in his several Enterprises; sometimes prevailing; but more often distressed. In one Skirmish, which about the beginning of *August*, himself, the Lord PAWLET, Sir RALPH HOPTON, Sir JOHN STOWEL, and M. SMITH, another Member of the House of Commons, made against the Deputy-Lieutenants in *Somersetshire*; he prevailed against them, and possessed himself of the Town of *Shepton-Mallet*: Ten men were slain; and many wounded. Going afterwards to *Wells*, he had been besieged by many thousands of the People, who arose against him; but that having timely notice of their coming, he escaped a back-way out of the Town. About which time, the Earl of *Bedford* was sent down by the Parliament against him with three hundred Horse: by whom the Lord Marquesse, the Lord PAWLET, Sir RALPH HOPTON, Colonel LUNSFORD, and many other considerable men, were besieged in *Sherburn*. For great numbers out of the Country came daily to the assistance of the Earl of *Bedford*. Many weeks did that Siege continue; many Sallies were made out, and sharp encounters on both sides performed with great courage: the Parliament side being in firm hope to have taken them at last; which was conceived a thing of great moment, and advantage to their affairs, if they could have possessed the persons of so many men, considerable both in their Fortunes and Valour; and who proved afterwards very strong and cruel enemies. Yet that hope was frustrate: for about the beginning of *October*, they all escaped out of *Sherburn*: the Earl nevertheless pursued after them, and in the Chase took M. PALLART, Sir HENRY, Sir JOHN, and Sir CHARLES BARCLAY prisoners. Within a week after, the Earl of *Bath* was apprehended, and brought up a prisoner to the Parliament.

It cannot be much wondered at, that Division was found in Countrey-Towns and Villages so far remote

from the Parliament, where the people were variously wrought upon by persuasions or fears from either side: when *London* it self, the Seat of that great Council, and chiefest Bulwark of their defence, was not without some taste of these Distractions. Which, besides the actions of some private Citizens, too petty to be here rehearsed, may appear to the Reader in one thing, which cannot be omitted: The Lord Maior of *London* was at this time a prisoner in the Tower, committed by the Parliament.

Sir RICHARD GURNEY, Lord Maior of *London* for that year, was charged by the House of Commons on the seventh of *July*, for being a mover of Sedition in the Kingdom, in causing the King's Proclamation concerning the Commission of *Array* (which was declared by both Houses to be illegal) to be proclaimed in the City. And the Charge being perfected, was sent up to the Lords, desiring that he might forthwith be called to his Answer; which was accordingly granted.

Four days after, while the Lord Maior was attending the Lords House upon this Charge, an additional Impeachment was read against him in the House of Commons, brought in by the Common-Council of *London*, for divers breaches of his Oath in execution of his Office, for proclaiming divers illegal Proclamations, and contemning the Orders of Parliament.

This Impeachment was forthwith sent up, and read in the Lords House. Upon the reading of which, it was ordered that he should be sent to the Tower, from thence to be brought to a legal Trial upon his Impeachment.

Many days, during the space of a whole month, was this Lord Maior brought from the Tower to *Westminster*, to attend the Lords of Parliament, and many times returned back without being heard, by reason of so great a multiplicity of Businesses as the Houses were then in.

At

At last, after some hearings, he was brought, on the twelfth of *August*, to the House of Lords, to receive his Censure: The effect whereof was, that he should be put from his Majorality, never bear Office in the City or Commonwealth, be incapable of all Honour or Dignity to be conferred on him by the King, and stand committed prisoner to the Tower, during the pleasure of both Houses.

During the time of these contentions between the Ordinance of the *Militia* and Commission of *Array*, which is briefly touched by it self; it will not be amisse to return to the King's proceedings in his own Person, by what degrees he came to encrease in strength, and what contestations happened betwixt Himself and the Parliament: wherein, that which concerned the Pen, shall be first briefly touched, and then his other actions. But those Declarations, Petitions, and Proclamations, which upon all occasions were then published, are too many and too long to be recited in a Story: in the Records, and printed Books of Ordinances, they may be read. I shall only mention some of the chief, and excerpt the most material contents of them.

The Parliament, about the end of *July*, had petitioned the King to forbear all preparations of War, and remove his Garisons. To which he gave Answer, and upbraided them with their preparations of War, for appointing the Earl of *Essex* to be their General, and the Earl of *Warwick* Admiral. In that Answer, he descants at large upon particulars, commanding his said Answer and their Petition to be read in all Churches. To which the Parliament reply, as they had done before, that they cannot lay down Arms, nor rejoin the Parliament to any other place, as he would have them, unlesse he leave off those Warlike preparations, and comply with that Council, to which only he ought to adhere, by the Constitution of this Government. They likewise command the Petition,

P p 2

Answer,

Answer, and Reply to be read in all Churches.

But things proceeding still higher, the King, being returned to the City of *York*, from thence sent forth a Proclamation, to suppress (as he there stileth it) the present Rebellion under command of ROBERT Earl of *Essex*; offering withal free pardon to him, and all such as shall within six days after the date thereof, being the ninth of *August*, lay down their Arms. In which Proclamation also he commanded the Marquesse *Hartford* to raise speedily what Forces he could; within all those Counties whereof he had made him Lieutenant-General in the Commission of *Array* (of which before was spoken) and to march against, destroy, or apprehend the said Earl of *Essex*.

The Parliament, upon this Proclamation, make a Declaration, wherein they briefly recount all the King's former proceedings against them and the Kingdom: All which they attribute (after their usual manner) to his wicked Council; and promise still to make him great and happy; if he will return to his great Council.

But the next day after his former Proclamation, the King, continuing still at *York*, sent forth another, declaring that no Papist should serve him in his Army, and that his Souldiers should commit no rapine upon the people. And within two days after that, he published a Discourse, called *A Declaration to all his loving Subjects concerning the proceedings of this present Parliament*. This Declaration was of a great length, containing fifty pages in a large *Quarto*. In which was comprised a kinde of History touching all former passages betwixt himself and them, from the beginning of these divisions: which is to be read in the printed Book of Parliament-Ordinances. Toward the end of that Declaration, he protesteth a wonderful love to Parliaments, and to the peace and happiness of the Kingdom: but he requires that some persons (as disturbers of the publike peace) may be delivered

delivered into the hands of Justice, to be tried by their Peers, naming the Lord of *Kymbolton*, and those five Members of the House of Commons whom before he came to surprize in that House, Master HOLLIS, Sir ARTHUR HASLERIG, M. PYM, M. HAMBDEN, and M. STRODE; as likewise M. HENRY MARTIN and Sir HENRY LUDLOW, two Members also of the House of Commons, for speaking some bold Speeches in that House. He also desires to have delivered up to him Alderman PENINGTON, who succeeded in the Majority to the fore-named Sir RICHARD GURNEY, and Captain VENN, one of the City-Captains: those two last he accuses of bringing tumults from the City, to terrifie the Parliament at *Westminster*. Another desire of the King's is, that Inditements of high Treason upon the Statute of the 23 year of King EDWARD the third, may be drawn against the Earls of *Essex*, *Warwick*, and *Stamford*, the Lord BROOK, Sir JOHN HOTHAM, and Serjeant-Major-General SKIPPON, an expert and religious Souldier, a man of high action in the succeeding War, whom the City had employed in exercising of their *Militia*; as likewise against all those who shall hereafter exercise the *Militia* by vertue of the Ordinance of Parliament.

The Pen was very quick upon all occasions: and the King, the next day after the publication of this long fore-mentioned Declaration, sent a Message to the Parliament, upbraiding both Houses with an Order which they had then made, for the borrowing of an hundred thousand pounds out of that money which the Adventurers had raised for reducing of *Ireland*, and subduing the Rebels there; affirming, that out of his Princely care and piety toward distressed *Ireland*, he cannot but take notice of it; commanding them immediately to retract that mischievous and unjust Order (for so he calls it) as they would answer the contrary to Almighty God, himself, and those that have trusted them: Wherein he expecteth their

their speedie Answer and Obedience; and the rather, that he may thereby be secured, that such part of the four hundred thousand pounds as is or shall be collected from his good Subjects of *England* by vertue of the late Act of Parliament whereby the same is granted, may not likewise (under false pretences) be diverted from the proper use to which it was intended, and misemployed to the disturbance of the Kingdoms peace, in a War against him.

The Lords and Commons in Parliament make Answer to this Message, expressing what caution there was in the very Order (which upon that very occasion was printed) for speedie repayment of that Sum, and disposing of it to the right use. But first they tell the King, that this very Message of his to them, is an high breach of the Priviledge of Parliament: and upon that occasion, they call to remembrance and declare many particulars of their care for the relief of *Ireland*, and the King's hindering of it. Those particulars there expressed, are as followeth. They declare, *that this bloodie Rebellion was first raised by the same Counsels that had before brought two Armies within the bowels of this Kingdom, and two Protestant Nations ready to welter in each others blood, which were both defrayed a long time at the charge of the poor Commons of England, and quietly at last disbanded; by Gods blessing upon the Parliaments endeavours. That this desigine failing, the same wicked Councils who had caused that impious War, raised this barbarous Rebellion in Ireland; and recommended the suppressing thereof (for the better colour) to the Parliaments care: who out of a fellow-feeling of the unspeakable miseries of their Protestant Brethren there, (not suspecting this horrid Plot, now too apparent) did cheerfully undertake that great work, and do really intend and endeavour to settle the Protestant Religion and a permanent Peace in that Realm, to the glory of God, the honour and profit of his Majestie, and security of his three Kingdoms. But how they have been discoura-*

discouraged, retarded, diverted in and from this pious and glorious Work, by those traiterous Counsels about his Majestie, will appear by many particulars.

They there mention the sending over at first of twenty thousand pounds by the Parliament, and that good way found out to reduce *Ireland* by the Adventure of private men, without charging the Subject in general, which would probably have brought in a Million of money, had the King continued in or neer *London*, and not, by leaving his Parliament, and making War upon it, so intimidated and discouraged the Adventurers, and others who would have adventured; that that good Bill is rendered in a manner ineffectual.

They mention, that when at the sole charge of the Adventurers, five thousand Foot and five hundred Horse were designed for the relief of *Munster*, under the command of the Lord *Wharton*, and nothing was wanting but a Commission to enable that Lord for the Service, such was the power of wicked Counsel, that no Commission could be obtained from the King; by reason whereof, *Lynrick* was wholly lost, and the Province of *Munster* since in very great distresse.

That when well-affected persons, at their own charge, by way of Adventure, had prepared twelve Ships, and six Pinnaces, with a thousand Land-forces, for the service of *Ireland*, desiring nothing but a Commission from his Majestie; that Commission, after twice sending to *Tork* for it, and the Ships lying ready to set Sail, three weeks together, at the charge of neer three hundred pounds a day, was likewise denied. And those Adventurers (rather then lose their Expedition) were constrained to go by vertue of an Ordinance of both Houses of Parliament.

That, though the Lords Justices of *Ireland* earnestly desired to have two Pieces of Battery sent over, as necessary for that Service; yet such commands were given to the Officers of the Tower; that none of the

the King's Ordnance must be sent, to save his Kingdom.

That CHARLES FLOYD, Engineer and Quartermaster-General of the Army in *Ireland*, and in actual employment there against the Rebels, was called away from that important Service, by expresse command of the King.

That Captain GREEN, Controller of the Artillery, a man in Pay, and principally employed and trusted hereby the Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland* for providing and ordering the Train of Artillery which was to be sent to *Dublin*, and who had received great sums of money for that purpose, was commanded from that employment and trust, to serve the King in this unnatural War against his Parliament. And when the Parliament had provided six hundred suits of Clothes for present relief of the poor Souldiers in *Ireland*, and sent them towards *Chester*, WILLIAM WHITAKER that undertook the carriage of them, was assaulted by the King's souldiers lying about *Coventry*; who took away the six hundred suits of Clothes, and the poor man, his Waggon and Horses, though they were told that the Clothes were for the souldiers in *Ireland*, and though the poor Carrier was five times with the Earl of *Northampton*, to beg a release of his Waggon.

That three hundred suits of Clothes sent likewise by the Parliament for *Ireland*, with a Chirurgion's Chest of Medicaments, towards *Chester*, were taken all away by the King's Troopers under command of one Captain MIDDLETON, together with the poor Carrier's Horses and Waggon, for the King's service. As likewise, that a great number of Draught-horses prepared by the Parliament for the Artillery and Baggage of the Irish Army, and sent to *Chester* for that purpose, being there, attending a passage, are now required by the King for his present service in *England*; whose forces are so quartered about the Roads to *Ireland*, that no Provision can passe thither by Land with any safety.

That

That

That Captain KETTLEBY and Sir HENRY STRADLING, the Admiral and Vice-Admiral of the Ships appointed to lie upon the coast of *Ireland*, to annoy the Rebels, and to prevent the bringing of Ammunition and relief from forraign parts, are both called away from that employment by the King's command: and by reason of their departure from the coast of *Munster*, to which they were designed, the Rebels there have received Powder, Ammunition, and other relief from forraign parts.

By which particulars (say they) it may seem that those Rebels are countenanced there, upon designe to assist the enemies of the Parliament here: especially considering that those confident Rebels have presumed, very lately, to send a Petition to the King, intituling themselves his Majesties Catholike Subjects of *Ireland*; and complaining of the Puritan Parliament of *England*; and desiring, that since his Majestie comes not thither, according to their expectation, they may come into *England* to his Majestie.

The Parliament therefore, finding what danger both Kingdoms are in, by the designes of cruel enemies, thought fit to provide for the safety of both, by preparing a competent Army for the defence of King and Kingdom. But in regard that the Plate brought in by so many well-affected men, could not be coined so suddenly as the service required; and well knowing that one hundred thousand pounds might for a short time be borrowed out of the Adventurers money for *Ireland*, without any prejudice to the affairs of that Kingdom, whose Subsistence depends upon the Welfare of this; and resolving to make a speedie repayment of that money, made this Order: which that it may appear (say they) to all the world to be neither mischievous, illegal, nor unjust (as the King calls it) the House of Commons thought fit to recite it *in hęc verba*; and in stead of retracting the Order, to repay that money with all possible speed.

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The Order. July 30.

It is this day Ordered by the Commons House of Parliament, That the Treasurers appointed to receive the Moneys come in upon the Subscriptions for Ireland, do forthwith furnish, by way of Loan, unto the Committee of Lords and Commons for the defence of the Kingdom, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, for the supply of the publike necessity, for defence of the King, Parliament, and Kingdom, upon the publike Faith, to be repayed duely and carefully within so short a time, that it shall not be diverted from that purpose for which it was intended, or any way frustrate the Acts already made in the behalf of that Adventure.

During the time of these Paper-conflicts, the King in person had often removed, and visited many places. To the Gentry of *Leicestershire* he made a Speech on the 20 of *July*, after his usual manner, with Protestations of his great love to the people, and care of the Kingdom. And from thence removing Northward, on the fourth of *August* he made a Speech after the same manner to the Gentry of *Yorkshire*; from whence he returned back to *Nottingham*, and there set up his Standard Royal. Very few people resorted to it. Nor had the King at this time a considerable strength to guard his Person, if any attempts had been to have seized upon him. From *Nottingham*, on the 25 of *August*, the King sent a Message to the Parliament by the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorset*, and Sir *JOHN CULPEPER*, one of the Members of the House of Commons, who had deserted the Parliament, and went to the King at *York*; having not long before been made by him Chancellour of the Exchequer.

The

The King's Message to both Houses of Parliament from *Nottingham*, Aug. 25. 1647.

We have with unspeakable grief of heart long beheld the Distractions of this Our Kingdom. Our very Soul is full of Anguish, until We may finde some Remedy to prevent the Miseries which are ready to overwhelm this whole Nation by a Civil War. And though all Our endeavours tending to the composing of those unhappie Differences betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament (though pursued by Us with all Zeal and Sincerity) have been hitherto without that Successe we hoped for; yet such is Our constant and earnest care to preserve the publike Peace, that We shall not be discouraged from using any Expedient, which by the blessing of the God of mercy may lay a firm foundation of Peace and Happinesse to all Our good Subjects. To this end observing that many Mistakes have arisen by the Messages, Petitions and Answers betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament; which haply may be prevented by some other way of Treaty, wherein the matters in difference may be more clearly understood, and more freely transacted: We have thought fit to propound to you, That some fit persons may be by you enabled to treat with the like number to be authorized by Us, in such a manner, and with such freedom of Debate, as may best tend to that happie Conclusion which all good men desire, The Peace of the Kingdom. Wherein, as We promise in the word of a King, all safety and encouragement to such as shall be sent unto Us, if you shall chuse the place where We are for the Treaty, which we wholly leave to you, presuming the like care of the safety of those We shall employ, if you shall name another place: So We assure you and all Our good Subjects, that (to the best of Our understanding) nothing shall be therein wanting on our part, which may advance the true Protestant Religion, oppose Popery and Superstition, secure the Law of the Land (upon which is built as well Our just Prerogative,

tive, as the Propriety and Liberty of the Subject) confirm all just Power and Priviledges of Parliament, and render Us and Our people truely happie, by a true understanding betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament. Bring with you as firm resolutions to do your duty, and let all Our People joyn with Us in Our prayers to Almighty God for his blessing upon this Work.

If this Proposition shall be rejected by you, We have done Our duty so amply, that God will absolve Us from the guilt of any of that blood which must be spilt. And what opinion soever other men may have of Our Power, We assure you, nothing but Our Christian and pious care to prevent the effusion of blood, hath begot this motion; Our provision of Men, Arms and Money being such, as may secure Us from further violence, till it please God to open the eyes of Our People.

The Answer of the Lords and Commons to the King's Message of the 25 of August, 1642.

May it please Your Majestie :

“The Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled having received Your Majesties Message of the 25 of August, do with much grief resent the dangerous and distracted state of this Kingdom, which we have by all means endeavoured to prevent, both by our several Advices and Petitions to Your Majestie, which have been not onely without successe, but there hath followed that, which no evil Counsel in former times hath produced, or any age hath seen, Those several Proclamations and Declarations against both the Houses of Parliament, whereby their Actions are declared Treasonable, and their Persons Traitours; and thereupon Your Majestie hath set up Your Standard against them, whereby you have put the two Houses of Parliament, and in them this whole Kingdom, out of Your Protection: So that until Your Majestie shall recal those Proclamations
“and

“and Declarations whereby the Earl of Essex and both Houses of Parliament, their adherents and assistants, and all such as have obeyed and executed their Commands and Directions, according to their duties, are declared Traitors, or otherwise Delinquents; and until the Standard, set up in pursuance of the said Proclamations, be taken down, Your Majestie hath put us into such a condition, that, whilst we so remain, we cannot by the Fundamental Priviledges of Parliament, the publike Trust reposed in us, or with the general good and safety of this Kingdom, give Your Majestie any other Answer to this Message.

Within few days after, the King sent Instructions under his Privie Signet to his Commissioners of Array for the several Counties of England and Wales; as to Marquesse Hartford, whom the King had made Lieutenant-General of all the Western Counties, as is before expressed; to the Earl of Cumberland, Lord-Lieutenant of York-shire; and the Lord STRANGE, Lieutenant for Lancashire and Cheshire: in which Instructions he commands them to pursue the Earl of Essex, whom he again calls Rebel and Traitour.

Immediately after, the King sent a Reply to that Answer of the Parliament to his last Message of the 25 of August; which being short, that the Reader may the more truely inform himself of the nature of this strange division, I shall wholly insert in the very words.

*We will not repeat what means We have used to prevent the dangerous and distracted estate of the Kingdom, nor how those means have been interpreted, because, being desirous to avoid effusion of blood, We are willing to decline all memory of former Bitternesse, that might make Our offer of a Treaty lesse readily accepted. We never did de-
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clare, nor ever intended to declare both Our Houses of Parliament Traitors, or set up Our Standard against them; and much lesse to put them and this Kingdom out of Our protection: We utterly professe against it before God and the world. And further, to remove all possible Scruples which may hinder the Treaty so much desired by Us; We hereby promise, so that a day be appointed by you for the revoking of your Declarations against all persons as Traitors or otherwise for assisting Us, We shall with all cheerfulness upon the same day recal our Proclamations and Declarations, and take down Our Standard. In which Treaty, We shall be ready to grant any thing that shall be really for the good of Our subjects: conjuring you to consider the bleeding condition of Ireland, and the dangerous condition of England, n as high a degree, as by these Our Offers We have declared Our Self to do: and assuring you, that Our chief desire in the world, is to beget a good understanding and mutual confidence betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament.

To the Kings most Excellent Majestie:

The humble Answer and Petition of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament to the King's last Message.

May it please Your Majestie:

“If we the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled should repeat all the ways we have taken, the endeavours we have used, and the expressions we
“have

“have made unto Your Majestie, to prevent those
“distractions and dangers Your Majestie speaks of, we
“should too much enlarge this Reply: therefore as we
“Humbly, so shall we Onely let Your Majestie know,
“that we cannot recede from our former Answer, for
“the reasons therein expressed: for that Your Maje-
“stie hath not taken down Your Standard, recalled
“Your Proclamations and Declarations whereby You
“have declared the Actions of both Houses of Parlia-
“ment to be Reasonable, and their Persons Traitors:
“And You have published the same since Your Mes-
“sage the 25 of August, by Your late Instructions to
“Your Commissioners of Array. Which Standard
“being taken down, and the Declarations, Proclama-
“tions and Instructions recalled; if Your Majestie
“shall then upon this our humble Petition, leaving
“your Forces, return unto Your Parliament, and re-
“ceive their faithful advice, Your Majestie shall finde
“such expressions of our fidelities and duties, as shall
“assure You that Your Safety, Honour and Greatnesse
“can onely be found in the affections of Your People,
“and the sincere Counsels of Your Parliament, whose
“constant and undiscouraged endeavours and consul-
“tations have passed thorow difficulties unheard of,
“onely to secure Your Kingdoms from the violent
“mischiefs and dangers now ready to fall upon them;
“who deserve better of Your Majestie, and can never
“allow themselves (representing likewise Your whole
“Kingdom) to be balanced with those persons whose
“desperate dispositions and counsels prevail still so to
“interrupt all our endeavours for the relieving of
“bleeding Ireland, as we may fear our labours and vast
“expences will be fruitlesse to that distressed Kingdom.
“As Your Presence is thus humbly desired by us; so it
“is in our hopes that Your Majestie will in Your Rea-
“son believe, There is no other way then this, to make
“Your Majesties Self happie, and Your Kingdoms
“safe.

The

The Parliament, immediately after, published a Declaration, that the Arms which they were enforced to take up for the preservation of the Kingdom, Laws and Liberties, could not be laid down, until the King should withdraw his Protection from such persons as had been voted Delinquents by both Houses, and leave them to the Justice of Parliament.

The King, within few days after, made another Reply to the last Answer of the Parliament. The substance of it was, that he could neither do nor offer any more then he had already: and that he should think himself clear and innocent from any blood that might be spilt in this Quarrel; praying God so to deal with him and his posterity, as he desired to preserve Religion, Law, and Liberty of the Subjects, and Priviledge of Parliament. The Parliament returned Answer, that while the King thinks himself bound in Honour to protect such Delinquents, in whose preservation the Kingdom cannot be safe, nor the Rights of Parliament at all maintained, but must needs fall into utter contempt; they must needs think he hath not done what he can or ought to do. They tell him it is impossible that any reasonable man should believe him to be so tender of bleeding *Ireland*, when at the same time divers of the Irish Traitors, the known favourers of them, and agents for them, are admitted into his Presence with grace and favour, and some of them employed in his service.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PARLIAMENT
OF
England.

The third Booke.

CHAP. I.

Prince RUPERT and Prince MAURICE arrive in England. The Earle of ESSEX taking leave of the Parliament, goeth to his Command. The King increaseth in strength at Shrewsbury. A Skirmish at Worcester. The great Battell of Keynton is fought.



About the beginning of this September Prince RUPERT, second Sonne to FREDERICK Prince Elector Palatine of the *Rhene*, who had long bene detained Prisoner of Warre by the Emperour, and newly released; arrived in England, to offer his Service to the King his Uncle

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in those Warres, which were now visibly begun in this unhappy Kingdome; together with him came his younger Brother Prince MAURICE, an addition rather of Gallantry then strength to the Kings side, being both young and unexperienced Souldiers. Neither indeed, though they were neere in birth to the Crowne of *England*; were they neere enough to adde any security to the King, by purchasing the Peoples hatred to themselves; though that were imagined, and talked of by many, as the cause why they were sent for. Their elder Brother, CHARLES, Prince Elector, might have served more fitly to play that part: But he, having long remained in the Court of *England*, had lately left the King, not above two Moneths before the arrivall of his Brothers; The reasons why he went away were partly expressed by himselfe afterward in a Message, which he sent out of *Holland* to the Houses of Parliament, wherein he professed sorrow for these distractions, and protested that whilest he was in the Court of *England*, he had by all meanes indeavoured to bring the King into a good opinion of his Parliament; acknowledging that his owne interest, and that of the Protestant Religion in *Germany*, did more depend upon the happinesse of the English Parliament, then upon any thing else under God. True it is, that this Prince left not the King, untill he saw the rent betweene him and his Parliament too great to close; and having before been exposed by the King to some probability of envy, as when he attended his Majesty to the House of Commons for surprizall of the five Members; and with him afterwards, when some things unpleasing to the people had been done; he might in likelihood, being of that opinion that he was of this cause, thinke it the wisest way to take a faire leave in time of the King.

These two young Princes arrived in *England*, were soone put into employment and Command under the King

King their Uncle, in which they shewed themselves very forward and active, as will appeare afterward, and if more hot and furious then the tender beginnings of a Civill Warre would seeme to require, it may be imputed to the fervour of their youth, and great desire which they had to ingratiate themselves to the King; upon whom, as being no more then Souldiers of fortune, their hopes of advancement wholly depended.

Prince RUPERT, the elder brother, and most furious of the two, within a fortnight after his arrivall, commanded a small party of those Forces which the King had at that time gathered together, which were not of so great a body as to be termed an Army, with which he marched into divers Counties, to roll himselfe like a snow ball, into a larger bulke, by the accession of Forces in every place: Through divers parts of *Warwick-shire*, *Nottingham-shire*, *Leicester-shire*, *Worcester-shire*, and *Cheshire*, did this young Prince fly with those Troops which he had, not inviting the people so much by faire demeanour (for such was the report to the Houses of Parliament) as compelling them by extreme rigour to follow that side which he had taken. Many Townes and Villages he plundered, which is to say robb'd (for at that time first was the word plunder used in *England*, being borne in *Germany*, when that stately Country was so miserably wasted and pillaged by forraigne Armies) and committed other outrages upon those who stood affected to the Parliament, executing some, and hanging up servants at their Masters doores, for not discovering of their Masters. Upon which newes, the Houses of Parliament fell into a serious debate, and agreed that a Charge of High Treason should be drawne up against him, for indeavouring the destruction of this State, which was voted a great breach of the Kingdoms Lawes, and breach of the priviledge of that great Councill, representing the whole state of it.

Let it not seeme amisse in this place to insert a passage, happening at the same time, which cannot be omitted by reason of the eminence of that person whom it concernes, in the succeeding Warres.

Colonell GORING, who was before spoken of to keepe the Towne of *Portsmouth* against the Parliament, being now no longer able to hold it out, was permitted by Captaine MERRICK, not without allowance from the Earle of *Warwick*, to leave the place, and to be conveyed to the *Brill* in *Holland*, according to his owne desire: This the Parliament were contented with, because the Captaine was necessitated to agree to it, for preservation of that Towne, and many persons therein well affected to the Parliament; for GORING had threatned to destroy the Towne with wilde-fire, if he might not preserve his owne life by a peaceable surrender.

Whilest Prince RUPERT was thus active with a flying Party, the King himselfe was moving with those Forces which he had, but in a gentler and calmer way; for the reverence which the people bare to his Person, made him finde lesse resistance; as windes lose their fury when they meet no opposition; but howsoever, the King desired to go in such a way, as to be taken for a Father of his Country, and a Prince injur'd by the Parliament; professions of love, persuasions, and Protestations of his affection to the people, were the chiefe instruments which he used to raise himselfe a strength, and complaints against the proceedings and actions of the Parliament; as when he was marching toward *Shrewsbury*, where he intended to make his chiefe Rendezvouze, being a place convenient to receive and entertaine such Forces as should come to him out of *Wales*: Which place (as will appeare afterward) failed not his expectation, though it were more then the Parliament could suspect. As he was marching thither with a small Army, he made a Speech betweene *Stafford* and *Wellington*, on

on the 19. of *September*, and caused his Protestation to be then also read in the head of his Army; wherein among other things, he tells them (for their comfort and hope to prevaile) that they should meet no Enemies but Traytors, most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, and Atheists, who would destroy both Church and Common-wealth. And in this Protestation, with deepe vowes, and imprecations upon himselfe and his posterity, he declares his whole care and intentions to be for the maintenance of the Protestant Religion, the Lawes and property of the Subject, together with the Priviledge of Parliament, as he was accustomed to do in his former Speeches.

But the King not many daies before, had taken a more harsh and coercive way; for marching thorow *Derbyshire*, *Leicestershire*, and *Nottinghamshire*, he commanded the Trayned Bands of those Counties to attend and guard his Person; and when they were met, disarmed the greatest part of them, taking as many Armes as served for 2000. men, besides good summes of Money, which, not without some constraint, he borrowed from them.

But to leave the Kings proceedings for a while, it is time to returne to the Lord Generall for the Parliament, and the Army raised under his conduct; which at that time, when Prince RUPERT began to march, was growne to a considerable body, consisting of about 14 thousand Horse and Foot; their generall Rendezvouze was at *Northampton*, where many of the chiefe Commanders, as the Lord BROOKE, Lord ROBERTS, Colonell HAMDEN, and others, stayed with them, expecting the presence of his Excellence, who on the ninth of *September* taking his leave of the Parliament and City of *London*, bent his journey toward *Northampton*, and was waited on by the Trayned Bands, and a great number of armed Gentlemen from *Essex* Houle to the end of the

City with great solemnity. But the love and wishes of the people that did attend him, were farre greater then any outward signification could expresse: To whom he seemed at that time, though going to a Civill Warre, as much an English man, and as true a Patriot, as if he had gone against a forraigne Enemy. Great was the love and honour which the people in generall bore to his Person, in regard of his owne vertue, and honourable demeanour; and much increased by the Memory of his noble Father, the highest example that ever I yet read, of a Favourite both to Prince and people; of whom that was most true, which VELLEIUS PATERCULUS speaks with flattery and fallhood of SEJANUS, *In quo cum iudicio Principis certabant studia populi*, The peoples love strived to match the Prince his judgement. That Cause, wherein the Earle of ESSEX had engaged himselfe, seemed to them religious enough to require their prayers for the successe of it: For the Parliament, though they raised an Army, expressed much humility and reverence to the Kings Person; for not many daies after the departure of the Lord Generall, by consent of both Houses, a Petition to the King was drawne up, to be carried by Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, a Member of the House of Commons, often spoken of before, and at this time a Colonell in the Lord Generals Army. This Petition he carried to Northampton to the Generall, to be by him presented (according to the Parliaments desire) to His Majesty, in a safe and honourable way: In which Petition nothing at all (according to their former Declarations) is charged upon the King himselfe, but only upon his wicked Councell; and the former mis-governments briefly mentioned; and that this wicked Councell have raised an horrid Rebellion and Maffacre in Ireland; and ever since, by opposition against the Parliament, hindered the reliefe of that Kingdom, and at last drawne his Majesty to make a War upon his

his Parliament, leading an Army in Person, to the destruction of his people, depriving his good Subjects of his Majesties protection, and protecting those Traytors against the Justice and Authority of Parliament.

WE the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, have (for these are the words of the Petition) for the just and necessary defence of the Protestant Religion, of your Majesties Person, Crowne, and Dignity, of the Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome, and the Priviledges and power of Parliaments, taken up Armes, appointed and authorized ROBERT Earle of ESSEX, to be Captaine Generall of all the Forces by us raised, to conduct the same against those Rebels and Traytors, to subdue and bring them to condigne punishment: And we do most humbly beseech your Majesty, to withdraw your Royall Presence and Countenance from these wicked persons; and if they shall stand out in defence of their rebellious and unlawfull attempts, that your Majesty will leave them to be suppressed by that Power which we have sent against them; And that your Majesty will not mix your owne dangers with theirs, but in peace and safety, without your Forces, forthwith returne to your Parliament, and by their faithfull advice compose the present distempers and confusions abounding in both your Kingdomes, and provide for the security and honour of your selfe and Royall Posterity, and the prosperous estate of all your Subjects. Wherein if your Majesty please to yeeld to our most humble and earnest desires; We do in the presence of Almighty God professe, That we will receive your Majesty with all Honour, yeeld you all due obedience and subjection, and faithfully indeavour to secure your Person and Estate from all dangers; and to the uttermost of our Power, to procure and establish to your selfe, and to your People, all the blessings of a glorious and happy Reigne.

According

According to this Petition were those Directions from the Parliament to the Lord Generall sent at the same time; wherein the Lord Generall is required by the Houses, to use his utmost indeavour by Battell or otherwise, to rescue the Kings Person, the Persons of the Prince, and Duke of *Yorke*, out of the hands of those desperate persons now about them. Another Direction was, That if his Majesty upon this humble Petition, should be pleased to withdraw himselfe from the persons now about him, and returne to the Parliament, that then the Lord Generall should disband, and should serve and defend his Majesty with a sufficient strength in his returne. Another Direction was, That his Excellency should proclaime pardon to all those who were at that time seduced against their Parliament and Country; if within ten daies after that Proclamation they would returne to their duty, doing no hostile act within the time limited: Provided that this should not extend to admit any man into either Houle of Parliament, who stands suspended, without giving satisfaction to that House whereof he was a Member; and excepting all persons impeached for Delinquency by either House, and those persons who have been eminent Actors in these Treasons, and therefore impeached in Parliament of High Treason; such as were at that time declared, and there named; the Earles of *Bristol*, *Cumberland*, *Newcastle*, and *Rivers*, Secretary *NICHOLAS*, Master *ENDYMION PORTER*, Master *EDWARD HIDE*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earle of *Carnarvan*, Viscount *Newarke*, and Viscount *Fawkland*; These were the persons at that time voted against, and declared Traytors, though afterwards others were added to the number of them, and many of these left out, as occasions altered.

Such Directions, and others for the advantage of the Army, and behoofe of the Countries, thorow which he was to march, were given by the Parliament to

to his Excellency; but above all things to restraine carefully all impieties, prophannesse, and disorders in his Army.

The Generall arriving at *Northampton*, was there possessed of a great and gallant Army, well furnished at all points, consisting of about twenty thousand, with those that within few daies were to come thither: An Army too great to finde resistance at that time from any Forces a foot in *England*; for the Kings side had then small strength: What they had, consisted of Horse, who in small Parties roved up and downe, to make Provision, and force Contribution in severall places. Prince *RUPERT* especially, like a perpetuall motion, with those Horse which he commanded, was in short time heard of at many places of great distance. The care therefore which his Excellency especially tooke, was so to divide his great Army, as to make the severall parts of it usefull, both to annoy the stragling Troops of the Enemy, and protect those Counties that stood affected to the Parliament, as also to possesse himselfe, either in his owne Person, or by his Lieutenants, of such Towns as he thought might be of best import, if this sad War should happen to continue.

From *Northampton* he marched to *Coventry*, to make that considerable City a Garrison for the Parliament; and from thence to *Warwick*; and having fortified that Towne, marched away towards *Worcester*, upon intelligence that the King himselfe intended to come thither with his Forces; for his desire was to finde out the King; and the Parliament, to whom he imparted his designe by Letter, approved well of his advance towards *Worcester*.

The City of *Worcester*, as well as the whole County, had beene in great distractions, by reason not only of the dissenting affections of the Inhabitants, but the frequent invitations from both sides; if we may call that an invitation, which is made by armed force.

Sir JOHN BYRON had first entred *Worcester* for the Kings side, whom Master FIENNES Sonne to the Lord SAY, had opposed for the Parliament; and afterward Prince RUPERT with five hundred Horse, not farre from the City, was encountred by Master FIENNES, who commanded another Body about that number; the skirmish was but small, and not above twelve men slaine, as the report was made at *London*. But before the Lord Generall could arrive at *Worcester*, (who was marching thither from *Warwick*, as was before expressed) there happened a fight there, not to be omitted, in regard of the persons that were there slaine or wounded, though the number of men in generall that fell were small. Prince RUPERT was then at *Worcester* with twelve Troops of Horse, when about that City divers of the Parliaments Forces were, though not joyned in one Body, but disperfed: The Prince marched out of the City into a greene Meadow, and there set his men in Battell Array, to encounter whom he could first light upon. Within halfe a mile of that Field were the Parliament Troops, Colonell SANDYS with his Regiment of Horse, Captaine HALES, and Captaine WINGATE, who made toward the Prince; but their passage was very disadvantageous, as being thorow a narrow Lane, where onely foure of a breast could march: Colonell SANDYS, whose fault was too much courage; charging with his owne Regiment thorow that Lane, too soone, before the rest of the Parliament Forces could come up (for besides the forenamed Captains, HALES and WINGATE, Captaine FIENNES, and Captaine AUSTIN, were not farre off, and marching apace to their assistance) made notwithstanding some slaughter of the Prince his men, and maintained the Fight untill the mentioned Forces approached the place; but then the Prince, the two sides growing into some equality of number, fearing, perchance, to be too long engaged in

in a fight, untill the Lord Generalls Army might approach, some of the fore-runners not being farre off, retreated back into the City of *Worcester*, thorow which he marched away with as much speed as he could, the Parliament Forces following him thorow the Towne, and so over a Bridge, about which some of the Parliament Dragoners were placed, who cut off twenty of the Prince his Troopers, and tooke thirty Prisoners. There were found dead at the place of their first incounter 13. men: There were slaine of the Parliament side of note, Colonell SANDS his Cornet, who first of all fell; and Serjeant Major DOUGLAS; Colonell SANDS himselfe was desperately wounded, of which wounds he died about a Moneth after. It was reported that Colonell WILLMOR, of whom we have spoken before, and who was afterward an eminent Champion on the Kings side, was in this conflict runne thorow the body by Colonell SANDS.

His Excellency immediately after this fight, came to *Worcester* with his Army, where he resolved to quarter a while, as a place convenient to send out Parties upon all occasions, and watch the motion of the Kings Forces. This discourse shall here leave him, and relate the passages of the other Armies.

Prince RUPERT having left *Worcester*, marched with his Troops to *Ludlow*, twenty miles distant thence; and the King with a small Body of Horse, passed into *Wales*, and having made a Speech full of Protestations, to the Inhabitants of *Denbigh* and *Flintshire*, and gained some Parties there, the next day he marched to *Shrewsbury*, where he intended to quarter for a time, as a fit Rendezvouze for those Forces expected from *Wales*, and other neere adjacent parts. To *Shrewsbury* the King caused a Mint to be brought, and there coyned all the Plate which he then had, or was then and soone after presented to him; for many Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, about that time

had furnished the King, not onely with Horses and Armes, but Money and Plate; as the Citizens of London, and other Gentlemen had done to the Parliament, upon their Publike Faith, as is before expressed. It is a wonderfull thing, almost beyond what himselfe could hope, or the Parliament suspect; how much and how suddenly the King grew in strength, in that little time that he quartered at Shrewsbury; The King, within few daies after his coming thither, had in publike, to the Gentry, Freeholders, and other Inhabitants of that County, made an Oration full of perswasive Art, and such winning expressions, as fitted the purpose he had in hand; such as might render him to the thoughts of those people, an injur'd Prince, and move compassionate affections toward him. Which Speech of his, as it was reported and printed in London, I shall here insert.

Gentlemen:

I is some benefit to me, from the insolencies and misfortunes, which have driven me about, that they have brought me to so good a part of my Kingdome; and to so faithfull a part of my People: I hope neither you nor I shall repent my coming hither; I will do my part that you may not; and of you I was confident before I came. The residence of an Army is not usually pleasant to any place; and mine may carry more feare with it, since it may be thought (being robb'd and spoiled of all mine owne, and such terrour used to fright and keep all men from supplying of me) I must onely live upon the aid and reliefe of my people. But be not afraid; I would to God my poore Subjects suffered no more by the insolence and violence of that Army raised against me (though they have made themselves wanton even with plenty) then you shall do by mine; and yet I feare I cannot prevent all disorders; I will do my best: And this I promise you, No man shall be a looser by me, if I can help it. And have sent hither for a Mint; I will melt downe all
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my owne Plate; and expose all my Land to sale or mortgage, that if it be possible, I may bring the least pressure upon you: In the meane time, I have summoned you hither to do that for me and your selves, for the maintenance of your Religion, and the Law of the Land (by which you enjoy all that you have) which other men do against us. Do not suffer so good a Cause to be lost, for want of supplying me with that, which will be taken from you by those who pursue me with this violence. And whilest these ill men sacrifice their Money, Plate, and utmost industry to destroy the Common-wealth; be you no lesse liberrall to preserve it. Assure your selves, if it please God to blesse me with successe, I shall remember the assistance that every particular man here gives me, to his advantage. However, it will hereafter (how furiously soever the minds of men are now possessed) be honour and comfort to you, that with some charge and trouble to your selves, you did your part to support your King, and preserve the Kingdome.

But with such skill had the King managed his affaires there; and so much had fortune crowned his indeavours, that before the middle of October, which was about three weekes after his first comming to Shrewsbury, with an inconsiderable Body of an Army, he was growne to a great strength, consisting of about six thousand Foot, three thousand brave Horse, and almost two thousand Dragoners; And putposing about that time to remove from thence, he issued out Warrants to the Inhabitants of Shrewsbury, and other adjacent Townes and Villages, to send Horses and Catts for his removall.

The King marched a long within the view of Coventry, but not intending to lose any time there in sitting downe before it, unlesse the Towne had been freely surrendered to him: But that was denied; though in a very humble Message, by the Governour of it. Marching on, he came and lay at Southam, when

the Lord Generall *Essex*, was not many miles distant from him. So much was the King now growne in strength, that he was able, at so great a distance, to strike some terrour into the City of *London* in selfe, and provoke their sedulous indeavour for a defence against his feared approach, though the Lord Generall *Essex* with as great an Army, were then abroad to attend his Marches. The Parliament it selfe tooke the businesse into their strict care: For both Houses conceiving that the City was in imminent danger of the Kings Forces, ordered, That the Trayned Bands thereof should be speedily raised for a Guard; That such Fortifications as could suddenly be made, should not be wanting; That a Committee should be appointed to consider of the present setting up Courts of Guard, and raising Works, for planting of Ordnance in speciall places about the City and Suburbs. According to which Order many hundreds of men fell presently to worke, in digging of Trenches, and other Bulwarks. It was Ordered likewise, That the Trayned Bands of *London*, *Middlesex*, and *Surrey*, should be put into a readinesse; And that the close Committee, by help of the Lord Mayor, should with all diligence search out, and secure the persons of all the ill-affected Citizens, or the chiefe of them, that were suspected to be most able, or active, to raise a Party against the Parliament.

Twelve Companies of *London*, were by Order of Parliament sent to *Windsor*, to possesse and secure that Castle; and many Seamen raised to guard the passages of the River *Thames*.

The Parliament about that time considering how much these Civill distractions increased over the whole Kingdome, passed a Vote, That it was and should be lawfull for all Counties in *England* to enter into an Association, for mutuall defence of each other, of their Religion, Lawes, and Liberties. Whereupon, within a short time after, *Buckingham*, *Hartford*, and

and *Nottinghamshire*, began to associate after that manner, raised Forces for the Parliament, and advanced both Plate and Money upon their Propositions.

The danger that seemed to threaten *London* at that time, though distant in place, yet in reason was neerer. For the Kings Army was judged to be neerer to it, then the Lord Generals was; and it was probable enough, that his desires would rather lead him to attempt the City, then to ingage against the Army; and it was thought and spoken by some, that *London* was a place where he had many friends, who upon the approach of such an Army, would appeare for him, and to facilitate his achievements, would fill the City with intestine tumults and seditions. That *London* was the onely place where the Parliament was to be totally suppressed, and his Army enriched to the height of their desires. But others were of opinion, that such an attempt, as it was preposterous, would prove frustrate, and that the City could not be gained, unlesse the Army were first subdued. For besides the consideration, that the supposed Party for the King in *London*, were not in probability of power enough to accomplish his ends, it might be thought they were not so desperately inclined to him, as to throw themselves and estates into such hazard, as must be undergone in the confused rage of a licentious Army. The maine reason against it was, That the Lord Generall *Essex*, with an Army as strong as the Kings, would follow his March neere at hand, and by the help of those Forces which the City of *London* would powre forth upon him, utterly ruine his inclosed Army. But howsoever the counsels were, it pleased God that it was brought to a Battell, to which probably the King might be the more invited by that advantage of the absence of a great part of the Parliaments Army.

This famous Battell, called by some the Battell of *Edgehill*, by others the Battell of *Keynton* (that *Keynton*

Keynton is a little Towne in *Warwickshire*, almost in the mid-way betweene *Stratford upon Avon* and *Banbury*) was fought on a Sunday, being the 23. day of *October*. The King on Saturday the 22. of *October*, came within six miles of *Keynton*, and that night at *Cropredy*, and *Edgecot* lodged his great Army, consisting of about 14000. Foot, and about 4000. Horse and Dragoners; a farre greater number then the Lord Generall *Essex* had together at that time (though his whole Army consisted of more,) for that opportunity the King tooke of the absence of many Regiments of the Parliament. The Lord Generall *Essex* on that Saturday night quartered at *Keynton* with his Army, consisting then but of 12. Regiments, and about 40. Troops of Horse, little in all exceeding the number of 10000. men; the reason why his Forces at that time were no more in number, was, besides that by reason of the suddennesse of his march, and diligence to follow the Kings Army, he had left behinde two Regiments of his Foot, one under the Command of Colonell *HAMDEN*, the other of Colonell *GRANTHAM*, together with 11. Troops of Horse, behinde but one daies March, and left to bring on the Artillery, which was seven Peeces of Canon, with great store of Ammunition, and came not to *Keynton* till the Battell was quite ended; the Lord Generall also had before left for preservation of the Countries thereabout (and whom on such a sudden he could not call together to his Assistance) one Regiment of Foot, and two Troops of Horse, under command of the Earle of *Stamford*, at *Hereford*, that the power of *Wales* might not fall into *Glocestershire*; another Regiment was left at *Worcester*, another at *Coventry*, for the safety of that Towne, and one Regiment occasionally lodged then in *Banbury*.

In *Keynton* the Lord Generall intended to rest Sunday, to expect the residue of his Forces and Artillery, but in the morning the Enemy was discovered not far off,

off, which made him give present order for drawing that Army which he had there into the field; the Kings Forces had gotten the advantage of a very high and steepe aicent, called *Edgehill*, from whence they were discovered that morning; not farre from the foot of that hill, was a broad Champion, called, *The vale of the red Horse*, a name suitable to the colour which that day was to bestow upon it, for there happened the greatest part of the encounter. Into that field the Lord Generall was forced presently to march, making a stand about halfe a mile distant from the foot of *Edgehill*, where he drew his Army into *Battalia*, and saw the Kings Forces descending the Hill, ready for their incounter; that Army at the first having two advantages, of the hill, and of the winde; it was full of skilfull Commanders, and well ordered; their greatest Body of Horse was on the right wing, on the left were some Horse and Dragoners.

The Parliament Army was drawne up, and put into *Battalia* upon a little rising ground in the forenamed Vale, the Foot being, many of them, a good space behind the Horse, when the Charge began. Three Regiments of Horse were on the right wing, the Lord Generals owne Regiment, commanded by Sir *PHILIP STAPLETON*, Sir *WILLIAM BALFORES* Regiment, who was Lieutenant Generall of the Horse; and the Lord *FIELDINGS* Regiment, which stood behinde the other two, in the way of a Reserve; Sir *JOHN MELDRUMS* Brigado had the Van; Colonell *ESSEX* was in the middle; the Lord Generals Regiment, the Lord *BROOKE*, and Colonell *HOLLIS*, were in the Reare; in the left wing were about 20. Troops of Horse, commanded by Sir *JAMES RAMSEY* their Commissary Generall. In this posture they stood, when the other Army advanced toward them, the strength of their Horse being (as aforesaid) on their right wing, opposite to the left wing of the Parliament Army.

The Canon on both sides with a loud thunder began the Fight, in which the successe was not equall, the Parliaments Canon doing great execution upon their Enemies, but theirs very little.

The Earle of *Lindsey*, Generall for the King, with a Pike in his hand, led on the maine Body of that Army, in which was the Kings owne Regiment, incountred by the Lord Generall *Essex*, who exposed himselfe to all the danger that a Battell could make, first leading on his Troope, then his owne Regiment of Foot, and breathing courage into them, till being dissuaded by divers from ingaging himselfe too farre, he returned to the rest of the Army, to draw them on. The chiefe Regiments having begun the Battell, Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, with a brave Troope of Gentlemen (which were the Generals Life Guard, and commanded by him) charged the Kings Regiment on their right flanke within their Pikes, and came off without any great hurt, though those Pikemen stoutly defended themselves, and the Musqueteers being good firemen, played fiercely upon them. The Battell was hot at that place, and so many of the Kings side slaine, that the Parliament Army began to be victorious there; they tooke the Standard Royall, the bearer thereof Sir EDMUND VARNEY, being slaine, and the Generall the Earle of *Lindsey* fore wounded, was taken Prisoner. But the same fortune was not in every part; for the Kings right wing, led by Prince RUPERT, charged fiercely upon the left wing of the other (consisting most of Horse) and prevailed altogether, for the Parliament Troops ranne almost all away in that Wing, and many of their Foot Companies, dismayed with their flight, fled all away, before they had stood one Charge; Colonell ESSEX being utterly forsaken by that whole Brigade which he commanded, went himselfe into the Van, where he performed excellent service, both by direction and execution, till at the last

last he was shot, in the thigh, of which he shortly after died; (some part of their disheartning was caused by the revolt of their owne side; for Sir FAITHFULL FORTESCUE, at the beginning of the Fight, instead of charging the Enemy, discharged his Pistoll to the ground, and with his Troope, wheeling about, ranne to the Kings Army, to whom he had formerly given notice thereof by his Cornet.) The Parliament Army had undoubtedly, been ruined that day, and an absolute Victory gained on the Kings side, if Prince RUPERT, and his pursuing Troops had been more temperate in plundering so untimely as they did, and had wheeled about to assist their distressed friends in other parts of the Army; for Prince RUPERT followed the chase to *Keynton* Towne, where the Carriages of the Army were, which they presently pillaged, using great cruelty, as was afterward related, to the unarmed Waggoners, and labouring men; A great number of the flying Parliament Souldiers were slaine in that Chase, which lasted two miles beyond *Keynton*; and so far, till the Pursuers were forced to retire, having met with Colonell HAMB DEN, who marched with the other Brigado of the Army, that brought on the Artillery and Ammunition, before spoken of, Colonell HAMB DEN discharged five Peeces of Canon against them, some were slaine, and the rest ceasing the pursuit, retired hastily to the field; where they found all their Infantry, excepting two Regiments, quite defeated; for in the meane time, Sir WILLIAM BALFORE, Lieutenant Generall of the Horse, with a Regiment of Horse, charged a Regiment of the Kings Foot, before any Foot of his owne side could come up to him, and breaking most bravely into it, had cut most of them off; and afterward, by the assistance of some Foot, who were come up to him; he defeated another Regiment, and so got up to the greatest part of the Kings Ordinance, taking some of them, cutting

off the Geeres of the Horses that drew them, and killing the Gunners, but was inforced to leave them without any Guard, by reason that he laboured most to make good the day against severall Regiments of the Kings Foot, who still fought with much resolution, especially that which was of the Kings Guard, where his Standard was; by which Sir WILLIAM BALFORES Regiment rode, when they came back from taking the Ordnance, and were by them mistaken for their owne side, passing without any Hostility, was the cause, that immediately afterward, Sir WILLIAM riding up toward the Lord Generall ESSEX his Regiment of Horse, they gave fire upon Sir WILLIAM BALFORES men, supposing them to be Enemies, but soone discovering each other, they joynd Companies, and were led up with halfe the Lord Generals Regiment, by his Excellency himselfe, against the Kings maine strength, where a terrible and bloody incounter happened: At the same time Colonell BALLARD, who led a Brigado there of the Lord Generals Regiment, and the Lord BROOKS his, forced a stand of the Kings Pikes, and brooke thorow two of his Regiments.

In this great conflict the Standard Royall (as aforesaid) was taken, and Sir EDMUND VARNEY slaine, the Earle of *Lindsey*, with his Sonne, taken Prisoners, together with Colonell VAVASOR, Lieutenant Colonell of that Regiment, Colonell MUNROE also was there slaine.

The Standard thus taken, and put into the Lord Generals hand, was by him delivered to his Secretary Master CHAMBERS; but the Secretary, after he had carried it some time in his hand, suffered it to be taken from him by an unknowne person, and so privately it was conveyed away. There also was great service performed by the Lord GRAY, Sonne to the Earle of *Stanford*, and Sir ARTHUR HASLERIG, and a considerable help given to the turning of the day,

day, by defeating a Regiment of the Kings, called the blew Regiment.

By this time all the Kings Foot, excepting two Regiments, were dispersed, and the Parliamentarians had gotten the advantage of the winde, and that ground which their Enemies had fought upon. Those two Regiments of the Kings, retiring themselves, and finding their Ordnance behind them without any guard, tooke stand there, and made use of their Canon, discharging many shot against their Enemies. But at that time the Parliament Foot began to want powder, otherwise (as was observed by a Commander in that Army) they had charged them both with Horse and Foot; which in all probability would have utterly ruined the Kings Infantry, consisting in a manner but of two Regiments.

Thus the Parliament Army, partly for want of Ammunition, and partly being tired with so long a fight (for the whole brunt of the Battell had been sustained by two Regiments of their Horse, and foure or five of their Foot) made no great haste to charge any more.

The Kings Horse, who had been long pillaging about *Keynton*, by this time had leisure to come about on both hands, and joyne themselves to their Foot; but as they came back on the left hand of their Enemies, Sir R. PHILIP STAPLETON with his Horse, gave them a terrible Charge, which they were not long able to indure, but finding a gap in an hedge, got from him upon the Spurre as fast as they could, to the rest of their broken Troops, and so at last joynd with their Foot that stood by the Ordnance. And now on both sides the Horse were gathered to their own Foot, and so stood together both Horse and Foot, one against another, till it was night.

The Parliament Army being wholly possessed of the ground which their Enemies had cholen to fight upon, stood upon it all night, and in the morning

returned to a warmer place neere *Keynton*, where they had quartered the night before; for they were much pinched with cold, and the whole Army in extreme want of Victuals.

The Kings Army had withdrawne to the top of the hill, for their more security, where they made great fires all the night long.

About nine of the clock the next morning the Parliament Army drew out againe into Battalia, and so stood about three houres, untill the other Army was quite gone from the hill, and then they withdrew themselves into their Quarter towards *Keynton*, and to their other Brigado, Artillery, and Ammunition, which being commanded by Colonell *HAMBEDEN* and Colonell *GRANTHAM* (as aforesaid) was now come to *Keynton*, and lodged there. The King had drawne out his Horse upon the further side of the hill, where he stayed till toward night, whilest his Foot were retiring behinde the Hill, and marching away. A little before night, his Horse also withdrew themselves; and about an houre after, the Parliament Horse marched quite away, and went with the rest of the Army to *Warwick* to refresh themselves.

That going to *Warwick* was thought by a noble Gentleman of the Parliament side to be ill designed, For (saith he) had the Army, instead of going to *Warwick*, marched toward *Banbury*, we should have found more Victuals; and had, in probability, dispersed all the Foot of the Kings Army, taken his Canons and Carriages, and sent his Horse farther off, whereas now, because we did not follow them, though they quitted the field whereon they fought, and left their Quarter before us, yet they began soone after to question who had the day. Howsoever it were, true it is, that the King, no lesse then the Parliament, pretended to be victorious in that Battell; and so farre ascribed the Victory to his owne side, that a Prayer of thanksgiving to God was made at *Oxford* for

for it. A thanksgiving was also on the Parliament side for the Victory of that day. And it is certaine, that there were many markes of Victory on both Armies, Colours and Canon were taken on both sides, without any great difference of the number of them. And though in Speeches made afterwards by either Party, and Bookes printed, there is no consent at all concerning the number of men slain, but so great a discrepancy, as it is almost a shame to insert into an History; yet surely by the best account there were more slaine on the Kings side, then on the other; Those of quality that were lost on both Parties, were of the Kings, the Earle of *Lindsey*, Lord Generall of his Army, the Lord *AUBIGNY*, brother to the Duke of *Lenox*, Sir *EDWARD VARNEY* Standard-Bearer, Colonell Sir *EDMUND MONROY*, a Scottish Gentleman, and Colonell *LUNSFORD* his Brother, with other Gentlemen and Commanders, besides Common Souldiers, whose number (as is before said) would not be agreed upon; yet I have heard, that the Country people thereabouts, by burying of the naked bodies, found the number to be about six thousand that fell on both sides, besides those which died afterwards of their wounds. There were taken Prisoners of the Kings side, the Lord *WILLOUGHBY*, Sonne and Heire to the Earle of *Lindsey*, Colonell *VAVASOR*, Colonell *LUNSFORD*, Sir *EDWARD STRADLING*, with others of lesse note; a George, the Badge of a Knight of the Garter, was found in the field by a Common Souldier (besides that which the Lord Generall *Lindsey* wore, and had about his neck when he was slaine) and bought of him by a Captaine, which was sent up to the Parliament, there viewed, and restored againe to the Captaine.

On the Parliament side were slaine onely these of marke and quality, the Lord *St. JOHN*, eldest Sonne to the Earle of *BULLENBROOKE*, Colonell *CHARLES ESSEX*, and Lieutenant Colonell *RAMSEY*,

SEY; and none of any great note taken Prisoners. The Battell was fought with great courage on both sides; both by the Generals and other Commanders, besides some particular Regiments of Souldiers, who were observed to performe their parts with great courage and bravery; such as Colonell HOLLIS his Regiment of Redcoats, and others, too many to be all named in a short Discourse.

It could not but fall into the observation of many men; that the yeare before, upon the same day of the Moneth; namely, the 23. of *October*, that this famous Battell of *Keynton* was fought, the bloody Rebellion of the Irish broke out; with that inhumane Massacre of the English Protestants in that Kingdom, where the English by their owne losse and bleeding, were sadly put in minde; that they had too long deferred the revenge of their butchered Brethren in *Ireland*.

It was likewise observed by many men of the Parliament side (who seemed to make no question but that the Victory was on their side, as a further blessing of God to the Protestant Cause) that on the very same day that this Battell was wonne in *England*, the Swedes obtained a very great and notable Victory against the Imperialists, and those of the Roman Religion in *Germany*.

But the King, supposing himselfe victorious at *Keynton* field; immediately published a Declaration, *To all his loving Subjects* (for so it is stiled) *after his Victory against the Rebels*. Wherein, though the expostulation be very bitter, yet he indeavoureth that it should not seeme to be made against the Parliament itselfe; but against some of them, whom he termeth malignant, malicious, with such like Epithites, as have laboured to lay aspersions upon him of things, whereof he professeth himselfe altogether innocent. Those aspersions he makes of two sorts, the first is, concerning his favouring of Popery, and imploing

Papists

Papists in his Army; the second, of raising that Army against the Parliament. Both which he labours to wipe off, with a recrimination against the Parliament. For the first, after a great Protestation of the truth of his Religion, and his past, present, and future care for the better establishing of it in his Dominions, with the extirpation of Popery; though he cannot but acknowledge, that some eminent men of that Religion are armed in his Service, which he thinks excusable in so great a necessity and danger as he was in; yet he tells the Parliament, That in their Army there are more Papists Commanders and others then in his.

For the second, That he leavyed his Army against the Parliament. He seemeth to hope, That none of his good Subjects will beleve it; unlesse they will beleve, that a dozen or twenty factious and seditious persons be the high Court of Parliament, which consists of King, Lords and Commons. For the Priviledges of Parliament, he averres, That whosoever will not beleve the raising of an Army to kill their King; To alter the Government and Lawes by extravagant Votes of either or both Houses; To force the Members to submit to their Faction, and take away freedome of consultation from them, to be the Priviledge, of Parliament; must confesse, That the Army now raised by the King, is no lesse for the vindication and preservation of Parliaments, then for his owne necessary defence.

The King chargeth them likewise with uncharity, That they have indeavoured to raise an implacable hatred betweene the Gentry and Commonalty of the Kingdome, by rendring all persons of Honour odious to the Common People under the stile of Cavaliers; and to perswade the people, that there was an intention by the Commission of Array, to take away a part of their Estates from them. Which he denyes, and concludes with Protestations to the contrary.

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The Parliament returned answer to this Declaration, but not as being the Kings (according to their oft mentioned custome) but coming from wicked and malicious contrivers of falshood and scandals, Who (say they) to our unspeakable sorrowes, have gained so much power with his Majesty, as to vent the same under the Title of his owne Royall Name.

For the first objection; They do not affirme that the King favours Popery himselfe, but justifie that things have been carried in the favour of it by some about him, according to the particular instances in many of their former Declarations. They seeme to be amazed at the strange boldnesse of the Contrivers of that Declaration, in averring that there are more Papists in their Army, then in the Kings; whereas they cannot, or at least, do not name any one, which they desire may be done, if there be any such, that the Parliament may know how to displace them. But the Parliament in their Answer name many of greatest ranke and quality, of that Religion in the Kings Army, who have raised him in some Counties the most considerable Forces which he hath; and many Commissions granted by himselfe to Papists, acknowledged so. That it were senselesse to thinke that any Papists favoured the Parliaments Cause at all; whereas it is certaine, that there are none of that Religion, but are either openly or secretly assistant to that cause which the King hath taken.

For the second objection; That the Kings Forces are not leavyed against the Parliament it selfe, but a few seditious persons. *They thinke it an impossible thing, that twelve or twenty such persons (as they are termed) should have power to compell the rest of that Body to submit to their Faction, and to have their freedome of consultation taken from them.*

The truth is (say they) not a few persons, but the Parliament it selfe, is the thorne that lyes in these mens sides;

sides; which heretofore, when it was wont to prick them, was with much ease, by a sudden dissolution, pulled out; But now that it is more deeply fastened by an Act of continuance, they would force it out by the power of an Army.

That whosoever will read the Speeches and Declarations made upon the breaking up of all former Parliaments, ever since the beginning of this Kings Reigne, will finde the pretences of those unjust dissolutions, to be grounded upon exceptions against particular Members; under the name of a few factious and seditious persons; so that the aspersing and wounding of the Parliament thorow the sides of a few Members, is no new invention.

But (say they) those former Declarations in the Kings name, being groundlesse invectives, not against particular Members, but against the Votes and Proceedings of both Houses; and declaring the Earle of Essex, Generall of the Forces raised by them, to be a Traytor; and that all those which assist him, thereby comprehending both Houses of Parliament, by whose Command and Authority he bears that place, to be Rebels; and guilty of High Treason, is argument sufficient (no groundlesse accusation) to prove the Kings Army to be raised against the Parliament, or to take away the Priviledges thereof.


Those Priviledges of Parliament, consisting in three things: 1. As they are a Councell to advise. 2. A Court to judge. 3. A representative body of the Realme, to make, repeal, or alter Lawes. These Priviledges have (say they) during the sitting of this Parliament, been all appatently broken, to the view of all men, by the Kings wicked Councell. Their advice scarce at all hearkened unto by the King, but other counsels of unknowne persons preferred before them. For the second, as a Court to judge; The Delinquents, so pronounced by the Parliament, have bin protected by the King against them; of which they give many particular instances. Touching the third, for making Lawes; They instance his refusall of many

wholsome Bills for Church and State, besides the breaking of their Priviledges, they produce some attempts utterly to subvert them, as the forementioned indeavour of bringing up the Northerne Army, to force Conditions upon the Parliament; the Kings Letters and Commands to Members of both Houses to attend him at *Yorke*, leaving their true and legall station; which when they obeyed, it was scandalously alleadged that they were driven away.

For any violence intended to the Kings Person, as they utterly deny it, so they referre it to indifferent men to judge, by all their long sufferings, and humble Petitions to him, to avoid those indangerings of his Person. But for that imputation layed upon them, of an indeavour to raise an implacable malice and hatred betweene the Gentry and Commonalty of the Kingdome; They conceive it a Charge of a strange nature, that they should indeavour to raise the hatred of the Commonalty against themselves. For so it must follow, unlesse the Contrivers of that Declaration will deny the Parliament to be Gentlemen. But though we know (say they) well, there are too many of the Gentry of this Kingdome, who, to satisfie the lusts of their owne ambition, are content to sell their birth-right, to render themselves and their posterity to perpetuall slavery, and to submit themselves to any arbitrary and unlimited power of Government, so they may for their owne time partake of that power, to trample and insult over others; Yet we are certaine that there are many true hearted Gentlemen, who are ready to lay downe their lives and fortunes (and of late have given ample testimony thereof) for maintenance of their Lawes, Liberties, and Religion, with whom, and others of their resolution, we shall be ready to live and dye.

Lastly, they prove by particular instances, that in the Kings Commission of Array, there is not onely an intention to take away part of mens Estates, but that it hath been put into reall execution; with many other

other things in justification of all their proceedings and Declarations; which may be read more at large in the Records. This was the effect of that verball Skirmish, which immediately followed the great and bloody Battell of *Keynton*.

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The Parliament send to the King, concerning an Accommodation. A fight at Branford.

Another Treaty with the King begun, and broken off. Reading besieged by the Lord Generall Essex, and surrendered to him.

A Conspiracy to betray Bristoll. A treacherous Plot against the Parliament and City of London, discovered and prevented.



At the famous Battell of *Edgehill*, the great cause of English Liberty, (with a vast expence of blood and Treasure) was tryed, but not decided; which did therefore prove unhappy, even to that side, which seemed victorious, the Parliament Army.

For though the Kings Forces were much broken by it, yet his strength grew accidentally greater; and more formidable then before; to whom it proved a kinde of victory, not to be easily or totally overthrowne.

For the greatest Gentlemen of divers Counties began then to consider of the King, as one that in possibility might prove a Conquerour against the Parliament; and many of them, who before as Neuters had stood at gaze, in hope that one quick blow

might create the doubt, and save them the danger of declaring themselves, came now in, and readily adhered to that side, where there seemed to be least feares, and greatest hopes; which was the Kings Party; for on the Parliament side the encouragements were onely publike, and nothing promised but the free injoyment of their native Liberty; no particular honours, preferments, or Estates of Enemies; and on the other side, no such totall ruine could be threatened from a victorious Parliament, being a body as it were of themselves, as from an incensed Prince, and such hungry followers, as usually go along with Princes in those waies. And how much private interest will overway publike notions, Books of History, rather than Philosophy, will truly informe you; for concerning humane actions and dispositions, there is nothing under the Sunne which is absolutely new. Looke upon the Discourse of one Historian in that subject, DION CASSIUS, a Writer of as little bias, in the opinion of all Criticks, as any among the Antients, when he relates the last Warre about Roman Liberty; after which (as himselfe speaks) that People never againe looked back toward it. Which was the Warre of BRUTUS and CASSIUS against CÆSAR and ANTONY; *Est ante hanc pugnam civilibus bellis, &c.* Although (saith DION) before this War they had many Civill Wars, yet in others they fought who should oppresse the Roman Liberty; in this War, one side fought to vindicate Liberty, the other to bring in Tyranny; yet the side of Tyranny prevailed, and drew most to it: Of what quality they were, the same Historian speaks also: The Armies of BRUTUS and CASSIUS, that stood for Liberty, consisted of the lower sort of people, and *Ex subditis Romanorum*, the other that stood for Tyranny, consisted (saith he) *Ex Romanis Nobilibus, & Fortibus*. BRUTUS and CASSIUS, two chiefe Souldiers, before the Battell making Orations, encouraged them to

to fight for their ancient freedome, and Roman Laws: CÆSAR and ANTONY promised to their Souldiers the Estates of their Enemies, *Et imperium in omnes Gentiles suos*, and power to rule over their owne Countrymen; which proved, it seemes, better Oratory than the other, and more perswasive. BRUTUS and CASSIUS delayed the Battell, as loath to waste so much blood, if by any other stratagem they might have subdued; because they were (saith DION) good men, and pittied their Countrymen, loving the safety, and striving for the Liberty even of those men, who fought against them, to overthrow that Liberty; Yet that delay proved ill, and many Noblemen in that time forsooke them, and turned to the other side, whither their private hopes or feares led them. Whether the parrallel will in some measure fit this occasion or not, I leave it to the Reader, and returne to the Narration.

The Earle of Essex, the next day after Keynton Battell, marched with his Army toward Warwick, to which Towne he arrived safe, disposing of the Prisoners, Waggon, and Ordnance, which he had taken, into that Castle, with resolution after some short refreshment of his men there, to march neerer to the King: But the King returned toward Oxford, seizing by the way upon Banbury, from whence he tooke 1500. Armes, and turned out the Parliament Souldiers that were quartered there.

His Army, consisting especially of Horse, was divided into severall Bodyes, and Prince RUPERT with part of it, visited the Towns neere adjacent, as Abingdon, Henley, and other places; from whence he returned with great booty.

Within few daies he made a neerer approach toward London, but with a flying Army, resting in no place, sometimes as farre as Stanes and Egham, which made the City of London carefull to provide for their safety against sudden incursions, and send Forces to possesse and fortifie Windsor Castle. In

In the meane time, to secure *London*, and free those parts from greater feares, the Earle of *Essex* had marched with his Army neerer to that City, and on the seventh day of *November* came himselfe to *Westminster* (his Army being billitted about *Acton*, and other neere places) and was welcomed by both Houses of Parliament, who presented him with a gift of 5000 *l.* as an acknowledgement of their thanks, in behalfe of the Kingdome, for his care, paines, and valour, in the actions already passed.

But before the Earle of *Essex* departed from *London*, another bloody tragedy was acted; and the scene no farther then *Brainford*, about eight miles distance, the King himselfe being there, or not farre off in Person. The manner and occasion of it shall be in brieffe related.

The Parliament expressing great griefe for this unnaturall Warre and bloodshed, that this indangered Kingdome might be saved from ruine, and the better meanes made to recover *Ireland*, had agreed upon a Petition for Accommodation, to be presented to the King, then at *Colebrooke*, by the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Pembrooke*, with foure Commons, the Lord *WAINMAN*, Master *PERPOINT*, Sir *JOHN EVELIN*, and Sir *JOHN IPSLEY*; Sir *PETER KILLIGREW* was sent before to procure a safe Conduet. But the King refused to admit of Sir *JOHN EVELYN*, because he was one whom himselfe had named a Traytor the day before. Which exception of the Kings was extremely distasted by the Parliament; yet so great was their desire of Accommodation, that although this excepting of Sir *JOHN EVELIN*, were voted by them a breach of Priviledge, and a flat denyall from the King, the Petition was sent by the five forenamed Lords and Gentlemen, Sir *JOHN EVELIN* being very willing to be left out.

The King being then at *Colebrooke*, fifteene miles distant, seemed to receive the Petition with great willing-

willingesse, and returned them a faire Answer, calling God to witnesse in many Protestations, that he was tenderly compassionate of his bleeding people, and more desirous of nothing, then a speedy peace; to which purpose he was most willing, at any place where he should reside, not farre from *London*, to receive such Propositions of Peace as they should send, and to treat with them.

As soone as the Parliament Lords returned with this Answer, the Kings Artillery (according to all relations) advanced forwards with divers Troops of Horie, thorow that Towne of *Colebrooke*, after them towards *London*; and taking advantage of a great mist which happened that Friday night, they marched to *Brainford*, and fell upon the Parliament Forces which were there quartered, which were a broken Regiment of Colonell *HOLLIS*, but stout men, who had before done great service. Of them the Kings Forces killed many, and had quite destroyed all in probability, if the Lord *BROOKS*, and Colonell *HAMBDENS* Regiments, billitted not farre off, had not made haste to their reliefe, who comming in, maintained a great and bloody fight against the Kings Forces, where many were slaine on both sides, and many taken Prisoners; both Parties, as before it happened at *Keynton* Battell, esteeming themselves conquerors, and so reporting afterwards. The newes of this unexpected fight was soone brought to *London*, whither also the noise of the great Artillery was easily heard.

The Lord Generall *Essex*, then sitting at *Westminster*, in the House of Peeres, tooke Horse immediately, and with what strength he could call together on such a sudden, came in to the rescue of his ingaged Regiments; but night had parted them, and the King was retired to his best advantages; all that night the City of *London* powred out men toward *Brainford*, who every houre marched thither, and all the

Lords and Gentlemen that belonged to the Army, were there ready on the Sunday morning, being the 14. of November, a force great enough to have swallowed up a farre greater Army then the King had. Besides, the Kings Forces were encompassed on every side; insomuch as great hope was conceived by most men, that the period of this sad Warre was now come. But God was not yet appeased toward this Nation; a fatall doore was opened to let out the inclosed King: Three thousand of the Parliament Souldiers were then at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, a Towne about ten miles distant from the City; which Souldiers were all (as it happened) commanded to leave that Towne, and march thorow *Surrey*, with what speed they could, and over *London* Bridge, so thorow the City toward *Brainford*, to prevent the Enemies passage to *London*. The reason of that Command was afterward given, for that the Lord Generall was not assured of strength enough to stop the Enemy from *London*, nor could before hand be assured of so great an Army, as came thither before morning. But this was the event of it; and thorow *Kingstone* thus abandoned the King retreated; and leaving some Troops to face his Enemies, brought all his foot and Artillery over that Bridge, which drawing up afterward, he had time enough securely to plunder many places of that Country, and retire safely to *Oxford*, where he intended to take up his winter Quarters.

The Parliament, upon this Action of the King, began to be out of hope of doing any good by Treaties, resolving that the Lord Generall, with all speed that might be; should pursue the Kings Forces, and fall upon them about *Oxford* and *Reading*, for newes was daily brought them how active his Parties were under the conduct of Prince *RUPERT* and others, in plundering all the places thereabouts. And the City of *London*, to encourage the Parliament with a free tender

tender of their service, framed a Petition to them, to intreat them, That they would proceed no further in the businesse of Accommodation, because evill Counsell was so prevalent with the King; That he would but delude them; That they had heard his Forces are weake, and that if his Excellency would follow and fall upon them, and that no delays be made for feare of forraigne Forces comming over, the City, as heretofore; would with all willingnesse spend their lives and fortunes to assist the Parliament.

The City was thanked for their Petition and Protestation, and the Lord Generall moved by the Parliament to advance, who, though the season of the yeate were not very fit for so great a Body to march, was very desirous to obey their Commands. The best way was thought to divide his Army, and send severall parties to severall places, to restraine the Enemies from annoying the Countries, as to *Buckingham*, *Marlow*, *Reading*, and other parts, untill himselfe with his whole force could be well accommodated to march from *Windsor* (where he lay that winter) toward the King. But it so fell out, either by reason of ill weather at some times, and at other for want of Money or fit accommodation, that the Generall himselfe, with his maine Army, marched not forth untill the spring; whose first businesse was to lay siege to *Reading*, which was fortified by the Kings Forces, and maintained by a Garrison of 3000. Souldiers, and 20. Peece of Ordnance; before which Towne he sate downe upon the five and twentieth day of *April*, 1643. with an Army of about 16000. Foot, and 3000. Horse.

Now (leaving the Lord Generall before *Reading* with his Army) in the meane time we will shew one maine reason why he did no sooner advance; The expectation of another Treaty, which the Parliament had desired to have with the King, for settling of the Kingdome's Peace, which proved fruitlesse; in

debate lasted a long time. Propositions were drawne up by the Parliament, and sent to *Oxford* on the 31. of *January*, 1642. by foure Lords and eight Commoners, the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Pembrooke*, *Sarum*, and *Holland*, Lord *WAINMAN*, Lord *DUNGARUAN*, Sir *JOHN HOLLAND*, Sir *WILLIAM LITTON*, Master *PERPOINT*, Master *WALLER*, Master *WHITLOCK*, Master *WINHOOD*; the Propositions were:

1. That the King would passe those Bills which the Houses had made ready.

2. To passe a Bill for setting Parliament Priviledges and Liberties.

3. For bringing to tryall those Delinquents whom the Houses had impeached since *January* last.

4. For clearing the six Members before mentioned.

5. For restoring all Judges and Officers of State lately removed.

6. To passe a Bill for re-paying the charge of the Kingdome.

7. A Bill for an Act of Oblivion.

8. An Act for a generall pardon without exception.

9. That there may be a Cessation of Armes for fourteene daies; to agree upon these Propositions.

The King not liking, nor yet utterly refusing these Propositions, sent the Commissioners home to their Parliament, within a weeke after they came, to carry six Propositions from him to the Houses; which were:

1. That his Revenue, Magazines, Townes, Forts, and Ships, may be delivered to him.

2. That all Orders and Ordinances of Parliament wanting his assent, may be recalled.

3. That all power exercised over his Subjects by Assesments, and imprisoning their persons, may be disclaimed.

4. That he will yeeld to the execution of the Laws against

against Papists, provided that the Booke of Common-Prayer be confirmed.

5. That such persons as upon the Treaty shall be excepted out of the generall Pardon, shall be tryed by their Peeres onely.

6. That there be a Cessation of Armes during the Treaty.

The Houses, upon receiving of these Propositions, though at first it were the opinion of many, not to send any Answer at all to them; yet at last, to shew respect to the King, entred into a further debate about treating with him concerning the Propositions on both sides, and concerning the Cessation of Armes, or disbanding; with such limitations and restrictions touching the order of treating; as would perchance seeme too tedious to be here related; and on the 20. of *March* the Earle of *Northumberland*, Sir *JOHN HOLLAND*, Sir *WILLIAM ARMINE*, Master *PERPOINT*, and Master *WHITLOCK* (the Lord *SAY* should have been one, but the King excepted against him, as formerly against Sir *JOHN EVELIN*; upon the same ground, which though the Parliament took ill at the first, yet they proceeded in the businesse)

were sent to *Oxford* as Treators upon those Propositions. In vaine was this Treaty; so high the demands were judged to be on both sides; that there seemed no possibility of ever meeting; where the fault lay I judge not; but the Parliament, after many Messages betweene *London* and *Oxford*, at last sent for their Commissioners home againe; who returned to *London* upon the 17. of *April*; upon which the Lord Generall immediately advanced with his Army (as aforesaid) to besiege *Reading*.

Reading was not able to hold out long; but the Lord Generall was loath to storme it for feare of destroying so many innocent people as remained in the Towne; which compassion of his was well approved of by the Parliament; therefore upon composition

it was rendred within sixteene daies to his Excellency, by the Deputy Governour Colonell FIELDING, for the Governour Sir ARTHUR ASTON, was before wounded by an accident, and could not performe the Office: The Termes were easie, for they all marched out with bagge and baggage. This siege had not at all advantaged the Parliament, if another businesse had not fallen out during that short siege; which may also be thought a reason, why the Towne was so soone rendred. A good Body of the Kings Forces, both Horse and Foot (the King himselfe in Person not farre from them) came to relieve Reading, assaulting one Quarter of the Parliament Army at *Causum* Bridge, within a mile of the Towne, and were beaten back with great slaughter, which fell especially upon Gentlemen of quality, of whom the King at that incounter lost a considerable number; but how many they were, or their particular names, I finde not mentioned.

The gaining of *Reading* might seeme an addition of strength to the Parliament side; it proved otherwise: Nothing was gotten but a bare Towne, which had been happier, had it been onely so: The Towne was infected, and caused afterwards a great mortality in the Parliament Army. The Souldiers besides were discontented, that being already much behinde in pay, they were not suffered to plunder, or make any benefit of their victory. For the Parliament, before *Reading* was delivered up, had approved of the Conditions, and promised to the Lord Generals Souldiers, to forbear plundering, twelve shillings a man, besides their pay. But neither of these were then performed; money began already to be wanting; and the great Magazine of Treasure in *Guild-Hall* quite consumed. While they stayed there, expecting money, the sicknesse and mortality daily increased, and the Lord Generall, by advice of his Councell of War, intended to march thence for better ayre. But such a generall

generall mutiny was raised for want of Money, that his Excellency, though with much courage and just severity he began to suppress it, was advised by his Councell of Warre to desist, for feare of a generall defection; till money might come from the City. Notwithstanding upon this discontent in the Army, whilst his Excellency removed to *Causum* Houle, to avoid the infection, many of the Souldiers disbanded, and went away. Then began a tide of misfortune to flow in upon the Parliament side; and their strength almost in every place to decrease at one time; for during the time of these six moneths, since the Battell of *Keynton*, untill this present distresse of the Lord Generals Army about *Causum*, which was about the beginning of *May*, the Warre had gone on with great fury and heat, almost thorow every part of *England*; the particulars of which shall hereafter be related by themselves, to avoid confusion in the Story: The Lord Generall had at that time intelligence that Sir RALPH HOPTON had given a great defeat to the Parliament Forces of *Devonshire*; and that Prince MAURICE, and Marquesse HARTFORD were designed that way, to possesse themselves wholly of the West.

Leaving therefore the Lord Generall a while, I shall proceed to speak of some things which happened at other places in that Moneth of *May*. The Kings Armies were then in faire possibility of gaining the whole West; and seemed of strength enough to achieve it by open Warre, without the assistance of secret treacheries and conspiracies; which notwithstanding were then in agitation, though they proved not successfull against the Parliament, but destructive to the contrivers. As at *Bristol*, a place of great import, and much desired by the Kings Forces, when the plot of betraying that City to Prince RUPERT, was set on foot; which I here relate, as falling out about the beginning of *May*, 1643.

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The City of *Bristol* was then in the Parliaments protection, and governed by Colonell NATHANIEL FIENNES, second Sonne to the Viscount SAY and SEALE, though many of the Inhabitants there, as appeared by this designe, were dis-affected to the Parliaments side.

This designe was very bloody, and many of that City had perished in it, had not the Conspirators been discovered and apprehended a little before they were to put it in execution.

ROBERT YEOMANS, late Sheriffe of *Bristol*, WILLIAM YEOMANS his brother, GEORGE BOURCHIER, and EDWARD DACRES, were the chiefe managers of this Designe; who, with many others of that opinion, had secretly provided themselves of Armes, intending to kill the Centinels by night, and possesse the maine Guard, (with other particulars, to be found in the Records of their examinations, and proofes against them) whereby to master the greatest part of the other side within the Towne, to kill the Mayor, and many others that were knowne to stand affected to the Parliament; and by that meanes to betray the City to the Kings Forces. In expectation of which act, Prince RUPERT with other Commanders, and about 4000 Horse, and 2000 Foot, stayed upon *Durdam Downes*, about two miles from the City. But the Plot was discovered, the Conspirators apprehended, and brought to triall by a Councell of Warre, where the foure forenamed were condemned, and two of them hanged at *Bristol*, namely, ROBERT YEOMANS, and GEORGE BOURCHIER; although great meanes had been made to save them, and Colonell FIENNES to that purpose had been threatned from *Oxford*, by Generall RIVEN (created by the King Earle of *Forth*) in a Letter unto him; which being of great consequence, for the cleare understanding of this War, and the nature of it, I thought fit to insert here, together with the Answer thereunto.

P A T R I C K

PATRICK Earle of *Forth*, Lord ETTERRICK, and Lord Lieutenant of all His Majesties Forces.

Having been informed, that lately at a Councell of Warre you have condemned to death Robert Yeomans, late Sheriffe of *Bristol*, who hath His Majesties Commission for raising a Regiment for his Service, William Yeomans his brother, George Bouchier, and Edward Dacres, all for expressing their Loyalty to His Majesty, and endeavouring his Service, according to their Allegiance; and that you intend to proceed speedily against divers others in the like manner: Do therefore signifie to you, that I intend speedily to put Master George, Master Stevens, Captaine Huntley, and others, taken in Rebellion against His Majesty at *Cicester*, into the same condition. I do further advise you, that if you offer by that unjust Judgement, to execute any of them you have so condemned; that those here in custody, Master George, Master Stevens, and Captaine Huntley, must expect no favour or mercy.

Given under my hand at *Oxford*,
this 16. of May. 1643.

To the Commander in
Chiefe of the Councell of Warre in *Bristol*.

The Answer to this Letter was as followeth:

NATHANIEL FIENNES Governour, and
the Councell of War in the City of *Bristol*.

Having received a Writing from your Lordship, wherein it is declared, that upon information of our late proceedings against Robert Yeomans, Wil-

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liam Yeomans, and others, you intend speedily to put Master George, Master Stevens, Captaine Huntley, and others into the same condition: We are well assured, that neither your Lordship, nor any other mortall man, can put them into the same condition; for whether they live or dye, they will alwaies be accounted true and honest men, faithfull to their King and Country, and such as in a faire and open way have alwaies prosecuted that Cause, which in their judgement, guided by the judgement of the highest Court, they held the justest; whereas the Conspirators of this City, must both in life and death, carry perpetually with them the brand of Treachery and Conspiracy: And if Robert Yeomans had made use of his Commission in an open way, he should be put into no worse condition, then others in the like kinde had been; but the Law of nature among all men, and the law of Armes among Souldiers make a difference betweene open Enemies, and secret Spyes and Conspirators. And if you shall not make the like distinction, we do signifie unto you, that we will not onely proceed to the execution of the persons already condemned, but also of divers others of the Conspirators, unto whom we had some thoughts of extending mercy. And do further adwertise you, that if by any inhumane and un-Souldier-like sentence, you shall proceed to the execution of the persons by you named, or any other of our friends in your custody, that have beene taken in a faire and open way of War; then Sir Walter Pyc, Sir William Crofts, and Colonell Connesbey, with divers others taken in open Rebellion, and ac:uall War against the King and Kingdom, whom we have here in custody, must expect no favour or mercy. And by Gods blessing upon our most just Cause, we have powers enough, for our friends security, without taking in any that have gotten out of our reach and power, although divers of yours, of no mean quality and condition, have bin released by us. Given under our hand the 18 of May, 1643.

To Patrick Earle of Forth,
Lord Lieut. Generall.

Nathaniel Fiennes, President,
Clement Walker, &c.

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The King also at that time writ a very sharpe command to the Mayor and Citizens of *Bristol*, to raise what power they could to hinder the execution of those men, which he termes the murder of his loyall Subjects: But nothing availed to save their lives, for the forenamed *ROBERT YEOMANS*, and *GEORGE BOURCHIER*, according to the sentence, were both executed. The losse of *Bristol* from the Parliament, a place of great import, was thus by the detection and prevention of this Conspiracy, respited for a while onely. For not long after it was surrendered to Prince *RUPERT*, and happier it was for the Prince himselfe, to gaine that City in a more honourable way, and lesse effusion of English blood.

At the same time that these Conspirators against *Bristol* were by sentence of a Councell of Warre put to death; another Plot of higher nature, and more full of horreur, was detected at *London*; a Plot, which if not discovered, had quite ruined the Parliament it selfe, and strooke at the very head, and chiefe residence of it, the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*; which cannot be omitted in this Relation, though with as much brevity as can be possible, it shall be touched.

The scope of it was to have put in execution the Commission of Array within *London* and *Westminster*, and so to have raised a sufficient force for the Kings side to ruine the Parliament. Many Citizens of *London* were in the Plot, together with some Gentlemen besides, who had taken an Oath of secrecy among themselves; and were the more animated in it, upon promises; which Master *WALLER*, the chiefe man in eminence among them (a Member of the House of Commons) had made to some of the rest, that many Members of both Houses of Parliament were ingaged in the Plot, and would in due time be assistants to it. Though it proved in conclusion, that

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Master WALLER was not able to make good so much as he had promised. The Plot was horrid, and could not possibly have been put in execution, without great effusion of blood, as must needs appeare by the particular branches of it, which were confessed upon the Examinations of Master WALLER, Master TOMKINS, Master CHALLENGER, Master HASSELL, Master BLINKHORNE, Master WHITE, and others the chiefe Actors in it.

That which appeared by the Narrative Declaration, published by Authority of Parliament, was to this effect: That

1. They should seize into their custody the Kings Children;

2. To seize upon severall Members of both Houses of Parliament, upon the Lord Mayor of London, and the Committee of the Militia there, under pretence of bringing them to legall tryall.

3. To seize upon all the Cities out-Works and Forts, upon the Tower of London, and all the Magazines, Gates, and other places of importance in the City.

4. To let in the Kings Forces, to surprize the City with their assistance; and to destroy all those, who should by Authority of Parliament, be their opposers; and by force of Armes to resist all payments imposed by the Authority of both Houses, for support of those Armies imployed in their defence.

Many other particulars there were, too tedious to relate at large, as what signals should have been given to the Kings Forces of Horse, to invade the City; what Colours for difference, those of the Plot should weare, to be knowne to their fellowes, and such like. Much heartened they were in this businessse by a Commission of Array sent from Oxford at that time, from the King to them, and brought secretly to London by a Lady, the Lady AUBIGNY, Daughter to the Earle of Suffolke, a Widow ever since the Battell

Battell of Keynton; where the Lord AUBIGNY her husband was slaine.

That Commission of Array was directed from the King to Sir NICHOLAS CRISPE, Sir GEORGE STROUD Knights, to Sir THOMAS GARDINER Knight, Recorder of London, Sir GEORGE BINION, Knight, RICHARD EDES, and MARMADUKE ROYDEN Esquires, THOMAS BROWNE, PETER PAGGON, CHARLES GENNING, EDWARD CARLETON, ROBERT ABBOT, ANDREW KING, WILLIAM WHITE, STEVEN BOLTON, ROBERT ALDEM, EDMUND FOSTER, THOMAS BLINKHORNE, of London Gentlemen; and to all such other persons, as according to the true intent and purport of that Commission, should be nominated and appointed to be Generals, Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Serjeant Majors, or other Officers of that Council of Warre. The Commission it selfe is to be read at large in the Parliament Records.

But this Conspiracy was prevented, and proved fatall to some of the Contrivers; being detected upon the last day of May (which happened at that time to be the day of the Monethly Fast) and Master WALLER, Master TOMKINS, with other of the forenamed Conspirators, being apprehended, were that night examined by divers grave Members of the Parliament, of whom Master PYM was one; and afterwards reserved in custody for a Tryall. They were arraigned in Guild-Hall, and Master WALLER, Master TOMKINS, Master CHALLONER, Master HASSELL, Master WHITE, and Master BLINKHORNE, were all condemned; none were executed but Master TOMKINS, and Master CHALLONER, being both hanged, Master TOMKINS in Holborne, and Master CHALLONER in Cornhill, both within sight of their own dwelling houses; Master HASSELL dyed in Prison, BLINKHORNE, and the other, were by the mercy of the Parliament, and the Lord Gene-

all Essex, deprived, and saved afterwards; Master WALLER, the chiefe of them, was long detained Prisoner in the Tower, and about a year after, upon payment of a Fine of ten thousand pounds, was pardoned, and released to go travell abroad. It was much wondered at, and accordingly discoursed of by many at that time, what the reason should be, why Master WALLER, being the principall Agent in that Conspiracy, (where Master TOMKINS and Master CHALFONER, who had been drawne in by him, as their own Confessions, even at their deaths expressed, were both executed) did escape with life. The onely reason which I could ever heare given for it, was, That Master WALLER had been so free in his Confessions at the first, without which the Plot could not have been clearly detected; That Master PYM, and other of the Examiners, had ingaged their promise, to do whatever they could to preserve his life. He seemed also much smitten in conscience, and desired the comfort of godly Ministers, being extremely penitent for this soule offence; and afterwards in his Speech to the House (when he came to be put out of it) much bewailed his offence; thanking God that so mischievous, and bloody a Conspiracy, was discovered, before it could take effect.

CHAP.



CHAP. III.

Matters of State trans-acted in Parliament, touching the Assembly of Divines. The making of a new Great Seale. Impeaching the Queene of High Treason, and other things. The Lord Generall Essex, after some Marches, returneth to quarter his wasted and sick Army about Kingston. The Kings Forces Masters of the West. The Earl of Newcastle, his greatnesse in the North. Some mention of the Earle of Cumberland, and the Lord FAIRFAX.



AT the same time that these Conspiracies were closely working to undermine the Parliament, and Warre was raging in highest fury throughout the Kingdome; many State-busineses of an unusuall nature had been trans-acted in the Parliament sitting. For things were growne beyond any president of former ages, and the very foundations of Government were shaken; according to the sense of that Vote, which the Lords and Commons had passed a yeare before, *That whensoever the King maketh Warre against the Parliament, it tendeth to the dissolution of this Government.*

Three things of that unusuall nature fell into debate in one moneth, which was May, 1643. and were then, or soone after fully passed; one was at the beginning of that moneth, concerning the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Among other Bills which had passed.

passed both Houses, and wanted onely the Royall Assent, that was one; That a Synod of Divines should be chosen and established, for the good and right settlement of Religion, with a fit Government for the Church of *England*. This Bill was oft tendred to the King to passe, but utterly refused by him: The matter therefore was fully argued, what in such cases might be done by Authority of Parliament, when the Kingdome's good is so much concerned, when a King refuseth, and wholly absenteth himselfe from the Parliament. And at last it was brought to this conclusion; That an Ordinance of Parliament, where the King is so absent, and refusing, is by the Lawes of the Land of as good Authority to binde the people, for the time present, as an Act of Parliament it selfe can be.

It was therefore Voted by the Lords and Commons; That the Act for an Assembly of Divines, to settle Religion, and a forme of Government for the Church of *England*, (which the King had oft refused to passe) should forthwith be turned into an Ordinance of Parliament; and the Assembly thereby called, debate such things for the settlement of Religion, as should be propounded to them by both Houses; which not long after was accordingly put in execution.

The case seemed of the same nature with that of *Scotland*, in the year 1639. when the Scottish Covenanters (as is before mentioned in this History) upon the Kings delay in calling their Nationall Synod, published a writing to that purpose; That the power of calling a Synod, in case the Prince be an Enemy to the truth, or negligent in promoting the Churches good, is in the Church it selfe.

In the same moneth, and within few daies after, another businesse of great consequence, was by the Lords and Commons taken into consideration, which was the making of a new Great Seale, to supply the place

place of that which had been carried away from the Parliament, as before is mentioned. This businesse had been fully debated in the House of Commons, and the Moneth following, at a Conference between both Houses, the Commons declared to the Lords what great prejudice the Parliament and whole Kingdome suffered by the absence of the Great Seale; and thereupon desired their speedy compliance in Votes for the making of a new one.

The matter was debated in the House of Peeres, put to Votes, and carried for the negative. The onely reason which they alleadged against the making of a new Seale; was this, That they have hitherto dispatched all businesse since the absence of the Seale, by vertue of Ordinances of Parliament, and they conceived that the same course might still be kept in what matters soever were necessary to be expedited for the good of the Kingdome, without a Seale. Yet the Lords gave a respective answer, That if the House of Commons would informe them in any particular cases, wherein the Kingdome's prejudice, by absence of the Great Seale, could not be remedied by vertue of an Ordinance, they would take it into further consideration, to induce compliance accordingly.

Neither was it long before the Lords, upon reasons shewed, concurred with the House of Commons; who about the beginning of *July*, presented to the Lords at a Conference the Votes, which had before passed in their House, together with the reasons for making of a new Great Seale. The Votes were these:

Resolved upon the Question. June 14. & 26.

1. That the Great Seale of England ought to attend the Parliament.
2. That the absence of it hath been a cause of great mischief to the Common-wealth.
3. That a remedy ought to be provided for these mischiefs.
4. That

4. That the proper remedy is by making a new Great Seale.

The reasons which they gave, were divided into two branches; The first declaring those mischiefs which were occasioned by conveying away the Great Seale from the Parliament: The second expressing those inconveniences and mischiefs which proceeded from the want of the Great Seale with them. The reasons of the first kinde were thus:

1. It was secretly and unlawfully carried away by the Lord Keeper, contrary to the duty of his place, who ought himselfe to have attended the Parliament, and not to have departed without leave; nor should have been suffered to convey away the Great Seale, if his intentions had been discovered.

2. It hath been since taken away from him, and put into the hands of other dangerous and ill-affected persons; so as the Lord Keeper, being sent unto by the Parliament, for the sealing of some Writs, returned answer, That he could not Seale the same, because he had not the Seale in his keeping.

3. Those who have had the managing thereof, have employed it to the hurt and destruction of the Kingdome many waies; as by making new Sheriffes in an unusuall and unlawfull manner, to be as so many Generals, or Commanders; of Forces raised against the Parliament; by issuing out illegall Commissions of Array, with other unlawfull Commissions for the same purpose; By sending forth Proclamations against both Houses of Parliament, and severall Members thereof, proclaiming them Traytors, against the Priviledges of Parliament, and Laws of the Land; By sealing Commissions of Oyer and Terminer to proceed against them, and other of His Majesties good Subjects, adhering to the Parliament, as Traytors; By sending Commissions into Ireland, to treat a peace with the Rebels there, contrary to an Act of Parliament,

ment, made this Session. Besides divers other dangerous Acts passed under it, since it was secretly conveyed away from the Parliament; whereby great calamities and mischiefs have ensued, to the prejudice of the Kingdome.

Mischiefes arising through want of the Great Seale.

1. The Termes have been adjourned; the course of Justice obstructed.

2. No originall Writs can be sued forth without going to Oxford; which none who holds with the Parliament can do, without perill of his life or Liberty.

3. Proclamations in Parliament cannot issue out, for bringing in Delinquents impeached of High Treason or other crimes; under paine of forfeiting their Estates, according to the ancient course.

4. No Writs of Error can be brought in Parliament, to reverse erroneous judgements; nor Writs of Election sued out for chusing new Members upon death, or removal of any; whereby the number of the Members is much lessened, and the Houses in time like to be dissolved, if speedy supply be not had, contrary to the very Act for continuance of this Parliament.

5. Every other Court of Justice hath a peculiar Seale; and the Parliament, the Supreme Court of England, hath no other but the Great Seale of England; which being kept away from it, hath now no Seale at all; and therefore a new Seale ought to be made.

6. This Seale is *Clavis Regni*; and therefore ought to be resident with the Parliament (which is the representative Body of the whole Kingdome) whilst it continues sitting; the King, as well as the Kingdome, being alwaies legally present in it, during the Session thereof.

The Lords upon these reasons concurred with the House of Commons, and order was given, that a

new Great Seale, should forthwith be made, which was accordingly done.

It should seeme the King was not well pleased with this action of the Parliament, as appeared by what was done at *Oxford* above a yeare after, when the King assembled together the Lords which were with him, and all those Gentlemen that had been Members of the House of Commons, and had deserted the Parliament at *Westminster*, whom the King called his Parliament at *Oxford*, and propounded many things for them to debate upon; amongst which it was taken into debate, and resolved upon the Question by that Assembly at *Oxford*, That this very action (which they stile counterfeiting the Great Seale) was Treason, and the whole Parliament at *Westminster*, *eo facto*, guilty of High Treason. But this was passed at *Oxford* long after; of which occasion may be to speak further hereafter.

But at the time when the Parliament made their new Great Seale, the people stood at gaze, and many wondered what might be the consequence of so unusuall a thing. Some that wholly adhered to the Parliament, and liked well, that an action so convenient and usefull to the present state, was done by them, looked notwithstanding upon it, as a sad marke of the Kingdomes distraction, and a signe how irreconcilable the difference might grow betweene the Parliament and the Kings Person. For the legality or justnesse of making of the Seale, there was little dispute or argument among those who were not disaffected to the Parliament; and though there were no direct or plaine precedent for it (for the case of a Kings being personally in Warre against the Parliament sitting, was never before) yet by comparison with other times, when the necessities of State have required such a thing, it was not onely allowed, but thought requisite. I do not know of any thing written against it by any Lawyers, or other of the Kings Party;

Party; but Master PRYNNE, a learned Lawyer, and great Antiquary, of the Parliament side, hath written a copious discourse in justification of it, both by arguments of reason, and many neere-resembling precedents of former times) called, *The opening of the Great Seale of England*, which is extant to be read by any that would be satisfied, what power from time to time Parliaments have challenged and been allowed, over that Seale, both in making of it in the infancy or absence of Princes, and disposing of it in the dotage or wilfulnesse of others.

But before this businesse was fully concluded, another thing, which seemed as great a signe how wide the rent was growne, fell into debate in the House of Commons: Some time was spent in consultation about it, and much arguing on both sides. The matter was about charging the Queene of High Treason. To that purpose many Articles of an high nature were drawne up against her; some of them were, That she had pawned the Crowne Jewels in *Holland*; That she had raised the Rebellion in *Ireland*; That she had indeavoured to raise a Party in *Scotland* against the Parliament; That she had gone in the head of a Popish Army in *England*: For not long before this time, the Queene with Armes and Ammunition from the Low-Countries, and Commanders of Warre from thence, had landed in the North of *England*, been entertained there by the Earle of *Newcastle*, and by him and others, with strong Forces conveyed to the King at *Oxford*, whereof more particulars will be related hereafter. Divers other Articles were framed against the Queene, upon which within few Moneths after, she was impeached of High Treason by the House of Commons, and the Impeachment carried up by Master PYMME to the House of Peeres, where it stuck for many moneths, but was afterward passed there also; and may be further discoursed of in the due time.

It had been likewise before Ordered by both Houses, and was now accordingly put in execution, that the King and Queenes Revenue coming into the Exchequer, should be detained, and imployed to the Publike Service of the Common-wealth; a Committee was chosen of Lords and Commons to dispose of it to the best uses. Divers necessary charges of the State were defrayed by it, and among others (which seemed a kinde of just retaliation) many Members of both Houses of Parliament, whose whole Estates had been seized upon by the Kings Armies, were in some measure relieved at London, out of his Revenue, and thereby enabled to subsist in that Publike Service, to which they had been called.

But so exceeding great by this time, were the charges growne for supportation of so spreading a Warre, that no Contributions nor Taxes whatsoever, were thought sufficient, unlesse an Excize were imposed upon Commodities (according to the way of the Netherlanders) such as Beere, Wine, Tobacco, and Meat; which was taken into consideration by both Houses, and this Summer agreed upon. But the Excize was layed with much gentleness, especially upon all Victuals of most common and necessary use, insomuch that it was little felt either by the rich, or poore people; and yet amounted monethly to a very considerable summe, though the Kings Quarters were then the greatest part of England; for the City of London was within the Parliament Quarters.

To returne againe to the Lord Generall ESSEX; His Excellency in May, 1643. having, as aforesaid, received intelligence of the defeat given to the Parliament Army in the West, and in what condition things there stood; not being able with his owne Forces to give them reliefe, sent order to Sir WILLIAM WALLER (whose actions shall be anon mentioned in a Series by themselves) to march thither in

in assistance of the *Devonshire* Forces; and writ his Command to the Governour of *Bristol*, to aid him with such Horse and Foot, as he could conveniently spare out of his Garrison. But things could not at that time be put in execution according to his desires; and before Sir WILLIAM WALLER could get farre into the West, Prince MAURICE, Marquesse HARTFORD, and Sir RALPH HOPTON were joyned all together.

The Lord Generall, since it was much desired by the City of *London*, from whom the supplies of money were to come, that he should move with his whole Army towards *Oxford*, was content, though somewhat against his judgement, to proceed in that Designe; and marched with the maine Body to *Thame*, to meet there with the Forces sent from the associated Counties to his assistance; from whence (as a person, whose care and Command extended over the whole Kingdome, which was now overspread with a generall Warre, and wasted by many Armies at once) he granted a Commission; by direction of the Parliament, to the Lord FIELDING, (now Earle of *Denbigh* by the late death of his Father, who was slaine in a Skirmish, fighting against the Parliament) to be Generall of foure Counties, *Shropshire*, *Worcester*, *Stafford*, and *Warwickshire*; to leavy Forces there, and conduct them into any part of the Kingdome, against the Kings Power, according to directions from the Parliament, or Lord Generall. He granted also at the same time another Commission in the like manner to Sir THOMAS MIDDLETON, to raise Forces as Generall of all North *Wales*.

At *Thame* the hand of God, in an extreme increase of sickness (hundreds in a day desperately ill) did visite the Lord Generals Army; and by strange unseasonableness of weather, and great raine continuing fourteene daies; the place being upon a flat; moist

moist, and clayie ground, made it impossible for him to advance from that Quarter. In which time the Army was by sicknesse, and departure of most of the Auxiliary Forces, brought to a number utterly unable to attempt the former designe, without certaine ruine, the situation of *Oxford* upon the River of *Thames* considered; for the Lord Generall conceived it impossible (as himselfe expressed) to block up the Towne, without a double number to what he then had.

But when the raine ceased, and the waters were so much abated, as to make the waies passable, intelligence was brought that Prince RUPERT had drawne out his Horse and Foot toward *Buckingham*, with his Canon also; and had called in the Country, making open profession before them, that he would give Battell to the Generall: The Generall marched with some speed toward *Buckingham*, to fight with him. When he came within two miles of that Towne, he found the case farre otherwise, and had intelligence that the Prince had quitted *Buckingham* in a kinde of disorderly manner; that the night before, he had horsed his Foot, and marched away, leaving some of his Provisions behinde him.

The Lord Generall understood well, that it was not possible for him with his Traine of Artillery and Foot Companies, to follow the Enemy to any advantage. For if he had been at that time strong enough in Horse, his desire was to have hindered Prince RUPERT from joyning with the Queene, who then was marching with a good Convoy of Horse from the Northerne parts of *England*, (where she had arrived from the *Netherlands*) toward *Oxford*. But being not able to follow that designe, he desisted from his march to *Buckingham*, sending into the Town a Party of his Horse, to quarter there that night, and to bring away that Provision which the Enemy had left there. He himselfe, with the rest of his Army, marched

marched to great *Brickhill*, a place most convenient to lye betweene the Enemy and *London*, to defend the Associated Counties, to assist or joyne with the Forces of the Lord GRAY of *Grooby*, Sir JOHN MELDRUM, and Colonell CROMWELL, to whom he had before written, that if they could possibly, they should fight with the Queens Forces, and stop her passage to the King. But it seemed that the businesse could not be done; that the Queene and Prince RUPERT were suffered to joyne together with all their Forces. Sir WILLIAM WALLER had beene long victorious in the West, yet now the Parliaments fortune, almost in every place, began to faile; and intelligence was brought to the Lord Generall, that Sir WILLIAM having almost gained the whole West, and besieging Sir RALPH HOPTON in the *Devizes*, a Towne of *Devonshire*, was on a sudden by unexpected Forces from *Oxford*, under the conduct of the Lord WILMOT, totally routed and forced into *Bristol*. The Lord Generall intending at the first report of this newes, to have marched himselfe for relieving of the West; upon more particular information, that Sir WILLIAM WALLERS Forces were so farre broken, that no assistance at all could be given by them, was inforced to desist from that enterprize; considering also that his owne Army was shrinke, through the continuall increase of violent sicknesse, want of pay, clothing, and other necessaries, to a most unconsiderable number, he resolved to proceed no further, nor to ingage that weake Army to the ruine of it selfe, and danger of the Kingdome; especially since the Forces of the Associated Counties could not with safety be commanded so farre from home. He therefore returned toward *London*, quartering that poore remainder of an Army at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, and other places neere adjacent. In this distressed condition I must a while leave that great Generall, untill some few

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weeks

weeke time shall recruit his power, and enable him to make that famous and honourable expedition to the reliefe of *Gloucester*.

So great at this time were the successes which in all parts crowned the Kings Armies, that they seemed to possess an absolute Victory, and the Parliament in probability quite ruined; on one side the Lord Generals Army mouldered away by long sickness, and other wants; the long successful Sir WILLIAM WALLER, quite broken in the West; and about the same time the Lord FAIRFAX, and his Sonne Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX (though reserved by divine Providence for a transcendent height of honour in the future) with all the Gentlemen almost which served the Parliament in those Northern parts, being defeated by the Earle of *Newcastle*; and the Lord FAIRFAX, with his Sonne, driven into the Towne of *Hull*: On the other side, the Kings Armies were full and strong; Sir RALPH HOPTON, whom for his valour and industry the King had honoured with the Title of a Baron, was possessed of a gallant Army in the West, and seemed to want nothing so much as a considerable Enemy; the Kings other Forces were free to chuse what stage they pleased, to act their parts upon. Prince RUPERT was sent to besiege *Bristol*, where Colonell NATHANIEL FIENNES, second Sonne to the Viscount SAY, was Governour; which City in this low ebbe of the Parliament, could not long hold out, but was soone delivered to the Prince, a place of as much concernment as any in the Kingdome. Prince MAURICE with another Army came to besiege the City of *Excester*, into which the Earle of *Stamford* was retreated after his defeat at *Stretton* in *Cornwall*, a Nobleman who had long strugled with various success, and in sharpe encounters against Sir RALPH HOPTON, and other Commanders of the Kings side in those Western Counties, ruined at last by the treache-

treacherous revolt of some, who had taken the same cause with him at the first. This City was likewise after a long siege, for want of supplies, delivered upon Articles to the Prince that besieged it.

But the great cloud, which not onely overshadowed the Parliament in the North, but threatened to powre out stormes upon parts farre remote, was the Earle of *Newcastle*, with his mighty Army, who was growne formidable to the Associated Counties, and many other places of the Kingdome. His Army was at that time the greatest of any in *England*, which he maintained in brave equipage, by large Contributions enforced from the Country, and seemed of strength enough, not onely to master any opposition of English Forces, but to serve as a Bulwarke against the greatest Army which the Kingdome of *Scotland* could be able to send in aid of the English Parliament. For the Parliament had then sent into *Scotland*, for the brotherly assistance of that Kingdom, and agreed upon entering into a Covenant with them for defence of Religion, and the common Liberty of both Nations.

It pleased the Divine Providence (whose workings are many times beyond the reach of humane conjectures) that this strong Army, before the entrance of the Scots, found an Enemy in *England* worthy of their feare; and were by the personall valour and successful conduct of Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX, who seemed lately in a low condition, so farre broken (together with other defeats given to parts of it sent abroad) that the passage for the Scots into *England* was much facilitated, as shall hereafter appear in more particular.

But it is worthy consideration (and therefore cannot but deserve a mention) with what unwearied constancy, and wondrous magnanimity, the two FAIRFAXES, Father and Sonne, did labour to preserve those Northern parts for the Parliament, especially

cially observing what great Enemies they dealt withall; how many unexpected disadvantages happened to them, and accessions of power to their Foes at severall times; which, though it cannot be here related with full circumstances or particulars, yet may be touched in a generall way.

The Lord FAIRFAX, ever since that there was any appearance of this unhappy Warre; and that the Kings Commission of Array began to juttle with the Parliaments Ordinance of Militia, had been very industrious in raising strength; and joyned himselfe most unanimously in that cause with Sir JOHN HOTHAM, and his Sonne Master JOHN HOTHAM, a Member also of the House of Commons, and a Gentleman, not onely active but prosperous, whilest he continued faithfull to that side which he had chosen. And since the Warre broke out into action, the Lord FAIRFAX, either singly by himselfe, or some times joyned with Master HOTHAM, had taken and fortified many Townes and Forts for the Parliament, and made many sharpe and fierce encounters against potent Enemies. The Earle of *Cumberland*, who was first made Lord Lieutenant of *Torkeshire* by the King, was not able to suppress them, nor scarce maintaine the Warre against that power which they had raised: Maugre whose Forces, they tooke and fortified *Camood Castle*, and the Towne of *Selby*, in the Moneth of *October*, 1642. and surprised presently after the Towne of *Leedes*, where part of the Earles Forces were quartered, of whom they tooke divers Prisoners, Knights and Gentlemen of good quality, one of which was Sir GEORGE DETHERICK, together with his whole Troope.

The Earle of *Cumberland* himselfe, within few daies after was driven into the City of *Torke*, and there besieged, and summoned by the Lord FAIRFAX and Master HOTHAM; which happened about the same time that the famous Battell between the King.

King and the Lord Generall *Essex*, was fought at *Keynton*.

But the Earle of *Newcastle* with a greater force, entred into *Torke*, whilest the Lord FAIRFAX and Captaine HOTHAM, lay not farr off; who, notwithstanding his great strength when he marched out of *Torke*, was encountered by them at *Tadcaster*, upon the 7. of *December*, the Fight or severall Skirmishes continuing about five houres; in which the Parliament Forces did so well take their advantages, that they slew (as was reported to the Parliament) 200 of the Earles men; with the losse of eight Souldiers of their owne, of whom Captaine LISTER was one, whose death was much lamented in the Country, being esteemed a brave and religious man. After severall Skirmishes, the Parliament Army had the fortune to make a faire retreat to *Camood Castle*, and *Selby*, and leave all to the Earle, whose Forces were reported to be about eight thousand Horse and Foot, the Lord FAIRFAX and Captaine HOTHAM having not above 2100. Foot, and seven Troops of Horse; their number had bin greater, if Sir HUGH CHOLMELLY and Colonell BAINTON, with their Regiments of Foot, and two Troops of Horse (who were expected) had accordingly come in to them.

The Earle of *Newcastle* was now growne, not only master of the field there, but formidable to all the adjacent Counties; who did therefore implore aid from the Parliament. The Parliament upon that occasion, hastened the Association of those Counties which lay neerer to them, that they might be the more able to supply their remoter friends.

The Kings side received then an addition of strength in the North, by the landing of Colonell GORING at *Newcastle*, with 200. Commanders from *Holland*, and other Provisions for the Warre.

The Earle of *Newcastle* marching from *Tadcaster*, surprised *Leedes*, in which Towne he tooke many

Gentlemen Prisoners, and forced them to ransom themselves at high rates; whereby he was further enabled to pay his great Army. Then also he gave Commissions to Papists in that Country to arme themselves in the Kings Service, which he justified by writings published upon that occasion; and at the same time proclaimed the Lord FAIRFAX Traytor.

The Lord FAIRFAX notwithstanding, marched with such Forces as he had gotten together, and proved successfull in divers attempts, against severall parts of the Earle of *Newcastles* Forces, one of them happening at *Sherburne*, between *Tadcaster* and *Doncaster*, and another at *Bradford*, against a party of the Earle of *Newcastles* Army, under the conduct of Colonell GORING, Colonell EVERS, Sir WILLIAM SAVILE, and Sir JOHN GOTHERICK, who came with a good strength of Horse and Dragoners to surprize on a sudden that Towne of *Bradford*; but were by Forces timely sent to the reliefe of it, forced to retire with some losse; which, though it were not a Victory against Colonell GORING and the rest, may notwithstanding be termed a successfull Action, in being able to repell an Enemy too potent for them in all probability.

CHAP.



CHAP. IV.

Some Actions of Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX in the North. The Queene lands in England. The revolt of Sir HUGH CHOLMELY, and the two HOTHAMS. The state of this Warre in the Westerne parts. The condition of the Associated Counties. A short relation of Sir WILLIAM WALLER his Actions; of Colonell CROMWELL, Sir WILLIAM BRERETON, and Sir JOHN GELL.



Great were the atchievements of Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX in that moneth of *January*, and the following *February*; for no season of the yeare, nor stormes of winter, could quench the rage of this Civill Fire. Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX on the 23. of *January*, 1642. marched from *Bradford* (six miles distant from *Leedes*) with six Troops of Horse, and three Companies of Dragoners, under the command of Sir HENRY FOULIS Baronet, his Lieutenant Generall of his Horse, and neere 1000. Musqueteers, with 2000. Clubmen, under the Command of Sir WILLIAM FAIRFAX Colonell, and Lieutenant Generall of the Foot. When Sir THOMAS approached the Town of *Leeds*, he dispatched a Trumpeter to Sir WILLIAM SAVILE, Commander in chiefe there, under the Earle of *Newcastle*, requiring the Towne to be delivered to him for the King and Parliament. But receiving a resolute, and seeming-scornfull answer from Sir WILLIAM SAVILE, he drew neerer, and prepared to.

to make an Assault, though there were great strength in the Towne, namely, 1500 Foot, and 500. Horse and Dragoones, with two Brasse Sakers. Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX drew out five Companies of his most expert Souldiers, whom he disposed of at a fit side of the Town, under the command of Major FORBES, Captaines, BRIGGS, LEE, FRANKE, and PALMER. Sir WILLIAM FAIRFAX, at the head of his Regiment, and the face of the Enemy, stormed the Town with great skill and courage, whilest Major FORBES did the like in his place, and Sir THOMAS himselfe every where encouraging, and teaching valour by his owne example, brought on his men; so that after two houres of hot fight, though the besieged behaved themselves well, the Towne was entred by Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX, Sir WILLIAM FAIRFAX, and Sir HENRY FOWLES, on one side, and Major FORBES, with his fellow Captaines, on the other. They tooke within the Towne their two Brasse Sakers, with good store of Armes and Ammunition, foure Colours, and 500. Prisoners, among whom were six Commanders: The Common Souldiers, upon taking of an Oath, never to fight in this cause against the King and Parliament, were set at liberty, and suffered to depart, but without their Arms. There were slaine about forty men, of which number the besieged lost the greater halfe. Serjeant Major BEAMONT, indeavouring in the flight to save his life, by crossing the River, so lost it, being drowned therein; and Sir WILLIAM SAVILE himselfe, crossing in flight the same River, hardly escaped the same fate. Publike thanksgiving to Almighty God was given at London for this Victory.

Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX with his victorious Forces, immediately marched to another Quarter of the Earle of *Newcastles* Army at *Wakefield*, from whence the chiefe Commander, Sir GEORGE WENTWORTH fled, and left it to him. Not long after, he

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marched to *Tadcaster*; at whose approach the Earles Forces, though a considerable number, fled away, and forsooke their Workes.

From that time scarce any one fortnight of all the following Spring, passed without some remarkable addition of strength to the Kings side, in those Northerne parts. In *February* Generall KING, a Scottish Commander, of great experience in Military affaires, came out of *Holland*, landed at *Newcastle*, joyned himselfe with the Earle of *Newcastle*, and passed to *Torke* with 6000. Armes. In the same Moneth also the Queene landing from *Holland*, neere to *Sunderland*, with great Provision of Armes and Ammunition, and many Commanders of note in her Retinew, was convoyed by the Earle of *Newcastle* to the City of *Torke*.

The Earle of *Montrosse* about the same time, a young Lord of great esteeme in *Scotland*, who before in the Scottish Warre (as is there mentioned) had shewed himselfe one of the most active and zealous Covenanters of that Nation, forsooke his Party there, and with the Lord OGLESBY fled out of *Scotland* with 120. Horse, to the Queene at *Torke*. Upon which both those Lords were proclaimed at *Edenburgh* Traytors to their King and Country, for that, contrary to their Covenant, they stole out of *Scotland*, to assist the Popish Army, (for so they called that of the Earle of *Newcastles*) against the Parliament of *England*.

Another great wound to the Parliament, not long after, was the revolt of Sir HUGH CHOLMELY, a Member of the House of Commons, and one that had carried a good esteeme among them, who had before (as is already mentioned) been employed by the Parliament, as a Commissioner in the North, together with the Lord FAIRFAX; and Sir PHILIP STAPLETON; and was at this time highly intrusted by them; for he was Governour of *Scarborough*, a place

of great importance. He falsely betrayed his Trust, and forooke the Cause he had undertaken, going to the Queene with 300. men. Upon which he was impeached of High Treason by the Parliament; but it was not his fortune to suffer for that offence, as others did, who about the same time failed in their Trusts. The Towne of *Scarborough* was left in possession of a Parliament Captaine, who was usually called *Browne Busbell*, a man that some thought would have kept it to the Parliaments use; he likewise revolted, and delivered it to their Enemies.

Upon the landing of Generall KING, and the Queene presently after, a suspicion began to arise, by some circumstances, that the two unfortunate HOTHAMS, the father and the sonne, were false to the Parliament. Which by the strict observation of some vigilant men on that side, was further discovered, and began at last to be discourfed of, with as little beliefe for a long time, as CASSANDRAES Prophecies; and when it came more plainly to appeare, with as much, not onely wonder, but sorrow of honest men, that so much unconstancy should be found. The particulars of this discovery, and how much the Parliament, if not timely prevented, had suffered by it, there will be time hereafter to discourse of more at large. But they were both accused to the Parliament, seized upon at *Hull*, and sent up to *London*, where they long remained Prisoners in the Tower, before the time of their Tryall and Execution.

Not all these disadvantages, by the growth of Enemies, and revolt of friends, could dishearten the Lord FAIRFAX and his Sonne, who still persisted with great courage, and raising the Clubmen of the Country, to piece up those small Forces which remained with them, were able for a while to make considerable resistance, and performe divers services against some parts of the Earle of *Newcastles* vast Army. But
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one Victory was gained by Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX at *Wakefield*, which may be termed rather miraculous then strange; though I shall relate nothing save knowne truth, such a Victory, against so much odds; and so many disadvantages, as may serve to teach how much successe may possibly crowne bold attempts, and justifie that old saying, *Audaces fortuna juvat*.

The Lord FAIRFAX, Generall of the Parliaments Forces in the North, on the 20. of *May* gave Order for a Party to be drawne out from the Garrisons of *Leedes*, *Bradford*, *Halifax*, and *Howley*: They marched, 1000. Foot, three Companies of Dragoners, and eight Troops of Horse; Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX commanded in Chiefe; the Foot were commanded by Sir WILLIAM FAIRFAX, and Serjeant Major Generall GIFFORD; the Horse divided into two Bodies, foure Troops whereof were commanded by Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX himselfe, the other foure by Sir HENRY FOWLYS. From *Howley*, which was their rendzvous, they marched away, and by foure a clock in the morning came before *Wakefield*: Those of the Towne were ready for them, and sent out some of their Horse to encounter with theirs, and Musqueteers to line some hedges, even to the very Towne. There were in *Wakefield* 3000. Foot, and seven Troops of Horse, besides Colonell LAMPTONS Regiment, which came into the Towne after that the Parliaments Forces entred into it. But at the first encounter the Parliaments Forces beat their Enemies Horie back; and their Foot also drove those Musqueteers from the hedges, even into the Towne; which they assaulted in two places, called *Wrengate*, and *Northgate*. After an houre and an halfe fighting, recovered one of their Enemies Peeces, and turned it upon them; and withall entred the Town in both places at the same time. When the Baracadoes were opened, Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX with the Horse,
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also fell into the Towne, and cleared the street, there was a cruell and fierce encounter; in which place Colonel GORING was taken Prisoner by Lieutenant MATTHEW ALURED (brother to Captaine JOHN ALURED, a Member of the House of Commons;) yet in the Market place stood three Troops of Horse, and Colonel LAMPTONS Regiment; to whom Major Generall GIFFORD sent a Trumpet, with proffer of Quarter, if they would lay down their Arms. To which when they returned a scornfull Answer, he fired a Peece of their owne Ordnance upon them, and the Horse also falling in with great fury, soone beat them out of the Towne, and tooke all their Officers Prisoners. They tooke withall 27. Colours of Foot, three Cornets of Horse, and about 1500. Common Souldiers. They were likewise forced when they fled, to leave behind them foure Peeces of Ordnance, with Ammunition, which the Parliament Forces carried away with them. For when they had thus taken the Towne, they found their number and strength too weake to keepe it, and their Prisoners too. And therefore they quitted the place, and marched away with this brave booty.

This great Victory at *Wakefield*, seemed (according to the common saying) like a lightening before death; for not long after, these Forces were quite broken by the Earle of *Newcastle*, whose greatnesse overspread those Countries, and was never incountered by any Enemy, but in parts of his Army. He had managed the whole businesse, and attained his height of power by great skill and policy; and now having no neere Enemy in the field, was gone to besiege the Lord FAIRFAX in *Hull*, which was by some talked of as an error in him, no lesse then besieging *Gloucester* soone after, by the King was censured.

Such a continuall and sad Warre had the Northerne parts been forced to endure all the winter. Nor was it their case alone; scarce any County of *England* was

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was free from it. The whole West, consisting of so many rich and flourishing Shires, had been as sad a stage of civill Tragedies. Many Armies and small Parties of either side (too many for one History to describe at large, or give particular due to the actions of every Gentleman) had been engaged, without any intermission in those parts.

Of all Commanders there, that sided with the King against the Parliament, Sir RALPH HOPTON, by his unwearied industry, and great reputation among the people, had raised himselfe to the most considerable height, and continued the longest a Leader of Armies, as the sequell of the Story will hereafter declare: But his successes, through the whole course of his Actions, were very various, and many ebbs and flowes were in his fortune.

The Marquesse HARTFORD, though farre higher in Dignity, and greater by power of his large Commission from the King (of which before is spoken) was not able to act so largely in the field as Sir RALPH did; though he were seldome idle, but busie about Townes, and in small Parties. They were both opposed in their beginnings, not so much by any Noblemen, or great Commanders employed by the Parliaments Commissions, as by private Gentlemen of those Counties; the chiefe of which were Sir FRANCIS POPHAM, and his Sons, Master STRODE a Deputy Lieutenant there, with others before named, besides plaine Freeholders of the Country, who seemed to understand their owne Liberties and interest, which they had in the Common-wealth. Untill at the last the Earle of *Stanford*, a stout Gentleman, (who had beene before employed about *Leicester*, against Master HASTINGS, with a Commission from the Parliament, as Generall of Some Counties) was sent into the West.

The Earle of *Stanford* was by the Parliament made Lord Generall of all *South-Wales*, and the foure next

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adjacent

adjacent Counties, as *Glocester, Worcester, Hereford,* and *Cheshire*; with power to raise Forces in all those Counties, to appoint Officers and Commanders over them, to traine and exercise the men, and to fight with all that should oppose him. The Lord GRAY, Sonne and Heire to the Earle of *Stamford*, was appointed to succeed his Father, in his former Charge, and made Lord Lieutenant of five Counties, *Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, Rutland,* and *Lincolne*, to continue the Warre against Master HASTINGS, the Earle of *Chesterfield*, and others, who opposed the Parliament in those parts.

The Earle of *Stamford*, at his first comming into the West, was successfull against Sir RALPH HOPTON, whom he raised from the siege of *Plymouth*, but Sir RALPH HOPTON not long after, by a stratagem of faining flight, entrapped many of the Earles men, conducted by a Lieutenant of his, and gave an overthrow to the Parliament Forces; betwixt whom, and the Earle of *Stamford*, upon the fifteenth of *March*, 1642. a Truce was made for twenty daies. The Earle, after the expiration of that Truce, againe taking the field, with a competent Army, was a while prosperous against Sir RALPH HOPTON; but not long after overthrown by the revolt of young CHUDLEY, Sonne to Sir JOHN CHUDLEY, by whose assistance before, those Parliament Forces had been victorious. The Earle of *Stamford* was then inforced to betake himselfe to the City of *Excester*, whither HOPTON and CHUDLEY followed him, to lay siege to the place. But Prince MAURICE was soone after sent thither to command in chiefe; to whom at last (as is before expressed) it was upon faire Articles surrendered by the Earle of *Stamford*.

Notwithstanding so many misfortunes, as had then fallen upon the Parliament side; about the end of *May*, 1643. they did not despaire of regaining the whole West, by the active valour of Sir WILLIAM WALLER

WALLER

WALLER, who about that time was very prosperous in those Counties, and some parts of the Principality of *Wales*, and whose name was growne to be a great terrour to his Enemies. Of his actions, and by what degrees he grew into esteeme and strength, it will not be amisse to relate in a continued Series, considering how great a Generall he became afterwards in these Warres, and in what low Command he began. He was a Gentleman of faire experience in Military affaires by former travels, and services abroad, of good judgement, and great industry, of which he gave many testimonies to the Kingdome.

SIR WILLIAM WALLER, about the time of the Battell of *Keynton*, received a Commission to be Colonell of Horse; and moving that winter following, as occasions of the present Warre required, performed many exploits; he tooke in *Farnham* Castle, and passed Southward, after that *Portsmouth* by his assistance had been taken from Colonell GORING, and some other quick services at *Winchester*, and in the Country thereabouts, which he had performed, joyning himselfe with Colonell BROWNE, a Citizen of *London* (who tooke up Armes at the beginning of this Civill Warre, and continued till the very end, in high Commands, and reputation as high; of whose actions more must be delivered in the sequell of this History.) Colonell HURREY, and some others, passing into the Westerne part of *Suffex*, he layed siege to the City of *Chichester*; in that City many Gentlemen of ranke and quality had fortified themselves, and gathered together much Armes and Ammunition for service of the King against the Parliament.

About the middle of *December* appearing before *Chichester*, he was there met with some Forces, Troops of Horse and Dragoniers, that came to his assistance from *Kent* and *Suffex*, under the conduct of Colonell MORLEY, a Member of the House of Commons, a Gentleman

Gentleman of good ranke in *Suffex*, and great activity in the Parliament Service, and Sir MICHAEL LEIVSEY, a Kentish Knight. The Battery was placed by Sir WILLIAM at fit places, and all things ordered with great skill; but before the battery began, to save effusion of blood, Sir WILLIAM, by the consent of all his Officers, summoned the Town by a Trumpet, with such Conditions offered, which were judged too high by the besieged, and therefore at first not accepted of; yet after eight daies it was rendred to him upon no other Conditions then onely Quarter and faire usage. The Prisoners which were taken there of note, were immediately sent toward *London* to the Parliament, who were Sir EDWARD FORD, high Sheriffe of *Suffex*, Sir JOHN MORLEY, Colonell SHELLY, Master LEAUKNER, Colonell LINDSEY, Lieutenant Colonell PORTER, Major DAWSON, and Major GORDON, with Doctor KING, then Bilhop of *Chichester*, and many other Officers and Commanders in Armes, to the number of 60. about 400. Dragoniers, and almost as many Foot Souldiers. In the *March* following, his imployment was in the Westerne parts of *England*, where he raised Forces. The next in command under him, who continued with him in almost all his actions, was Sir ARTHUR HASLERIG, another Member of the House of Commons, serving as Knight for *Leicestershire*, a man that in all Battels and Skirmishes gave great proofes of his prowesse and personall valour. Sir WILLIAM WALLER having now raised a competent force, and marching out of *Bristol* on the nineteenth of *March*, within two daies after approached *Malmesbury*. Colonell HERBERT LUNSFORD a stout Gentleman, and a good Souldier, Brother to Sir THOMAS LUNSFORD, that was taken at *Keynton* Battell, was then Governour of *Malmesbury*; who upon the first approach sent out seven Troops of Horle, to begin an encounter with him; but they were

were no waies able to indure the force of those Horse which Sir WILLIAM had drawne out against them, but fled immediately, some of them back into the Towne; many of them conceiving that there was small safety in the Towne for them, fled quite away.

Sir WILLIAM assaulted the Towne the same day, but not prevailing then, he lodged there all night, preparing the next morning for another, and more fierce assault. But the besieged conceiving the place untenable, desired a Parley, and yeelded upon Quarter. He tooke at *Malmesbury* one Peece of Ordnance, about three hundred Prisoners, whereof Colonell LUNSFORD, and Colonell COOKE were the chiefe, with almost twenty Officers great and small; good store of rich prize and Ammunition; the Conquest was bloodlesse, and very few slaine on either side.

Within few daies after he obtained a very considerable Victory neere to *Gloucester*, against the Lord HERBERT of *Ragland*, Sonne to the Earle of *Worcester*, who with a great Army of Welchmen lay against that Towne; which, for the manner of it, in brieffe was thus: Sir WILLIAM with his Forces, comming neere to *Cirencester*, made shew (the better to conceale his purpose) as if he intended to fall upon that Towne; but his designe was for *Gloucester*, and had taken such provident care, that the men in *Gloucester* had notice of his purpose; and that with the help of his flat-bottomed Barges, which thence were brought to him in the nature of Waggons (usefull both by land and water) he would transport his Forces over the River *Severne*, beyond *Gloucester*, and fall upon the Reare of the Lord HERBERTS Welch Forces, when he was least feared or expected; withall, he gave notice to the *Gloucester* Forces to fall upon the Front of that Army, as he would upon their Reare. The Plot, as it was wisely contrived, was successfull in the event, and tooke so good effect

effect for him, that when the Lord HERBERT was in skirmish with the Forces of Gloucester, and confident to cut them all off, being very few in comparison of his own; Sir WILLIAM with his Army, neere Highnam their Quarter, fell suddenly upon the Reare of the Lord HERBERTS men, with such fury, that they were all routed, and would gladly have fled, if they had knowne any way to escape. There were slaine of that Welch Army about 500. upon the place; neere a thousand taken Prisoners, with all their Armes and Ammunition, the rest wholly dispersed and scattered, the Lord HERBERT himselfe escaped by flight, and got to Oxford.

Sir WILLIAM WALLER, after this great Victory, marched from thence to Tewkesbury; at whose approach, those of the Kings Souldiers, that were Garritoned there, fled away, and left it to him; from whence marching further into the Country, he surprized divers stragling Troopers of the other side, with some Armes, Pistols, and Carbines, together with sixteene thousand pound in Money, and carried away his booty to Gloucester.

Within as short a distance of time, he tooke Chepstow in Monmouthshire, and seized upon divers of those that were Conspirators for the betraying of Bristol (of which Treason I have spoken before) and who, upon the discovery of it, had fled from thence. At that place he tooke a Ship called the Dragon of Bristol, and great store of wealth in her, belonging to those who were his Enemies; which he seized, as a just booty, and much to his advantage.

From Chepstow he marched with a swift pace to Monmouth; the Towne upon composition was soone rendered to him; from whence, after he had put a Garrison into it, he marched to Uske, and summoned the Country; where divers Forces came in to him; among others Sir WILLIAM MORGAN his Sonne, of Tredegar, brought him five hundred armed men, and

and some Money; where also Master HERBERT of Colebrooke raised a thousand men, and seized on Abergain for the Parliament.

Sir WILLIAM WALLER in this high carriere of his fortune, was commanded back from the West by the Lord Generall Essex, to come to the chiefe Army: Which being soone understood among those of the Kings Army, he was way-layed by Prince MAURICE. The intention of Sir WILLIAM WALLER was to get to Gloucester with his Forces; having therefore sent away his Ordnance and Baggage, with his Foot to guard it over Wye to Aust; himselfe with his Horse and Dragoones, resolved to fall upon Prince MAURICE his Army, and force a passage thorow, which he did with great successe, and small losse; and as he marched afterward, cut down all the Bridges behinde him; whereby he hindred Prince MAURICE from marching after him. This course if the Prince had taken before him, Sir WILLIAM WALLER might have been kept in Wales to his great disadvantage. But by that meanes of cutting down the Bridges, Prince MAURICE his pursuit being hindered, Sir WILLIAM WALLER, by assistance of the Governour MASSEY, regained many Townes possessed by the Kings Forces, especially Tewkesbury, Sir MATTHEW CAREW being fled from thence. But there he tooke many Prisoners, much Armes and Riches; he placed a Garrison there; and from thence, according to his first designe, arrived safe at the City of Gloucester.

Sir WILLIAM WALLER continued not long at Gloucester, but (being now dispenced with for returning to the Lord Generall) according to his usuall celerity, he flew to Hereford, before any feare or expectation of his comming. He tooke that Towne upon Quarter, and in it many Prisoners of great ranke and quality, among whom was the Lord SCUDMORE, with five revolted Members of the House