His Highness Oliver Lord Protector of the Common Wealth of England, Scotland, & Ireland etc.

The Perfect

POLITICIAN:

Or,

A FULL

VIEW

Of the

LIFE and ACTIONS

(Military and Civil)

OF

O. CROMWEL.

Whereunto is added

His CHARACTER;

AND

A Compleat CATALOGUE

of all the Honours conferr'd by him

on several PERSONS.

Qui nescit Dissimulare, nescit Regnare.

LONDON:

Printed by *J. Cottrel*, for *William Roybould* at the Unicorn, and *Henry Fletcher* at the three Gilt Cups in St. *Paul's* Church-yard. 1660.

To the PEOPLE of *England*.

My dear Country-men,

THE *ensuing* History *properly belongeth to you, in a double respect: First, Because it was your* **Blood** *and* **Treasure** *that raised the subject of this Discourse to Supremacie. Then, Secondly, your* **Backs** *bore the* **Burthen** *of his Greatness; therefore it's fit that once again*

you look back and view with a full aſpect, this Gentleman, General, *Politician, and Protector. To limn him to the Life in all theſe Colours, is too much for one Pencil; therefore I onely preſent you the* Epitome *of great* Cromwels *Actions, from his home near* Huntington, *to his Tomb in* Weſtminſter. *The work is not unlike* Homers Iliads *in a nut-ſhel, yet may it ſerve for a* Memento *of our ever-to-be-lamented unnatural diviſions.*

The main ſcope of this Diſcourſe, is a continued ſeries of Tragical Scœnes, with Comical Interludes lately acted in England,

land, Ireland, *and* Scotland: *herein I indeavor to keep pace with* Truth, *ſo near as poſſibly it may be traced. My aim is* Moderation, *as the ſureſt way to hit* Affection; *therefore have I choſen it before partiality or egregious Encomiums, which do not become an* Hiſtorian: *for Flattery is meer folly; no better (I am ſure) can it ſeem to the ſight of a wiſe man, who knows that* Panegyricks *muſt profit the maker, or elſe the ſame Quill will again drop Gall in a Satyrical ſtrain upon his reputation.*

My Indeavors herein (I doubt not) will render ſome profit to

the

the Reader; though much plea-ſure cannot be expected, when the Theme is nothing elſe but boxing about of Governments, as men do Balls in a Tennis-Court.

Countrey-men, Read over this ſmall Manual, and then conſider how finely you have fought your ſelves into LIBERTY. Vale.

I. S.

Reader,

Correct theſe few material *erratas* following, which accidentally have eſcaped the Preſs; and if any literal happen to croſs thy way, let thy pen rectifie the miſtake.

Page line.

73. 5. *for* hand *read* hands.
269. 28. *for* 1654. *read* 1659.

The

THE LIFE and DEATH OF His late Highneſs OLIVER Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of *England, Scotland & Ireland.*

His actions in the Wars of England.

IT is very well known, that he was of an honourable Extraction, and had ſuitable Education. He was born at *Huntingdon*, and bred up in the famous Univerſity of *Cambridge*; where whilſt he

was a Student, there wanted not some Pre-
ſages of his future Greatneſs : neithe
was he then ſo much addicted to Specula-
tion, as to Action, as was obſerved by hi
Tutor. After a good Proficiencie in th
Univerſity, he came to *London*, where h
betook himſelf to the ſtudy of the La
in *Lincolns*-Inne; that nothing might b
wanting to make him a complete Gentle
man, and a good Commonwealths-man.

His Country was not unſenſible of h
great Endowments: for when the neceſſ
ties of thoſe times compelled the la
King to call that Parliament, in the ye
1640, (truly ſurnamed *The long*) he w
elected by them to ſerve as a Membe
therein. And now God being diſpleaſe
with *England*, for the abuſe of a long-con
tinued Peace, and the bleſſings thereo
and determining to puniſh the inhabi
tants thereof for the ſame, he ſent an ev
ſpirit of Diviſion betwixt the King an
that Parliament; They complaining o
his evil Counſel, and He of their Jealou
ſies and Fears: which Diviſion being in
duſtriouſly fomented by Incendiaries, ſoo
brake forth into the flame of open Hoſtili
ty, both parties pretending one and th
ſam

ſame Cauſe of Quarrel. But to that which is chiefly intended.

No ſooner had the Drum and Trumpet ſummoned the Nation to Arms, but *Crom-wel* was alarmed, who (*tam Marte quàm Mercurio*) neglecting the ſoftneſs of a Sedentary, betook himſelf to a Martial employment, and immediately raiſed a Troop of Horſe for the Parliament among his neighbours, at his own charge. The Univerſity of *Cambridge* being not far off him, and the place of his Education, he had a ſpecial regard thereto; and knowing that Univerſities (of all places) might be moſt addicted to the Kings intereſt, eſteeming Parliaments (and this eſpecially) the greateſt depreſſers of Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, in hope of which they are there nurtured; to put the matter out of doubt, he ſecured it for the Parliament; and that in the nick of time, when a large quantity of the Univerſity-Plate was about to be conveyed to the King then at *Oxford*. And ſo induſtrious was he in the Cauſe he had now newly undertaken, that hearing Sir *Thomas Connesby* (high-Sheriff of *Hertford*-ſhire) was at the Town of *St. Albans* on a Market-day, there to proclaim the

Parliament and their General the Earl of *Essex* Traytors, (according to the Kings Proclamation to that purpose) he unexpectedly rusheth into the Town, takes the Sheriff, and sends him up to the Parliament.

Being thus blest with a Troop, he augments his Strength, making it up a thousand Horse; whose Riders being stout and valiant, he took a course to preserve, by Arming them *cap-a-pe*, after the manner of the German *Crabats*: whence in those days he was commonly stiled *Iron-sides*. Being thus re-inforced, he marcheth into the County of *Suffolk*; and having intelligence that above fourty Commanders, Knights and Gentlemen, were at *Lowestoft*, contriving an Association of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* for the King, he with such secresie and celerity enters the Town, that he surpriseth them all.

Having setled the affairs of the Associated Counties firmly for the Parliament, he marcheth towards *Newark*, and blocks up that Garison; and finding a party of the *Newarkers* neer *Grantham*, he fought them; in which Encounter, though he wanted of equality in number, yet he so

far out-went his enemy in courage and resolution, that he put them to flight, himself giving the first Onset.

About *Newark* he spent not much time, but advanceth with the Earl of *Manchester* for the re-inforcement of the Siege of *York*; which was then beleaguered by the Scotish General *Lesley*, assisted by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and a conjunction of other Forces in the North. *Cromwel* had not been long there, but Prince *Rupert* approacheth with a great Army, to raise the Siege: Upon certain intelligence whereof, the Generals draw off the Siege, to fight him; well knowing, that if they won the day, that City would follow as an Appendix to the Victory. The Princes Scouts informing him that the Siege was raised, he sent a party of Horse to face *Lesly* on *Hessam*-Moor, and in the mean time enters *York* with two thousand Horse, carrying with him all things needful for the relief of the Garison: which having done, he seemingly made toward *Tadcaster*, but soon returned again into *Marston*-Moor, and there draws up his Army in Battalia, to the best advantage the ground would permit. *Lesley* was in the mean time

marching with his Army toward *Tadcaſter* after the Prince: but hearing what he had done, he wheels about to give him Battel. The Prince having poſſeſt himſelf of all the advantages that might be, keeps his ground. The Generals, *Leſley*, *Manchester* and *Fairfax*, having drawn up their Army in as good form as the time would permit, placing moſt of *Leſleys* and *Fairfax* his Horſe in the Right Wing; *Manchester*'s with other of the Scotch Horſe made the Left, commanded by *Cromwel* (who had that Charge committed to him for the day:) the Foot made up the Main Body. Both Armies ſtanding in this poſture, Prince *Rupert*'s Left Wing making the firſt Charge, diſſipates the Parliament Right; proſecuting their Charge with ſuch fury and vigour, that in a trice deſtruction was everywhere ſeen. *Cromwel* in the Left wing (not knowing what had befaln the Right) couragiouſly charges *Rupert*'s Right wing; which ſoon turned the ſcale, before inclining toward the Prince: the advantage he got here, by his wiſe improvement thereof, ſoon redounded to the whole Army: for although many for fear disbanded themſelves and fled; yet the reſt

reſt, as many as could be got together, being led on by the Noble Earl of *Manchester*, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, (the laſt of whom received in his face that day a Mark of Honour) joyning with victorious *Cromwel*, made the day clearly theirs. This Fight was the moſt bloudy of any in all the Civil wars, wherein was great ſlaughter on both ſides, judged by ſpectators to be little leſs then ten thouſand men. Prince *Rupert* and his helpers being thus diſcomfited, they fall out, and lay the blame of the miſcarriage one upon the other; the Earl of *Newcaſtle* and others of quality leaving the Kingdom thereupon. This impediment being removed, the Siege of *York* was renewed: which City (though governed by valiant *Glemham*) being hopeleſs of new ſuccours, was ſoon yeelded.

Many other examples of *Cromwels* great Atchievements both North and weſt might be given, even whilſt he was in a lower capacitie: but ſtudying brevity, we ſhall paſs over many things, and come to ſpeak of him as under the New Eſtabliſhment, in which he received a greater Command.

The Parliament ſeeing the war to be

tedious; and finding, that notwithstandin
the daily great effusion of bloud, and va
expence of treasure, small progress wa
made in the Kingdoms resettlement, the
resolve on a new course, by new-modelin
the old Army; and to prevent the just o
fence of any of their Members who mig
be displaced thereby, they pass an Ord
nance, (commonly called *The self-denyi*
Ordinance) that no Member of Parliamen
should serve in the Army, but wholly a
tend the service of the House, unless the
had the Houses license for so doing. Th
they recruit the Army (which had bee
much wasted by Sickness, and a late defe
in the West) to One and twenty thousan
viz. Fourteen thousand Foot, Six thousan
Horse, and One thousand Dragoons; com
missioning Sir *Thomas Fairfax* their Ge
neral.

Cromwel being then in the West, and re
ceiving intelligence of the new Establish
ment, and of the self-denying Ordinance
though he were a great and victorio
Commander, yet he had not forgotten t
obey; but immediately disposing of thos
under his Command, he posts toward
London, to attend his service in Parlia
n en

ment, according to their late Ordinance
aforesaid: and understanding that the Ge-
neral was then at *Windsor*, he took that in
his way, and went to kiss his Excellencies
hand, and take leave of him. But the
Parliament being sufficiently sensible of
his worth, and how excellent an instru-
ment he might be in carrying on the War,
they would not suffer him to desert his Mi-
litary employment; and the next morning
before he came forth of his chamber, a
Commission was sent him by the Com-
mittee of both Kingdoms, whereby he
was made Lieutenant-General of Horse
to the whole Army.

Upon this new Establishment, the Kings
party were very much heightned, thinking
it an easie matter now to subdue the Par-
liaments Army, being thus chopt and chan-
ged, and many eminent Commanders laid
aside and discontented. But they found
the contrary: for as a fractur'd bone well
set, becomes the stronger; so this broken
Army, being skilfully handled, became so
well knit, that it was thereby rendred far
more vigorous and effective. But to pro-
ceed.

Cromwel having accepted of this new
Com-

Command, he immediately applies himſe
to action. For the Kings main Mid-lan
Forces under the Command of Prince *R*
pert, lying then about *Worceſter* and th
borders of *Wales*, intending to take th
Field; they ſent a Convoy of two thou
ſand Horſe to *Oxford*, to fetch off th
King, with the Train of Artillery, and t
procure Recruits for the Army. *Fairfa*
having intelligence hereof, ſent *Cromw*
with a party of Horſe and Dragoons to im
pede their paſſage. No ſooner was orde
given, but he was at the work: for wit
incredible ſwiftneſs marching to ſeek hi
enemy, he found them at *Iſlip*-Bridge, an
there encountred them, and that with
much gallantry, that he took 500 Horſe
and 200 Priſoners, among whom wer
many perſons of quality: here he too
alſo (beſides many other Trophies of Ho
nour) the Queens Standard. And know
ing it to little purpoſe to gain a Victory
and not to proſecute it, he therefore pur
ſued the remnant that eſcaped to *Bleching*
ton-Houſe, where Colonel *Windebank* kep
a Gariſon for the King: he ſummons th
place, requiring a ſpeedy rendition; gi
ving its Governour to underſtand, that
other-

otherwiſe they muſt expect the effects of
the fury of an enraged Souldiery. The
Governour being terrified by the late de-
feat, (it ſeems) deſpairing of relief from
Oxford, and doubting his own ſtrength,
delivers up the Houſe, with all the Arms
and Ammunition therein; (marching to
Oxford, where he was ſhot to death for
his pains.) So that here were two Victo-
ries; the well improvement of the firſt,
procuring the ſecond.

But letting paſs many of his more in-
conſiderable actions, (if any of his in this
kinde may be ſo termed) we proceed to
give an account of his carriage in that re-
markable and fatal Battel of *Naſeby*; one-
ly mentioning that feat at *Bampton*-Buſh,
where he took Sir *William Vaughan*, Lieu-
tenant-Colonel *Littleton*, with divers o-
ther Officers, and 200 common ſouldiers.

This Battel of *Naſeby*, brings to minde
the ſaying of that learned man, *Hugo Gro-
tius*, viz. *When people fight for their liber-
ties, the Princes Crown lies at ſtake*: which
was verified upon the King in the effects
thereof: for the ſcale of his affairs was
thereby ſo turned, that in ſhort time after,
he both loſt his Crown, and became ſubject
to

to the will of his enemy ; being never
ter favour'd with one succesful attem
This Battel was fought on the 14 day
June, 1645. neer *Naseby*. The Kings A
my lying in and about *Harborough*, wh
Prince *Rupert*'s Head-quarters were, th
had resolved the night before, to fig
Fairfax, knowing themselves to be mu
stronger then he, especially in Horse. T
were not more forward to engage, th
the other were willing : and thus be
both agreed in the extremity of Disagr
ment, they both draw into a large field
the Town side, about a mile and a quar
broad. This was the ample stage where
that bloudy Tragedie was acted : sad
behold ! and so much the more sad, wh
we consider that it was English bloud, sh
by English hands : here Relations w
forgotten, friendship relinquished ; y
he that perhaps but lately would have l
down his own, to preserve the life of h
friend, doth now use all possible indus
to destroy it : and this upon no oth
ground, but the common Feud that w
then risen. Behold the effects of a Ci
War ! The Kings Front was made up
a gallant Body of Horse ; the Foot ma
a

second Body : the Right Wing was com-
manded by the brother-Princes *Rupert*
and *Maurice* ; the left, by Sir *Jacob Ash-*
ley : other Commanders of great quality,
and long experience in Martial affairs be-
yond the Seas, taking their places in the
field. Thus being drawn out, with Re-
serves to second the main Body, they took
up the whole bredth of the field. The
Parliaments Foot made a firm Body in the
midst, commanded by Major-General
Skippon, (whose actions that day deserve
an honourable mention) winged with
Horse on either side : the Right Wing
was commanded by the valiant *Cromwel*,
who (to the great joy of the whole Army)
came in to their assistance the night be-
fore, out of the Associated Counties, with
600 Horse and Dragoons ; the Left was
commanded by *Ireton*. *Rupert* gave the
first Charge, which he did with such vio-
lence upon *Ireton* in the Parliaments Left
Wing, that (notwithstanding their strenu-
ous resistance) he was routed, and his men
put to flight, the Prince pursuing them
thorow the Town : but having more minde
to the spoil, then to the thorow-perform-
ance of his work, he leaves the pursuit,

and

and assaults the Waggons; where be
repulsed, he trifled out so much time, t
Cromwel in the Right wing, assisted by C
lonel *Rossiter*, had in the mean time q
disordered the Kings Left wing, and a
were raked the field before him; sepa
ting the Horse from the Foot, and there
rendering them helpless one to the oth
Being reduced to this exigent, the Ho
fled toward *Leicester*; in pursuit of who
Cromwel (considering that though th
had been a Rout, there might be a Rall
and not onely to prevent after-claps, b
also to secure what was already won) s
some few Troops, knowing that sm
force might do great execution on a f
ing enemy: Himself in the interim joy
ing with their own Foot, so encompass
the Kings Infantry, that (notwithstandi
they shewed much gallantry and valo
that day, even to the admiration of th
enemies) being tired out, and despairi
of succour, beholding nothing but dea
and destruction which way soever th
looked, they threw down their Arms, a
submitted to mercy.

The Kings loss hereby will appear t
gre

greater, if we consider it in these two re-
spects:

1. He lost a gallant Army, which was newly flush'd and heightned in their cou-rage, by the late good success they had in the storming of *Leicester*; presently after which, the King writ thus to the Queen: *That without being sanguine, he could report his actions to stand in a better condition then at any time since the War began.*

2. Not onely was an Army lost, but all possibility of raising another; so vi-gorously did the Victors husband and pro-secute what they had begun and gotten.

No sooner had the Parliaments Army broken down this bank, but like a Torrent they soon overflowed the whole Kingdom, bearing down and subduing all opposers. *Leicester* was immediately regained; from thence they haste to the relief of *Taunton*, which had been long besieged by *Goring*'s Army, and held out to admiration. Up-on their approach, *Goring* draws off: they follow him, and overtake him neer *Lam-port*, where they engage him: and here *Cromwel* shewed much prudence, as well as courage: for the Enemy being put to

flight,

flight, he would not ſuffer part of t
Horſe to purſue, but cauſed them to ſt
bear till they were all come up togethe
and then himſelf led them on, doing t
work ſo effectually, that he took almoſt
their Foot and Ordnance. Thence th
ſtept to *Bridgewater*, a very conſideral
place, which (though obſtinately defen
ed) was ſoon taken by ſtorm.

In thoſe days there was a ſort of peo
called *Club-men*, who pretending N
trality, would admit of no Armies with
their Bounds: and ſo confident were th
as to capitulate with the General, as
they intended to cudgel him out of th
Country, notwithſtanding his late gr
ſucceſſes; thinking to keep their Clubs
their hands, when ſo many gallant m
had been forced to part with their ſwor
But *Cromwel* (not knowing what might
the iſſue of ſuch tumultuous aſſembling
reſolves to curb them betimes, and to cru
them in the egge: to which purpoſe, h
ving notice of their Rendezvous, he ma
cheth toward them with a party of Hor
They were four thouſand ſtrong, and h
encamped themſelves on the top of a hil
pr

promiſing much reſolution in one of their Enſignes, which had this Motto:

If ye offer to plunder, or take our cattel,
Be you aſſur'd we'll give you battel.

But this vapour ſoon vaniſhed: for *Cromwel* giving but one Charge up the hill, rou-ted and diſperſed them all, taking 400 priſoners, whom he carried to *Sherborn*; that Caſtle (governed by Sir *Lewes Dives* for the King) being then beleaguered by *Fairfax*, and ſoon after reduced by ſtorm.

Hence the Army marcheth toward *Briſtol*, a place of very great importance, lying on the confines of *Glouceſter*, *Wilts*, *Dorſet* and *Somerſet*-ſhires. Prince *Rupert* was in it, with about four or five thouſand Horſe and Foot; who being too much addicted to Plunder, made the circumjacent Country deſire to be rid of ſuch injurious neighbours. At the Armies firſt arrival, it was adviſed by *Cromwel* and ſome other chief Officers, that they ſhould ſtorm part of the City: which accordingly was put in practice ſo effectually, that Prince *Rupert* durſt not run the hazard of a ſecond aſſault, but immediately delivers up

that great and well-fortified City, havi
liberty to march to *Oxford*.

This great ſervice being thus performe
Cromwel (without the leaſt delay or inte
miſſion) taking with him a Brigad conſi
ing of four Regiments, haſtes to the
ducement of that ſtrong Caſtle of the D
vizes, whoſe natural ſtrength was mu
increaſed by the ingenuity of its Gove
nour Sir *Charles Lloyd*; who being ſen
ble thereof, and confident therein, retu
no other Anſwer to the firſt Summons, b
Win it, and wear it. But as if neither
or Nature could ſufficiently fence a pl
againſt the Stratagems and Aſſaults of t
invincible Conquerour, (whoſe very na
began now to be terrible to the ſtout
adverſary) he ſoon brought the Gove
nour to terms, and compelled him to yee
upon Compoſition.

Winchester was ſoon reduced to t
ſame paſs, after the Governours ſtoma
had been a little brought down, by t
Battery of great Guns and Mortar-piece
Here valiant *Cromwel* (as always) bei
punctual in the obſervation of Article
and being informed that ſome of his Sou
diers had been faulty therein; no ſoone
wa

was the complaint made, but the redreſs was provided: for, hanging up one, to the terrour of others, he ſent the reſt of the offenders to *Oxford*, to be there puniſhed at the diſcretion of the Governour Sir *Thomas Glemham*; who returned them to him again, with an acknowledgement of his great Nobleneſs, in being ſo punctual with his enemy. His tenderneſs in this reſpect, had great influence on others that had a diſpoſition to yeeld.

But now we come to *Baſing*-houſe in *Hantſhire*, a place that knew not what it was to yeeld. It was the Manſion of the Marqueſs of *Winchester*, ſtanding on a riſing ground; encompaſſed with a Brick Rampart, and that lined with earth; a deep dry ditch environing all. The Houſe being ſituate and built as if for Royalty, had this Motto, *Aymez Loyalte*. Here the Marqueſs ſtands upon his Guard, aſſiſted onely at firſt with his own family, and an hundred Muſquetiers from *Oxford*; but was recruited afterwards by the King from time to time, as occaſion ſerved. This Gariſon had been ſeveral times aſſaulted, but to little purpoſe; firſt, by Colonel *Norton* and Colonel *Harvey*; next,

by Sir *William Waller*, with seven thousan
Horse and Foot; who (although he we
by many in those days surnamed *The Co*
queror) did little more then heighten t
courage of the besieged, who made fr
quent desperate Sallies upon him. Th
out-braving all Assailants for some yea
the place began to be esteemed impre
nable: but *Cromwel* soon evinced the co
trary: for having seen Sir *Will. Ogle* t
late Governour of *Winchester* march o
according to Articles, and setled the a
fairs of that Garison for the Parliamen
he the next day marches for *Basing*; wh
ther he no sooner comes, but he falls to t
work in good earnest; placing a stro
Battery against it, that soon made it assau
table; which perceiving, (for he had a
excellent faculty in discerning advant
ges) he orders the several Posts to pr
pare for a Storm. And although the dan
ger and difficulty of the work were grea
even enough to take off the edge of an o
dinary resolution, having to deal with
valiant an enemy, who had often manifes
ed their high courage and great skill i
withstanding several former Assailants
yet he (accounting any designe the mor
ho

honourable, by how much the more dif-
ficult to accomplish) gives the Onset, and
that to so good purpose, that the besieged
saw themselves in no capacity to withstand
him.

Thus was *Basing* subdued: a service so much the more acceptable, by how much the more good redounded to the Country (even to the whole Nation) thereby, in opening a way for Commerce and Correspence betwixt the West of *England* and other parts, which before had been so long obstructed by this Garison.

Langford-House neer *Salisbury* was visited next by *Cromwel*: but they within having head what he had done at *Basing*, despairing of any better success then that Garison, yeelded at the first Summons.

From hence he marches towards the main Body of the Army, who were then upon a march towards *Exeter*, to block up that place. But that designe being for the present waved, they suddenly fall upon *Dartmouth*, and take it. Which being done, they encounter the Lord *Hopton* at *Torrington*, where he was defeated, and upon pursuit, received (as he was formerly assistant in giving) a Cornish Hug, and

thereupon enforced to disband. Whe
upon followed the rendition of *Exeter*.

There remained onely now in the W
Pendennis Caſtle, which being blockt
by Col. *Forteſcue*, was ſoon yeelded.

Thus *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* having th
rowly ſcowred the Weſt, and onely *New*
remaining in the North, the hopes of
King and his party were very low;
not quite dead; for they had ſtill a Par
commanded by that gallant old Sould
Sir *Jacob Aſhley*: but theſe hopes ſo
vaniſh: for he being encountred by C
Morgan neer *Stow* on the Woulds, w
utterly overthrown, himſelf and 1600
coming priſoners to the Victors.

And now that black cloud which had
impetuouſly ſhowred upon other place
began to gather about *Oxford* it ſelf,
Kings Head-quarters, and place of
reſidence; it being already blocked up
Fleetwood and *Ireton*, and every day in e
pectation of a cloſe Siege. Here Art h
ſelf had contributed her utmoſt aſſiſtan
to make the place impregnable; it bei
encompaſſed with regular Fortificatio
furniſhed with a ſtrong Gariſon of ſto
ſouldiers, ſtored with abundance of
kin

kinde of proviſions, and (which is more then all the reſt) governed by one that had given ſufficient proof of his valour and faithfulneſs formerly, in holding out two other Gariſons (*Carliſle* and *York*) to the utmoſt extremity. But all this avails not, *Oxford* muſt yeeld. And the unfortunate King, who had for ſome time paſt received no other News, but (*Job*-like) one meſſenger of ill tidings at the heels of another, having no Field-Army left, nor ſcarce a Gariſon to flee to, began now to conſider the danger of his perſon, and to caſt about which way to ſecure himſelf; and at laſt reſolves to perſonate a Serving-man, and by the Conduct of *Aſhburnham* to eſcape to the Scotiſh Army before *Newark*. The Parliament receiving intelligence of his being there, they demand the King: the Scots refuſe to deliver him; whereupon grew a great Conteſt betwixt the two Nations, concerning their propriety in the perſon of the King. But the Scots calling to minde, that 200000 *l.* was behinde of what the Parliament had formerly hired them for, thought they had now an opportunity to hedge it in, and therefore (like the Ape that made uſe of

the Cats foot to take the Apple out of
fire) they vvave further diſpute, and
ving gotten their money, deliver up
King.

Being in the hands of the Engliſh, h
conveyed to *Holmby*-Houſe in *North*
ptonſhire, a Princely Manſion; where
ſhall leave him at preſent, and come
ſpeak briefly of ſome tranſactions in P
liament, City and Army.

Wars are not onely carried on
Swords and Guns, but Tongues and P
are co-inſtrumental; which as they
been too much employed formerly, w
not idle now. The diſtinguiſhing ter
of approbry formerly uſed, *viz.* Caval
and Roundhead, were now tranſmu
unto thoſe of Presbyterian and Indepe
dent, who at this time claſh with a hi
hand. The Presbyterians endeavour
carry on the intereſt of the Covenan
but they are not herein countenanced
the Army, who ſhew their diſlike ther
of, by the impeachment of eleven Me
bers of Parliament, (*Hollis*, *Staplet*
Waller, *Maſſey*, &c.) vvho are its abe
tors; they thereupon making a voluntar
feceſſion.

Gre

Great diſputes alſo aroſe in the two
Houſes at this time concerning the King;
ſome pleading his coming to *London*, with
freedom, ſafety and honour, to treat with
his Parliament; others urged that no
more Addreſſes might be made to him.
The City cloſeth with that party in the
Parliament which was for the Kings re-
turn; and were ſo hot upon it, that in a
tumultuous vvay they vvould needs com-
pel them to alter their Militia, and bring
home the King. The contrary Party in
the Houſe ſeeing violence offered them,
they vvith the Speaker betake themſelves
to the protection of the Army; vvho be-
ing thus countenanced by Authority, and
thereby encouraged, reſolve upon a March
for *London*, to reſtore the Members of
Parliament to their places and Authori-
ties. Upon the Armies approach, the Ci-
tizens (vvho before had made ſome ſem-
blance of reſiſtance, raiſing Forces to that
purpoſe under *Maſſey*) deſire a Truce:
which vvas granted, upon theſe Condi-
tions.

1. That they ſhould deſert the Parlia-
ment then ſitting, and the eleven im-
peached Members.

2. That

2. That they ſhould recal their De-
ration.

3. That they ſhould relinquiſh the
ſent Militia.

4. That they ſhould deliver up
Forts, together vvith the Tower.

5. That they ſhould disband t
Forces.

VVhich things being performed,
Army made a triumphant paſſage thor
the City of *London*.

To return again to the King: vve fi
him not to continue long at *Holmby*,
Cornet *Joyce* vvith a Party of Horſe f
eth on his Perſon, and carries him away
the Head-quarters. The Army having h
now in their cuſtody, remove him fr
one place to another; as to *Royſton*, H
field, *Cauſam*, an Houſe of the Lord C
vens, (one that hath had a deep ſhare
the ſufferings of the Nobility:) here t
Kings Children came to him, vvhere th
dined together. But here he continu
not long neither, before his remove
Hampton Court, vvhere being terrifi
vvith an Apparition of Agitators, he l
that place, and unfortunately renders hi
ſelf to Col. *Hamond* in the Iſle of *Wig*
vvhe

vvhere he vvas ſecured in *Carisbrook*-Caſtle. Propoſitions are ſent to him from the Parliament, but vvith little effect. Provoked herewith, the Houſes paſt their Votes of Non-addreſſes to his Majeſty, and take the Government upon themſelves; vvhich vvas followed vvith a Declaration from the Army to ſtand in defence of thoſe Votes.

Theſe Actions ſo far diſcontented the people, that in every place nothing could be heard but bad vviſhes, and vvorſe threats: from vvhence many did prognoſticate, the enſuing Summer vvould be a hot one in reſpect of VVars. And now the Subjects of both Kingdoms, vvhich before had joyned in Arms againſt the King, begin to look upon his Eſtate and condition vvith commiſeration, blaming themſelves for being inſtruments in bringing him into the condition he then vvas: and now they petition the Parliament (after the ſame manner that ſome years before they had the King) in a tumultuous manner; and impatient to have the grant of their deſires delaid, they preſs the Houſes for a ſpeedy redreſs of their preſent Grievances; but could have no o-

ther

ther anſwer, but vvhat vvas delivere
the Souldiers guarding the Parliame
and a Troop of Horſe from the Me
theſe diſſwaded the *Surry*-men vvith
ling arguments from coming there
more.

Theſe things made thoſe that be
ſeemed paſſive, to be active: the
cloud of VVar (blown by the fury of
people) had now over-ſpread our He
ſphere; vvhich Alarms the Army in
their Quarters. Firſt, a conſiderable
of the Navy, vvith Captain *Batten*, ſo
times Vice-Admiral to the Earl of *W*
wick, deſert the Parliament, and
themſelves under the power of Pri
Charles: Next, the *Kentiſh*-men riſe
Arms, under pretence of Petitioni
Laughorn, *Poyer* and *Powel*, ſeiſed on ſo
ſtrong Towns and Caſtles in *South-Wa*
and declared againſt them. Yet this v
not all; there blew a Northern blaſt, t
made many men ſhake: Duke *Hami*
(a man vvho had received much of
King, but deſerved little) ruſheth in vv
an Army of Scots, and joynes himſelf
Langdale, *Glemham*, and others of t
Kings Party in the North.

U*po*

Upon theſe Riſings, the Parliament
conſiders how to conjure theſe evil ſpi
its down againe: the Valour of their
Souldiers had been tried in many Fights
and Sieges before; their former good ſuc-
ceſſes made them confident that Victory
was ſettled in their Scabbards, and that
they ſhou'd no ſooner draw their Swords,
but their enemies would fly. To manage
theſe Wars, *Fairfax* was ſent into *Kent*,
Lambert into the North, there to ſtop (as
much as could be) the over-flowing Tor-
rent of *Hamiltons* Army, who waſted the
Country at pleaſure, whereſoever they
came: for *Wales*, victorious *Cromwel* was
deſigned: before him (as forlorn) marches
Col. *Horton* with 3000, who engaged
Laughorns 8000 raw Welchmen, and rou-
ted them: *Cromwel* himſelf ſoon follows
after, with two Regiments of Horſe, and
three of Foot. Now we ſee him in the
Field again, to accompliſh great underta-
kings; which he did with ſo much facility,
that it rather ſeemed a Recreation then la-
bour. *Cæſar's Veni, Vidi, Vici*, may well
be attributed to him, who no ſooner came
neer an Enemy and beheld him, but he o-
vercame him: and indeed, his quick

Marches,

Marches, furious Onsets, and victo
Conquests, came very neer *Caesar*
chievements. The first place we
him at in his march, was *Chepstow-C*
which he resolved to besiege; but hi
hastning to *Pembrook*, he leaves Col.
to dispatch this piece of service, wh
compliſhed it in fifteen days. *Crom*
the twentieth of *May* comes to *Pemb*
Poyer being Governour of it; wh
lying much upon the strength of the p
refuseth all Conditions that are prof
to him. *Cromwel* not being accustome
despair of any thing that is possible, ap
himself to the Siege at Land; Sir *Ge*
Ayscough in the mean time with a S
dren of Ships, cast Anchor in the Ro
to forbid any succours to be carried i
Sea; and, as occasion served, to fur
the Leaguer with great Guns and o
provisions necessary.

Cromwel having taken a full view o
Castle, and considering the strength o
makes his way by approaches; and w
his great Guns, summons them to ye
This course he thought the safest, u
these considerations: First, for that
certain intelligence he was informed

he small Magazine of Provision that they
ad in the Town and Castle; so that of
ecessity they must yeeld: their bodies
being weakned for want of sustenance,
would bring down their stout Stomacks.
Then, Divisions among themselves, which
grew to that height at last, that the Soul-
diers began to mutiny against their Com-
manders. And lastly, (though he had
Men enough to enforce them, yet) consi-
dering this was not the last service his
Forces must go upon, he would not be too
prodigal of pretious blood; knowing that
Victory to be the cheapest, which is won
without blows.

Having thus considered of the matter,
he causes strict guard to be kept in his
Trenches, that so they might be kept in
from running away. This order was not
long observed, before Hunger had so bat-
tered down their Bellies, and therewith
so quell'd their courage, that they desired
a Parly, and willingly yeelded up the Town
and Castle upon quarter, as to the com-
mon Souldiery; but *Laughorn*, *Poyer* and
Powel, with some other of the prime
Commanders, render themselves prisoners
at mercy; which some of them found, but

others

others were afterwards made exempla

No sooner was this considerable
reduced to obedience, but *Cromwel* im
diately marcheth Northwards wit
speed possible, to disperse that black
which threatned to send a scotch Mist
those parts of *England*: Being at
cester, he acquaints the Parliament
the necessities of the Armie: which
no sooner done, but immediately sup
were sent, to the great encouragem
the Souldiery. *Cromwel* having jo
with *Lambert*, who then attended *H*
tons Motions, and retarded his Mar
their united Forces made an Army i
of 8600 strong; too weak (in out
appearance) to grapple with 21000 n
but considering the courage and res
tion of the Souldiers, they were suffic
to do the business, as it proved at
Cromwel finding an opportunity to co
the Scotch for their insolent rapine,
solves to do it, and drive them home
die in the attempt. At *Preston* in L
cashire, his forlorn, consisting of 200 H
and 400 Foot, first engaged; after th
Cromwel himself brought up the main B
tle in as good a posture as the Gro
wo

would bear, (which being inclosure and
mirie Ground, was inconvenient for Horse)
he fought them through a durty Lane, and
forc'd them to seek shelter in the Hedges
near at hand: which proved but a poor
defence against the rage of *Cromwels* men.
After four hours dispute, they were driven
into *Preston* with the victorious Souldiers
at their heels, who presently cleared the
streets. The Duke finding the place too
hot for his cold Constitution, retreates
over the Bridge with as many Horse and
Foot as could follow him: but his shir-
king away would not serve the turn; they
must first give an account of their business,
before the pass could be granted, which at
last they had signed, sealed and delivered.
At the Bridge was the greatest piece of
service, where extraordinary courage was
shewn on both sides; but especially *Crom-
wel* and his Men, imitating the Discipline
of the ancient English, with Swords in
hand rushed into the thickest of their Ene-
mies: pelting them to death at a distance,
they looked on rather as a signe of cow-
ardise then courage: the Scotch not being
well acquainted with that manner of Dis-
cipline, did not like this rough handling;

and therefore betake themſelves to t
heels; accounting that the ſafeſt wa
ſave their lives: but this ſhift fail'd th
for *Cromwel* was as nimble in purſuit
reſolute in fight. Lieutenant-Gen
Bayly finding ſmart blows on his b
when he dared not turn his face, being
ven into *Warrington* Town, there ca
lates to deliver himſelf and four thou
with him priſoners at War: which
immediately done. VVe ſhould here
member the Exployts of *Hamilton*
ſelf, if he had done any; but more l
Duck, then a Duke, and General o
Army, he flees away to *Uttoxeter*;
ther being purſued, he was there t
priſoner by Col. *Waite*, and about 3
Horſe with him.

He being ſoon after brought to *Lon*
and not long after that, to a Tryal
his Invaſion; this was one of his P
to his Charge, *That he was invited.*
he found very ſorry entertainment:
after he had been thus ſhamefully bea
he (with others) was adjudged to
his head.

This great Battle was very conſider
in many reſpects, as to the Victory it

2000 being ſlain on the ſeveral places, and near upon 10000 priſoners taken, one hundred Colours, with all their bag and baggage: then it conduced much to the carrying on the Parliaments Deſignes at that time; and withal, left no hope of relief for thoſe ſtout hearts that ſo obſtinately defended *Colcheſter*; whoſe deſignes, although they were againſt the times, yet 'twas an Honour for the Nation, that it could produce ſuch Men.

Cromwel after this Victory, (being yet reeking hot with the ſlaughter of the Scots at *Preſton*) poſts away to acquaint *Monro* (who was then come into *England* as a reſerve to the Duke with a conſiderable Force) what was become of *Hamilton* and his great Army, which was reputed ſo formidable, that it's very name terrified at a diſtance. *Monro* having notice of his coming, had learnt ſo much wit in *Germany*, whilſt he was in great *Guſtavus* his ſervice, as to fight with none but them that were of his match; and knowing the Engliſh would be too hard for him, he withdraws back again into *Scotland*, where preſently after he was disbanded.

Cromwel having thus rid the whole Na-

tion in general of a great fear, and eas
the North in particular of that sad burd
they groaned under by the Plunder a
Oppression of the Scots Army, prosecut
his Victory to the utmost, entring in
Scotland it self. In his way he reduc
Barwick and *Carlisle* to their former ob
dience, both being delivered on compo
sition. Before his entrance into *Scotlan*
he drew the Army to a Randezvouze o
the Banks of *Tweede*, and caused Proc
mation to be made at the head of eve
Regiment of Horse and Foot, that on th
pain of death no Cattle nor Goods shou
be forc'd from the Scotch people by an
of his Souldiers in their March, witho
an especial order; but that in all thing
they should demean themselves civilly i
their March and Quarters, not giving of
fence to any: such care had this grea
Captain to observe the same Discipline i
Scotland, which before was established i
England. So taking his way directly for *E*
dinburgh, he was met by many of the Sco
tish Nobility and Gentry from the Com
mittee of Estates, with congratulatory O
rations in honour of his worthy Atchieve
ments; acknowledging that his presence

would

would conduce much to the settlement of their distracted Kingdom. Being thus arrived at *Edenburgh*, he was received with great demonstrations of joy, and lodged in the Earl of *Murray*'s House: to him resorted the Lord Chancellor of that Kingdom; the Earls of *Leven*, *Arguile*, *Cassil*; the Lords, *Burley*, *Wariston*, and *David Lesley*; with many other persons of honour, both of the Nobility and Gentry. The Lord Provest, with several eminent Citizens, came to welcome him thither, and present their service to him. When these Visits were over, he desired the Committee of Estates to seclude out of publick Office all that had any hand in, or did in the least promote *Hamiltons* late Invasion. To which the Committee condescended; making this request withall, (being fearful of themselves, and doubting new stirs might arise after the departure of the English Army) that the General would leave some Forces with them, which might be ready to quell any Insurrections; promising, that when they had raised a Force sufficient for their own defence, then they would dismiss them, and return them again to their own Country.

This was yeelded unto; and Major G
neral *Lambert*, an experienced Souldi
with three Regiments of Horſe, was
pointed for the ſervice.

Now things ſtanding in this poſture,
the content of both parties, the Scots
vited *Cromwel*, and the chief Officers
the Army, to the Caſtle of *Edenburg*
whither they all went in Coaches, a
were highly treated at a Banquet prepa
for them. At their departure, the g
Guns and ſmall ſhot gave them many v
lies for a farewel. Thus was he welco
ed by the Scots: hereafter we ſhall
how he will welcome himſelf; for thi
not the laſt time which he means to v
them: his next errand I fear will be leſs
their content.

Cromwel having now finiſhed what
came about, prepares to depart. *Octo*
the 16, 1648. he leaves *Edinburgh*, be
conducted ſome miles on his way by *A*
guile, and ſome other of the Scotch N
bility; at whoſe parting, great demo
ſtrations of affection paſt betwixt them.

Cromwel now bends his courſe direct
to *Carliſle*, from thence marches Southe
ly, to compel Col. *John Morrice*, and the
bo

bold fellows, to yeeld, that held out *Pon-
tefract* Caſtle. This place, though not
very great, was very conſiderable as to the
ſtrength of it; but 'twas not the Fortifica-
tion, nor Wall of Stones, but the Wall of
Bones (as it were) that made it ſo fa-
mous at this time all the Kingdom over.
The Gariſon conſiſted of about 400 Foot,
and 130 Horſe, bold deſperate Fellows,
as may be perceived by ſome of their Acti-
ons. One day there iſſued out of the
Caſtle a party of Horſe, who fetcht in Sir
Arthur Ingram, and made him pay 1500 *l.*
for his Ranſom, before he could get from
them. Again, afterwards Captain *Clayton*
and moſt of his Troop, was ſeized upon by
them, and made priſoners: 200 head of
Cattle, with many Horſes, they fetch'd in-
to the Caſtle, whilſt Sir *Henry Cholmley*
lay before it with his Forces to keep them
in. But the boldeſt trick of all, was this:
One morning before day there ſallied out
40 Horſe, who poſt away to *Doncaſter*,
where Col. *Rainsborough* then quartered,
who had a Commiſſion to command in
chief before the Caſtle: when they were
come near the Town, three of the party
left their Fellows without, and confidently

marching in, enquired for Col. *Rainsborough*'s quarters; which when they h notice of, they entered, pretending to d liver a Letter to him from Lieutenan General *Cromwel*: The Col. little drea ing that these were the Messengers death, confidently opens his Chamb door to receive the Letter; but inste thereof, he received that fatal wound to his heart, that sent him to his grav And although his Forces were about hi and kept guard in the Town; yet the confident Fellows got back into the Cas in the middle of the day.

To curb these insolencies, *Cromwel* (i mediately after he had setled the Northe Counties in peace and quietness) com to the Leaguer; and having ordered t several Posts for a close Siege, so that no they could not range abroad, he left strong party before it, commanded b *Lambert* (who was come thither out *Scotland*.) Himself marches up to *Londo* and takes his place in the Parliament, wh were sufficiently sensible of the large testi mony he had given in *Scotland*, of his pru dence in governing his Army whilst the were in that Kingdom, and with what civi-

civility both Officers and Souldiers beha ved themselves, together with their care to avoid all causes of offence both in their Quarters and March. They thereupon order the hearty thanks of the House of to be given to this worthy Captain; which was accordingly done by the Spea ker, whilst he sate among them; he recei ving it with great humility, (after his manner) not taking to himself the least of all those great things that were wrought by him, but attributing them wholly to GOD, who is the Giver of Victories.

Now the smooth countenance of Peace having once againe appeared over most part of the Nation, the Parliament takes into consideration the punishment of the chief abettors and promoters of the late War; and looking upon the King as a chief Instrument, they resolve to bring him to a speedy Tryal: in order whereunto, a Charge was drawn up against him, con sisting of many Heads; chiefly, *That he was the Promoter of the Rebellion in* Ire land, *The Contriver of the Wars in* Eng land: and what blood soever had been spilt in the Nation in the time of the Wars, was put to his Charge, as an Actor

in

in and at many ingagements; with
other Enormities and Crimes which
said he was guilty of.

To cary on this work thus begun, a
Court of Justice was erected, consisting
some Lords, many Members of the H
of Commons, and Officers of the Ar
over whom was set Serjeant *Brads*
as President of the Court. All th
being thus prepared, the King was
ducted to St. *James's* from *Windsor*
party of Horse, and afterward remo
to Sir *Robert Cottons* House, in orde
his Tryal, which lasted three days
fine, he was condemned, and presentl
ter executed before his Palace of *W*
hall, on Tuesday, *January* the 30, 164

Thus fell King *Charles*; a man in
ed with singular Vertues: temperat
was above all his Predecessors, both a
Wine and Women, taking no more
the first, then might well suffice and c
rish Nature; and for the last, constanc
one; insomuch that none of all the p
ceding Kings that arrived to his yea
(except his Royal Father) could be co
pared to him. He was a good Theolo
ci

ian, not onely in the Theorick, but Pra-
tis'd what he knew. None ever under-
took him in dispute, but much admired
his Parts; even those Ministers which the
Parliament sent to him in Isle of *Wight*,
besides many others: the Earl of *Worcester*
and Mr. *Henderson*, were both silenced
with his Arguments. He was endued with
much Patience, Prosperity and Adversity
being both one to him, working little else
in him, but onely to shew that he had an
absolute command over his Passions and
Affections. His Actions in the last scene
of his Life, made many pity him, who
before had undervaluing thoughts of his
Abilities, looking upon him as too weak to
bear the burden of three Kingdoms on his
Shoulders. In a word, he wanted nothing,
but less confidence in those about him, and
more courage and resolution in himself, to
be a happy King.

This Tragedy being over, the Parlia-
ment immediately changed the Govern-
ment into a Commonwealth, voting *a*
King and House of Lords to be unnecessary
and chargeable: that the Supream Autho-
rity should reside in the House of Commons
alone, without King or Lords: and to that
effect,

effect, impoſed an Engagement to
ken by all perſons, before they ſhou
ceive any benefit by the Law, or en
ny place of publick truſt or profit
they could hinder them of. This Pi
ny ſwallowed, but did not like the
had it not been wrapt about in gold
profit) few would have put it to
Mouths. The Stomacks of the C
moſt of all nauſeated it, being point-b
againſt the Covenant, which they ha
ken not long before, and endeavo
ſtill to maintain.

Affairs of State ſtanding thus, the P
ament finde the Nation full of So
ers that were lately disbanded, ſom
force in the field, as the Kings; a
thers the Parliaments, formerly in
ſervice, but now disbanded for ſuper
meraries: theſe for the moſt part were
of Fortune, who by reaſon of their
continuance from their Callings, c
not poſſibly ſet themſelves to work,
therefore muſt uſe their Swords to the
advantage, either upon ſome new empl
ment, or exerciſe arms on the High-w
Our new State being very ſenſible of
(as they were not onely vigilant to

t careful in preventing all inconvenien-
s that might happen) found out a way
divert theſe ill Humours that lay lur-
ng in the Body of the Nation, by send-
g them to *Ireland*, where they might do
O D and their Country good ſervice, in
oduing the Rebels that now were grown
powerful, that no place but *London-*
rry, and *Dublin* it ſelf, were able to with-
nd them; nor they neither, without
eedy ſuccours from *England*.

This Rebellion (the moſt barbarous
d bloody of any that ever broke out in
y part of the world, acted by Devils in
mane ſhape, rather then by men, mur-
ering no leſs then 200000 Proteſtants
two Months time, without any regard
ther to Age or Sex) was put in practiſe
the 23 day of *October*, 1641. which
ough it had been contrived with ſuch
ivacie, and acted with ſuch violence, yet
ivine Providence did wonderfully pre-
rve *Dublin*, to be a Refuge for ſuch as
caped thither from other places, to a-
oid the fury of their bloody Perſecu-
rs.

Now *Ireland* lying in this ſad conditi-

on

on, weltring in blood, and overwh
in the greateſt Miſery that Fire and
could inflict, many of the poor Prot
get into *England*, hoping there to
ſhelter from the perſecuting Enemy
this proved little comfort to thoſe
ſed Souls; for here they finde, to the
Augmentation of their Grief, that
land prepares on all ſides to act the
upon one another, vvhich had been
againſt them in *Ireland*. But alt
the difference between the King an
liament grew vvider every day th
ther, they endeavouring rather to g
vantages, then compoſe differences
'twas ſo agreed, that ſome Regi
ſhould be ſent over into *Ireland*, t
the proceedings of the Rebels: vvh
effect vvas but as a Bucket of vvat
on a flaming Houſe, that could do lit
the quenching of it.

After ſome time, the King in E
finding his ſtrength every day mor
more decreaſe, and the Parliament
ground of him in moſt places, did
onely ſend for thoſe Forces out of I
again, but many of the Rebels

ſelves came to his aſſiſtance, ſo that *Ire-land* by this vvas in a vvorſe condition then ever, forſaken of all, and left to be vvorried by thoſe Blood-thirſty Wolves; vvorſe by a thouſand degrees then the ravenous brood vvhich their Country produceth: yet vvhen their condition was at the worſt, it pleaſed GOD (vvho never fails his People in diſtreſs, but makes their neceſſity his opportunity) to ſtir up the Parliament in *England* vvith Bowels of compaſſion to look on the diſtreſſes of their Brethren. Long had they faſted and prayed for them, but did not add to it their helping hand: one vvithout the other can never do much good; but joyned together, a ſmall Force is ſufficient to accompliſh great Deſignes. *A deſperate diſeaſe requires a deſperate Cure.* The State-Phyſitians of *England* having now quite purged out Monarchy vvith all its Appendants, and verified the words of Biſhop *Laud, No Biſhop, no King*; the firſt (with the Ceremonies of the Church) being fallen, quickly after came the other down alſo; they reſolve to ſend the ſame ſharp medicine to cure the Bleeding VVounds of *Ireland*, which (they thought) had

cured

cured *England*: and to that end they
over an Army under the Command of
liant *Cromwel*; whose Actions there,
now come to.

HIS WARS IN IRELAND.

A General ought to have these four Properties to make him Victorious:

1. A good Cause.
2. Strict Discipline.
3. Valour and Resolution.
4. Lastly, Celerity.

For the first, none but the Papists will deny

deny it: for the reſt, no man in the
could ſhew more Valour and Reſolu
nor Prudence to govern it, then Ge
Cromwel. A ſtrict Diſcipline he eve
ſerved, which is the Life of an Ar
ſparing none that tranſgreſt againſt
Articles of War which were inſtitute
their better conduct. His Souldiers
riage and behaviour, through thei
nerals care, won more then his Swor
Deſigne being once reſolved upon, u
himſelf was the Meſſenger to bring
Enemy tidings thereof, and then he
hardly give them leave to Arm befo
aſſaulted them either by Storm or B

This made the old Emperour of
many ſay to ſome of his Courtiers,
his hearing of News from *England*,
he thought Cromwel *by tranſmigr*
was poſſeſt with the Spirit of Guſtavu
old Enemy: ſo neer did their actings i
Wars agree.

Ireland (to ſpeak of its condition
tle before he undertook his expedition
ther) was in a manner wholly reduce
Ormond, formerly made Lord-Depu
the Queen; who having joyned his Fo

to the Rebels, and *Inchequeen* himſelf being now fallen off from that cauſe which before he ſtoutly defended, no viſible Force remained in the Field to oppoſe the Enemy, who had the Kingdom wholly at their devotion, except *London-derry*, which was governed by Sir *Charles Coot*; and *Dublin* the chief City, wherein was Col. *Michael Jones*, with no great Force; and that which made it leſs, was the ſuſpition he had of his own Souldiers fidelity, who many times deſerted their Colours. The Enemy with a numerous Army lay under the VValls of it, with many menacing Summons, requiring of them a ſpeedy rendition: yet through the vigilancy of the Governour Valiant *Jones*, it held out to the confuſion of the Beſiegers. But his preſent danger made him reiterate his Calls to the Parliament in *England* for ſpeedy Aid of Men and Proviſions, alleadging, that elſe all would be loſt: and they being ſenſible of his condition, expedite their Aſſiſtance, appointing Com. Gen. *Ireton*, Col. *Scroop*, Col. *Horton*, Major Gen. *Lambert*, with their four Regiments of Horſe; Col. *Ewers*, Col. *Cook*, Col. *Huſon*, and Col. *Dean*, with theirs of Foot,

and five Troops of Dragoons, all old So
diers of the Englisſh Army, whoſe Val
had often been tried in many ſharp E
counters, and found not to fear
countenance of the fierceſt Enemy.
ſides theſe, other Regiments were rai
by beat of Drum, to make up the numb
ſufficient to carry on the VVork effectu
ly.

The Souldiers being in readineſs, a
nothing wanting but a General, the Pa
ament having had experience of *Cro*
wels great worth and valour, knowing
man more fitting for the Employment,
fired him to accept of it; who receiv
it with a great deal of chearfulneſs;
preſſing how ready he was to ſerve in t
Employment above any in the world, n
doubting but GOD would make of hi
an Inſtrument to execute Vengeance up
the Rebellious Iriſh. This anſwer was
highly reſented by the Parliament, th
immediately they conſtitute him Gener
of all their Forces in that Kingdom, an
Lord Governour both as to Civil and M
litary Affairs in the Nation. Col. Jo
they commiſſionated Lieutenant-Gener
of the Horſe. This being done, the Sou
die

diers march with great ſpeed (not reſting above one night in a place) to the Randezvous near *Milford* in *Wales*, there to expect the Lord Deputy *Cromwel*; who having diſpatched his buſineſs with the Parliament, began his Journey.

Tueſday *July* 10, 1649. leaving *London*, he ſet forward in great ſtate, himſelf drawn in a Coach with ſix Flanders Mares, attended by many Members of the Parliament, and Councel of State, with the chiefeſt Officers of the Army; his Lifeguard conſiſting of eighty men, which had been formerly Commanders, bravely mounted and accouter'd, both themſelves and Servants. Thus he rid to *Branford*, where thoſe Gentlemen that accompanied him took leave, wiſhing a ſucceſsful iſſue to this deſigne: which was anſwered again with great reſpect. Away he poſts for *Briſtol*, to take order for the Traine of Artillery, and many other buſineſſes needful for the haſtning his men on Ship-board. From thence he takes his way to *Wales*, having before ſent three Regiments, (*viz.* Col. *Reynolds* of Horſe, Col. *Venables* and Col. *Muncks* of Foot) theſe as the *Vaunt-Coureurs* to the Army, were ſhip'd

from *Chester* and the Ports thereabou
who being favoured with a prospero
Gale, soon arrived at the Port of *Dubl*
where they were received with unsp
kable Joy and Gladness : the Citiz
spared for nothing that might be a com
to the Sea-sick Souldiers, hoping that
recovery of their Health, might be
enlargement of their Liberties, vvho
vvere vvholly confined within the nar
compass of their City-walls. They w
not at all deceived in their expectatio
Jones his courage being much height
by the arrival of these men, novv scor
the Enemies Bravadoes, and resolves (
on the first opportunity) by Gods bl
sing, to remove them farther off; whic
was not long before he performed: as
pears by what follows. On Tuesday, *A*
gust 2. 1649. the Enemy confidently dra
down (vvith a party of 1500 Foot besi
Horse) to *Baggotsrold*, a place with
one quarter of a Mile Eastward of
City upon the Sea: hence they intend
to run their trenches towards the Ci
works, and thereby secure those Fo
which were intended to be made towar
the water, to hinder the landing of su
pli

plies and succours expected from *England*. But *Jones* and *Reynolds*, with those other Commanders in the City, observing the intent of the Enemy, saw a necessity to interrupt them in their designe, and therefore speedily drawing out twelve hundred Horse, and four thousand Foot, they with these quickly enter the works (which the Enemy had newly raised) and fell upon them with so much courage, that they routed their Horse at the first charge: the greatest part of the Foot were soon after cut in pieces, and most of the rest taken prisoners.

This success so heated *Jones* his Men, that they followed the chase to *Rathmines*, where *Ormond*'s Camp was, and there they engaged his whole Army, consisting of 19000 Men. The report of this bold Attempt, quickly reached the General *Ormond*'s Ears, who then (like a doughty Commander) was valiantly playing at Tables in his own Tent; and being told the news, wished the Rebels (as he called them) would come, that so he might have sport with them. His wish he had, but not the wished effect: for the Tables are soon turned, the sport proving very bad

and bloody to *Ormonds* whole Army, were totally routed with a very g slaughter; 4000 killed in the fight chase, 2517 prisoners taken, most of t men of quality; amongst the rest, *monds* own Brother: All their great G Ammunition & Provision, they left be them, and withall, a rich Camp, to re the valiant Souldiers; who, with the thereof, quickly clothed themselve rich Habits, and so marched into the as it were *incognito*; for many of Officers knew not their own Sould they were grown so fine. This Vic was obtained with the loss of few, number not exceeding twenty.

The News of this great Victory qui ly reached the Lord Governour *Crom* at *Milford* Haven, who was then sh ping himself and Army. *August* the he set sail from thence with thirty t ships, wherein vvas the Van of the Arm on the 15 day, Major-General *Ireton* fo lowed after vvith the Body, shipped forty two sail: Mr. *Hugh Peters* brou up the Reare, in about twenty sail. Winds being favourable, quickly brou them to *Dublin*, where they were receiv vvi

vvith all the signes of Joy imaginable; the great Guns ecchoed forth their vvel- come, and the peoples Acclamations re- sounded in every street. When *Cromwel* (the now Lord Governour) vvas come into the City (the concourse of people being very great to see him, vvhom before they had heard so much of) at a conveni- ent place he made a stand, and in an hum- ble posture, having his Hat in his Hand, he speaks thus to the people: *That as God had brought him thither in safety, so he doubted not but (by his Divine Provi- dence) to restore them all to their just Li- berties and Proprieties; and that all those whose hearts affections were real for the car- rying on of the great work against the bar- barous and bloody-thirsty Irish, and the rest of their Adherents and Confederates, for the propagating of the Gospel of Christ, the establishing of Truth and Peace, and resto- ring that bleeding Nation to its former hap- pines and tranquillitie, should finde favour and protection from the Parliament of Eng- land, and himself; and withal, should receive such endowments and gratuities as should be answerable to their Merits.*

This Speech was highly applauded by the

the people, and anſwer returned by
hundreds, That *they would live and dye*
him.

The Army being all vvafted over,
General knowing that vvithout Gods
ſing his labour vvould be in vain, th
fore (to obtain it) he publiſhed a
clamation, ſtrictly forbidding all pe
under his Command to uſe the freq
practiſe of ſwearing, curſing, and drun
neſs; declaring a full reſolution to pu
with the greateſt ſeverity that the
could inflict, all thoſe that ſhould neg
or contemn the ſame. This vvroug
great Reformation; many taking vva
ing, by the puniſhment of ſome.
Army being now refreſhed, and the L
Governour having ſettled the Affair
the City, both Military and Civil,
draws the Army out of *Dublin* to a ge
ral Muſter, vvhere appeared a compl
Body of 15000 Horſe and Foot: out
theſe were drawn twelve Regiments, co
taining in number between 9 or 10
ſtout reſolute Men, for the preſent Expe
tion. This Army being provided vv
all things neceſſary either for Offence
Defence, drawing along vvith them a g
la

nt traine of Artillery, four vvhole Can-
on, and five Demy-cannons, beſides other
pieces uſeful either for a Siege or the
ield, the Lord-Governour marches them
way, and quickly ſeats himſelf under
he Walls of *Tredagh*. Here he finds a
noſt reſolute enemy, that vvould ſooner
reak then bend: the Governour of the
Town vvas Sir *Arthur Aſhton* (vvho had
ormerly been Governour of *Reading* and
Oxford in *England* for the King) a Soul-
lier he vvas, that vvould not be comple-
mented out of his Gariſon; nothing but
force muſt do the feat. With him vvere
about 3000 Horſe and Foot, moſt of them
Engliſh. Obſerving the Rules of War,
Cromwel ſent them a Summons; vvhich
was ſlighted, and looked upon rather as a
formality, then that he did believe to have
the Town upon it. This taking no effect,
the Lord-Governour orders all things for
a quick diſpatch of the Siege: *Aiſcough's*
ſhips block them up by Sea; on the Land,
the vvhite Flag vvas taken in, and the
Red Enſigne diſplayed before the Town,
to denounce blood and deſtruction vvith-
out a ſpeedy rendition. This did not
much frighten the beſieged, vvho expected
ſuc-

ſuccour from *Ormond*; and beſides, vvere unanimous in this reſolution, T pire vvith the Town; vvhich the ſhortly after: for now a ſtrong Ba being planted, it quickly levelled the ple of a Church (ſo that it could not perly be called a Steeple-Houſe) on South ſide the Town, and a Tower The next day, the Battery continuing, ter two or three hundred ſhot made, corner Tower between the Eaſt and So wall vvas beaten down, and two brea made, vvhich vvere quickly entred by *Huſons*, *Ewers*, and *Caſtle's* Regimen Foot, the breaches being not wide enc to admit the Horſe to enter vvith th Here the height of Valour vvas ſhew both ſides; they grappling vvith each ther at the Swords point; the Aſſail fighting for the Town, and the Defen for their Lives, (vvhich indeed vvill a coward fight, though he fear to l upon the blows he gives:) the brea vvere not more couragiouſly aſſault then valiantly defended; the Enemy wi in gallantly charging thoſe that ente driving them back again vvith more ſp then they came in. *Cromwel* all this vvh ſtan

ſtanding at the Battery, and perceiving his Mens retreat, draws out a freſh reſerve of Col. *Ewers* his Foot, and in perſon enters vvith them once more into the Town. The example of their General, vvith the ſhame of the former repulſe, ſo animated the Souldiers, that none vvere able to ſtand in their vvay: and having now got ſure footing in the Town, they ſpare none, but put all they met vvith to the Sword. But though the town vvas thus vvon, it vvas not vvholly ſubdued: for *Aſhtons* men deſperately diſputed every corner of the ſtreets, making the Aſſailants vvin vvhat they had by inches; and at laſt, the ſtreets proving too hot, they betook themelves to the Churches and Steeples, and other places of ſhelter: in St. *Peters* Church-ſteeple were got about one hundred, vvho there reſolved to ſell their lives at as dear a rate as poſſibly they could: but they vvere all ſoon blown up vvith Gun-powder, onely one man eſcaped, by leaping from the Tower; the Wind being favourable to him, he onely broke his leg by the fall; which the Souldiers ſeeing, took him up, and gave him quarter. In other places they were ſummoned

to

to yeeld; which they refuſing, preſ
ſtrong Guards were put upon them
prevent their ſuccour, that ſo they
be ſtarved out: vvhich device vvas ſo
fectual, that it made them ſoon yee
the Conquerers Mercy; vvhich vvas
ſmall: for all the Officers, vvith the
man of the Souldiery, vvere preſentl
led, and the reſt thruſt on ſhip-boa
Barbadoes. The Governour had his
alſo, making an end both of his Li
Government together.

This Town vvas the moſt conſide
that ever *Cromwel* came before, if w
ſpect the ſtout reſiſtance made by its
riſon, and how much the having o
place might conduce to the reduci
all *Ireland*: and though the attempt
bloody, *Cromwel* himſelf giving comm
not to ſpare any one that ſhould be fo
in Arms; yet Cruelty could not be
to his charge: for, like a Politick St
Phyſitian, he here opens one Vein, to
ſerve the vvhole Body of the Nation
a lingering War; and by this co
likewiſe he vvrought ſuch a terrour in
Enemy, that ever after he made but ſ
vvork of any Siege, and in ſmall
reduced the whole Nation.

The report of this great ſlaughter, quickly flies away to *Trim* and *Dundalk*, (the two next Gariſons) which put them into ſuch a pannick fear, that they quitted the Towns: in *Trim* their haſte vvas ſo great, that they left their great Guns behinde them on the Platforms.

Not long after this ſervice vvas over, the Lord-Governour knowing this ſtroak vvas as it vvere given upon the Lungs, and that a ſprightly proſecution would quickly beat the Enemy out of breath; he reſolves to make uſe of the preſent opportunity. Now his quarters vvere ſo much enlarged by his good ſucceſs Northwards, to the end he may get Elbow-room on both ſides of *Dublin*, he marches the Army Weſtward to attacque *Wexford*. In his March, a place called *Killingkerick* (about 14 miles from *Dublin*) vvas quitted, and a company of *Cromwels* Army put into it: ſo likewiſe was *Arcklo*-Caſtle, the ſeat of *Ormonds* Family. Beſides theſe, many other places in their March ſubmitted.

Octob. 1. the Army fac'd *Wexford*, and required the Governor Col. *David Synnot*, to make a ſpeedy ſurrender thereof. His anſwer was very doubtful as to his intenten-

tentions, which occasioned many pa
to pass betwixt him and the Lord *Crom*
This delay of the Governour, was
posely used, to protract time, until
the Earl of *Castle-haven* had entered
the Town 500 Foot to strengthen the
rison. The Governour having recei
these recruits, resolves now to stand
as long as he could, seeming to conte
the Force that lay against him. N
the South-East end of the Town is se
the Castle; upon that, *Cromwel* b
his greatest Force, knowing that the g
ing thereof would be the Towns red
ment: Which fell out to be true:
many Peals of great shot were not
upon it, but the Governors stomack
down to a rendition. The Souldiers be
now possest of the Castle, and shew
themselves from thence, struck such a
rible Fear into them in the Town,
they quitted the Walls; which *Crom*
Souldiers perceiving, in a trice they c
to their scaling Ladders, and stormed wi
out any great resistance. Being thus
tered the Town, none was suffered
breath, that was found in Arms: and
cutting their way through the Stree
th

they came to the Market-place, where the Enemy (as if the blood had returned to the heart now at the last gasp) most manfully fought for some time. This sharp encounter lasted not long, before they were quite broken, and all that were found in Arms put to the Sword.

The reducement of this place was of great consequence to the Conquerers, being a Port-Town, and very convenient to receive supplies from *England*. From thence the Army march to *Rosse* a strong Town situate upon the *Barrow*, and far more considerable for Navigation then *Wexford*, the River admitting a Ship of seven or eight hundred Tun to ride by the Wall. Of this place Major General *Taaff* was Governour, who had with him a strong Garison; and to make all sure, *Ormond*, *Castlehaven*, and the Lord of *Ards*, in their own Persons, caused 1500 men more to be boated over to reinforce it. Of this, the Army were Spectators, but could do nothing to impede their Entrance. The Lord Governour no sooner approached it, but he sent the Governour a Summons, to this effect: *That since his coming into* Ireland, *he ever avoided the*

effusion of blood; having been before [illegible]
place, where he did not first send them [illegible]
terms as might be for their preservation
and to continue the like course, he summ
them to deliver up the town to the Par
ment of England. To this no answer
present was returned, until three g
Guns planted before it began to pl
then the Governour fearing to fall i
the same *Præmuniri* that other Garis
had done before, was content to tre
which they did, and came to this issue, T
the Town be delivered up, and they wit
march away with bag and baggage.

Whilst these things were in doing, *Ki*
sale, Cork, Youghal, Bandon-bridge, and
ther Garisons voluntarily declared, & ca
under obedience: In the North, Sir *Cha*
Coot and Col. *Venables* were very succes
ful: the Lord *Braughal*, and Col. *Hus*
in other places, did very good service.
should here particularize some of the
but that my whole designe is to march
long with the main Body of the Army.

Ross being now in *Cromwels* Possessio
he caused a Bridge of Boats to be laid o
ver the River *Barrow*, and the Army to
down before *Duncannon*, a strong Fo
com

commanded by Col. *Woggen*, (who had formerly served the King in *England*.) This place was so well provided with all things, that upon consideration at a Councel of War, it was looked upon to be time lost in tarrying long before it: therefore the Army speedily rise, and march away into the County of *Kilkenny*, where *Ormond*, having joyned his Forces with *Inchequeen*, gave out that he would fight, whatever came of it. His Army was strong both in Horse and Foot, far outpassing *Cromwel's*, who was weakned by continual duty, hard marches, the Flux and other sicknesses raging amongst them, occasioned by wants, and unseasonable weather, commonly quartering in the field: yet for all this, *Ormond*, that *Ignis fatuus*, upon the approach of the Army, (whose weaknesses at that time required rather an Hospital to cure their distempers, then an Enemy to make fresh wounds) vanished away, without giving one stroke: Whereupon Col. *Abbot* reduced *Enisteoge*, a little walled Town about five miles from *Ross*: and Col. *Reynolds* with twelve Troops of Horse, and three Troops of Dragoons, marching up to *Carrick*, having divided

divided his men into two parts ; wi
they were amuſed with the one party,
entered a gate with the other, takin
bout one hundred Officers and Soulditi
without the loſs of one man.

The news of this place no ſooner arri
at *Roſs*, but the Lord-Governour Cr
wel (who for ſome time had lain th
ſick) marched away immediately to
duce the City of *Waterford*, hoping
gain that important place before the Ar
ſhould draw into Winter-Quarters.
ſooner was he come before it, but a Re
ment of Horſe, and three Troops of D
goons, were diſpatched away to red
Paſſage-Fort : this party ſoon made th
deſire quarter, and deliver up the Fort
Caſtle : in it were five great Guns,
much Arms and Ammunition. Th
Gariſons, now in the hands of thoſe t
could make good uſe of them, were
great importance to the reducement
Munſter, and conſequently of all I
land.

The Lord-Governour being now b
fore *Waterford*, and ſeeing the City reſo
ved to ſtand upon their own defence ;
being now *December*, the weather al
ver

very wet, and his Forces weak, he draws them off into VVinter-quarters, that they might be refreſhed againſt the Spring, to finiſh the work ſo proſperouſly begun. Their quarters were at *Bandon*-Bridge ; Col. *Ewer* and his Regiment, at *Kingſale* ; Col. *Stubber*, at *Cork* ; Col. *Thaier* and Col. *Cook*, at *Wexford* ; and *Youghal* the Head-quarters : in other places convenient for a quick conjunction if occaſion ſhould ſerve, the Army was placed.

Now the Souldiery are taking their reſt, we may look back a little upon ſome Actions which fell out ſince their leaving *Waterford*. No ſooner was the Army marched away, but *Paſſage*-Fort was beſieged by a party from *Waterford*, and another from *Duncannon*, joyned together : but Col. *Zanckey* ſetting upon them, routed the whole party, killing a great many, and carrying away 350 priſoners. Many other Skirmiſhes were maintained with the like ſucceſs : yet little comfort could be had in them, when the loſs of Lieutenant-General *Jones* vvas reflected upon ; he died of a violent Fever at *Dungarven*, *December* 20, 1649. He was a man real to that truſt

which was repoſed in him; a daring m
yet governing his Valour with diſcreti
which makes a good Souldier; not r
but adviſed in all his attempts: a gr
loſs he was to the Army, yet not all,
quickly after followed Col. *Wolf*, and Sco
Maſter-General *Roe*; the Army had th
ſhare of this mortality: if the Comm
ders fall, how can it be expected the co
mon Souldiers ſhould eſcape free? But
ſalve up the buſineſs, continual ſuppl
were ſent by the Parliament from *En*
land, which made them, as it were, immo
tal: ſo that though many men were lo
their number was not diminiſhed.

Whilſt the Army lay in their quarte
Cromwel was not idle; he viſited all t
Gariſons that were in his poſſeſſion
Munſter, and ordered all Affairs both M
litary and Civil. Coming to *Kingſa*
the Maior (as in other places) preſente
him with the Mace and Keys; which h
kept, (not returning them again) a
conferred the Office upon another. Th
was looked upon the more, becauſe it ha
not been uſed by the Lord Governour
but the Maior being an Iriſh-man, an
withal a Papiſt, it was not thought fit t
truſt

truſt ſuch a one with the Government of ſo conſiderable a place.

Now *Cromwel*, knowing that he which intends to do much buſineſs, muſt riſe betimes, and loſe no opportunity; his Souldiers had not breathed in their Winter-quarters fully two months, before he marched out of *Youghal* with about 3000, to enlarge his quarters: when they were in the field, he divided them into two parties; himſelf took one, the other was led by *Ireton*, who marched away to *Carrick*, there to reinforce himſelf by the conjunction of Col. *Reynolds*. Theſe were to march into the Enemies quarters two ſeveral ways, and to meet together at a Randezvous near *Kilkenny*: in order to this deſigne, *Cromwel* takes with him one party, and marches away over the *Blackwater* towards the Counties of *Limerick* and *Tipperary*. The firſt place he took in, was a Caſtle called *Kilkenny* upon the edge of the County of *Limerick*: afterwards in his march, fell in *Clogheen*-Houſe, and *Roghil*-Caſtle: here he paſſed the River *Sewer* with much difficulty, and immediately marched away to *Featherd*, a Gariſon-Town governed by one *Butler*: about ten

ten at night they got into the Suburbs
ſent a Trumpet with a ſummons to
Town; which at firſt was ſlighted; but
taking a reſolution to ſtorm, Commiſ
ners were ſent to treat, who agreed u
Articles to deliver up the Town, and ma
away with their Arms. The taking
this place much refreſhed the Army, w
were tired with tempeſtuous weather.

Yet here they tarried not long, but
moved to *Callyne*, a Gariſon of the Ene
about ſix miles from *Kilkenny*, where t
joyned with *Ireton*, *Reynolds*, and *Zan*
making up in all a conſiderable Bo
The chief ſtrength of *Callyne* conſiſted
three Caſtles that were in the Town
theſe the Souldiers ſtormed one after an
ther, and carryed them all, putting all
the Sword they met with: this ſo ter
fied thoſe that kept a Houſe about a Mu
quet-ſhot from the Town, that immedi
ately they ſent to deſire liberty to marc
away to *Kilkenny*; which was grante
When the Souldiers had ſufficiently re
cruited their Knapſacks with the proviſion
taken in the Town, they marched back a
gain to *Featherd*; by the way, the two
Caſtles of *Knocktover* and *Bullynard* were

reduced: preſently after fell in *Kiltennon*, *Arfennon*, *Coher*, and *Dundrum*, very conſiderable places: in taking the latter, Col. *Zanckey* received a ſhot through the hands.

The Lord Governour *Cromwel* had now wholly ſubjugated all places of advantage, except *Limerick*, *Waterford*, *Clonmel*, *Galloway*, and *Kilkenny*: theſe were ſtrong, and required much time; however, he reſolves upon the laſt: but conſidering that the ſtrength he had would not be ſufficient to carry on the deſigne, he ſent for Col. *Huſon* to march ſpeedily up to him with his Forces; which he did, and by the way took the Caſtle of *Loughin*; afterwards he joyns with the Lord-Governours Army near *Goram*, a populous Town, ſtrengthned by a ſtrong Caſtle, which was commanded by Col. *Hammond* a Kentiſh man: to him was ſent an invitation to deliver up the Caſtle; but he truſting to the Valour of his men, which were *Ormonds* own Regiment, returned a very reſolute anſwer; thereupon, the great Guns quickly roared out their perſwaſions, which made him beat a Parley when 'twas too late; for no other conditions could now be obtained,

ed, but theſe: *That the common Soulda*
ſhould have their lives, and the Officers
diſpoſed of as ſhould be thought fit. Th
ſharp conditions being yeelded unto, t
next day, *Hammond* his Major, and the r
of the Commiſſion-Officers (all but on
were ſhot to death; and the Prieſt t
vvas Chaplain to the Catholicks in t
Regiment, hanged.

This place being thus vvon, prepara
ons were made for the beſieging of t
City of *Kilkenny*. This Gariſon require
more then ordinary Force to maſter i
for beſides the Souldiers of the ordina
Gariſon there, to it had reſorted all tho
that had yeelded upon Articles the ſm
Caſtles and Towns in that County. Y
this did not at all diſcourage *Crom*
vvhoſe imaginations comprehended a
things that vvere not impoſſible; and h
ſcorning that this one place, though n
ver ſo ſtrong, ſhould be a dam to ſtop th
current of his Victories; *March* 1
1650. he diſlodged the Army, ſending fir
of all a ſmall party of Horſe before up
diſcovery; quickly after, came up the Bo
dy: vvithin a mile of the City, there h
made a ſtand, and ſent the Governour Sir
Walter

Walter Butler, and the Corporation, a ſummons to deliver up the City for the uſe of the Parliament of *England*. The next day an anſwer vvas returned, but not ſatisfactory: thereupon, the approaches vvere made neer to the Wall, and a Battery of three Guns planted to play upon the beſt place that could be to annoy the beſieged, and vvithal to open an entrance to the Beſiegers. All this vvhile, they vvithin vvere not idle; but perceiving where the Lord *Cromwel* bent his greateſt ſtrength, they provide there to make the greateſt oppoſition, by raiſing two Retrenchments on the inſide, ſtrongly palliſadoing them, and placing ſome pieces that might play to the beſt advantage: but above all, there vvas a crew of choice men that promiſed much. *Cromwel* hating delay, vvhen his buſineſs required diſpatch, cauſed the Guns to play; vvhich had not made fully one hundred ſhot, before a breach vvas opened. VVhile this vvas in doing, Col. *Ewers* vvith 1000 Foot vvas ordered to endeavour the poſſeſſion of one part of the City, called *Iriſh Town*: and the better to facilitate the enterpriſe, *Cromwel* gave the ſigne for the Souldiers

to

to fall into the breach: which they
no sooner done, but they were beaten
again with loss; and so disheartned by
that the storm was left off: yet for all th
Col. *Ewers* carried the *Irish Town* w
small loss, which made satisfaction for
affront. There being on the other side
the River another small Town, or Subu
to the main City, it was thought fit
send eight companies of Foot to poss
it: which was done without any oppos
on. The gaining of this, encourag
them to endeavour to force a passage ov
the Bridg into the City; but it proved
the same effect as at the breach before. B
these desperate attempts made the Gove
nour reflect upon his condition; and t
rather, becaus the Garison in *Cantw*
Castle, whom *Butler* had sent for, desir
Passes of the Lord *Cromwel* to go beyon
Sea to serve forraigne Princes, ingagin
to act nothing prejudicial to the Parli
ment of *England*: which was grante
them. That was one thing that discour
ged him; but chiefly this, that he must no
onely defend himself, but withal must b
his own relief, there being no Army in
the field sufficient to do it; and withal
the

the longer he held out, the worse it would be for him. These things considered, made him hearken to a Treaty; which being once commenced, they soon concluded to deliver up the City and Castle upon these terms:

1. *To deliver up the City and Castle to the Lord* Cromwel, *with all the Arms, Ammunition, and publick store.*

2. *The Inhabitants of* Kilkenny *to be protected in their Persons, Goods and Estates, from the violence of the Souldiery; and they that were desirous of removal, to have liberty three Momhs after the date of the Articles.*

3. *The Governour, Officers and Souldiers to march away with bag and baggage.*

4. *The City to pay* 2000 *pounds as a gratuity to his Excellency the Lord* Cromwels Army.

Thus was the City of *Kilkenny* (which had been the seat of the supream Councel, and the Centre where the lines of all their pernicious devices met, the productions whereof had so malevolent an influence upon poor *Ireland*) brought under obe-

obedience in six days time, (for no lon
er the Siege lasted) chiefly by the indust
and indefatigable pains of the Lord Crom
wel, who ever was a partaker with h
Souldiers in their hardships, and nev
flincht from them at any time when nec
required his personal valour; insomuc
that at many places he laid by the dignit
of a great Commander, to act the part
a private Souldier.

Here he tarried no longer a time the
was requisite to settle the Affairs of th
City; which having done, he then march
ed the Army to *Carrick*, from thence t
proceed upon farther Action.

Ormond, *Castle-haven*, and the Bisho
of *Clogher*, being now very sensible o
the desperate condition their Affairs were
reduced to, had a meeting at *Baltamore* i
Westmeath, with the Gentlemen of that
County, to confer about some better way
to support that cause which hitherto they
had so poorly defended. The chief heads
of this Debate were:

1. *Whether they were able to raise such*
Forces as might be sufficient to fight the
Lord Cromwel, *now they conceived his*
Men were much weakned by the Winter
and

and taking in of so many Garisons. Or,

2. *In case they were not able to fight, then with all the Forces they could make to fall into the English quarters, and there to burn and destroy what they could.*

3. *If these two ways were not feisible, then whether it were not most convenient for them all to joyn in some propositions of Pacification for the whole, or every one for himself, to make his particular Application.*

This last was hearkned to by some: but the chiefest of them knowing their own guilt, thought it not likely for them to get good conditions, now necessity compelled them to be Supplicants; and therefore to mischief the English in their quarters, was looked upon to be the safest way for them all, to spin out time, til they could get a fit opportunity to make an escape out of the Land.

The Lord *Cromwel* having well refresh'd his Army after the Siege of *Kilkenny*, sits down before *Clonmel*, another strong place, Garison'd by 2000 Foot, and sixscore Horse. No sooner was the Leaguer planted, but Col. *Reynolds* and Sir *Theophilus Jones* were sent with 2500 Horse, Foot

and

and Dragoons, to be beforehand w
Ormond, *Caſtlehaven*, and thoſe with th
that intended an irruption into the E
liſh Quarters; but they ſhifting from pl
to place, to avoid fighting, Col. *Reynol*
to keep his men from idleneſs, joyns
Forces with Col. *Huſon*, and with t
great Guns and a Morter Piece, beſieg
Trim. Another Party of 1400 Horſe a
Dragoons, and 1200 Foot, under the Lo
Broghil, were ſent to fight the Biſhop
Roſs, who with 5000 intended to relie
Clonmel. The Biſhops Mitre being m
tamorphoſed into an Helmet, he thou
verily to ſcare the Lord *Broghil* vvith t
ſtrangeneſs of the ſight, being ſuch a thi
as he had never ſeen before, a Biſh
that ſhould be the Shepherd of a Floc
now to head an Army of VVolves: b
the Lord *Broghil* getting to them, in litt
more time then one could ſay tvvo or thr
Creeds, vvholly diſſipates them, killi
upon the place betvveen 6 and 700, t
king 20 Captains, Lieutenants, and oth
Officers; and to bring up the Rear, t
Biſhop himſelf vvas taken, vvith th
Standard of the Church of *Munſter*. Th
Lord *Broghil* having him novv in h
povve

power, he carries him to a Caſtle defended by the Biſhops Forces, and there hangs him up before the walls, in the ſight of the Gariſon; which wrought ſuch terrour in them, that they delivered up the Caſtle upon Articles.

Theſe ſucceſſes of Parties abroad, did much encourage thoſe that beſieged *Clonmel*; who now on all ſides prepare to handle that Gariſon, as before they had done other places. And indeed, the Lord General uſed more then ordinary induſtry in reducing this Town, in regard he had been informed that its defendants were very unanimous, and that they were choice men, well armed, and every way ſufficiently provided to make a ſtout reſiſtance: and beſides, it was governed by an active Iriſh-man, one *Hugh Boy O Neal*, who had ſet all hands in the Town on work, to caſt up new Countre-ſcarps on the inſide of the old walls, and to do whatſoever elſe might ſerve for the defence of the place; and had ſo travers'd the ground with Re-intrenchments, that it ſeemed altogether impoſſible to gain it by Aſſault; nothing but Hunger (as was thought) could reduce it to obedience: but

but the active gallantry of the Lo
Cromwel, would not admit of that cours
he us'd not to ſtand dallying before
place, (as the *Germans*, *French*, and oth
Nations) trifling out precious time, a
expending vaſt ſums, to little or no pu
poſe: and beſides, upon many weigh
conſiderations, this ſervice required
quick diſpatch; chiefly, in regard of
Expedition into *England*, whither he h
lately been ſent for by the Parliame
there, to ſerve them in ſome other wa
He therefore (without delay) orders
things for a Storm, intending to try wh
ther that would not either drown the E
nemy, or cool their courage, who were
hotly ſet upon the defence. The G
vernour being ſummoned to a Renditio
and returning no ſatisfactory Anſwer, t
great Guns were planted; which w
managed ſo well, that they quickly ope
ed a breach; which breach (upon a S
gnal given) being couragiouſly entr
by the Aſſailants, they within were n
wanting to entertain them with a man
reſiſtance, and to forbid their march a
other way then over their own bodies
but *Cromwel*'s men (who us'd not to

thus check'd in the career of their Succeſſes) notwithſtanding the Enemies valorous obſtinacie, made good their ground, and maintained a Fight for four hours together, which proved ſo hazardous, that the victory hovering betwixt both, it was hard to ſay on which ſide it would light, (there being a great ſlaughter on both ſides) till at laſt, the Lord *Cromwel* (aſſiſted by that good Providence which always attended him) decided the controverſie, by forcing the Enemy to quit the place, and betake themſelves to flight, wherein though they were very much favoured by certain hills near the Town, yet could they not avoid the rage and fury of the victorious Souldiers, who in purſuit paid them home in their own coyn. Concerning this Fight, I finde it thus written by an eminent Commander in the Army, and an aſſiſtant in this encounter: *We found in Clonmel* (ſaith he) *the ſtouteſt enemy that ever was found by our Army in* Ireland: *and it is in my opinion, and very many more, that there was never ſeen ſo hot a ſtorm of ſo long a continuance, and ſo gallantly defended, neither in* England *nor* Ireland. The Reduction of this place (though at a hard hand)

hand) inclined many more to yeeld; whic
they did in a ſhort time after, withou
ſtriking a ſtroke.

Theſe Atchievements being obtaine
and care taken to ſecure what had bee
gotten, the Lord General addreſſes him
ſelf to his journey for *England*, havin
been in *Ireland* about ten months; vi
from the middle of *Auguſt* 1649. to th
next *May* following, 1650. a time incon
ſiderable, reſpect had to the work don
therein, which was more then ever coul
be done in ten years before, by any Kin
or Queen of *England*. Queen *Elizabe*
indeed, after a long and tedious War ther
at laſt drave out the Spaniards that cam
in to the aſſiſtance of the rebellious Na
tives; but could never utterly extinguiſ
the ſparks of that Rebellion. And no
onely did the ſhortneſs of the time ren
der the work admirable, but the nature o
the work it ſelf; it being againſt a mo
obſtinately-deſperate bloudy enemy, peo
ple that had put themſelves out of al
hopes of favour or mercy, by acting th
moſt bloudy Tragedie that ever hath bee
ſeen or related, in that their univerſa
Maſſacre of the Engliſh, yet recent in
memory.

There

There remained now onely *Limerick*, *Waterford*, and ſome few inconſiderable Gariſons, to be reduced; which being done, they might finde leaſure to hunt the wilde Iriſh, who were fled for refuge among their Boggs. This was left to the charge of *Ireton*, whom the Lord Governour having conſtituted Lord *Deputy*, he takes leave of *Ireland*; and committing himſelf to the Sea, arrived ſafely (after a boiſterous paſſage) at *Briſtol*, where he was received with a thrice-repeated Volley of great Guns, and other ſuitable demonſtrations of joy. Hence, without tarrying, he poſts for *London*: drawing neer *Hounſlow*-Heath, he is there met by the Lord General *Fairfax*, accompanied by many Members of Parliament and Officers of the Army, with multitudes that came out of curioſity, to ſee him, of whom Fame had made ſuch a loud report. Hence, after mutual ſalutations, congratulations, and other teſtimonies of high reſpect, he proceeds on; and paſſing neer *Hide-park*-corner, he is ſaluted with great Guns, and ſeveral Volleys of ſmall Shot, by Colonel *Barkſtead's* Regiment, which was drawn up in the High-way for that

purpose. Continuing thus their march (multitudes increasing to behold him) the Lord *Cromwel* is conducted to the house called the *Cock-pit*, neer St. *James*, which had been appointed and prepared for him. Here he was visited by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and by many other persons of quality, all of them expressing their own and the Nations great obligations to him for his great Services in *Ireland*. After some time of respite and refreshment, he attended his charge in Parliament, where the Speaker in an elegant Speech gave him the thanks of the House. Which being ended, the Lord *Cromwel* gave them an account of the present state of *Ireland*, and of the condition of their Forces both in Field and Garison, with what designes they were now upon; what strength the Enemy had, and what Garisons were then in their power.

The Parliament being thus assured of the hopeful condition of *Ireland*, began now wisely to provide for the security of the peace of *England*, which was now in danger of disturbance, partly by open Hostility, and partly by the under-hand dealing

dealing of some pretended friends. *Portugal* protects Prince *Rupert*'s Fleet, notwithstanding the League: *France* domineers at Sea, making prize of all the English they could bring under their power. About this time, the Parliament sends Dr. *Dorislaus* as an Agent to the States of the United Provinces, for the begetting and continuance of a right understanding and fair correspondence betwixt the two Republicks; where, not long after his arrival, he was basely slain by six Assassinates, who rushed into his lodgings at the *Hague* in disguise, and escaped unpunished, although the States pretended they had used their utmost endeavour to take them. In *Russia*, the English Merchants were much affronted by that Duke, by reason of his adherence to the House of *Stuarts*. *Virginia* and the *Caribes* Islands revolted from their obedience to the Parliament, being very hot for Monarchy and the Liturgie. Nearer home, *Scilly*, *Jersey*, and the *Isle of Man*, stand out, and miserably infest the Seas with their Piracie. But above all, the Scots were the most formidable, who seemed to set their wits on the tenters, that so they

they might embroyl *England* in new tro-
bles, and thereby have opportunity t
work their ends upon it. To this end
Treaty is commenced betwixt them a
their King, at *Breda*, a famous Town
the Netherlands belonging to the Prin
of *Orange*. Here they propose,

1. *That his Majestie recal and discla
all Commissions and Declarations gran
by him to the prejudice of the Covenant.*

2. *That he acknowledge their prese
Parliament, and the two last Sessions ther
of, and allow of the Acts made therein.*

3. *They remonstrate the Motives co
tained in the eleventh Instruction*; mean
ing *Uxbridge*-Treaty.

4. *That as soon as he comes into Scot
land, and before his admission to the exer
cise of Royal power, he shall swear, sub
scribe, and seal the National Covenants, an
the Solemn League and Covenant.*

Their King having assented, and pro-
mised *in verbo Principis* to perform thes
things; the Commissioners had order to
let him see the Coronation-Oath he was
to take; which he approving, they were
to invite him into *Scotland*, assuring him
that

that he should be entertained there, with
all due respect.

To all which things the King at last
condescended, partly by the perswasion
of the Prince of *Orange*, (at whose cost
and charges the Treaty was both begun
and continued) and partly, upon hopes
that by this means he might gain the easi-
er footing in *England*.

The Scots being now impatient of the
enjoyment of their King; presence; he,
in order to their satisfaction herein, hastes
from *Breda* towards the *Hague*, and from
thence to *Scheveling*, where he took ship-
ping, and not long after, landed (notwith-
standing several snares laid for him) at the
Spey in the North of *Scotland*.

The Parliament in *England* were not
ignorant of these things; they having
faithful Scouts abroad in the world, who
failed not to give them timely notice of
the machinations of their enemies in all
quarters. And taking the matter into
consideration in the House, a great debate
there was, VVhether the war (for, that
there must be a war betwixt us and our
dear Brethren, was taken for granted)
should be *Offensive* or *Defensive*. As to
the

the later, (the Defensive part) they were very sensible of the havock the Scots had formerly made in the North of *England*, when they came in as friends; so that should they be suffered to come in as enemies, nothing could be expected to follow, but ruine and desolation wheresoever they came. *Hamilton*'s Invasion likewise stuck in their stomacks, and the devastations that accompanied it. Besides, it was considered, that to let them give the first blow, had been to make our own Country the seat of war; and thereby an opportunity would be given to discontented spirits here (which then were not a few) to joyn with the enemy. Upon these and other weighty considerations the Parliament resolves upon an Offensive war, and to alarm them in their own Quarters. This Resolution was thought most advantageous, in many respects: as

1. *Scotland* (the Enemies Country) must needs be much impoverished, by being burdened with two Armies, when it could not well maintain one; and *England* would be quit of much fear and calamity incident to quartering of Armies. Besides, in all encounters, it is good po-

licie to keep an adversary at the arms end.

2. By invading *Scotland*, the Souldiery would be much encouraged, in respect of the benefit might accrue to them by the spoils of their enemies. Hereby also the Territories of this Commonwealth were likely to be enlarged.

3. The Scots Levies were not yet finished, nor their Army completed; so that a sudden march might nip them in the bud, and prevent their further increase.

4. It was necessary to have a special regard to, and watchful eye upon *Scotland*, because (by reason of its contiguity) no Enemy could be so obnoxious to *England* as it: and how ready they have been to lay hold on all opportunities to disturb the peace of *England*, frequent examples testifie, both of former and later times. And unless that back-door were pin'd up, as great mischiefs were like to be let in thereby, now, as ever.

In order therefore to their former Resolutions, the Parliament provide for a war: they order the Army to march Northwards, to sit upon the skirts of the Scots. But Sir *Tho. Fairfax* (their General

neral at that time) being it seems not t
tisfied in the thing, (as many others like
wise were not) desired to be excused, an
laid down his Commission. VVhich act
on of his bred consternation in most, an
several descants were given thereupon
the Plebeian rout (whose tribunal nothin
of moment can pass) judged the reason t
be, that he durst not venture to abide th
gust of those Northern blasts. But wis
men know how much vulgar bruits are t
be heeded; and that notwithstanding
what was said then, or can be said now
the trumpet of his fame shall not be put
to silence; nor shall Time it self be able
to wipe his name into oblivion.

The Parliament being thus disappoint-
ed, are to seek for a General to command
their Army; but for that they need not
go far, since they had then amongst them
the most renowned *Cromwel*, of whose
prowess and faithfulness they had had ma-
nifold experience, and who, upon their
request, did accept of the Charge: upon
which, they give him a Commission, there-
by impowering him to command all the
Forces raised and to be raised in the Com-
monwealth of *England*; annulling all

Com-

Commissions formerly granted to the
Lord *Fairfax*.

Cromwel being thus invested with pow-
er, presently addresses to the vvork; and
in order thereunto, he took his journey
towards the Army in the North, *June* 28.
1650. As he passed, great demonstrati-
ons of respect were given him by the ge-
nerality of the people. *July* 4. he arri-
ved at *York*, attended by many great Of-
ficers of the Army. No sooner vvas he
entred that City, but the Lord Maior,
Aldermen and Sheriffs gave him an invi-
tation to a stately Dinner, expressing how
much they joyed in the presence of so re-
nowned an Hero. But he remembring
that it was Fighting and not Feasting that
he came about, tarried there no longer
then to order supplies for the Army, and
expedite their Rendezvous.

By this time, the Committee of Estates
in *Scotland* was alarmed, insomuch that
they were frighted into an Expostulation
with the Parliament; thinking thereby
to protract time, till their Levies were
perfected: to that end, they sent a Let-
ter to the Speaker by Col. *Grey*, to this ef-
fect:

That

That they wondered at the report of English Armies advance towards their tion, and that many of their Ships were zed and secured by the English, contra the Act of Pacification in the large Tre which provided that no acts of Hosti should be used against each other, with three months warning beforehand; and those Forces which they were raising, w onely for their own defence: and there they desired to know if the Forces of E land now on their march Northward, w intended for Offence or Defence; to g their own borders, or invade Scotland.

Papers of like import were also sent the Governour of *Newcastle*, Major G *Lambert*, and the Lord General *Crom* The Parliament answered them by a D claration shewing the Grounds and R sons of their Armies advance, vvith equity and necessity thereof. Th Grounds and Reasons vvere these.

1. 'For that the Scots endeavoured 'seduce the people of the Commonwea 'of *England* from their affection and ob 'to the Parliament, and to promote 'Interest of the late King, under p 'tence of the Covenant.

2. 'Th

2. 'In that they took *Berwick* and *Car-* 'lisle, and put Garisons into them, in 'the year 1648. contrary to the large 'Treaty in 1640. and this done by the 'Parliament of *Scotland*, even whilst Eng- 'lish Commissioners were at *Edinburgh*, 'offering to endeavour the composing of 'all differences betwixt the Nations by a 'Treaty; which they refused.

But forasmuch as every quarrel that is lawful, is not necessary, (for in some cases injuries are to be passed by, or at least to be composed by Treaty:) therefore they proceed to declare the Necessity also of their present Expedition; which they thus grounded.

'All reparations of the damages done 'by the *Scots* in their late Invasion, have 'been denied to be given in a fair way by 'their Parliament: vvhereby they have 'owned the vvrongs done thereby.

'That they have a designe again to in- 'vade us; which appears thus:

1. 'In that, upon the English their de- manding a Treaty for satisfaction of the 'injuries done in their late Invasion, they 'in expres terms declared themselves e- 'nemies to this Commonwealth.

2. 'In

2. ‘In that, although they could ‘claim to themselves any Authority ‘Dominion over us, yet in *Scotland* th‘proclaimed *Charles Stuart* to be King ‘*England* and *Ireland*; and since th‘promised to assist him against this Co‘monwealth.

3. ‘In that, when upon preparati‘in *Scotland* for *Hamiltons* Invasion ‘*England*, the Parliament of *England* se‘Commissioners to treat of an Accor‘modation, to prevent effusion of blou‘they declined the Treaty, and in ste‘thereof an Army speedily marcheth in‘*England*.

4. ‘In that they declared against t‘English Parliament and Army as Sect‘ries, ranking them with Malignants a‘Papists.

These provocations being intolerabl and no satisfaction being to be had, bu what the Sword must procure; the Par liament resolve upon that course, where by (seeing no other expedient could effe it) to vindicate the Nations honour, an to secure it against the like insolencies fo the time to come.

Thi

This Declaration was quickly seconded by another from the Lord General and his Army, which they directed to the well-affected in *Scotland*, and was to this effect:

‘That they being to advance into *Scot‘land* for the ends expressed in the Parlia‘ments Declaration of *June* 26. they con‘sidering the practices of some in that ‘Kingdom, whose designes are by unjust ‘reproaches and false slanders to make the ‘Army odious, and render them to be ra‘ther monsters then men: Therefore, to ‘clear themselves, they could do no other‘wise then re-minde them of their beha‘viour when they were before in *Scot‘land*; what injury or wrong was then ‘done, either to the persons, houses, or ‘goods of any: considering this, it was ‘hoped that such their former demeanour ‘would not be forgotten, nor the present ‘reports affright the people from their ‘habitations.

To satisfie them further, the Lord General and the Army declared (from the integrity of their hearts) ‘That such of ‘the Gentry and Commonalty as inhabit

‘where the Army may come, they bei
‘none of those who by their counsels la
‘the foundation of a second Invasion,
‘closed with him who hath endeavour
‘to engage forraign Princes against t
‘Commonwealth of *England*, and ha
‘exercised actual Hostility, by commissi
‘nating Pyrates to spoil the ships a
‘goods belonging thereto; to these, n
‘the least violence or injury should
‘offered either in body or goods; o
‘any should happen, that upon compla
‘made, redress and satisfaction should i
‘mediately be had. Wherefore they d
‘sire all persons to abide in their habi
‘tions, assuring them to enjoy what t
‘had without disturbance.

No sooner was this penned, but copi
thereof were sent into *Scotland*; and t
Country-people that kept Market at *Be*
wick, had their pockets stuffed with ther
to carry home and disperse among the
neighbours.

What good effects this course produ
ced, we shall see hereafter, when the A
my enters their borders.

The Lord General having used this e
pedien

pedient to undeceive the Scots, and to procure their good opinion of him and his Army; considered, that all would not be convinced thereby; the Sword, not the Pen, must perswade many of them: wherefore he leaves *York*, and hastes to *Northallerton*, and thence the next day to *Darnton*. As he pass'd by this place, the Train of Artillery (which was quartered here) saluted him with seven Pieces of Ordnance. Coming next to *Newcastle*, the Governour Sir *Arthur Haslerig* received him with noble entertainment. Here the Lord General and the Officers of his Army in a solemn manner implored a blessing from heaven upon their present Expedition. After which, upon due consideration of the affairs of the Army, he setled a way for their supply from time to time with provisions. This business being dispatched, and the general Rendezvous appointed, the Lord General leaves *Newcastle*, and posts for *Berwick*. His Forces being all come up, he caused a general Rendezvous of them to be on *Haggerston*-Moor, four miles from *Berwick*. *July* 20. 1650, the whole Army was drawn into the Field; which was no sooner done,

done, but the General himself came a
mong them, being received with shoutin
and other signes of joy. Having wi
view'd them, he caused both Horse a
Foot to be drawn up in *Battalia*. Whi
being done, there appeared a gallant Bo
of Horse, consisting of 5415, bestrid b
as many stout and couragious Riders
eight complete Regiments of Foot, co
sisting (with their Officers) of 1024
with the Train of Artillery, which co
sisted of 690: so that the Army in t
whole, consisted of 16354. A sight m
lovely, and very desirable, to see such
Army of men, (gallantly accoutred, a
provided with all necessaries) who for p
proved valour are not to be equal'd; co
manded by a General, whom no examp
ancient or modern can parallel, for C
rage and Conduct: in a word, he was h
nored in his Army, and they happie in th
General. Being thus in *Battalia*, the G
neral marcheth them about an hundr
paces towards *Berwick*, and so dismiss
them to their quarters on the brink o
Tweed, where we shall leave them for t
present, expecting their further advan

H

HIS WARS IN SCOTLAND.

OCcasion might here be taken to admire at the long continued separation that hath been betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, that notwithstanding they are cohabitants of the same Island, yet they should continue distinct Kingdoms for so many Ages together. For whereas divers Kingdoms having inferiour Dominions in them, soon subjected them to their own Rule, (as in *Spain*, where many Kingdoms are concorporated into one; and in our own Nation, where the Saxon Heptarchy was long since reduced into a Monarchy) yet *England* and *Scotland* could never be united under one Head, till the Crown of *England* devolved upon King *James*.

Many attempts have been made by several English Kings, to reduce *Scotland* to their

their obedience. *Edward* the seco
(a King whose greatest honour was, to
the son of an Heroick father, and fath
to an incomparable son) unfortunate
fought the Battel at *Bannocks* in *Scotla*
where (as *Holinshed* relates) was lost G
bert de Clare Earl of *Glouceſter*, 40 B
rons, 700 Knights and Gentlemen, a
about 40000 others. This defeat w
great, even the greatest that ever the En
lish received at one time from that Na
on. But in hopes to wipe away this bl
and to salve up this wound, the King r
sed two great Armies for that purpose; b
with no better success: for the first of
Armies was lost for want of courage
fight; the last, for want of food, was fo
ced to retire, and in their retreat lost
their Ammunition. But what else cou
be expected from a pusillanimous Ki
who was observed in the former Battel
be the first that fled? for it could not b
expected that the Souldiers should stan
they being bound to follow their leade

To reckon up all the Rencounters th
have happened betwixt the two Nation
would be too tedious, and stretch this di
course beyond its intended length. Ye

I shal

I shall wade a little in these plash
fore I plunge into the Ocean of *Cr*
Conquests.

Henry the seventh, a wise and valiant Prince, was much disturbed by those two Impostors, *Perkin Warbeck* and *Lambert Simnel*. *Warbeck*'s quarrel was espoused by the Scots, but to little purpose: for a Peace was soon concluded betwixt the two Kings, on condition that *Warbeck* should be sent packing, and that *James* the fourth the Scots King should marry the Lady *Margret* King *Henry*'s daughter. Great debate was in the Council about this Match: some were against it, alleadging, that in case the Kings issue should fail, *England* would become subject to *Scotland*. But to this the King wisely returned: That the weaker must ever bow to the stronger; and *England* being the stronger, *Scotland* must submit. This was but discourse: for it could not be then imagined, (the King having two hopeful sons, *Arthur* and *Henry*) that the Lady *Margret* should be the Ro Stem from whence should spring tho bility branches which were to over-spr h be- Nations, as it afterwards came and

their *ames.* But notwithstanding t
(a Kin ce made by the said Marriage,
e days of King *Henry* the eighth (whi
he was busied with his Wars in *France*
the Scots invade *England*, and were en
countred by the Earl of *Surrey* at *Flodd*
Field, where the success remained doub
ful a great while: but at last, the Victo
fell to the English, who that day slew th
Scots King, the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, 1
Earls, 14 Barons, and 12000 Gentlemen
and common Souldiers; onely with th
loss of 1500. at so easie a rate was this
great Victory purchased. By this and se
veral other Blows, King *Henry* got many
of the Scotish Nobility into his custody.
And considering how their frequent in
cursions did impede and frustrate his de
signes abroad, he thought it expedient to
use a means to beget amity betwixt the
Nations; to which end, he propounded a
Match betwixt his son *Edward*, and *Mary*
the young Princess of *Scotland*. This mo
tion found so good acceptance at first, that
it was concluded upon, and ratified by
have ha arliament, with a special Instru
would b der the hands of the Scotish No
course b ho by this means having gotten
their

their liberty from restraint, soon after quit
themselves of their former engagement,
and espoused their young Lady to the
Dolphin of *France*: which so enraged
our young King *Edward* the sixth, (his fa-
ther *Henry* being dead) that he resolved,

Seeing the Foxes skin could not prevail,
To piece it with the Lions tayl.

And to that end, sends an Army under the
Duke of *Somerset* into *Scotland*, to avenge
himself on them for their perfidious deal-
ing. This Army exceeded not 18000 in
number; (too small in appearance to deal
with a whole Kingdom:) but greatness
of courage supplying the paucity of their
number, they encountered the Scots neer
Muscleborough, where (notwithstanding
they doubled the English in multitude, be-
sides 3000 Monks, Fryers and Kirk-men,
armed both with VVord and Sword) they
got the day, and obtained a most compleat
Victory. But while they beat the bush,
the bird was flown into *France*.

Here many of the Scotish Nobility
were taken prisoners; one of which be-
ing brought to the English General, and
asked

asked by him how he liked the Match, a
ſwered wittily, *Very well, but not t*
manner of wooing.

This Battel, and that of *Flodden*-fi
(four and thirty years before) were b
fought upon the Ninth of *September*;
afterwards thoſe of *Worceſter* and *Dun*
were both upon the Third of the ſa
month: ſo that that month ſeems to
more ominous to the Scotiſh Nation, th
any in the whole Kalendar.

This Digreſſion hath been made, on
to ſhew what endeavours there have be
all along to unite theſe Kingdoms unt
one Head: but nothing could effect
until King *James* came in by ſucceſſion
being ſon to that Queen *Mary* former
eſpouſed to *Edward* the ſixth.

This Line was thought perpetual, a
the Tye indiſſoluble, according to t
Motto upon King *James* his Coyn; *Q*
Deus conjunxit, nemo ſeparet. But he th
rules in the Kingdoms of men, hath be
pleaſed to over-rule their deſigns, by a ſu
den cutting off of that Line, and diſſo
ving that League which was eſteemed
inviolable. By this means, the Scots be
gin to play *Rex*, (as we have heard i
pa

part already:) but how and by whom they were reduced under the obedience and ſubjection of the Engliſh (as at this day) is our next work to ſhew; they being (as ſings ingenious Mr. *Waller*'s Panegyrick)

A Race unconquer'd, by their Clime made bold,
The Caledonians *arm'd with want and cold,*
Have by a Fate indulgent to his fame,
Been, from all Ages, kept for him to tame:
Whom the old Roman *wall ſo ill confin'd,*
With a new Chain of Gariſons he binde.
Here forraign Gold no more ſhall make them come;
For Cromwel's Iron *holds them faſt at home.*

Cromwel was the man by whom this ſtupendious work was wrought, who being now conſtituted Generaliſſimo for the Parliament of *England*, (as we have ſeen before) made this improvement of his new honour, adding this Conqueſt to his former Heroick atchievements. And what order he obſerved in the carrying on of this buſineſs, we ſhall now relate, beginning where we left off before.

The Army being come up all together in a Body, and quartered upon the very edge

edge of *Scotland*, (as afore is shewed) *July* 22. 1650, the Lord General d them forth to a Rendezvous upon a within *Berwick* bounds, from whence had a full view of the adjacent parts *Scotland*, the Stage whereon they were act their parts in the ensuing Tragedie Here he made a Speech to his Souldie exhorting them to be faithful and cou gious; and then not to doubt of a bl sing from God, and all encouragemen from himself: which was answered wi loud and unanimous Acclamations fro them; who going thus chearfully abo their work, it was the more likely to pro sper in their hands, as indeed it did.

Upon this, the Lord General marche his Army into *Scotland*, quartering the that night in the field neer *Mordington* where he caused it to be proclaimed tho rowout the Camp, (for the better conser vation of good order and discipline) Tha none on pain of death should offer vio lence or injury to the persons or goods o any in *Scotland* not in Arms; and withal That no Souldier should presume (with out special license) to straggle half a mile from the Army. Hence they dislodge for

Cop-

Copperspeith; thence to *Dunbar*, where they are recruited with provisions from the English ships sent thither for that purpose; the Country affording them none: for the Scotch Estates had taken a course beforehand, to sweep all the Country betwixt *Berwick* and *Edinburgh*, of all things that might yeeld any comfort or succour to the English.

But this entertainment was not at all strange to the English, it being but what they expected; neither did it in the least appal or discourage them. Their next remove is to *Hadington*, twelve miles from *Edinburgh*: and all this, without the least opposition, not seeing all this while the face of an Enemy in Arms. But although they could not be seen, yet they were heard of, giving out that they would meet the English at *Gladsmore*. The Lord General prepared to meet them accordingly; and knowing his adversary exceeded him in number, he laboured to possess the Moor before them, to gain the advantage of ground, in case they should meet him; which it seems they never intended, having no great stomack to fight. Upon this, Major-Gen. *Lambert* and Colonel

lonel *Whalley* (men of approved courag
and valour) with 1400 Horſe, were ſen
as a Van-guard to *Muſcleborough*: Ma
Hayns commanding the Forlorn, fac
the Scots within a mile of their Trench
The next day, the Lord General with th
main Body drew up before *Edinburg*
where ſome bickering happened about th
poſſeſſion of King *Arthur*'s Hill, a plac
within a mile of that Citie; which th
Engliſh obtained, and ſoon after poſſe
themſelves of a Church, and certain hou
ſes. But notwithſtanding all theſe pro-
vocations, the Scots would not forſak
their Trenches, but lay upon the catch
and according to the Proverb, *Harm*
watch, harm catch, ſo it fell out with them
For the Lord General ſeeing no good c
be done this way, and that his Army w
much wearied out with hard duty and con
tinual rain, drawing off to *Muſcleborough*
there to refreſh and recruit his men wi
proviſions; the Scots would needs hav
one ſnap at parting, and to that end cam
powdering down upon the laſt Reſerve
the Engliſh Rere-guard, and had like
have over-run them: but Major-Gener
Lambert, and Colonel *Whalley*, with h
Reg

giment, came in to their reſcue, routing the Scots, and purſuing them to their Trenches.

In this Encounter, *Lambert* received two wounds; and the reſt came not off altogether Scot-free: for they left behind them one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Major, and ſome Captains, with a few private ſouldiers for company. By this defeat, the Engliſh had an opportunity to march off quietly to *Muſcleborough* that night, although in a wet and weary condition, expecting alſo every moment to be ſet upon, as indeed at laſt they were: for Col. *Straughan* and *Montgomery* very ſlyly followed them in the rere with the Kirk's Regiment of Horſe, and ſome others, to the number of 1500. all armed with Backs, Breſts, Head-pieces, Piſtols, Swords and Lances; as if they had intended to inflict ſome ſtrange new-faſhion'd deaths upon the Engliſh.

July 30. about three or four in the morning, *Straughan* gave a furious Camiſado on a Body of the Engliſh in their quarters; which being ſudden, did ſomewhat diſorder a Regiment of Horſe: but the Alarm being given, raiſed ſo many Engliſh

lish spirits, that soon frighted away th
Scots, pursuing them to their own hom
In this encounter were killed and taken a
bout 200. with seven Officers of quality
Straughan himself, because he could m
nage his horse no better, was fain to t
it on foot to *Edinburgh* with shame enough.

Here the Lord General, to let the Sco
see what a generous Enemy they had t
deal withal, discharged the chiefest of th
prisoners taken, and sent them to *Edin*
burgh in his own Coach: which not one
ly begot him great applause, but tende
much to the rectification of those wh
had harboured so much prejudice again
him, by reason of those strange repor
broached of his pretended cruelty.

Now the Armies provisions being wel
nigh spent, they retire again to *Dunba*
there to renew their supplies from th
Ships attending for that purpose by or
der from the English Parliament; wh
knowing victuals to be the life of Wa
(money being onely the sinews) took ca
to provide a continued course of Re
cruits.

After convenient supply and refresh
ment

ment, returned immediately towards *Edinburgh*, to accompany the Scots in their Rejoycing; they being then very seriously keeping a solemn Thanksgiving for their supposed great deliverance; imagining that the English Army was quite gone; as if they had come onely to see how they did, or whether *Edinburgh* stood where it did when they were there last. This unexpected visit spoiled their sport, and made them change their note, notwithstanding the presence of their King, then but newly come thither from *St. Johnstons*; who (although he had been lately crowned) had not a Crown in his pocket; the Kirk it seems thinking him not yet fit to be trusted with money, till he had more amply lamented the sins of his father, and put on those Yokes they were preparing for him; which he fearing would not prove very easie, made no haste to take upon him.

About this time, the General Assembly (with *David Lesley* their General) sent to the Lord General *Cromwel* a Declaration (as *Lesley* call'd it) containing the state of the Quarrel in which they were to fight, (as if they had such a minde to it!) de-

ſiring that this their Declaration might be publikely known. Whether their requeſt were fulfill'd then or no, I know not: I ſhall ſo far gratifie them now, as to endeavour the ſame, by reciting it briefly, as followeth.

THat the *General Aſſembly conſidering there might be juſt grounds of ſtumbling, from the Kings Majeſties refuſing to ſubſcribe the Declaration concerning his former carriage, and reſolutions for the future in reference to the Cauſe of God, the enemies and friends thereof; doth therefore declare, that the Kirk and Kingdom will not own any Malignant party their quarrel or intereſt, but that they will fight upon their former Principles, for the Cauſe of God, and their Kingdom: and therefore as they diſclaim all the ſin and guilt of the King and his Houſe, ſo they will not own him nor his Intereſt, any further then he ſhall diſclaim his and his fathers oppoſition to the work of God, and the enemies thereof: And withal, that they would with convenient ſpeed conſider of the Papers ſent to them from Oliver Cromwel, and vindicate themſelves from the falſhoods contained therein.*

Very ſhort, but not very ſweet; it carries a ſting in its tayl. The imputation of *falſhood* might much more juſtly and properly have been kept at home, all things conſidered. The Lord General *Cromwel* returns them this Anſwer:

THat the Army continued the ſame 'they had profeſt themſelves to the 'honeſt people of *Scotland*, wiſhing to 'them as to their own ſouls; it being no 'part of their buſineſs to hinder them in 'the VVorſhip of God according to their 'Conſciences, as by his Word they ought: 'And that they ſhould be ready to perform 'what obligation lay upon them by the 'Covenant. But that under the pretence 'of the Covenant miſtaken, a King ſhould 'be taken in by them, and impoſed on the 'Engliſh, and this called *The Cauſe of God 'and the Kingdom*; and this done upon 'the ſatisfaction of Gods people in both 'Nations, as alleadged, together with a 'diſowning of Malignants, although the 'Head of them be received, who at this 'very inſtant hath a party fighting in *Ire-'land*, and Prince *Rupert* at Sea on a Ma-'lignant

'lignant account, the French and Irish
'ships daily making depredations upon
'the English coasts, and all by vertue of
'his Commissions: and therefore the Ar-
'my cannot believe, that whilst Malig-
'nants fighting and plotting against them
'on the one side, and the Scots declaring
'for him on the other, should not be an
'espousing of a Malignant Interest or
'Quarrel, but a meer fighting on former
'Grounds and Principles. If the state
'of the Quarrel be thus, and you say you
'resolve to fight the Army, you will have
'oportunity to do that, else what means
'our abode here? And our hope is in
'the Lord, &c.

Thus the cause of the VVar was stated as if the Scots had been ignorant of the grounds and reasons of the English Armies coming into their Country. Now there remains nothing but fighting: and how well they quit themselves therein is next to be shewn.

The Lord General seeing that by no means he could provoke the Enemy to an engagement, (having sufficiently victualled his men at *Muscleborough*) *Aug.*

17. 1650, he advanced, and pitched his Camp on *Pencland* Hills. In this march, the Scots drew forth several Bodies of Horse, and faced the English: but they were so wary as to keep out of harms way, not coming within Gun-shot. The Army having taken up their Quarters on the hills, two Troops of Dragoons are sent out, to dispossess the Enemy of *Collington*-House. About this time, a Serjeant of Colonel *Cox* his Regiment (with three others his associates) was called to account for plundering a house, and stealing a Cloak: which being proved, the Serjeant was condemned to be hang'd; and, notwithstanding the scarcity of trees in those parts, the Sentence was executed on him, for an example to others. The other three Souldiers found mercy, and obtained pardon. So careful was the General to preserve the Country, according as he had promis'd them before in his Declaration.

Then the Scots drew forth on the west side of *Edinburgh*, between the river *Leith* and the Sea, to the number of two or three thousand Horse; conceiving that the Army intended to possess a pass over

the ſaid River. Which the Lord General ſeeing, he drew forth a Forlorn to engage them, himſelf in perſon leading, to ſhew the Scots his readineſs to fight them. Approaching near to their Body, one that knew the Lord General fired a Carbine at him, but timerouſly: which he ſeeing, called out and told him, That if he had been one of his Souldiers, he ſhould have been caſhier'd, for firing at that diſtance. But the truth is, theſe daring actions in Generals, ſavour more of valour then diſcretion: Bullets diſtinguiſh not betwixt the meaneſt private Souldier, and the moſt puiſſant General, if he come in their way. Hence it was, that the people would not ſuffer *David* to go out in perſon. 'Twas upon an over-bold diſcovery of *Popinham*'s ſtrength, that *Guſtavus Adolphus* (the Scourge of the Auſtrians) was killed, and with him the hopes of thoſe great things expected from him. The Head of an Army (ſuch is the General) being once cut off, the Body (eſpecially in an enemies Country) muſt needs languiſh and pine away.

The Scots having done their buſineſs, which it ſeems was onely to breathe their horſes,

horſes, they returned back again to their Quarters.

Aug. 19. part of the Engliſh Army ſtormed *Red-Hall*, and took it; it being a Gariſon ſituate within a mile and a half of *Edinburgh*, having about 80 Foot to defend it. This was done in the ſight of the Scots whole Army, yet not a man ſtirred towards the relief of the place.

Aug. 26, the Scots ſent to the Lord General, deſiring a Conference betwixt ſome of themſelves, and ſome Officers appointed by him. Which being granted, and a convenient place appointed; the Lord *Wariſton* Secretary of State, Sir *John Brown*, Colonel *Straughan*, and Mr. *Dowglas* a Miniſter, with certain others, attended for that purpoſe. The main buſineſs of their Meeting, was to wipe off a pretended aſperſion caſt upon them, and ſpread over both Armies, intimating that they kept themſelves in Trenches and holes, not daring to fight. And the better to clear themſelves of theſe calumnies, they let the Engliſh know, That when opportunity ſerved, it ſhould be ſeen that they wanted not courage to give them Battel.

The next morning, the Scots (as if they meant to be as good as their words, which had they been, they had crost (a very ancient Proverb) ſtrike up for a march, ſeeming either to bend their courſe for *Sterling*, or as if they would in good earneſt (according to the purport of the Embaſſage they had ſent the day before, leſt it ſhould not be known) fight the Engliſh.

No ſooner are they on their march, but the Lord General prepares to meet them, thinking that although they had often dallied with him before, yet now ſurely they would be ſerious, and ſhew ſome fair play. The common ſouldiers were poſſeſt with the like apprehenſions, being over-joy'd at the very thoughts of fighting; and in order thereunto, they preſently take down their Tents, lay aſide their Knapſacks, and disburthen themſelves of every thing whatſoever that might be an impediment to their activity.

Being thus prepared, the Engliſh approach the Scots Army, verily intending to engage them: but it ſeems they had no minde to come to it, but rather to ſhelter

ſhelter themſelves in ſome new lurking hole, (notwithſtanding their late confident diſclaiming of any ſuch practice.) Accordingly, when the Engliſh drew neer the Enemy, they found a great Bog and a deep Ditch to make ſuch a ſeparation, as for the preſent cut off all poſſibility of conjunction with them, and conſequently of engaging them, without running ſuch hazards as were not neceſſary at that time. The Lord General ſeeing he could not come at them in perſon, ſent a thundring meſſage to them by the mouth of his Cannon.

All that night, both the Armies continued in Arms; and the next morning, being the 28 of *Auguſt*, the great Guns roared on both ſides, for about the ſpace of an hour. But the Engliſh Lord General ſeeing that this would do no good, and knowing that it would but waſte precious time to no purpoſe, to ſtand pelting at an Enemy at that diſtance, he therefore drew off from thence, to try ſome other concluſion, if by any means he might get the Enemy into a fair field, where the buſineſs might be diſputed on equal terms. In order to which, marching to-

towards their former Quarters on *Penicland* hills, no sooner were they there arrived, but news came that the Scots were upon their march to possess *Musclebrough* and *Preston-pans*, whereby to cut off provisions from the English Army. The souldiers hearing this, begin to besti themselves; and again taking down their Tents, take up their Arms; holding it to be high time so to do, considering that now they must either fight or starve.

To prevent the Enemies designe, the Lord General advanced that night with his whole Army towards *Musclebrough*, it being very stormy & tempestuous weather, without any molestation from the Enemy. Being there, they are supply'd from the ships: and many of them being infirm and diseased, by reason of hard duty, and unseasonable weather; 500 were sent on board; which yet did not clear the Army of those distempered ones.

The Enemy all this while dogging the English in the Rere, watched all opportunities to distress them. But the Lord General taking into consideration the sad condition of his Army, occasioned by sickness and indisposition of body, resolves to

to retreat with them to *Dunbar*, and there (by Garisoning it) to lie securely for some time, till they might recover strength, and receive convenient recruits both of Horse and Foot from *Berwick*.

In pursuance of this resolution, the Army (*Aug.* 30.) set forward toward *Hadington*. And by that time the van-Brigade of Horse had taken up their quarters, the Scots (by a nimble march) were fallen in the rere, and put them into disorder: But wanting courage to prosecute the advantage; and withal, a cloud overshadowing the Moon, gave the English Horse an opportunity to inextricate themselves of that Labyrinth wherein they had like to have been entangled, and to recover the main Body.

Being at *Hadington*, in danger to be assaulted daily by the Enemy, the Lord General caused a strict Watch to be kept, to prevent the worst. For the Scots were sufficiently sensible of the crazie condition of the Army, and thought they had now an opportunitie to distress them, (they acting the Offensive part) that and by degrees they should weary them out, and at last utterly destroy them: and to that end,

end, (conceiving that now they had a more then ordinary advantage) about midnight, *Aug.* 30. they attempted the Engliſh quarters on the weſt-end of the Town. But notwithſtanding their confidence, they were ſoon ſet further off.

The next day, the Lord General drew out into the open Champaign on the South-ſide of the Town, reſolving (notwithſtanding the indiſpoſition of body in his Army) to venture all upon the event of a Battel. But the Scots having no minde to that ſport, therefore (after three hours tarriance in expectation of their coming, all in vain) the Engliſh proſecuted their fore-intended march for *Dunbar*.

The Scots being re-inforced with the addition of three Regiments, yet again came in the Rere of the Engliſh; and ſeeing them lodg'd in *Dunbar*, gathered upon the adjacent hills like a thick cloud menacing ſuch a ſhowre to the Engliſh, as would waſh them out of their Country, if not out of the world: and to make ſure work, (imagining they had them now in a Pound) they being well acquainted with the Country, ſet a ſtrong Guard upon the Paſs at *Copperſpeith*, (a place where ſtout

ſtout men may obſtruct the paſſage of fourty) thereby to intercept or hinder all proviſions or relief from *Berwick*, or perhaps to hinder the Engliſh from running away, leſt any thing ſhould be wanting to compleat their (imagined) neer approaching Victory. For (as a late ingenious * Author hath it, writing upon this ſubject) *The Scots from thoſe high hills that encompaſſed this ſickly remnant, and which they had poſſeſſed themſelves of, look down on the Engliſh as their ſure prey.* But (as the ſame Author goes on) *how much better had they done, had they levelled thoſe mountains which ſurrounded their wretched enemies, and which proved ſuch ſleight defences againſt a vertue backt with neceſſity, and ſo made them an eaſier paſſage to their homes, who by reaſon of their ſickneſs did very much want it?*

* R H. *his diſcourſe of* England.

And no marvel the Scots were thus confident. For beſides that they were ſtout and hearty, in their own Country, and upon advantageous ground, (in all which reſpects the Engliſh were at a loſs) they doubled the Engliſh in number; they being 6000 Horſe & 16000 Foot, whereas

as the other were but 7500 Foot & 3[illegible] Horſe. Two to one is great oddes; a[illegible] yet (as the caſe then ſtood) they muſt e[illegible] ther fight manfully, or tamely give [illegible] themſelves a prey to their inſulting En[illegible] my; which the Engliſh not having be[illegible] accuſtomed to do, knew not how to beg[illegible] now. Neither did all theſe ſtraights, di[illegible] ficulties and diſadvantages in the leaſt di[illegible] may the Lord General, who as a Rock re[illegible] mained immoveable in this Sea of dan[illegible] gers; and who, conſidering that the pre[illegible] ſent neceſſity required more then an or[illegible] dinary courage, and that this muſt be hi[illegible] Maſter-piece or Misfortune, after he ha[illegible] well view'd the Enemy, and found tha[illegible] they had drawn down about two thirds o[illegible] their Left wing of Horſe to the Right[illegible] cauſing them to edge down toward the[illegible] Sea, ſhogging alſo their Foot and Trai[illegible] to the Right, (a poſture not well to be un[illegible] derſtood, unleſs it were by this means t[illegible] make ſhort work, and to catch the Engliſh[illegible] as it were in a Purſe-net) ſaw that it was[illegible] no time to uſe many words, and that ſmall[illegible] debates muſt produce great actions: and[illegible] therefore after a ſhort conſultation had[illegible] with his chief Officers, it was concluded[illegible] ro

to take ſuch a courſe as might let the Enemy ſee it was in vain for them to go about to abridge them of their liberty, by any power or policie that they could uſe.

The better to do this, the Lord General drew forth ſix Regiments of Horſe, with three Regiments and a half of Foot, to march in the Van: the Horſe were commanded by Major-General *Lambert*, and Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*; the Foot, by Commiſſary-General *Whalley*, and Colonel *Monk*. To ſecond theſe, were Colonel *Pride*'s Brigade, and Colonel *Overton*'s Brigade. Two Regiments of Horſe moreover brought up the Rere, with the Cannon.

All things being thus in a readineſs, the Souldiers deſired nothing more, then the coming of the time when they ſhould fall on, that ſo they might ſhew their Valour to purpoſe. It was reſolved (*Sept.* 3.) to fall on by break of day: but (by reaſon of ſome impediments) it was delayed till ſix of the clock; at which time, Major-General *Lambert*, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, Commiſſary *Whalley*, and Colonel *Twiſleton*, (all ſtout reſolute Commanders) gave a furious charge upon the Scots

Scots Army, who ſtoutly ſuſtained the ſame, and gallantly diſputed the buſineſs at the ſwords point. The Engliſh Foot in the mean time fired roundly upon the Enemies Foot, but with more courage then ſucceſs; for being over-powred, they were forc'd into ſome diſorder: notwithſtanding, they ſoon recovered their ground, being reinforc'd by the Generals own Regiment.

And now the Fight grew hot on all ſides. The Engliſh Horſe flew about like Furies, doing wonderful execution, inſomuch that the place ſoon became an *Aceldama*, or field of bloud. The Foot were not behinde in their capacities: for the Pikes gallantly ſuſtained the puſh of their Enemies, and the Muskets ſeemed by their often firings to have a deſigne to alter the property of the Climate from the Frigid to the Torrid *Zone*. Neither were the Engliſh more free of their Powder, then the Scots (eſpecially *Lawyers* Regiment of Highlanders) were of their Bullets, until their Horſe being totally diſpers'd, and enforc'd to quit the Field, left the Foot expoſed to all dangers: which they ſeeing, began to ſhift for themſelves as well

well as they could, throwing away their Arms, and betaking themſelves to their heels: a poor ſhift; it being better to fight a day, then run an hour. To be ſhort; the Engliſh at laſt ſo far prevailed, as to give a compleat Overthrow, by the utter routing of that Army, which had but lately triumphed in a confident aſſurance of Victory.

This was the work of one hour; but it ended not here: for the Rout begetting a Run, the fugitives were purſued eight miles from the place. Of the Enemy were ſlain in all, about 3000; many priſoners of quality taken, beſides 10000 private ſouldiers, with 15000 Arms, all their Train of Artillery, great and ſmall, the Leather-Guns not excepted: and for ſtanding Trophies of this great Victory, 200 of their Colours were ſent up to the Parliament at *London*, who cauſed them to be hung up in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, where they remain till this day.

As Sea-ſick paſſengers in a boiſterous Ocean, receive as it were new life and ſpirit upon ſafe arrival at their deſired Port: ſo the Engliſh Army, who had been toſſed up and down in a ſtrange Country,

and almoſt ſpent by hard duty and the unſutableneſs of the Climate, were now revived by this miraculous Victory. And the Lord General ſeeing their courage to be up, reſolved it ſhould not flat for want of exerciſe; and therefore (the better alſo to improve this Victory, and to ſecure what he had gotten) he diſpatches away *Lambert* with ſix Regiments of Horſe and nine of Foot, to attaque *Edinburgh* the Metropolis of *Scotland*, and ſecure *Leith*, that ſo the Engliſh ſhips might thence readily and without obſtruction yeeld neceſſary ſupplies to the Army. The Lord General himſelf remained ſome ſmall time at *Dunbar*, to diſpoſe of priſoners, and to order other matters as the occaſion required. And the priſoners being ſo numerous, that it ſeemed to be as much trouble to retain them as it was to take them, the Lord General diſcharged neer upon 5000 of them (moſt ſick and wounded) the reſt (much about the ſame number) being conveyed to *Berwick* by four Troops of Colonel *Hacker*'s Horſe.

Having given this account of the captives, a word or two of thoſe that eſcaped by flight. Their General it ſeems was

one of that number, and none of thoſe that made the leaſt haſte neither, or elſe he could not have been at *Edinburgh* by ten of the clock that morning whereon the Battel was fought; outſtripping his Lieutenant-General, who got not thither till the afternoon. But if they had made leſs haſte, they might have come before they had been welcom, unleſs they had brought better news; the Gariſon and inhabitants being very much dampt at their report, as alſo thoſe of *Leith*; inſomuch that *Edinburgh* was preſently quit by its Gariſon, and *Leith* reſolved to receive the Victors, not knowing how to keep them out. But though the Engliſh had thus poſſeſſed the Town of *Edinburgh*, the Caſtle remained untoucht; which being eſteemed impregnable, and commanding the Town, the Scots hoped that the Engliſh would ſoon finde their new quarters too hot to hold them; and ſo much the rather, for that the ſaid Caſtle (beſides its natural ſtrength) was well manned, had a conſiderable Artillery on the walls, and ſtore of all ſorts of proviſions; Colonel *William Dundaſs* being its Governour. However, the ſame day the Scots

Scots deserted the Town, the English under *Lambert* took possession of the same, as also of *Leith*; in both which places they found several Pieces of Ordnance, many Arms, and considerable provisions, which were too heavie for the Scots to take with them, because of their haste. But how well the new Garison of *Edinburgh* agreed with their neighbours in the Castle, we shall hear afterwards.

Upon this, the Lord General coming up with the remainder of the Army, the Scots were in despair of nestling there again; and therefore made *Sterling* their next refuge; whither resorted those that had escaped at *Dunbar*, to help to piece up their shattered Army, that so in a second Encounter they might endeavour to recover their lost credit. To this purpose also recruits were raised by the Committee of Estates in all places under their power: their Officers are likewise new moulded, new ones being taken in, and old ones laid aside, according as they saw occasion: this change being not in inferiour Officers only, but among the great Commanders likewise: for old *Leven* was laid aside, albeit *David Lesley* were continued. But

But this their rallying and recruiting, chopping and changing, signified little: for (as if they had been possest with a like spirit with those infatuated Jews in *Jerusalem*, when that City was closely begirt by the Romanes) notwithstanding that the English had given them that sore blow at *Dunbar*, driven them from their Metropolis, and were still improving those advantages; the Scots, in stead of joyning heart and hand in defending their Country against so prevailing an adversary, split themselves into so many fractions and factions, that it would require some curiosity to discriminate them. The most notable were these: *Straughan* and *Car* in the West, who declared against the Kings party, and were called *Remonstrators*: another party were for King and Kirk, as *David Lesley*, Major Gen. *Holborn*, and those in *Fife*: and a third sort were purely for the King; these with *Middleton* keep the High-lands.

This Kingdom being thus divided, was not likely long to stand. For animosities growing higher and higher among themselves, little care was taken to repress the English, who ranged at pleasure about the Coun-

Country. And the Lord General having his Head-quarters at *Edinburgh*, and observing what course the Scots steered, lay not idle; but having refreshed his men *Sept.* 14. he drew out the greatest part of his Army for *Sterling*, and faced the Castle, having at first some thoughts to storm it; but finding that the Horse could not well second the Foot, he desisted for the time, and returned back to the Head-quarters. Whither being come, order was given for carrying all the Boats in the *Frith* to *Leith*, for prevention of the Scots Ferrying over into *Fyfe*, to joyn with the Enemy there.

And since (according to the Proverb) of *Idleness comes no goodness*; therefore, to keep his men in action, and that they might the better acquaint themselves with the Country, the Lord General (his work going on well before *Edinburgh*-Castle, of which a particular account shall be given in its place) marcht away six Regiments of Foot, and nine of Horse and Dragoons, for *Glasgow*, a City of a pleasant site, upon a River navigable for small Boats, which usually bring up provisions from *Patrick-town*, ten miles thence, where ships of good

good burden may ride. In *Glasgow*, the streets and houses are more neat and clean then those of *Edinburgh*; it being also one of the chiefest Universities in *Scotland*.

By the way of *Linlithgow*, the Lord General sent a Paper to the Committee of Estates, to try once more what might be done by fair means: a copie whereof was likewise at the same time dispatched away to Colonel *Car* and *Straughan*, to the same end.

Little else was remarkable in this Expedition, then the taking of a small Garison neer *Kelsith*, a place famous for being the Stage whereon somtime the valiant *Montross* had acted such great things, as even shook the foundations of the Kirk; and had subverted it, if the English had not in time stretched out their hand to support the same. This heroick Champion, notwithstanding he wrought such great things with small Forces, (ever encountring considerable Armies with a handful, so that not one of his men could be exempted from continual duty) yet could not avoid the frowns of adverse fortune; wherein nevertheless, although his body were ca-

ptivated, his ſpirit remained free, beari
up above the higheſt affronts of his en
ged enemies, who loaded him with all
ignominy that Malice it ſelf could inve
firſt inflicting on him a moſt reproachf
death; and next, mangling his dead b
dy, the quarters whereof they cauſed
be hung up in ſeveral places, for publi
view. On the Tolbooth at *Glaſgow* hu
one of his legs, which the Engliſh (
membring what he was) took down a
buried privately.

Now the Lord General retires to *Edi*
burgh, the ſeaſon admitting of no con
derable action, but onely what neceſſ
required. And a neceſſary work the
went about, in ſuppreſſing a company o
ſturdy knaves called Moſs-Troopers, wh
daily plaid their pranks with great bold
neſs, and (by the treachery and conn
vence of the Country-people) murdere
many of the Engliſh Souldiers, eſpeciall
ſtraglers: nay, their confidence grew ſo
high, as to ſteal ſome of the Train-horſes
belonging to the Army. To that end a
Proclamation was publiſhed by the Lord
General, to this effect:

That

THat finding many of the Army were not onely ſpoiled and robbed, but alſo others barbarouſly butchered and ſlain, by a ſort of Outlaws, not under the diſcipline of any Army; and finding that all tenderneß to the Country produced no other effect, then their compliance with, and protection of ſuch perſons: therefore conſidering that it is in the Countries power to detect and diſcover them; and perceiving their motion to be ordinary, by their invitation and intelligence of Country-people; therefore he declared, That where-ever theſe enormities ſhould be committed for the future, life ſhould be required for life, and a plenary ſatisfaction for the goods thus ſtollen, of thoſe Pariſhes and places where the fact ſhould be committed, unleß they did diſcover and produce the offender.

Preſently after the publiſhing of this Proclamation, Colonel *Monk* with a commanded party of Foot, four Pieces of Ordnance, and a Mortar-piece, was ſent to hunt theſe Beaſts of prey. And upon information that *Derlton*-Houſe near *Hadington* was one of their Neſts, *Monk*

and

and *Lambert* bent their Force towards
and approaching it an evening, by
next day they had planted their Batte
whence they plyed the Houſe with g
Guns, the Mortar-piece alſo being
unoccupied: but all wrought little effe
till at laſt one of the Granadoes falling
to the houſe, broke the Iron bar of
inner gate, and forced it open, throw
the Draw-bridge into the Moat; it a
killed the Moſs-Troopers Lieutena
This rough handling made them cry o
for Quarter, profering to quit the Hou
ſo they might ſave their lives. But the
beggers not being admitted to be chuſe
at laſt ſubmit to mercy. Their numbe
was thirty, and their Captain one *Wat*
who (with two others of the moſt deſp
rate of them) was preſently ſhot
death, and the reſt made priſoners.

This place being thus reduced, *Mon*
takes with him 600 Foot for *Roſlane* C
ſtle; where at firſt he found oppoſition
but upon ſecond thoughts it was yeelde
to mercy.

From theſe leſs conſiderable atchieve
ments, the Engliſh proceed to greate
For the heat of their courage made them
inſen-

inſenſible (as it were) of the coldneſs of the weather; ſo that in ſtead of lurking in Winter-quarters, (as is uſual in ſuch a ſeaſon, in warmer climates too) they ſtir abroad to finde out the Enemy. And now they draw near to that grand party in the Weſt of *Scotland*, ſometimes commanded by *Car* and *Straughan*, who had withdrawn themſelves from the obedience of King, Kirk and State, publiſhing a Declaration containing the Reaſons of their ſo doing; which was to this purpoſe:

THat that which is obvious in the firſt place among the ſins of the Land, is the late proceedings with the King: That they would diſtinguiſh betwixt their duty and their ſin: their duty was to uſe all lawful ways for reclaiming the King, and to own his intereſt accordingly as he owned and proſecuted the Cauſe: that it was their ſin, and the ſin of the Kingdom, that the King had walked in the ways of his fathers oppoſition to the work of Reformation; and yet that they ſhould receive him, notwithſtanding his peace made with the Iriſh, the Commiſſion given to James Graham (meaning *Montroſs*) *for invaſion of* Scotland; *and after*

all

all this, to assure him by Commissioners of the exercise of Royal power, upon his bare profession to joyn in the Cause and Covenant without any further proof of his repentance or convincing evidences of the reality of his professions. That the Treaty was continued with him, after his dealing was discovered in the actual invasion of the Kingdom. That the King himself did still continue the Malignant party in the Kingdom, cleaving to them, and following their counsels: and that not done onely in the Kingdom of Scotland but also abroad, by keeping correspondence with the Lord of Ormond *and the Earl of* Newcastle. *That he refused to signe the Declaration offered to him by the Committee of Estates and General Assembly, when it was extorted from him, and he of necessity enforced to take it. That he still pursued the same designes since the Treaty as before, endeavouring to have the Malignants in the Kingdom in power and trust, as it appears in his frequent conversing and correspondence with them, notwithstanding they were discharged the Court by Act of Parliament. By these things it is manifest that the King hath not prosecuted the Cause of God, but rather in opposition to the work*

of God and the Covenant. They therefore according to the Declaration of Kirk and State the 13 *of* August 1650. *disclaim all the sin and guilt of the King and his house, both old and new, and declare that they cannot own him nor his interest in the state of the quarrel betwixt him and the enemy against whom they were to hazard their lives.*

This Remonstrance was sent to the Committee of Estates then at *Sterling*, the 25 of *November* 1650. where it bred great divisions and dissentings amongst them. Much debate there was, what to do in it: to approve thereof, would adde many more fractions to their already-broken State, and make all desperate: to shew an utter dislike of it, would put the Remonstrators upon securing themselves, lest if they should fall under the lash of their own Estates, they might be worse handled then by being in the power of the English. But at last they agreed upon a Declaration, which was drawn up, and voted to be sent to the Commissioners of the Kirk; wherein they declared,

That the said Remonstrance, as it related

ted to the Parliament and Civil Judica-
ries, was scandalous and injurious to his Ma-
jesties Person, and injurious to his Autho-
rity: and that it held out seeds of divisi-
and was of a dangerous consequence, a
withal dishonourable to the Kingdom, in
far as it tended to a breach of the Trea
with the Kings Majestie at Breda, *appro-*
ved by the Parliament and General Assem-
bly: that it strengthened the hand of th
Enemy, giving him wherewithal to justi
his unjust invasion; and weakned the han
of many honest men. Lastly, that throu
the subtil contrivance thereof, many religi-
ous Gentlemen, Officers and Ministers hav
been thereby ensnared.

This was backt by the Assembly of the Kirk, who signified their concurrence with the Estates in dislike of the Remonstrance; but so nevertheless, as (if possible) to bring *Car* and his party over by fair means: to which end, many Papers pass'd betwixt them, and all means were used to compose differences.

The English Lord General observing these Western dissenters to agree with him in many particulars, sent them several

ral invitations to come in to him. Who (being proud of so many courtings from all sides) grew so high thereupon, as to think themselves strong enough to defend their own Cause against all opposers. But as if Divisions had not already sufficiently torn that Nation, this Party, who had lately made so great a rent therein, soon after subdivide themselves; *Straughan* withdrawing himself, and in a small time closing with the English. So that *Car* commands all now himself; and how he behaved himself in his command, we shall presently see.

Upon this Party the English Lord General had a special eye, they quartering near; who if they could not be made friends, might prove dangerous enemies, and bad neighbours. At last, after many fruitless endeavours used to draw them over to him, he resolves (notwithstanding the difficulty of marching at that time of the year, it being *December*) to force them to it, or to do worse. Which was strangely effected, in a short time after. For about the end of *November*, Major-Gen. *Lambert*, and Commissary-Gen. *Whaller*, with five Regiments of Horse, were ordered

dered by the General to march from P
bles to *Hamilton*, on the South-side
Cloid; himself in the mean time marc
ing from *Edinburgh* on the North-si
where he tarried the greatest part o
day: but having good intelligence whe
Lambert and his party were, and the we
ther being very bad, he returned bac
Whereof when Colonel *Car* had notic
as also that *Lambert* had taken up h
quarters at *Hamilton*, he conceived th
now a fit opportunity was offered him
making sure work with him, he being d
joyned from the Body of the Army, a
supinely sleeping (as he dreamed) witho
any thoughts of an enemy. With thi
confident perswasion, *Car* sets upon
sudden March in the night, with abou
1500 Horse; and before day (makin
more haste then good speed) he furiou
breaks into *Lambert*'s Quarters; an
finding no opposition at his first entry, h
was emboldened to go up to the middle o
the Town; where a Captain with abou
40 souldiers having taken the Alarm, ha
suddenly mounted: these (being favoure
by a tree that lay cross the street) gav
a check to their carreer, till the whol
Ca

Garison was alarm'd. The suddenness of the business did somewhat amaze the English: but having soon recollected themselves, they resume their wonted courage, being also very much animated by the example of their Officers forwardness. And to make their work the more perfect, part of their Forces being left in the Town, to engage the Enemy, and to secure the Rere, the residue drew out, that if possible they might surround the Enemies whole party; who making a timely discovery of this designe, very cunningly fac'd about and fled. Though this encounter lasted not long, yet of the Scots were slain near upon 100, and as many taken prisoners; some few of whom might well be accounted many, considering their quality: for among them was *Car* himself, his Lieutenant-Colonel, and Captain-Lieutenant.

This Victory was not so well won, but it was as well followed; for the chase continued as far as *Ayre*, where also were routed a party of 150, which was the chief remains of the Remonstrators. This Success came very seasonably; and the more considerable it was, by how much the more difficult it would have been to en-

gage them against their will: for they knowing the Country well, and having the people on their side, could march about at pleasure; when the English durst not follow without a great part of their Army for fear of *Lesley*, who then lay at *Sterling* with the Scotch Army, ready to make use of all advantages that might serve for his purpose.

Immediately upon this, followed the Rendition of *Edinburgh*-Castle (the most considerable strong hold in all *Scotland*: It is seated upon a very high Precipice, over-looking and commanding all places about it; insomuch that many times the English Souldiers in their Quarters were galled with the Shot sent from the great Guns into *Edinburgh*.

When the Lord General came first before it, which was immediately after the Rout at *Dunbar*, he sent in a Summons to the Governour Colonel *Will. Dundas*; which wrought no effect: presently after, several Papers were sent in to invite the Ministers to come forth to their several charges; but they refusing so civil an offer, the Lord General then seriously considered with his chief Officers which

way to reduce by force both them and it: knowing, that if it should continue thus in the Scots hands, his own work would be very much retarded thereby. Accordingly, the place being viewed, nothing could be seen to encourage the attempting of it by storm. But as there is many more ways then one to win; so every one of these ways that carryed probability with it, was debated. At last, a resolution was taken, That seeing this impregnable place could not be beaten down, endeavours should be used to blow it up: to that end, Miners both Scotch and English, were sent for, to carry on the work: In order to this resolution, about the end of *September*, the Galleries were begun in the night; which was no sooner perceived by those in the Castle, but they very angerly fired upon it with five great Guns, and several vollies of small Shot; which nothing hindered the English, whose indefatigable pains wrought through the earth, until at last coming to the main rock, it put them to a stand, finding it not to be of that mould they imagined. Yet could not this dismay those, whose resolutions far surmounting the difficulty of

their preſent deſign ; for finding the mattock did not perform its part, they, by other means, made holes in the ſtones, and filling them full of Powder, made them fly by firing.

But the Lord General taking notice how tedious the mining work went on, and withal conſidering the uncertainty of the wiſhed event when finiſhed ; therefore, to make a quick diſpatch, he gave order for raiſing a Mount not far from the Caſtle upon a riſing ground, whereon to plant a Battery, that ſo the Enterpriſe might be carryed on above ground as well as beneath. The ſight of this, very much amazed *Dundaſs* the Governour, who now perceived what a vanity it was to withſtand the Engliſh induſtry. Yet to quit himſelf of that great truſt repoſed in him by his ſuperiours, and withal to cheriſh the hopes of his Country-men, whoſe eyes were generally upon him, he did the utmoſt to anſwer the expectations of thoſe that thought this bone might go near to break *Cromwels* teeth : who herein were much deceived ; for it could do no more then whet his appetite, and make him long for the poſſeſſion of this ſtrong

ſtrong Fort ; ſince the greater the oppoſition be, the more is a great ſpirit raiſed thereby.

The Battery being now raiſed to a convenient height (in ſpite of all impediments) by the unwearied labours of the Souldiers, and all things neceſſary prepared, four Mortar-Pieces and ſix battering Guns were drawn from *Leith*, and quickly mounted againſt the Caſtle. Now the word of command was onely wanting, which the Lord General deferred to give, until he had ſent to the Governour once more, willing him to yeild by fair means, and ſave the labour of being inforc'd by foul. The Summons was ſent the 11 of *December*, and ſpake thus ;

That he being reſolved by Gods aſſiſtance to uſe ſuch means as were put into his hands for to reduce the Caſtle, did, for the preventing of farther miſery, demand the rendering of the place to him upon fit conditions.

The Governour having received the ſame, made anſwer,

That he was intruſted by the Committee of the Eſtates of Scotland *for the keeping of the Caſtle : and that he could not deliver it up without leave from them ; and therefore*

desired ten days time to send to them, and receive their answer: upon receipt whereof the General should receive his resolute answer.

But the Lord General knowing delays to be dangerous, and that time was precious, and not to be lost in vain, he made this suddain reply:

That it concerned not him to know the Obligations of them that trusted him; but that he might have honourable terms for himself, and those that were with him: but that he could not give liberty to him to consult with the Committee of Estates, because he heard those among them that were honest enjoyed not satisfaction, and the rest were now discovered to seek another interest then they had formerly pretended to; in which if he desired to be satisfied, he might have information at a neerer distance then S. Johnstons.

This Parley was intended to continue until 10 in the morning, *Decemb.* 13. but there flying from the Castle some great Shot on the over-night, the next morning order was given to try the Mortar-Pieces; which was done; three with shells, and the fourth with stones. This produced the

the Governours Answer to the Lord Generals last Message; wherein *he adjured him in the Fear and Name of the living God, (which was called upon in the acceptance of his great trust) that liberty might be granted for him to send to the Committee of Estates, and that he should be very willing to receive information from those of his Country-men whom he could trust.* The Lord Generals reply was, *That whosoever he would appoint to come to him, should have liberty for one hour; but to send to the Committee of Estates, he could not grant.* To this the Governour was silent, until the Mortar-Pieces and great Guns began to play against the Castle; which they did for some small time, with great violence. This made *Dundass* send forth a Drum to desire a Conference with the Provest of *Aberdeen*, and one more then in *Edinburgh*: which the Lord General willingly condescended unto. But they seeing it to be a business of great concernment, utterly refused to have any thing to do with it; leaving the Governour to take his own course in the business. The Drummer being returned with this answer into the Castle, it much perplext the Governour, who re-

reflecting on the ſad condition he was i
ſaw himſelf ſurrounded with many da
gers both from abroad and within: fr
ſhould he yeild, it would go near to co
him his life, if ever he went to give a
account to thoſe that intruſted him wit
this charge: for the loſs of ſo ſtrong a plac
would exaſperate them beyond reaſon
and fill their minds ſo full of anger an
revenge, that in vain he might go abou
to make his own defence. Should he ſtan
it out, and defend the Caſtle, haply re-
lief might come, and ſo he might preſerve
his honour, and raiſe his reputation to a
high pitch; which are things a valiant
Souldier ought to be as careful of, as life it-
ſelf.

Theſe Conſiderations at laſt made him
wave all other thoughts, and wholly re-
ſolve to acquit himſelf manfully, know-
ing his own ſtrength, and that the Nation
could not afford a better Gariſon to main-
tain then this, being naturally ſtrong and
unacceſſible. No ſooner had he reſolved
thus with himſelf, but his mind was accor-
dingly ſignified to the Engliſh by a fair
red Enſigne hung out in defiance on the
top of the Caſtle, and the roaring of great
Guns

Guns from the Battlements of the wall.
This Muſick was no ways unpleaſant in
the Lord Generals ears; who anſwe-
rable to the Scotch red Flag, produced
Red-Coats (a ſight more formidable) and
for their Guns, ſent them in ſuch Balls,
that the ſtrongeſt Arm in the Caſtle could
not beat back again. For now he thought
it concerned him to let them know his ut-
moſt force, ſeeing they were ſo hardy as
to withſtand his power three moneths,
when a potent Army at *Dunbar* could not
do it three hours. Therefore *December*
17 the great Guns play hard on the Ca-
ſtle, and the Granadoes flying in the Ayr,
were as ſo many prodigious Comets
threatning miſery to the Beſieged, who in
defence of themſelves made the Caſtle
ſeem *Ætna*, perpetually vomiting out
ſmoak and fire; but all to little purpoſe:
for the Lord General ſhowred ſuch con-
tinued ſtorms of ſhot upon them, that e-
ven made them deſpair of withſtanding
the ſame.

The Governour ſeeing this, and think-
ing that now he had done ſufficient for
one man, beat a Parley, offering to ſur-
render, if (ſtill harping on this ſtring)
leave

leave might be granted to ſend to
Committee of Eſtates, and ſee if
leaſure would permit them to co
with relief. But this being ſtill deny
Col. *Dundaſs* and his Souldiers thou
it not good to abide any more of
fiery tryals, and therefore agreed to
ver all up, on theſe Articles:

That the Caſtle of Edinburgh, *the C*
non, Arms, Ammunition, Magazines,
Furniture of War, ſhould be delivered
the Lord General Cromwel.

That the Scots ſhould have the liberty
carry away their publick Regiſters, publi
Moveables, private Evidences and Wri
into Fife *or* Sterling.

That thoſe Goods in the Caſtle belong
to any perſon whatſoever, the Owners ſhou
have them reſtored again: this to be procla
med, that all might take notice of it.

That the Governour, and all Milita
Officers and Souldiers, might depart with
moleſtation, carrying their Arms and Ba
gage, with Drums beating, and Colours fl
ing, to Brunt-Iſland *in* Fife: *moreover, ſi*
ſick and wounded Souldiers to ſtay in Edin
burgh *till cured, and then to receive the ſam*
benefit of Articles with the reſt of their
Fellows.

Accor-

According to theſe Articles this ſtrong Caſtle being delivered up, *December* 24. was preſently poſſeſt by ſome Companies of the Engliſh, who found therein (to their admiration) 53 Peeces of Ordnance, 15 of them Iron, the reſt Braſs; 8000 Arms, 80 Barrels of Powder, and all things elſe ſuitable. The Articles were punctually performed, by the very great care of the Lord General, who ſent forth a Proclamation (according to the Tenour of the Agreement) for all perſons to come freely to *Edinburgh*, and fetch what Goods belonged to them; promiſing that they ſhould not receive the leaſt wrong, nor be injured nor moleſted in their Egreſs or Regreſs; the Souldiers on pain of death being commanded to obey the Proclamation: and that none might plead ignorance, it was proclaimed by beat of Drum, and ſound of Trumpet in *Edinburgh* and *Leith*.

Of ſuch importance was this place to the Engliſh, that it might compare with any of their Succeſſes ever ſince they firſt footed Scotch Ground: *Dunbar*-Victory was a great advantage, and the routing of *Car* conduced much to the weakning of the Enemy;

Enemy; but these things onely pare
nailes of *Kirk* and *States*, which wo
after a while grow again; or else bro
their shins, and made them halt a li
which might be quickly cured by a Pla
brought out of the *Highlands*: but
loss of *Edinburgh* Castle is irrecovera
no more such strong places will grow
gain; the loss of which almost broke
Scots hearts, and made them cry out, T
Cromwel fought with more then ordina
Engines, and shot better Metal th
Lead, or else it had been impossible to
duce that which in imagination was
counted impregnable. But this was ma
fancie: for seldome it is, that any side lo
seth, but some will maintain it was
Treachery; when there was no su
thing: so was it here: for *Dundass* t
Governour did what lay in his power, a
bore up couragiously, notwithstanding
was bereft of half himself; for his wi
was slain by a Granado that broak into th
Castle; and his Souldiers were so frighte
being frequently wounded by them, th
at last laying by the duty of Souldiers, the
commanded their Commander, and in
forc'd him to do what he did. But the
unruly

unruly fellows being conveyed (according to Articles) into *Fife*, found to their cost that they had leaped out of the frying-Pan into the Fire: for about seventy of them were clapt up to answer for their misdemeanours. Where they lay some time, until the Kirk and States were at leasure to call them to an account.

The crowning of their King was now the main business in agitation amongst them: this had been delayed long by the Kirk and States, who gave him some time to repent of all his Fathers sins, and his own transgressions; which he at first refusing, it had like to have set him besides the saddle: this backwardness in him, made the Kirk afraid to trust in his hands the reins of Government; wherefore they set themselves wholly to teach him mortification, and rules of the new Creature; withal making him understand how impossible it was to obtain a Crown, except he took up the Cross and followed them.

But the English vigorous prosecution of their designes, quickned them forward to expedite this business, which they of themselves were backward enough in. A head they saw was requisite to compose

that

that enmity which was among them,
bring in thoſe families in the *High*
(that declared purely for Royalty
joyn with them in repelling the P
lency of the *Common Enemy*, (which
the term beſtowed on the Engliſh A
for now it was declared lawful to
uſe of all perſons that became Soul
at this time of need; contrary to the
monſtrators opinion, who would not a
of any to ſerve in the Army, but ſuc
could give ſufficient teſtimony of
godly lives and converſations: ſo th
their judgments none were to be
choice of, (let the caſe of neceſſity be n
ſo urgent) unleſs they could overcom
the Spirit: if a houſe be on fire, nay mo
a kingdom, no water muſt be made u
but that which is clean; rather ſhou
burn down, then one drop of foul be
into it. Theſe Conceits in *Scotland* m
ſuch a fracture amongſt the Clergie of
Nation, as to this day could never be cu
again. But to return whence we digreſſ

The firſt of *January* was appointed
be the day whereon the King ſhould
crowned: great preparations were m
to inveſt him in his Royal Power at *Scon*

it was performed with the greateſt Pomp and Magnificence that the preſent condition of the Nation could afford: the Nobility attending in their Robes; and the Marqueſs of *Argile*, as Speaker from the Parliament, made a Speech: he having ended, the Miniſters began with an Exhortation how to uſe that which they were going to put in his power: then the Covenant being tendered to him, was immediately ſubſcribed. *Argile* ſetting the Crown upon his head, (which was too heavy for one to bear) the people ſhewed great demonſtrations of Joy, by their chearful acclamations of *God ſave King Charles the ſecond*. This News was quickly ſpread through all the Gariſons in *Fife*, where was ſeen the like content, ſignified by the thundering report of great Guns, and lighting of Bon-fires.

This ſolemnity being over, the main deſigne now was to raiſe ſuch an Army as might not onely ſecure what they had ſtill in poſſeſſion, but drive the Engliſh quite out of thoſe places lately loſt: to bring this to paſs, Commiſſions were granted for raiſing Horſe and Foot, and new Commanders brought in. *Middleton*, he

he was made Lieutenant-General of th
Horſe, &c.

The Lord General all this while wa
no idle Spectator, but took ſuch notice o
theſe paſſages, as might enable him t
make his own uſe of them, and let the
know, that greater Forces then they we
able to raiſe, could not make him loſe hi
hold, nor inforce one foot of ground fro
him. Therefore to make ſure work, an
get into his hands all thoſe Gariſons o
the Scots which were on the South-ſid
the *Frith*, he commanded Colonel *Fen-
wick* with his own Regiment, and Colone
Sylers to reduce *Hume* Caſtle, and bring
it under obedience. The Governour
name thereof was *Cockburn*, a man much
governed by fancie, as you will ſee. *Fen-
wick* no ſooner received this Order, but
immediately he applyed himſelf to the
work; and having drawn his men up be-
fore it, ſent a Summons to the Governour
in theſe words:

*His excellency the Lord General Crom-
wel hath commanded me to reduce this Caſtle
you now poſſeſs, under his obedience; which
if you now deliver into my hands, for his
ſer-*

*ſervice, you ſhall have terms for your ſelf
and thoſe with you: if you refuſe, I doubt
not but in a ſhort time, by the Lords aſſi-
ſtance, to obtain what now I demand. I
expect your anſwer by ſeven of the Clock
to morrow morning, and reſt,*

Your Servant,

GEORGE FENWICK.

The Governour to this returns a quib-
ling Anſwer:

Right Honourable,

I *Have received a Trumpeter of yours, as
he tells me, without a Paſs, to render*
Hume *Caſtle to the Lord General* Crom-
wel: *pleaſe you I never ſaw your Gene-
ral.*

As for *Hume* Caſtle it ſtands upon a
Rock:

Given at *Hume* Caſtle this day before
ſeven a Clock.

So resteth, without prejudice to my Native Country,

Your most Humble Servant,

TH: COCKBURN.

Here may be perceived how ignorant the Governour was of *Cromwels* Atchievements. Which ignorance of his must needs be either pretended, or wilful: for it could not be that he should know no more, when the whole world had heard so much: but 'tis probable he thought a part of his Army which wanted his presence, had not the same faculty in conquering, that he himself had when in person; and therefore took the boldness after the return of his Answer, to salute Colonel *Fenwick* with these Verses:

I William *of the Wastle*
Am now in my Castle,
And awe the Dogs in the Town
Shan't gar me gang down.

This

This is *Mars* mixt with a Tincture of *Mercury*. If the Superfluity of his Pen had been able to rout two Regiments, what might his Sword have done? But Colonel *Fenwick* having placed a Battery against the Castle, returns him Heroick Verse for his resolute Rhymes: for the great Guns (being one Mortar-piece and a Culvering) quickly made the feathers fly, especially a Granado that fell in the middle of the Castle, which did them great mischief. But yet they held out, until a small breach being opened, and the English ready to enter, the Governour beat a Parley. But *Fenwick* now was resolved to hearken to no Composition but onely quarter for life: which was accepted of; so the Governour, with his Garison, (78 Commanders and private Souldiers) gang'd forth of the Castle; which was presently possest by Captain *Collinson* with his Company.

It had been long now since the Lord General himself had been in the field; for though Action was that which chiefly corresponded to his Nature, yet the sharpness of the season made him continue in his Winter-quarters for some small

time longer: in which time, parties were sent abroad to enlarge their Quarters, and clear the passage between *England* and *Edinburgh*. *Timptallon*-Castle was a place which many times had cut off passengers, and much molested the Country by frequent excursions: for the reducing of which, Colonel *Monk* (that gallant Commander) was sent with about three Regiments of Horse and Foot. When first he came before it, finding the Scots very refractory, he caused the Mortar-pieces to play for 48 hours: which did them little hurt; until that six battering Guns being planted, they played their parts so well, that the Governour was enforst to yeild (seeing no other conditions would be granted) to Mercy, and all those that were with him.

The Scots King having now got some power into his hands, used his utmost endeavours to gain reputation amongst his Subjects, by visiting all the Garisons in *Fife*, and putting them in a posture to hinder the English from landing on that side the *Frith*; But having experienced the Lord Generals courage, and knowing that Forts would prove weak withstanders

ders of his Forces, should they make an attempt; therefore he drew from *Sterling* those Horse and Foot which could be well spared, and joyning with them the new-raised souldiers, he quartered them all along the VVater-side, for better security.

After this business was ended, away rides he to the High-lands, to compose differences, (for that place was not free from dissentions) & perswade those rough-hewn Fellows to rise unanimously in defence of their craggy habitations.

This progress vvas no sooner ended, but the sitting of the Scotch Parliament at *St. Johnstons* vvas begun, vvhere the chief consideration vvas still to recruit their Army vvith new supplies of men. This Meeting produced an *Act*, *Ordinance*, or *great Gun*, to terrifie those that should slip away from their Colours vvithout leave from their Captains, and vvas followed by the Clergie (to shew how ready they were to promote these designes) with an exhortatory Declaration, stuffe with railing rhetorick against the English, which was sent into *Fife* and the High-lands, perswading all to rise at this time of need.

need. This produced little: for the common people must not stir, unless their *Lords* or *Leards* beat the Drum. But these Grandees were now busily snarling one at another about superiority in the Army; every one endeavoring to be in the chiefest place of command: and if any one were advanced, he that came next behind pulled him by the skirts, to hinder his preferment. By this means the Scots great undertakings went on but slowly.

But to return, and make an inspection into the English Affairs: We find the Army in and about *Edinburgh*, under a cloud of sorrow, mourning for the Eclipse of that great Luminary which erst while had shined so bright in their Hemisphere, whose influence had many times melted the waxen Whings of his ambitious Enemies; but now (as all men are subject to be so) this great General by sickness was confined to his Chamber, and utterly disabled for the present to act in person with the Army, should any new occasion call them forth of their Winter-Quarters.

This did not so much depress the spirits of the English Souldiery, (who were exceeding

ceeding sensible of their unspeakable loss, should *Cromwel* their fortunate Leader be now snach't away from them in the midst of their hopes) as it heightned the Scots, who were very much elevated with the fancy of his death; believing the slightest report of it to be real truths, because it corresponded with their desires; imagining to themselves assurance of Victory and sufficient Revenge, when death had conquered him, who many times before had made them feel the force of his Steel. This conceit was so deeply grounded in their imaginations, that no report to the contrary could supplant it, but it must be so, because so they would have it: so apt are men to believe any thing that serves for their purpose, according to that saying, *Quod volumus, facile credimus.*

But this *Chimæra* soon vanished into nothing: for a Scotch Trumpeter being sent out of *Fife* to *Edinburgh* about the restoration of a Ship laden with Goods which the English Frigats had taken sailing from *Brunt-Island* to *Fife*; after his message was delivered, he very confidently aver'd to the Souldiers, That their General was dead, and that they did well

in hiding it; but all the world should never make him believe otherwise. This report was much wondered at; and the more, because the Reporter did it with abundance of confidence, endeavouring to perswade all to chirp after his note. But he could not long persist in his opinion; for this Novelty being handed about from one to another, at last it came to the Lord Generals ear, who much admired such a thing should be, and he not know it: therefore to dispossess the Trumpeter of that conceit, he caused him to be brought into his presence; where coming, he now saw, that although sickness had for some time sorely handled this noble General, yet now his recovery was so far advanced, and that Nature had now gotten so much mastery over his distemper, that in all probability he would walk forth in a small time to take the air, and visit his neighbours at *Sterling*, if not in *Fife*. At the return of the Trumpeter to those that sent him, he quickly blew away this false report which went so currantly in the Scotch Army, and assured the falsity of it.

The Parliament in *England* having ever

ver a watchful eye on the Affairs in *Scotland*, with singular providence provided sufficient supplies both of Men, Money and Provisions of all sorts for Horse and Man, dispatching them away continually to the Army; so that it might be said, That *never was an Army better provided for, then this; nor ever did Souldiers better deserve encouragement then these.*

About this time arrived at *Leith* Admiral *Dean*, one of the English Generals at Sea, with large supplies from *London*: amongst other conveniences, he brought 27 great flat-bottom'd Boats, which were for transportation of the Army over into *Fife*, that so thereby a quick dispatch might be made of this work, so far advanced already. But the time of year would not admit of much action: for although it was *April* here, yet the Rays of the Sun were not of force sufficient to penetrate the congealed Clouds, and raise any verdure on the ground; so that the Cavalry could not march, unless they carried their fields behind them, or else in Carts. But this which hindered the English, further the Scotch, and gave them leasure to scrape together as many men as possibly could

could be got. Out of the High-lands marcht *Middleton*, with a considerable Force of Horse and Foot; and the Town of *Dundee*, out of a great respect to their King, and to shew their forwardness in prosecuting the cause, advanced for the service a brave Regiment of Horse at their own charges, and sent them with a stately Tent, and six fair Brass Ordnance, for a Present to the King then at *Sterling*; where all being joyned, their Army consisted of 20000 men, most raw, or else but parboil'd, having seen no Wars but what their own Country produced; and being more acquainted with their fields then fights, knew better how to handle a Spade, then a Speare. But though many of them were thus, especially the new-raised Forces; yet all were not so: for *Scotland* being always numerous in people, supplyed the neighbour-Nations with auxiliarie Forces; so that many Regiments of them were always in the service of the *Swede*, *French*, *Dutch* and other Nations. But now upon report of Wars in *Scotland*, they repaired home to serve in their own Nation at this time, against the English.

The

The Scotch Army being grown numerous, was still augmented by Forces newly raised in all parts of the Nation where the King and States had any command; yet more were desired: to that purpose, the Earl of *Eglington* (an eminent person) was sent into the VVest (with some other Commanders) to raise Forces: these coming to *Dunbarton*, began to put their Commissions in execution; but Colonel *Lilburn* having notice of it, sent them a party of Horse, which suddainly snapt the Earl himself, his Son Colonel *James Mountgomery*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Colborn*, *&c.* whom they carried away prisoners to *Edinburgh*.

The Lord General *Cromwel* had now got strength to walk abroad, notwithstanding the relapse he fell into after his first sickness; and had it not been that he was of an extraordinary strong constitution, the Ague, which last of all seised upon him, might have shook him into the grave. But the Parliament in *England* seeing how frequent these distempers were upon their General, and doubting the air of *Scotland* might be the cause of it, the Council of State first of all sent him two eminent Do-

Doctors, Dr. *Wright*, and Dr. *Bates*, to use their utmost skill in his recovery; and presently after dispatched an Order into *Scotland*, which gave him liberty to leave the busines of the Army, and repair into *England*, until his health and strength was recovered. Upon receipt of this, he made a return of thanks by a Letter to the Lord President of the Council, which ran thus:

My Lord,

I Having received yours of the 27 of May, with an Order of the Parliament for my liberty to return into England, *for change of ayr, that thereby I might the better recover my health; all which came unto me whiles Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates (whom your Lordship sent down) were with me: I shall not need to repeat the extremity of my last sickness; it was so violent, that indeed my nature was not able to bear the weight thereof; but the Lord was pleased to deliver me beyond expectation, and to give me cause to say once more, He hath plucked me out of the Grave. My Lord, the indulgence of the Parliament expressed by their Order, is a very high and unde-*

undeserved favour; which although it be fit I keep a thankful remembrance, yet I judge it would be too much presumption in me not to return a particular acknowledgement. I beseech you give me the boldness to return my humble thankfulness to the Council for sending two such worthy persons so great a journey to visit me, from whom I have received much encouragement and good direction for recovery of health and strength; which I finde (by the goodness of God) growing towards such a state, as may yet (if it be his good will) render me useful according to my poor ability, in the station wherein he hath set me. I wish more steadiness in your Affairs here, then to depend (in the least) upon so frail a thing as I am: indeed they do not, nor own any Instrument: this Cause is of God, and it must prosper. Oh that all that have any hand therein, being so perswaded, would gird up the loyns of their minds, and endeavour in all things to walk worthy of the Lord: So prays,

My Lord,

Edinburgh, June 3.

Your most humble Servant,
O. CROMWEL.

Al-

Although ſickneſs had a long time kept under the body of this noble General, yet his courage was no way diminiſhed by it: for no ſooner was he able to ride abroad, but with eager deſire of action he conſults with the chief Officers of the Army to carry on the War. The reſult of theſe Councils was to contract the Army, by drawing in the out-guards of petty Gariſons which were of little force, and onely ſerved for *Perdues* to give notice of the Enemies motions. To *Hamilton* marcht Commiſſary-General *Whaley* with eight Regiments of Horſe, and brought off a Troop of Dragoons, and 60 Foot which were there placed; afterward ſeveral other places were deſerted by the Forces that kept them.

The Army being thus drawn into one body, were ſupplyed with 33 Waggons and Carriages for the Train from *Barwick*; and near upon the ſame time arrived by Sea Captain *Butler* in the *Succeſs*, a ſtout ſhip formerly taken from the French: this was the Ship that wafted along the Golden Fleece, and ſafely ſworn into *Leith* with a rich Cargazon of about 80000*l.* for to pay the Souldiers. This money

money was preſently diſtributed out, to the Horſe and Foot; which mightily elevated their reſolution to the preſent Expedition.

All things being now ready for this *Champaigne*, the Lord General *Cromwel* ordered the Armies advance to *Red-hall*: which was cheerfully done, on *June* 24. 1651. At this place they onely tarried until the Souldiers had wholly quitted their Quarters, and then marched off to *Pencland* hills, a place which was well known to the Engliſh, ever ſince the firſt enterance of the Army into *Scotland*, when they took the confidence from thence to look big on the City of *Edenburgh*: but now being in a braver condition then they were before, having cut through the greateſt difficulties of the VVar, and advanced their Blood-red Croſs on the top of the moſt impregnable places that durſt withſtand their invincible Force; having made a breakfaſt of the South of *Scotland*, they intended the North for a Dinner. Therefore to make haſt, now their ſtomacks were up, the Lord General *Cromwel* cauſed the whole Army to pitch their Camp on *Pencland* hills,

hills, in such a comely Order, and admira-
ble Figure, so that *Julius Cæsar* himself
(could he have kept death off at the sword
point, and thereby survived to this Age,
might have turned Scholar, and learnt the
Rudiments of Modern Discipline, by the
Example of this excellent Commander.
How amiable was it to behold the towring
Tents of the superiour Officers, in various
Figures, and spreading Colours overlook-
ing the Huts of the inferiour Souldiers,
like so many Pinacles in a well-built City,
that aspire over the humble Cottages, ad-
ministring a pleasant object to the de-
lighted Traveller! Here Military Disci-
pline resembled the Civil Power; all
knowing their Duty, and performing their
Parts; whilst General *Cromwel* the Head
observed the Actions of every Member in
this great Body, with one hand stretched
forth to reward the sober and valiant; the
other, to punish the cowardly and vitious.
It was not here, as usually it hath been
practised in forraign Armies; as that of
the Duke of *Lorain*, where the first ques-
on to a new-listed Souldier was this, *Canst
thou plunder?* or in some others, where
the Van, by Rapine and destruction, make
Skeletons of the Rear. While

While the Army lay thus incamped, the
Lord General in his Tent feasted his Offi-
cers, and several of their Ladies, as the
Lady *Lambert*, and Major General *Deans*
Lady, with several other English Gentle-
women, who came from *Leith* to view the
Souldiers in their Tents, and afterwards
returned back to the places from whence
they came.

The Army continued not long in this
posture: for General *Cromwel* seeing the
weather invited, and intelligence of the
Scots being at *Falkirk*, requiring a speedy
advance, he therefore drew forth the Ar-
my to meet them, which we shall muster
in their March, and set down the names of
the particular Colonels, with their Regi-
ments, both of Horse and Foot, which
were actual in this Expedition, that so the
remembrance of these worthy Comman-
ders may be preserved.

The Regiments were these:

HORSE.

1. The Lord General's.
2. Major General *Lambert's.*
3. Lieut. General *Fleetwood's.*

4. Com. Gen. *Whalie's.*
5. Col. *Tomlinſon's.*
6. Col. *Twiſleton's.*
7. Col. *Hacker's.*
8. Col. *Okey's.*
9. Col. *Lidcot's.*
10. Col. *Berry's.*
11. Col. *Groſvenor's.*
12. Col. *Alured's.*
13. Col. *Lilburn's.*
14. 6 Troops under Maj. *Husbands.*

FOOT.

1. The Lord General's.
2. Major General *Lambert's.*
3. Major General *Dean's.*
4. Leiut. General *Monk's.*
5. Colonel *Fairfax's.*
6. Colonel *Pride's.*
7. Colonel *Goff's.*
8. Colonel *West's.*
9 Colonel *Cooper's.*
10. Colonel *Aſhfield's.*
11. Colonel *Daniel's.*
12. Colonel *Read's.*

Six Troops of Dragoons, and ſixteen pieces of Ordinance.

This

This brave Cavalry and gallant Infantry, in proſecution of the preſent deſign, firſt marched to *New-bridge*, from thence to *Lithgow*. Now the two Armies being not far from one another, it was conceived a ſpeedy ingagement would follow, ſeeing General *Cromwel's* courage prompted him to ſeek his Enemies; and the numerouſneſs of the Scots Army might be a perſwaſion to them not to fear a Fight: But it ſeems, they intended nothing leſs; for the King having drawn his Foot into *Torwood*, incamped there, and railed them in with regular Fortifications, the Horſe in great Bodies lying about them, for ſecurity; and theſe again being fenced with the River and with Bogs, ſo that it was an impoſſible thing for the Engliſh to drive them out of this faſtneſs which they had betaken themſelves to. Yet however, the Lord General would try whether provocations might draw the Scots to a fairer field, and therefore marched his Army in Battalia ſo near their main Body, that their Tents might perfectly be diſcerned; and ſo ſtood from twelve at noon, till eight at night, expecting the Scots approach: but they having more mind to ſpin out time,

then to put all to the hazard of one Battel, refuſed an ingagement. But becauſe it ſhould not be ſaid the Engliſh came there for nothing, therefore the Scots ſent them ſome thundring Meſſengers from the concavity of their great Guns, which wrought this effect; that the Lord General *Cromwel* drew off his Army, with a reſolution not quite to deſert the ſervice, but rather to go back ſome few paces, that ſo he might return again with the greater force; or elſe attempt the Scots Quarters in ſome other places, and by that means, inforce his Enemies to ſeek to him for relief of their Friends.

This reſolution being taken up, the Lord General drew off his Army to *Glaſgow*; and after ſome ſmall refreſhment of his wearied Souldiers, he marched away again, directly on the Eaſt ſide of the Town, and ſo continued in excellent order marching on for five or ſix miles towards *Hamilton*, (this was to amuſe the Scots, and bring them into ſecurity:) but upon the ſuddain, hoping to get ſome advantage over the Scots, upon the remove of their Camp to *Kelſith*, he wheeled about, and quickly after took up his Quarters at

Monkes-Land, within four miles of their Army. But though they ſtill declined ingagement, refuſing to meddle with the Engliſh, otherwayes then by ſmall parties, that ſometimes flew out, when they conceived any advantage might be gained; yet many of theſe Land-Pickaroons were often met withal, and ſent home again well Baſtinado'd for their boldneſs.

This ſpinning out of time in this manner ſo exaſperated the Lord General *Cromwel*, that he reſolved to fall upon part of their Forces that were placed to keep *Kalendar-Houſe*. Accordingly, *July* 15. he cauſed two battering Guns to be planted: they began to play about eleven of the clock that day; and about ſeven at night they had acted their parts ſo well, that the wall no longer being able to indure the force of theſe fiery Engines, fell down in many places; and yet for all this, the Governor very ſtoutly made good his charge; believing that the whole Scotch Army his friends, who were in ſight, would never let him periſh for want of relief, and therefore reſolved to ſtand it out to the utmoſt. The Lord General ſeeing his Summons wrought little effect to the obtain-

ing

ing of his ends, ſent ten Files out of every Regiment, to pull them out by force, ſeeing they would not yeild for fear: theſe ſtout Lads being provided with Faggots preſently diſ-burdened their backs in the Enemies Moat, and ſo ſpringing over into the breach, carried all before them, ſo that in half an hour, the Houſe was wholly poſſeſt, and the Governor with ſixty two Souldiers hurried away into another world, having refuſed (when they might) to live in this. The Scotch Army all this while moved not, but as paſſive Spectators beheld this Tragedy, without offering to ſend one hand to help their friends in diſtreſs, as if this buſineſs nothing concerned them. The Lord General ſeeing how cowardly the Scots were, in that they ſuffered their Gariſons to be ſnatched away from under their Noſes, reſolves to ſit yet more cloſe upon their skirts, and bid fair for *Fife*, thereby to cut off thoſe ſupplies of proviſions that inabled them to trifle out time, and protract the VVar. This deſign had many times been diſcourſed of by the General and his Council of VVar, but never before fell out ſo fit an opportunity as was now preſented.

VVhere-

VVherefore Colonel *Daniel's* Regiment of Foot, having four Companies more joyned with them, and four Troops of Horſe, all under the command of that valiant Souldier, Col. *Overton*, were deſigned for this ſervice: theſe lying at *Leith*, it was given out, they were intended for *England* by Sea; but upon a ſudden, all proviſions being in a readineſs, the Boats and Pinaces alſo fitted for Service, Colonel *Overton* marched with his Forces out of *Leith*, to *Queens Ferry*; and there having imbarqued his men, Thurſday *July* 17. in the evening, this Brigade ſet forward, and the next morning very early, (being furthered bythe wings of Sails and Oars) this little Fleet flew over the *Frith* into *Fife*, and landed at the North-Ferry, in ſpight of thoſe ſhowers of great and ſmall ſhot that were poured upon them at their approaching the ſhore: in exchange whereof, Colonel *Overton* cauſed his men to pay them in their own coyn, by firing upon them out of the Boats: which being performed with admirable courage and gallantry, made the Scots break off the diſpute, and (notwithſtanding their advantage of firm footing, when the Engliſh

liſh ſtood on a very tottering foundation) betake themſelves to their heels, leaving behinde them part of their Arms and Artillery.

Overton being thus landed, made good his ground, by cauſing his ſouldiers to become Pioneers, and to intrench themſelves, for greater ſecurity, until more Forces might come up to them; upon whoſe conjunction, they would be enabled to march up into the Country, without fear of any oppoſition. To this purpoſe, Meſſengers were with all ſpeed poſted away to the Lord General, to acquaint him with their good ſucceſs, and the preſent poſture of their affairs; who thereupon immediately ordered a ſupply of two Regiments of Horſe and two of Foot to be haſted away with all expedition, under the conduct of Major-General *Lambert*.

The news of theſe paſſages arriving at the Scotiſh Camp, gave them ſo hot an Alarm, that in all haſte Major-General *Brown* is diſpatched away with four Regiments of Horſe, and Major-General *Holborn* with as many of Foot, to drive the Engliſh out of *Fyfe* again. But they loſt their aim: for *Lambert* getting the ſtart of

of them, came up to the relief of *Overton*, ere they could approach to ſtraiten him. The Engliſh being thus united, *Lambert* drew them up in Battalia in a very formal manner, in this order: His own Regiment of Horſe, with the Dragoons of Col. *Okey* and Col. *Morgan*, made the Right Wing; Colonel *Lidcot*'s three Troops of Horſe, with ſome Dragoons, made the Left: the Main Body conſiſted of the Regiments of Major-General *Lambert*, Colonel *Weſt*, and Colonel *Daniel*, of Foot; with ſome odde Companies more, which were edged in to the greateſt advantage.

The Scots finding the Engliſh in this poſture, were not at all diſcouraged; but expreſſing greater reſolution then uſually they had done, ſet their men in Battel aray, and ſtoutly confronted their adverſaries. Both Parties having faced each other for the ſpace of an hour and an half, *Lambert* with the Right Wing of his Battel fell on the Enemy with great fierceneſs, giving the firſt Charge on the Scots Left wing; which they (not flinching a foot) manfully ſuſtained, returning like for like. Thus continuing for ſome time, the

the Scale of ſucceſs ſtanding in *equipon-dio*, the Piſtols having now done their part, the fury of theſe Antagoniſts grew to ſuch a hight, that flinging away thoſe more cowardly weapons, every man drew upon his oppoſite, and with ſwords point charged thorow each other. But this was too hot to hold: for the Engliſh being very dextrous in that kinde of fighting, quickly routed the Enemies Left wing, and made them flee, leaving a fair field. Neither were the reſt of the Forces on both ſides idle ſpectators, but induſtriouſly acted their parts in their ſeveral ſtations. The Foot that conſtituted the Main Body of the Engliſh, traverſing their ground, and reiterated their Vollies, that they ſeemed to cauſe an earthquake. But the Scots Horſe being utterly diſſipated, their Foot could not ſtand long; who being left to the mercy of their Enemy, in this heat of bloud, found it cruel, being little other then what was diſpenſed at the but-end of their Muskets, (eſpecially to the Highlanders.) In a word, and that in plain Engliſh, ſo enraged were the Engliſh, that in a trice they beſtrewed the place with 2000 Scots, or thereabout, as ſo many objects of mortality.

Neither were the Captives inconſiderable, either for their quality or number, they being as followeth, *viz.* Major-General *Brown* Commander in chief; one Colonel, one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Major, thirteen Captains, ſeventeen Lieutenants, nine and twenty Enſignes, five Quartermaſters, ſix and twenty Sergeants, five and twenty Corporals, and One thouſand two hundred twenty and ſix common ſouldiers, with fourty and two Colours of Horſe and Foot. *Brown* having received this Defeat, (which conſiſted not onely in the loſs of ſo many conſiderable Forces, but the wounding of his Honour and Reputation, more valued then life by a Generous minde) and being himſelf reduced to the condition of a priſoner, ſurvived not long; dying (as was conceived) of very grief for his hard fate.

But the Engliſh triumph in their victory, ſtill ſeeking to augment it, by farther Exploits: now the Terrour of this Blow had ſpread it ſelf into all the Scots Garriſons; and therefore *Lambert* firſt of all ſummons the impregnable Fort of *Inneſgarvey*, ſituate in an Iſle lying in the *Frith*, betwixt *Queens Ferry*, and the Paſs into *Fife*

Fife. The Garison here was posseſt with ſuch a pannick fear, that upon ſummons they were content to march away, with their ſwords onely by their ſides, (to ſhew what profeſſion they were of) and leave the Fort, with all the Arms, Ammunition and proviſion, with ſixteen pieces of Ordnance, behinde them, for the uſe of the Engliſh.

The Scots King having the report of this great overthrow of his Forces brought to *Torwood*, where he ſtill lay ſtrongly intrenchcampt, it wrought ſuch a great diſtraction in his Army, that he very haſtily diſlodged and marched into *Sterling* Park. But they could not be ſo quick in the retreat but General *Cromwel* (who ſtill waited upon them) was as nimble in the Rear; who although he had much diminiſhed his Forces, by ſending ſo many into *Fife*, yet ſtill indeavoured to fight the whole Army of his Enemies, and marched after them through the ground they lately poſſeſſed, and there found what pannick fear had poſſeſt them, who in haſt had left behinde them all their ſick ſouldiers, one barrel of Powder, three of Ball, much Match, many Muſquets, and three barrels of Hand Granadoes.

Thus the Lord General followed them with provocations to move them to fight, until he came within two miles of *Sterling*; but all to little purpoſe: for they would neither bark nor bite, but haſted away to ſecure themſelves.

The Lord General ſeeing his ſtay here would be to little purpoſe, marched away his Army the 22 of *July* to *Lithgo*, whence he ſent over into *Fife*, the greateſt part of them, with the Train of Artillery, to proſecute the War on the other ſide of the water. Now there remaining onely four Regiments of Horſe, and four of Foot behinde, thoſe he made uſe of to ſecure what was already gained, and to keep a watchful eye on the Scots future Motions. The Lord General himſelf retired to *Leith*, there to take order for the ſupplie of his ſouldiers. Whilſt he ſtaid here, the happy news of the ſurrender of *Brunt-Iſland* arrived to his Ears: for Major General *Lambert* proſecuting his good fortune, brought the Army before that Iſland, in hope that the ſight of his Red-Coats might daunt them into a rendition. And herein he was not deceived:

for

for no ſooner was he come before it, but without one ſhot made, the Scots deſired Articles to depart in peace : which *Lambert* (though a man of War) quickly condeſcended to ; and ſo the place was yeilded upon theſe Conditions.

1. *That the Souldiers in Gariſon* (which were about five hundred) *ſhould march away with flying Colours.*

2. *That the Towns People ſhould have what belonged to them.*

3. *That all proviſions for War, together with all Guns and ſhipping of War, ſhould be delivered up for the uſe of the Common-Wealth of* England.

This place was of great concernment : for beſides the ſtrength of it, it was a moſt commodious Harbour, and, in many reſpects, better then that at *Leith*; and from thence the Army in the progreſs of their Conqueſts, might have conſtant ſupplies of all neceſſaries.

The Lord General having diſpatched his Affairs at *Leith*, made no ſtay, but immediatly croſt the *Frith*, to his Army then at *Brunt Iſland*, where he finds all things

governed by *Lambert*, with much Prudence and Policie ; the Souldiers couragious, and Commiſſary General *Whalley* with a ſtrong Party of Horſe abroad, ſcouring the Sea-ſide of *Fife*, having ſome Men of War by Sea attending his Motion. The Activity of this excellent Commander was very eminent, who quickly ſubjugated many ſmall Forts, and poſſeſt himſelf of all their Artillery, with the Ships and Pinaces, that lay near them, for ſecurity.

Having now brought his Affairs to a very hopeful condition, the Lord General placed Colonel *Weſts* Regiment in *Brunt Iſland*, and with the reſt of the Army and Train of Artillery, *July* 30. 1651. he marched away to reduce St. *Johnſtons*, thereby to ſtop the High-landers from offering to ſend any Supplies to *Sterling*, either of Men or Proviſions. The ſwiftneſs of this March was ſuch, that in two dayes the Engliſh Army came within ſight of the Town : and no ſooner had they faced the ſame, but intelligence informed the Lord General what ſmall reſiſtance he was like to meet withal : which news was no way unwelcome, but moſt acceptable : for now

'twas hoped to obtain possession by words not by swords; and therefore this Summons was sent in:

That being informed the Town was void of a Garison, save the inhabitants, and some few Country men, he thought fit to send to them, to deliver the same to him immediately, and that he did thereby promise to secure their Persons from violence, and their goods from plunder.

This Message was immediately sent away by a Trumpeter, who (as it was conceived) would blow open the Gates, and make a free entrance for the whole Army; but it fell out contrary to expectation: for this Messenger of Peace approaching one of the Gates, he was denyed admittance, and returned back again by the Townsmen with a short Reply, *That they were not in a capacity to receive any Letters.* This slighting of Peace, had like to have made them uncapable of Mercy, but that a speedy excuse from the Magistrates of the Town was sent forth, to mend the matter, which declared, *That the King's Majesty had sent a very strong Party, and*

to maintain the Town, and over-power them with a Governour: But always to observe civility with his Lordship, they had obtained leave from the Governour to excuse themselves, by shewing how unable they were to treat.

This was strange, but not so strange as true: For the day before, the Lord *Dafferes* had entered the town with 1300 souldiers; and therefore General *Cromwel* once more resolved to try the strength of his pen in a new Summons to this new Governour, before they felt the fury of his sword. But this was to little purpose: for *Dafferes* would not return the least line or word in answer. This sullen silence caused the General to give a speedy Order for drawing away the Water out of the Moats round about the Town, whilst three Regiments of Foot, Col. *Prides*, *Reads* and *Maliverers*, boldly advanced, and planted four great Guns, which plaid furiously into the Town: this continued for one night; but the Governour next day finding himself in an Errour, was unwilling to persist any longer in it, for fear of being brought to the stool of Repentance; and therefore sent out to desire a Treaty:

which

which being concluded upon, it was there agreed to deliver up the Town to the Lord General.

Thus the Englisſh Army run on in a continued Series of Succeſſes, making all places that offered to withſtand their invincible force, bow in obedience, and come under their command; and all this without the leaſt oppoſition from the Scots grand Army, commanded by the King himſelf, which had lain long in and about *Sterling* ſtrongly intrenched, as if their onely deſign had been to defend themſelves, fearing (as 'twas thought) to offend their Enemies, and therefore continued their ſtation to no other purpoſe then to bring up the Rear in *Cromwel*'s Triumphs. But it fell out otherwayes: for the Engliſh Army having advanced as far Northwards as *Johnſtons*, the King thought good to make uſe of the preſent opportunity, ſeeing his Affairs in *Scotland* were reduced to a deſperate condition; and fearing the fate that hung over that Nation would inevitably fall upon his own head, did not he prevent it by ſome extraordinary means; therefore knowing *a deſperate Diſeaſe* requires

a deſperate Cure, and that being in a houſe ready to fall, it would be the ſafeſt courſe, by a ſudden departure, to ſave himſelf, by ſeeking a better Habitation; he preſently took that courſe. To which end, firſt of all, caſting up his force, he found it extended to about 16000 ſtrong: with theſe, and hopes of farther help from Friends, he reſolves to venter for *England* it ſelf, not doubting, if his ſucceſs anſwered his deſires, to hook in both *Scotland* and *Ireland* into the Bargain. This Reſolution he reſolves to put in execution, and therefore haſtens his ſouldiers to drive on the deſign.

Thurſday, *July* 31. 1651. all things being in readineſs, the Scotch Army began their march from *Sterling*, and the ſixth day after, entered *England*, by the way of *Carliſle*. The noyſe of this Irruption made a terrible Eccho through all the Nation, eſpecially in the ears of the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, who were much ſtartled with the ſuddenneſs of the Action. But they (like vigilant Statiſts) doubting ſuch a thing would happen, had beforehand provided to welcome theſe new-come Gueſts: and firſt of all, Major General *Harriſon*, attended by 3000 Horſe and Dragoons, joyn-

joyning himself with Colonel *Rich*, and some other great Commanders, marched away to salute them upon their entrance into *England*. Then an Act was issued forth, and sent into all the Counties of the Nation, to raise up the Militia into a present posture of Defence; and besides, to make all sure, another Act was presently sent abroad, which prohibited correspondency with *Charles Stuart*, or any of his Party; wherein it was enacted and declared,

That no person whatsoever should presume to hold any correspondencie with the said Charles Stuart, *or with his Party, or with any of them, nor give any intelligence to them, nor countenance, encourage, abet, adhere to, or assist any of them, nor voluntarily afford, or cause to be afforded or delivered to any of them, any Victuals, Provisions, Ammunition, Arms, Horses, Plate, Money, Men, or any other Relief whatsoever, under pain of High Treason. And that all persons should use their utmost endeavours to hinder and stop their March.*

Yet for all this, the Scots went on in pro-

prosecution of their present designe, bending their course, by a swift March, for the west of *England*, where we will leave them, making more hast then good speed; and return back again to the Lord Gen. *Cromwel*.

He having notice at *St. Johnstons*, that the Scots Army were gone to take up new Quarters in *England*, did immediately settle the Affairs of *Scotland* in a posture sufficient to secure what was already won; and leaving six thousand Horse and Foot more, with Lieutenant General *Monk*, to reduce the rest, he causes Major General *Lambert* with five Regiments of Horse and Dragoons, to fly away with all possible speed, to get into the Rear of the Scots Army, whilst *Harison* was in their Front; so to impede their March, until himself could get up unto them. This being done, with the remainder of the Army, consisting of eight Regiments of Foot, two of Horse, and eight great Guns, this victorious General marched away, leaving *Scotland* (but not the remembrance of his being there) and on *August* 12. he with his Army crossed *Tine*. With this swift March being quite tired out, he caused the Army to pitch their Tents on *Ryson Haugh*, upon the brink

brink of *Tine*; himself in the mean time quartering at *Stelly House*, neer unto his Souldiers.

The Mayor of *New-Castle*, having notice of the Armies being thus neer the Town, immediately went forth with the rest of the Magistrates, to congratulate the Generals arrival into *England*: And to make themselves welcome to the Souldiers, they carried along with them, for supply of the Army, Bread, Cheese, Biscet and Beer: these Provisions were a great refreshing, and inabled the Souldiers with cheerfulness to undertake the future march.

In the mean time, the Scots with their King, marched on towards *Warrington* Bridge, where Maj. Gen. *Harison* resolved to make opposition against them, and if possible to hinder their passage over: but before they could break down the Bridge, the Scots by a swift March from *Charley* came up; and being necessarily engaged, they maintained a notable combate with those that offered to withstand them: here they had a small brush, but could very well afford it, for the loss was their gain (and so both sides were satisfied with the in-

gagement) for though some of their men fell in the fight, yet they had their desire, which was to pass over the bridge. And now it was the great Question of all, whither they intended to bend their course; most believed for *London*, being that was the Metropolis of the English Nation, a populous City, well furnished with a great Magazine of Men and Money; the first, being the Wheels of War; the last, the Oyl, which makes them turn nimbly about. But it seems the Scots looked upon this as too hazardous, or else intended onely to take the dimensions of the Land, and when that was done, to return home again to their own Kingdom. However, they marched on towards the West, shewing all civility to the people as they past along; and with such strict Discipline were they governed, that as their Army marched through *Shropshire*, a private Souldier for offering to enter an Orchard, was by his Officer immediately disbanded with a Bullet. By this severity their rough-hewn natures were so polished, that if Necessity drove any private Souldier to a door, he durst speak no other Language, then, *A Drink of Water*. But now at last, their Pere-

Peregrination ends at *Worcester*; for coming thither, weak and weary with constant duty, and hard labour, having expected much, but finding little, they here resolve to take up their Quarters, hoping *Massey's* former services in *Glouceſterſhire*, and those parts, was not quite buried in the Grave of Oblivion. But in this they found it otherwise: for although they might love his person well, yet seeing his parts ingaged against the Grain of the Times, it quite alienated the affections of those that otherwise might wish him well.

The Scotch King with his Army having thus entered *Worcester*, on Friday *August* the 23. 1651. resolved (being he could go no further) to tarry there, and abide the brunt: And therefore in the first place, because he would not be wanting in any thing that might conduce to the preservation of himself and forces, he caused works to be raised, for better security. Then he sent forth his Letters Mandatory to Colonel *Mackworth*, Governout of *Shrewsbury*; and likewise to Sir *Thomas Middleton*, to perswade them to raise Forces for him: but this proved fruitless; so that being now got as it were in a pound, there

was no way, but to make the best of a bad bargain. And now the black and dismal clouds began to gather about *Worcester*, which portended a dreadful storm would quickly follow, as presently after it did: For victorious *Cromwel* (who by delaies never contributed to approaching dangers) having refreshed his men neer *New-Castle*, marched away without the least delay or loss of time, until he came to joyn with the rest of the Parliaments Forces, commanded by Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Desborough*, the Lord *Gray* of *Groby*, Major General *Lambert*, Major General *Harison*; and besides all these, the Militia Forces out of every County were commanded to march away, and surround those wretched men at *Worcester*, that so a quick dispatch might be put to the work.

Never was it known before in *England*, that such great Forces were gathered together in so small a time; for the standing Army, with the rest of those Forces newly raised by Act of Parliament, upon this occasion, could not amount to less then eighty thousand. But now the Lord Generall *Cromwel* being come up, and having ob-

observed the posture that the Scoth Army lay in, began his work with an attempt upon *Upton* Bridge; there intending, if it was possible, to pass over his Army: this designe was left to Major General *Fleetwoods* management, who presently sent away a small party of Horse and Dragoons to discover how feasible the attempt might be: this Party, though small, proved daring in a desperate attempt: for finding the bridge broken down, and nothing remaining, but onely a Beam of Timber that reached from one Arch to another, (which through negligence had been left by the Scots) these bold Fellows made no more ado, but dismounting their Horses one after another, rid over on this Wooden *Pegasus*, and presently after (having now recovered the other side) run themselves into a Church neer to the bridge for security. Major General *Massey* being all this while in *Upton* with about 60 Dragoons, and 200 Horse, lying secure, without the least dread of an Enemy, imagining it impossible for any to come at him at that time, was upon the sudden report of this Exploit, so alarmed, that in great confusion, he with his men, gave a camisado on the Church: but that valiant Com-

Commander *Lambert*, highly prizing the worth of his men, immediately came in, with a new supply of Horse, to their rescue. *Massey* now seeing that to fight would be meer folly, being much over-matched, thought a timely retreat the onely way to secure his men; which he performed with so much bravery, that sometimes facing, then fighting, and so falling off, himself brought up the Rear, and never left his station, until his men were got farther off, into safety. This encounter at last fell heavy on himself; for he not fearing his flesh, and despising the force of his Enemies, rencountered great difficulty in getting away, having received a shot in his hand.

The Bridge being thus won, all imaginable industry was imployed to make it up; so that in a small time, Lieutenant General *Fleetwoods* Army marched over; which still pressing forward, they laid a Bridge of Boats over the River *Teame*, (on the west side of *Severn*, which gliding along, at last emptieth it self thereinto, about a mile beneath *Worcester*.) General *Cromwel*, in the mean time, caused another Bridge to be laid over the *Severn* on his side, that so the Enemy might be the more straitned.

Upon

Upon this, the Scots having taken th
alarm, riſe from their Leaguer at St. Jo
and with the greateſt part of their Ho
and Foot marched on to oppoſe the Li
Generals paſſage. The Lord Gene
ſeeing this, reſolves to draw off the En
my, and ſo divert his deſign; or elſe
force him to fight on great diſadvanta
therefore himſelf in perſon led over t
River (on that ſide of *Worceſter* which
had undertook to attaque) two Regime
of Foot, Colonel *Hookers* of Horſe, a
his own Life-Guard. In the mean tim
Fleetwood, with the aſſiſtance of Colo
Goff's and Major General *Dean's* Re
ments of Foot, marched on to a hedg-fig
for the Scots looking upon this as the
feſt way, had lined the hedges thick wi
Muſqueteers; ſo that the Buſhes muſt f
be beaten, before theſe Birds could be
ken. This was not long in doing; for
Engliſh falling on, perform'd a brave fig
from hedge to hedge: the Scots on the
ther ſide, not loſing any thing that co
be kept, but manfully maintaining th
ground, until Colonel *Blake*, *Gibbons*,
Marſhes Regiments came in to lay mo
load on their ſhoulders; then they retre

ted to *Pawick* Bridge, where again they were ingaged with Col. *Hayns*, Col. *Cobbets*, and Col. *Matthew's* Regiments, in another hot diſpute: but at length, ſeeing they could not prevail, they provided for their own ſecurity by running into *Worceſter*.

And now deſperation animating their courage, knowing that to continue in this pound, would make them in a pitiful pickle, therefore (having already tried their fortune with Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*) they imagining him to have commanded the greater force, they hoped to make a more fortunate ſally againſt General *Cromwel*; therefore upon the ſudden, they ſallied out againſt him, with all the Horſe and Foot they could; but (as it proved) with ſad ſucceſs, for though at firſt they ſhewed ſuch activity in their Arms, that General *Cromwels* men were forced a little to retire, yet preſently the multitudes of freſh men coming in, ſo turned the ſcales, that the Scots were wholly routed, flying away in great confuſion, to ſave themſelves: the Horſe flew amain back again, towards the North; but the Foot not able to keep company, ran into *Worceſter*, with ſome of the Victors at their heels. Whilſt, in the mean

mean time, General *Cromwel*, to make ſure work, with a few Regiments of Foot, ra up to the Royal Fort; and being ready to ſtorm, his clemencie was ſeen, in ventu-ring his perſon through the ſhowers of ſhot, and offering the Scots quarter if they would preſently yield. But they being in-fatuated, refuſed the profer, which cauſed their too late repentance; for the Lord General falling on, quickly poſſeſt the Fort, and all the Artillery that was there-in.

The City being now won, the ſouldiers ſuriouſly fly through all the ſtreets, doing ſuch execution, that nothing could be ſeen for ſome time, but blood and ſlaughter, un-til at laſt, the ſack of the Town, and plun-der of Priſoners having ſatisfied their ap-petites, they fall to ſecuring of Priſoners; which (both in fight and flight) amounted to about 10000, the ſlain neer 3000, ſo that neer all was loſt, onely ſome few Horſe excepted, which eſcaped out of the Battel; but theſe found their flight to ſtand them in little ſtead: for Major Ge-neral *Hariſon* with a freſh party, fiercely purſued in their Rear, whilſt the Country people fronted and flanked them like little

Beagles

Beagles, which when a Maſtiff is once beaten, will not let him paſs without a ſnarle at his tail, and fiercely purſue him, whom before they durſt not look in the face.

This Battle put a period to the Good Fortune of the *Stuarts* Family; and on the other ſide, crowned General *Cromwels* Atchievements, with an abſolute ſecurity of all his former Conqueſts, the influence whereof (though acted in *England*) was great in *Scotland*: their chief Nobility, Gen-try, and private ſouldiers being thus cut off, that Nation could no longer be able to hold up its head, but quickly after muſt needs be brought under obedience to the Commonwealth of *England*: as it fell out ſoon after.

The Parliament at *London*, having ſpee-dy notice of this proſperous ſucceſs, recei-ved it with grateful acceptation. But that which abated ſomewhat of their Triumphs, was, That the King could not be numbred among the Captives, nor found among the Slain, but was ſlip'd away into ſome by-place: for he ſeeing that all the Enemies aim was onely to ſmite him, and that they *did not fight ſo much againſt ſmall or great,*

as

as againſt the King of Scots; finding the battel to go hard on his ſide, he left caring for others, to provide for himſelf: knowing full well, that ſhould he be taken, his Quarter would be Quartering; and that without the help of an Aſtrologer, it might eaſily be prognoſticated what Death he ſhould die. Therefore truſting more to horſe then men, and fear adding wings to his flight, he haſtened with all ſpeed towards *Lancaſhire*; but by the way (doubting that much company would do him little good, but rather be a means to cauſe his ſooner diſcovery) leaving the Road, he wandered for ſome time about *England*, till at laſt, finding a fit opportunity, he returned back again into *France*.

Thus this object of worldly Mutability, having ventured at all, could enjoy no more then the heavy Load of his own Misfortunes; having been onely *Tantalized* with the Golden Apples of ſweet Soveraignty, but never ſuffered to ſatisfie his appetite with their fruition: for coming into *Scotland*, his Government was cut out to him by ſhreds, as pleaſed the Kirk and States of that Kingdom; and being a ſtranger, he muſt be carved to, not ſuffered to ſerve

ſerve himſelf, for fear of ſurfeits, like *Zancha Panza*'s Doctors, that ſlipt away the diſhes out of reſpect to his health, whilſt in the mean time, they went about to ſtarve him: Even ſo theſe State-Doctors dieted this poor Prince for ſome time, feeding him with hopes and expectations of his deſire; and then at laſt, give him no more, but onely a Nut without the Kernel, a Crown without a Kingdom: ſo that his Commands were preſently countermanded by a ſtronger, and made invalid by General *Cromwels* ſword, who never left hunting him from place to place, till at laſt he was forc'd to flee into *Flanders* for ſhelter, where he now remains.

The Lord General *Cromwel* having given this deadly blow at *Worceſter*, *September* 3. 1651. which laid the Scots hopes low in the duſt, and thereby raiſed to himſelf a full aſſurance of the ſecurity of all his former Conqueſts, tarried no longer in that City, then to ſee the Walls of it levelled to the ground, and the Dikes fill'd with Earth, that ſo the diſaffection of the inhabitants might be bridled from attempting to ſecure any future Enemy. And now lea-

leaving this *Golgotha*, he haſtened away to offer his victorious Palms at the Parliaments feet: Accordingly, *September* 12, approaching neer to *London*, the Speaker, with the Members of Parliament, and the Lord Preſident of the Council of State, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and ſome hundreds more of Quality, met him with demonſtrations of extream affection, to congratulate all his Noble Atchievements, and Worthy Exploits: here they comment on his Valour, making large notes on his Victories: the more, becauſe he had done much in a ſmall time, bringing that about in fifteen Months, which was rather judged to be the work of ſo many years; having in this time quite diſpelled thoſe Vapours (fearful to the Parliament) which were exhaled by the Rayes of Regality, and once more made the ſerenity of Peace to ſhine in our Hemiſphere. Thus the Lord General was received in Triumph, (having before ſent his Trophies, the *Scotch* Priſoners) with great acclamations, and conducted to his houſe neer *Whitehall*. And after ſome ſmall repoſe there, he and his valiant Lieutenant-General went to take up their places in the Parliament, where

where the Speaker in a congratulatory Oration acknowledged the Obligation of the State to them for their indefatigable induſtry.

The ſame day the Lord Mayor of *London* (to compleat the rejoycing, and ſhew his gratitude in behalf of the City) feaſted the General and his chief Officers. This being ended, with mutual returns of thanks, the Lord General took his leave, and returned back again, to conſider what was farther to be done for the ſettlement of the nation: This is his next Work; And what he did in order to the accompliſhing thereof, we now come to ſhew.

The End of His Perſonal Wars.

HIS ACTIONS In the PROTECTORSHIP.

THE Englisſh Nation having by a Civil War baniſhed Monarchy with an *Exit Tyrannus*, preſently inſtitute an Oligarchy, which (to give them their due) acted in their Infancy like *Hercules* in the Cradle, ſtifling all thoſe Serpents that offered to *hiß* againſt their Authority; and with ſuch vigor proſecuted they their deſignes, that both *Ireland* and *Scotland* were inforc't to yeild obedience to their commands.

The Authority of this Power being thus miraculouſly extended, it grew at length dread-

dreadful to the neighbouring Nations, eſpecially the Dutch, a people who of all others, were moſt ſenſible of the growing greatneſs of the Engliſh Commonwealth: they knowing full well, that two neighbouring States of equal greatneſs could never long agree, being ſtill jealous of each others actions: which jealouſie cauſing miſconſtruction, would at laſt break forth into open hoſtility.

Examples are frequent in this kinde; *Rome* and *Carthage* ſo long contended, till the one was ended. They firſt fell out about the Iſland of *Sicily*, and ſo by degrees this fewd extended it ſelf through all thoſe Nations where either ſide had any dominion. But at laſt a peace being patched up, it continued until the ſecond Punick War, wherein *Carthage* was made a Puny indeed, and brought under ſubjection to *Rome*.

Another Example we have in that moſt noble Republick *Venice*, whoſe firſt Founders being hunted by the barbarous *Huns*, out of *Italy*, were fain to ſhelter themſelves by flying unto ſome little barren Iſlands, which lay in the *Adriatick* Gulph; where neceſſity putting an edge upon induſtry, cau-

 ſed

sed these people to begin an admirable Structure, which since hath been increased to such a magnitude and splendor, that it may well be termed, *The Worlds Wonder*, for the excellent Architecture, multitude of Bridges, rare Arsenal or Magazine: but above all, the Policie of this State far surpasseth all others in Government, and may well be a pattern for direction and imitation to any people in the world.

Venice thus gradually ascending to eminency, grew so great as to challenge the superiority over all the watry Element about it; as well it might, being situate therein, and therefore *Neptunes* Minion. This City being on one side of *Italy*, on the other side lay *Genoa*, situate neer the feet of the *Apennine Hills*; a Commonwealth too, and therefore aspiring high, grew emulous of the Venetians greatness, which made those two Republikes grow at enmity. The first occasion of their falling out, was about a Church allowed them both, for exercise of Divine Service, in *Ptolemais*, commonly called *Acoe* in *Syria*: this Church being too little to hold both people of such great spirits, there grew a hot Dispute whose it should be; which came to

to this issue, That it must be theirs that could get possession; which prov'd to be the Genoeses, who to maintain their *Mass*, armed the Church with Fortifications (not for example to after-Ages) and so kept it wholly to their own Use: Thus began the Quarrel, which continued for many years, chiefly by Sea, till at last the Genoeses received such dangerous shot betwixt winde and water, that they were fain to cry Quarter, and ever since vail to *Venice*, acknowledging it their superiour.

Even so was it between these two mighty Republikes, *England* and the United Provinces. The Dutch fearing that current of Traffick would be stopped which they had so long enjoyed, by reason of *Englands* Domestick and Forreign Wars, themselves, mean while, having Peace with all Nations (except *Portugal*) whereby they increasing their Trade by an un-interrupted fishing in the British Seas, and still greedy in their unsatiable appetite of ingrossing all to themselves, without either Right or Reason; grew at last highly conceited of their own abilities, both as to Policy and Power. Their Policy was seen in giving assistance to the Enemies of the English

liſh Parliament, whilſt in the mean time, their Embaſſadors tickled the Council of State and Parliament into a belief of their Maſters real affections and hearty wiſhes for their proſperity. But theſe unworthy actions being privately ſuſpected, it was not long before they were publikely detected: This put the Dutch to their *Trumps*, and made them arm out a conſiderable Navy, to execute a deſigne upon the Iſle of *Scilly*, which then was in poſſeſſion of the Scotch Kings Forces. But the Council of State in *England* having timely notice of this project, diſpatched away *Blake* (their noble General by ſea) with a Fleet of Men of War, who being joyned with *Sir George Aſcue*, immediately prevented the Dutch, by reducing that Iſland under obedience.

The Parliament of *England* having ſeriouſly conſidered the unhandſome actions of theſe their neer Neighbours, how refractory they were upon all Treaties of Amity, which was ſeen by their refuſing thoſe Propoſitions which were ſent to them; and how thoſe honourable Perſons that carried them to *Holland*, were dayly ſo ill treated at the *Hague* by ſome inſolent per-

perſons, that the Parliament, leſt their Embaſſadors ſhould again be *Doriſlaus'd*, called them home *Reinfecta*: Preſently upon this, they were forc'd to take up a reſolution to maintain the Right of their Juriſdiction on the Britiſh Seas, and therefore ſent abroad an Act for incouraging Navigation, and increaſe of ſhipping. This very much heightned the ſpirits of the Engliſh Sea-men, and gave them hopes of being one day even with the Dutch, for eating the bread out of their mouthes, as they had long before done, by bringing all Commodities into *England*, at cheaper rates then they could be ſent for, by reaſon they were in Amity with moſt Nations, and could ſend out ſhips with no more men then what ſerved to ſail them; whilſt in the mean time, the Engliſh (having Wars with moſt of their Neighbours) were inforc't to be at great charges in double-manning out their Merchant Men, for ſecurity of the ſhips lading. But to proceed.

This noble *Act* being arrived at *Holland*, very ſtrangely changed the conſtitution of that People, from a Flegmatick to a perfect Sanguine Complection: for now they ſaw it was time to look about them, being

being like to be deprived of that ſweet profit which before they did enjoy: This animated them on to try concluſions, in denying the Engliſh their undoubted Right of Dominion in the Britiſh ſeas. At firſt, it was put in practiſe by ſome particular men of War, to ſee if the Engliſh would relinquiſh that old complement of ſtriking the Top-ſail: but in this they met with ſharp rebukes, far ſurpaſſing imagination, ſo that many times preſent Ruine did befal them that in wilful refuſal durſt deny this ancient Cuſtom.

Thus by degrees one Quarrel begetting another, the fire no longer ſmothered, but broak forth into a dreadful combuſtion; all preceding ages ſince the Creation, never having produced ſuch terrible Sea-fights, which ever light heavy on the Dutch ſhoulders, and made them know, That although *Holland* was the elder *State*, yet was it impoſſible for them to make *England* a younger *Brother*.

But in the midſt of all theſe high undertakings, the Lord General perceiving the Parliaments intentions were to perpetuate their ſitting, as appeared by their delatory pro-

proceeding in the Bill for ſucceſſive Repreſentatives; therefore knowing, that as ſtanding water would breed corruption, and grow offenſive, if it were not ſometimes changed: ſo Parliaments perpetual were offenſive to the Peoples Priviledges; but when *pro tempore*, pleaſant to their ſight. He having well weighed the matter, and deliberately debated the buſineſs with his Council of Officers, it was at laſt agreed by them to ſerve the Parliament with a Writ of Eaſe, and make them underſtand the meaning of *Exit* —— This reſolution being taken up, the Lord General *Cromwel* went into the Houſe, attended by ſome of the prime Officers of the Army, where he delivered certain Reaſons for a preſent Diſſolution of the Parliament: which were no ſooner heard, but all the Members in obedience avoyded the place, and every one betook himſelf to his particular habitation.

Thus this mighty Parliament was diſſolved, who firſt of all were called through the importunity of the people, and afterwards upheld by the zealous devotion of the City of *London*, whoſe inhabitants, through their abundant affections, made them

them a free-will offering of all their Ea
rings, Bodkins, Thim les, and Jewe
to carry on the weighty great work of ro
ing Popery, beating down of Antichri
suppreſſing Superſtition; and out of all,
raiſe up a Glorious Structure of Reform
tion.

To anſwer expectations, this Senate be
gan the work with the Kings evil Counci
and having lopped them off, drove on t
ſuch great Actions, that the faith of afte
Ages will be much puzzled to believe, an
rather look upon them as Romances the
Realities. But now their time being com
after twelve years ſitting, they were anni
hilated, and the power transferred into th
hands of others.

Preſently upon this, the Lord Gener
Cromwel and his Council of Officers pub
liſhed a Declaration, ſhewing the Reaſons
of the Parliaments Diſſolution; the ſub
ſtance whereof, was this:

*THat after God was pleaſed marvel-
louſly to appear for his People, in
reducing* Ireland *and* Scotland *to ſo
great a degree of Peace, and* England *to*

*to perfect quiet; whereby the Parliament
had opportunity to give the People the har-
veſt of all their Labour, Blood and Trea-
ſure; and to ſettle a due Liberty in re-
ference to Civil and Spiritual things:
whereunto they were obliged by their duty,
engagements, and thoſe great and won-
derful things God hath wrought for them.
But they made ſo little progreſs therein,
that it was matter of much grief to the
good people of the Land; who thereupon
applyed themſelves to the Army, expecting
redreſs by their means, who (though un-
willing to meddle with the Civil Authori-
ty) agreed that ſuch Officers as were
Members of Parliament ſhould move
them to proceed vigorouſly, in reforming
what was amiſs in the Commonwealth,
and in ſetling it upon a foundation of
Juſtice and Righteouſneſs: which being
done, it was hoped the Parliament would
have anſwered their expectations.*

*But finding the contrary, they renewed
their deſires by an humble Petition in
Auguſt, 1652. which produced no conſi-*

derable

derable effect, nor was any such progre
made therein, as might imply their real i
tentions to accomplish what was petition
for; but rather an averseness to the thin
themselves, with much bitterness and o
position to the People of God and his Spir
acting in them: insomuch that the Godl
Party in Parliament were rendered of no
further use, then to countenance the ends
of a corrupt Party, for effecting their de
sires of perpetuating themselves in the Su
preme Government.

For obviating these evils, the Officers
of the Army obtained several meetings
with some of the Parliament, to consider
what Remedy might be applyed to prevent
the same; but such endeavours proving
ineffectual, it became evident, that this
Parliament, through the corruption of
some, the jealousie of others, the non-at-
tendance of many, would never answer
those ends which God, his People, and the
whole Nation expected from them; But
that this Cause which God had so greatly
blessed, must needs languish under their
hands,

hands, and by degrees be lost; and the
Lives, Liberties and Comforts of his peo-
ple be delivered into their enemies hands.

All which being sadly and seriously
considered by the honest people of the Na-
tion, as well as by the Army, it seemed a
Duty incumbent upon us, who had seen so
much of the power and presence of God,
to consider of some effectual means where-
by to establish Righteousness and Peace in
these Nations.

And after much debate, it was judged
necessary, that the Supreme Government
should be by the Parliament devolved up-
on known persons, fearing God, and of
approved integrity for a time, as the most
hopeful way to countenance all Gods people,
reform the Law, and administer Justice
impartially: hoping thereby the people
might forget Monarchy, and understand
their true interest in the Election of suc-
cessive Parliaments; that so the Govern-
ment might be settled upon a right Basis,
without hazard to this glorious Cause, or
necessitating to keep up Armies for the de-
fence of the same.

And

And being ſtill reſolved to uſe all means poſſibly to avoid extraordinary courſes, we prevailed with about twenty Members of Parliament, to give us a conference, with whom we plainly debated the neceſſity and juſtneſs of our Propoſals: The which found no acceptance, but inſtead thereof it was offered, That the way was, to continue ſtill this Parliament, as being that from which we might probably expect all good things. This being vehemently inſiſted on, did much confirm us in our apprehenſions, That not any love to a Repreſentative, but the making uſe thereof to recruit, and ſo to perpetuate themſelves, was their aim, in the Act they had then under conſideration.

For preventing the conſummating whereof, and all the ſad and evil conſequences, which upon the grounds aforeſaid muſt have enſued, and whereby at one blow the intereſt of all honeſt men, and of this glorious Cauſe had been endangered to be laid in the duſt, and theſe Nations embroyled in new troubles, at a time when our

our Enemies abroad are watching all advantages againſt, and ſome of them actually engaged in War with us; we have been neceſſitated (though with much reluctancy) to put an end to this Parliament.

This Declaration being ſent abroad into all the Dominions of the Commonwealth, was readily aſſented to by moſt of the chief Officers, both by Land and Sea. But for farther ſatisfaction to the Civil Power in the Nation, whereby a right underſtanding might be had, and that every one might ſtill (notwithſtanding this ſudden change) obſerve his Duty, the former Declaration was ſeconded by this enſuing.

WHereas the Parliament being diſſolved, perſons of approved fidelity and honeſty, are (according to the late Declaration of the 22 of April laſt) to be called from the ſeveral parts of this Commonwealth to the ſupreme Authority; and although effectual proceedings are and have been had, for perfecting thoſe reſolutions, yet ſome convenient time being re-

required for the assembling of those persons, it hath been found necessary for preventing the Mischiefs and Inconveniencies which may arise in the mean while to the publike Affairs, that a Council of State be constituted, to take care of, and intend the peace, safety and present management of the Affairs of this Commonwealth: which being setled accordingly, the same is hereby declared and published, to the end all persons may take notice thereof, and in their several places and stations, demean themselves peaceably, giving obedience to the Laws of the Nation as heretofore: in the exercise and administration whereof, as indeavours shall be used that no oppression or wrong be done to the people, so a strict accompt will be required, of all such as shall do any thing to indanger the publick peace and quiet, upon any pretence whatsoever.

April 30. 1653. O. CROMWEL.

These

These wonderful Revolutions mightily heightned the Resolutions of the Dutch, who were wholly possest with Chimæra's of their own inventions, imagining their work would be very easie, if the English should happen to fall together by the ears, amongst themselves. But GOD by his Providence had so ordered it, that the Nation continued in a peaceable posture, not any offering in the least to resist the Commands of their Superious.

The like was seen amongst the Naval Forces at Sea, whose vivacity was now as great as ever, both Officers, Sea-men, and Souldiers, minding nothing more then how to gain honour to their Country, by repressing the insolencies of their Enemies, whose indeavours at this time were to rob *England* of her Right.

But now the Lord General having taken upon himself to weild both the Sword and the Scepter, the first remarkable passage that befel him, was at Sea, between the two mighty Antagonists. The Dutch having ready in their Harbours a very great Fleet of Merchant men, outward bound, for *France*, *Spain*, and other Ports, all things being fitted and prepared for the Sea, those

High and Mighty States added ninety men of War to secure them from those dangerous Fellows, the English. This Fleet being all ready, they hoist up sail, bidding amain for the North of *Scotland*; it seems rather chusing to make a long and sure Voyage that way, then a short and dangerous one through St. *George* his chanel, which had many times proved fatal to their Fleets, notwithstanding the protection of their best Commanders. *Trump* having according to his Commission, conducted his charge so far, that they feared no other enemy then the winds and waves, immediately tacked about for the *Sound*, from whence he brought away a great Fleet of *East-Land* Merchant-men, from *Russia*, *Denmark*, *Dantzick*, and other Parts; to which was joyned a Fleet from *France*, laden with Wine, Salt, and other Commodities of that Country: having in safety brought all these home, he entered the Ports of *Holland* and *Zealand* with so much Bravery, and so great a Flourish, that those persons that knew not the matter, might have thought him dragging the English Generals at the Stern of his Ship, in Triumph.

This

This good Fortune being seconded with a report of the English Fleet being gone Northward under the Command of General *Monk* and *Dean*, so highly animated *Minhere Martin Harper*, that with all his Men of War he presently set sail for the *Downs*, to act that in the absence of the English Fleet, which he durst not do in their presence.

Being come into the *Downs*, *May* 25. the Dutch Fleet, consisting of 108 Ships, ranged themselves before *Dover*, where they expressed a great deal of small valour, in beating down with great shot the chimnies of that Town; and with so much resolution and spirit did they perform this worthy exploit, that not any of their ships offered to run away, all the while. This Action of *Trump's* was looked upon by all, to savour more of Arrogance then Valour: for a gallant souldier will scorn to meddle with him that is incapable of defence, but rather measure weapons with his Enemy before the fight; neither should a General content himself with making a few Tiles fly from the tops of Houses, in a poor Town; which can be but small credit to himself, and not much damage to his Enemie.

But we shall see that *Van Trump* will meet with such a match as will give him opportunity enough to exercise his courage to the utmost: for the two Generals *Monk* and *Dean*, upon the sudden returned from the North into *Yarmouth*-Road, where they joyned with that Fortress of his Country, General *Blake*, having 18 ships more: These on the 3 of *June* 1653, lying at Anchor three leagues off the south-head of the *Gober*, early in the morning descried two Dutch Galliots, which presently were chased by some of the English Frigats so far, that they came within ken of the whole Dutch Fleet. Upon this discovery, the Frigots made the usual signes, which were presently apprehended by the whole Fleet, who immediately weighing their Anchors, the English made up with all the sail they could: but the winde being weak, 'twas 12 at noon before these mighty Armadoes could ingage.

The first dayes work proved hot on both sides, for three hours; in which Dispute the English lost General *Dean*, who unfortunately fell by a great shot. To balance this, the Dutch had three ships sunk, and one blown up.

The

The next day, both Fleets indeavoured to try another bout, but there being little winde nor wine stirring, but *Brandy*, which was very brisk in the Dutch Fleet, it was late that day before the English could get up to give them Gun-powder to it. This second dayes fight was managed with abundance of valour, both Fleets charging lustily upon one another. *Van Trump* to shew his skill in Sea-fights, at first brought up his Navy in very good Order, having the advantage of that little winde then stirring (for the Sea looked with a smooth face upon these mighty Enemies) But the English Generals, *Blake* and *Monk*, who were not behinde-hand in making use of any opportunity, finding the winde upon the sudden to veer about westerly, drove in amongst the thickest of their Enemies, with so much fury, that the Dutch fearing to feed those that had so many times been food to them, tacked about, and with all the sail that possibly could be made, steered their course for their own Coasts. The English seeing their Enemies thus fly before them, thought it not safe to pursue, being neer the Flats, and having great ships that drew much water.

Wherefore some small Frigats being sent to discover the Enemies course, the rest cast Anchor in good Order, to cast up accompts, and see what was got or lost by this Adventure; which proved in full, to be thus:

Of the Dutch slain, no certain ccount.

Dutch Prisoners in possession	1350
Captains captiv'd	6
Men of War taken	11
Sunk	6

Of the English.

Slain	120
Captains	1
Wounded	236
Ships lost or dis-abled	0

This inconsiderable loss on the English side being well recompensed with so considerable a Damage to the Dutch, caused the two English Generals (being no wayes dis-inabled by the fight) to keep the Sea, and resolve to follow the present advantage to the full; therefore having new trimmed their torn sails, and shatter'd Rigging, they immediately made all the haste that could be, to block up the Dutch Harbours; letting *Trump* see that now his Bravadoes were

were transferred from the *Downs*, to his own Doors, and that the Fleet which a little before he thought good to send Hue and Cry after, were now come to dare him upon his own Dunghil; the English at Sea, lying thus before the *Texel*, *Wielings*, and other Ports of *Holland*, taking Prizes at pleasure.

General *Cromwel* at Land (mean while) prepares for a new Parliament, in whose hands the Legislative Power of the Nation was to be put: to that purpose, persons being chosen by himself, to the number of one hundred forty four, out of the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, they made their appearance at *Westminster*, on *July* 4. 1653. (the day prefixt in their Summons) in the Council-Chamber at *White-hall*, where General *Cromwel* being present, attended by many Officers of the Army, he made a short Speech; which being ended, by a Writing under his own hand and seal, he impowered them to be the Supreme Authority and Governours of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, with all the Territories thereunto belonging: and that any forty of them should be a *Quorum*, sufficient to dispatch business, make Laws

Laws, and order all things as they should see good; onely for their limitation, the Instrument ordered their sitting not to exceed the third of *November*, 1654. and that three months before their Dissolution, they were to make choice of other persons, to whom they were to deliver up their Powers. Having delivered his Instrument to the Members, the Lord General dismist them with a Benediction (being very good at it) wishing the Blessing of GOD might go along with them and their Counsels. Immediately hereupon, the Members adjourned to the old Parliament House, where having first appointed Mr. *Rouse* to be Speaker, a great debate arose among them what to call themselves, whether a Parliament, or something else: at last it was carried in the affirmative, That they were a Parliament; in which name, all Addresses to them were to be made.

Being thus settled, they began (though scarce pen-feathered) to soar high, and at first dash to strike both at LAW and Gospel.

But whilst these things were under debate, *John Lilburn*, whose turbulent Spirit in the time of the Long Parliament, had pro-

procured his Banishment, presuming at this time to be again admitted into the Nation, very confidently addrest himself to the Lord General, craving his Protection. But he knowing full well of what spirit *John* was, would take no notice of him, but left him to the Law, by which he underwent a strict Trial, and by the favour of his Jury was acquitted.

This man was ever observed to be of an ambitious minde, alwayes affecting Popularity, and therefore ever barking against the Higher Powers; first against the Bishops, then against the King: next, against the Parliament; and indeed, against every one that stood in his way. Likewise so fickle in his own Principles, that trundling from one Opinion to another, he at last fell down into the sink of Quakerisme, in which he died, and was buried like himself, being hurried along the streets, from the Mouth neer *Aldersgate*, by a confused medley of Levellers and Quakers. But to Sea again.

The English Fleet having out-Trumped the Dutch, and made their *Neptune* fly to Land for shelter, they improved their advantage to the utmost, by blocking up the Ports

Ports of *Holland* and *Zealand*, so that no a ſhip durſt paſs in or out, but was immediately made Prize. Among thoſe that were taken, were two laden with great Guns, one carrying one hundred ſixty two the other, one hundred ninety one.

Theſe dayly loſſes filled the people with rage and madneſs, ſeeing they were deprived of Traffick, by which they chiefly ſubſiſted; and if that was obſtructed, nothing but a deep conſumption would quickly follow. The States General ſitting at the Helm, and foreſeeing the ſad conſequence of the preſent War, ſeriouſly debated which way to free themſelves from that imminent danger that now hung over their heads. To accompliſh this, there was but two wayes; either by Force to repel Force, or by Treaty to procure Peace. To put both theſe in execution, four Commiſſioners were diſpatched away imediately for *London*, to treat of a Reconciliation; and in the mean time, all imaginable preparations were made to proſecute the War, that ſo peace might be obtained on better Terms.

Whilſt they are thus providing to run the hazard of one blow more, it will not be

be much amiſs to give a rough draught of Naval Combats. An ancient Philoſopher laughed heartily at the folly of thoſe that durſt be ſo bold to venter themſelves at Sea, within two inches of death, for profit. If to ſail in a ſhip ſo much deſerves laughing at, what folly then (nay madneſs) is it to fight, when all the Elements conſpire to make an end of the Combatants? For, the Timber, which is the material ſubſtance of a Ship, may be accompted Earth, out of which it is produced, and eaſily giveth way to penetration by the impartial Bullet, which ſeldom hits the Hull without Execution, making thoſe Planks fly into ſplinters, and become the inſtruments of death, which before were looked upon as a defence and ſafe-guard from the Enemies ſhot. The infinite number of great Guns belching forth fire and ſmoak, ſo that the ſuperficies of the water ſeemeth to concorporate with its contrary Element: whilſt the ſerenity of the Air is obfuſcated by Clouds of Smoak; the Combatants, mean while, eagre to grapple with each other, are loſt in a fog: In one place is to be ſeen a ſhip converted into a Bon-fire; and her men fearful to fry, fling themſelves volun-

voluntarily into a cooler kinde of death. In another place is a Vessel depopulated of all her Inhabitants, without Masts, Yards, Tackle, or any other thing that is necessary for her guide; and thus she floats about in a desperate condition. Here are men wanting ships, and there are ships wanting men: and nothing is more studied, then how to alter the natural verdure of the Sea, with the sanguine Purple of humane slaughter. Thus Confusion rides in Triumph; and death at one instant appeareth in various shapes: a neglected match, or accidental spark, being got into the Powder, in a trice conquers the Conquerors, and makes them fly, who before were pursuers. The water, as that bears the Barthen, so it claims a great share in destroying: for at the redoubling sound of the thundring shot, the Billows being backt with a puff of winde, dance a Currant to this doleful musick, and readily attend the destruction of those Vessels that are batter'd betwixt winde and water.

This being the Theorick of Sea-service, let us now see the Practick, as it was acted by the two mighty Antagonists.

The two Generals *Blake* and *Monck* with

with the English Fleet, had now danced attendance at the Dutch doors, for two months together, in all which time, *Van Trump* was preparing the utmost strength that possibly could be made, by the indefatigable industry of the States General. Their Navy being new rigged and tallowed, was set afloat, consisting of 120 sail of Men of War. The most of these lay at the *Wielings*, the rest in the *Texel*. And now to incourage and raise up the resolution of the Sea-men, that so they might atchieve mighty matters, a Proclamation is made, that all the shipping they could take from the English, being Men of War, should be their own; besides some thousands of Gilders to those that durst take the English Admiral, and a proportionable sum for him that could take the Vice-Admiral or his Flag: these promises, with an addition of Brandy-wine, tipt the Dutch mens tongues with valour. *Van Trump* having now all things in readiness, set sail in hopes to return a compleat Victor, thereby to wipe off the stain which formerly had been flung upon his reputation.

July 29. 1653. the English Scouts discovered 95 Men of War to come bravely sailing

sailing from the *Wielings*: they soon knew them to be Enemies, and therefore gave notice, that the whole Fleet (which then lay about three leagues off to Sea) might make up: but the winde facing the English, kept them from the Engagement, until six a clock in the evening; when about thirty nimble Frigats (the rest being still at Stern) began the encounter, and so continued until night parted them.

This first dayes fight did onely whet their appetites to the ensuing slaughter; for all this night the Dutch bore away towards the *Texel*, where joyned with them 25 sail of stout men of War: these were the prime ships of their Navy, wherein they chiefly relied. Their Fleet being thus re-inforced by this conjunction, *Van Trump* immediately endeavoured to put all in a fighting posture, to engage the next day: but the night proving foul, the wind in a rough note threatned the poor English with destruction, either on the Flats, or else on a Lee-shoar. To prevent these disasters, *Monk*, with the English Fleet, set sail, and stood out to sea: this sight made the Dutch to suppose a flight, insomuch that one of their Captains desired *Van Trump*

Van Trump to pursue: *For* (said he) *these Schellums dare not stand one Broad Side from your Excellency; you may see them plainly running home, and therefore my Lord miss not the opportunity.* This was not the first time that *Trump* had seen the *English* at Sea, and therefore returned the Captain this short Answer: *Sir, look to your Charge, for were the Enemy but twenty Sail, they would never refuse to fight us.* So it fell out: for the weather proving fair and calm, the English contracted their Fleet together, and in a Body tack'd about to meet the Enemy. Neither was *Trump* behindhand to meet his resolute Adversary; but with as much speed as care he brought his Navy into such a form, as sufficiently manifested the excellent skill he had in managing Maritime Affairs. The Morning to this fatal day proved somewhat gloomy, so that it seemed the Sun was ashamed to behold the ensuing slaughters. About five a Clock in the morning, the Dutch having the Weathergage, began the fight somewhat at a distance; but it was not long before both Fleets were desperately engaged board and board. Now, (as a modern Poet expresseth it)

The Slaughter-breathing-Brass *grew hot, and spoke*
In Flames of Lightning, *and in Clouds of* Smoke,
Till the discolour'd Billowes *dide in Grain,*
Blusht *to behold such Shambles of the Slain.*

Never was fight upon the Sea better managed and maintained, then this. The *Andrew* (which deserved Saintship for the service) lust aboard *Trumps* own Ship, but was quickly haled off by a Fire-ship which stuck like a Plaister to her side, so that in a trice the Tackle blazed like a Torch; and had it not been for the wonderful courage of some few Sea-men, she had then undoubtedly perished. The like disaster fell upon the *Triumph* a second-rate Ship, which sometimes encountred many at once, but still triumphed over all, till at last a great *Flemish* Ship set her on fire; which began to rage in such a terrible manner, that it wrought the greatest confusion imaginable in the distracted Company; some of them chusing the Flood before the Flame, leaped

leaped over-board and were drowned. The example of those few that ended their lives in this desperate condition, made the rest double their diligence, to save themselves and Ship: which was at last performed; so that the medley growing great, and the fury of the Sailers and Souldiers having banish'd all fear, they boldly board one another. The *Rainbow*, an English Ship, having a long time striven to make prise of others, was at last like to be surprised her self, had not the *Oak* seeing the danger of her fellow, bore in to the Rescue: but this charitable deed reduced the *Oak* to Ashes, she being destroyed by a Fire-ship. Yet for all this, the English (no whit daunted) maintained the Fight with such an obstinate Gallantry, that the Dutch, though high in resolution, were low in hopes of the Victory. And well they might: for what can be expected, when men fight for fear of punishment, as here many did, not so much regarding the honour of Conquest, as the Eyes of the two Lords sent on purpose in a nimble Frigat to observe every Captains Actions?

This bloudy Battle now continued with eagerness (but more uncertainty) from five in

in the morning till ten; about which time, *Van Trump*, fighting in the midst of the English Fleet, had a Pass-port sent him for another world, being shot with a Musquet-Bullet into the left Breast near the Heart. What can live, when the Heart is dead? *Trump* was the Life of the Action; by whose example all was guided and directed: no sooner was his Life spent, but the Hearts of his men were broken: a general Consternation suddenly possest the whole Fleet, so that the Sea-men had more minde to carry home the news of their renowned Generals death, then to take vengeance on the English for killing him.

This unfortunate shot made the Dutch (now the Head was lost) for preservation of the remaining part of the body, at first to disengage themselves, still fighting in a defensive posture; and then about three a Clock in the evening, to clap on all the Canvas possible, and haste to their own Ports. It had been happy if all could have made the like speed; but that was forbidden by the English, who had sunk and fired 27 of their Men of War, and killed them upwards of 2000 men, besides six Captains and 1000 Prisoners taken: but the loss

of losses was the General *Van Trump*; to conquer whom alone, had been a Victory sufficient to deserve a Triumph: hereby the States of *Holland* were deprived of as able a Sea-man as ever sailed the Ocean: he was a man serious in deliberation; but when resolved, truly valiant in Action; which was sufficiently manifest in that eminent service he performed for the safety and honour of his Country against *Don Antonio d' Oquendo*, in the year 1639, when with a small Fleet he fought the Spaniards in the Downs, and without any great trouble brought that great *Armado* to nothing, wherein was imbarqued 23000 Souldiers, besides Mariners. This he did with so much generosity, that when the Spanish General durst not set to Sea from under the protection of *Dover-castle*, for want of Powder, *Trump* offered to supply him therewith, and afterwards to fight him. He was ever observed to be a zealous Assertor of the *Orange* Interest, both at home and abroad; this made him so eager to foment and drive on the War between *England* and *Holland*, because the posterity of King *Charles* (Father-in-law to the Prince of *Orange*) were excluded from Govern-

 ment.

ment. Some Obligations he had received from the said King, as Knighthood at *Dover*, *anno* 1641. and gifts at the same time, which sufficiently manifested the Bounty of the Donor. This is certain, that the fall of this great man did very much conduce to the future Peace between the two Republicks, which quickly after followed.

Trump's death was not without loss on the English side: for no less then six Captains, with 400 Souldiers and Sea-men took leave of this, to bear him company into the other World: besides these, there was wounded six Captains, and 700 of the inferiour sort: but for shipping, the loss was so small, that it may cause wonder; for no more miscarried then the *Oak*, a Ship of about 30 Guns, and a small Fire-ship besides: but yet the rest of the Navy were so much wounded, that they made home to repair Breaches, and recruit for another Expedition. Thus the *English Mastiff* baited the *Belgick Lyon*, till she made him run roaring home for shelter.

Whilst these Successes were given abroad, discontent rages at home among the most

most sober sort of people, caused by the strange Actings of the Parliament, who had now sate six moneths, and hatched little more then the Act for Marriages; which was made, more to vex the Clergie, then please the Laity. This was but a branch of the Ministers maintenance, the body being Tythes, was with might and main endeavoured to be hewen down to the ground: but the event answered not the intent; for a Committee being purposely appointed to consider of this weighty business, and make report to the House; the Legality of it both by the Laws of God and man, was so largely and clearly proved before them, that after a full hearing, and serious consideration of the whole matter, the Committee returned an Affirmative report for Tythes: but yet for all this, many of the Members being desirous to lay open a gap for confusion, did very stifly argue against the Ministerial Function, making it little better then Antichristian, and Burdensome to the people. Of this humour there were no fewer then 60 of the Members, and for the Ministry 84. these last were the Major part, which very wisely (fearing the Minor would undermine them, by watching all

opportunities to accompliſh their deſignes) did reſolve to break up houſe-keeping: which motion being made by a Member, Munday *December* 12. it was readily aſſented unto; ſo that the Speaker adjourned to *White-hall*, and delivered up the Powers they had received, to General *Cromwel* again.

As the Magnitude of *Hercules* body was once drawn by the dimenſion of his foot; ſo the policy of *Cromwel* may be ſeen in the Actions of this pack'd Parliament; as may be perceived by a rational Anſwer to theſe following Queries:

1. *Whether the Parliament did not make way for* Cromwel's *future greatneſs, in taking away the Engagement, under pretence of liberty for tender conſciences that ſcrupled the taking of it.*

2. *When* Cromwel *earneſtly deſired the ſeveral Members of this Parliament to remember Tythes and the Univerſities, whether he meant the extirpation or confirmation of them.*

3. *Whether ſome of this Parliament-Members violent endeavours to level the Law in its practice, and the Goſpel in the preaching*

preaching thereof, was not a deſigne of Cromwels, *to render the Members odious to the vulgar, that ſo his own Government might be the more acceptable to the people.*

4. *Whether it was an Act of Grace or Gratitude in the Parliament, to make* Cromwel *a Member of that which he had made a Body.*

5. *Whether the picking of this Parliament was intended more for publick good, or private deſignes.*

The Lord General having now got the Civil and Military Powers into his Hands by this Reſignation, made uſe of them to his beſt advantage. Firſt of all, he called a Council of Officers; and joyning with them certain other perſons to adviſe, it was by them (not without abundant ſeeking of God, and ſpeaking from ſeveral places of Scripture which lay much upon the ſpirits of many in this Aſſembly) reſolved to have a *Commonwealth in a Single Perſon*; which perſon ſhould be the Lord General *Cromwel*, under the Title and Dignity of *Lord Protector of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*. To him was aſſigned

a Council consisting of One and twenty, to be assistants in the Government. But because there can be no Superstructure without a Basis, an *Instrument* was framed, to be the Foundation of this present Government: which chiefly was made up of these following Heads.

1. *The Protector should call a Parliament every three years.*
2. *That the first should assemble on the third of* September 1654.
3. *That he should not dissolve the Parliament till it had sate five moneths.*
4. *That such Bills as they offered to him, he not passing them in twenty days, should pass without him.*
5. *That he should have a select Council, not exceeding one and twenty, nor under thirteen.*
6. *That immediately after his death, the Council should chuse another Protector before they rose.*
7. *That no Protector after him should be General of the Army.*
8. *That*

8. *That the Protector should have power to make Peace or War.*
9. *That in the Intervals of Parliament, he and his Council might make Laws that should be binding to the Subject,* &c.

But now to make these things binding to the Conscience of this Grand Magistrate, *December* 16. 1653. he in great state went from *White-hall* to *Westminster*, where in the Chancery Court, before the Judges, Maior and Aldermen of *London*, with the chiefest Officers of the Nation, he did solemnly swear, *To accept of the Government; and promised in the presence of God, not to violate or infringe the matters and things contained in the Instrument, but to observe, and cause the same to be observed; and in all things to the best of his understanding, govern the Nations according to the Laws, Statutes and Customs; seek their peace, causing Justice and Law to be equally administred.*

This Oath being publickly known, the Ceremony concluded with great Acclamations of certain Souldiers. Presently after, this following Proclamation by the Coun-

Council was published through *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

WHereas the late Parliament dissolved themselves, and resigning their Powers and Authorities, the Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland **and** Ireland, **by a Lord Protector, and successive triennial Parliaments is now established: And whereas** Oliver Cromwel **Captain-General of all the Forces of this Commonwealth is declared Lord Protector of the said Nations, and hath accepted thereof: We have therefore thought it necessary (as we hereby do) to make Publication of the Premises, and strictly to charge and command all and every Person and Persons, of what quality and condition soever in any of the said three Nations, to take notice hereof, and to conform and submit themselves to the Government so established. And all Sheriffs, Majors, Bailiffs,** &c. **are required to publish this Proclamation, to the end none may have cause to pretend ignorance in this behalf.**

Nothing could satisfie *Cæsars* Ambition, but a perpetual Dictatorship; nor *Alexander's*, but to have more worlds to conquer; and why then should our *Cromwel*, having

having the same aspiration, (and inspiration above them) be satisfied with less then a perpetual Protectorship? Ambition is of such a Nature, that to be first in a Village, pleases better then the second place in a City; but to satisfie an ambitious Appetite sufficiently with honour, is impossible; unless he can clime so high, that none dares ask how he came to that height.

To this Elevation is the Subject of our Discourse come, that his thoughts can rise no higher, then how to keep in Peace what he hath got by Policy. The City of *London* (as there can be no great change without its Concurrence) presently invites the Protector to a great Feast at *Grocers-Hall*, where his Entertainment was more suitable to the former Splendor, then present Exigence of that once-flourishing City. Immediately after, some Paperkites flew out of the Country to Court from particular persons, making Demonstration of Congratulation and real Obedience: These bore in the Front the Title of *Addresses* from all the good people in the Nation; when it was well known, that those whose Blood had purchas'd them Liberty from under one Person, would never

ver subscribe themselves *Slaves* to another.

The Protector began his Reign with seeming Serenity, insomuch that many expected *Halcyon* days; such Sanctity appeared in the Countenance of this Governour: his Tongue on all occasions was tipt with Lamentations at the Effusion of Christian Blood, and customarily would bemoan the *Animosities* amongst the people, caused by diversity in Religion: Yet for all that, when any Overtures were made to him tending to a Settlement and Conformity in Religion, then, *his power was no greater in the Nation then a Constable's who is to keep peace and quietness amongst all parties.* Thus he behaved himself towards the Ecclesiasticks.

But now we come to his first grand Action of State, the Negotiation of the Dutch Peace. This War had been gallantly maintained by the long Parliament, who in many Fights filled our Harbours with Prizes, which weakened much the united Provinces; but every bout augmented the Valour and Resolution of the English Seamen: so that in a little while, the dread of

of this Adversary was turned into contempt.

I will not yet in the least derogate from the worth of this brave Enemy: for in all Encounters, their endeavours were good; & might have been better, if Sobriety among the Sea-men had been well observed; but 'tis sad fighting, when the Can charged with *Brandy*, must be a Gun to conquer an Enemy: these weapons usually conquered themselves, and made way to their own destruction. But now to shew in part the Dutch Ingratitude, it will not be much amiss to remember what *England* hath done for them.

Time was, when the (*High and Mighty*) States of *Holland*, not able to help themselves, implored (as *poor* and *distressed*) Queen *Elizabeths* assistance: she readily condescending, sent them over a well-furnished Army commanded by the Earl of *Leicester*. These were but the forlorn to greater Bodies, which after were transported under the Conduct of those brave Commanders, *Norris*, *Vere*, *Sidney*, and many more, whose blood laid the Foundation of that Commonwealth: These were the Men that cut the Spanish Yoak from off their

their Necks, and never offered to sheath their Swords, until the Dutch were fully possest of their Liberties. But O Ingratitude! this was no sooner done, but the Deed forgotten: For in King *James* his time, many Depredations were secretly committed on the English by them: It may suffiice if we mention no more but onely the business of *Amboyna*, which sufficiently witnesseth how far their Will would have extended, had they had power sufficient to execute it. Afterwards, King *Charles* perceiving their enchroaching, set forth a brave Fleet, (which hurt himself more then any body else; for it raised so hideous a storm amongst his Subjects upon the payment of Ship-money, that never after could be appeased, till his Head was blown off his Shoulders) these lying in the *Downes* under command of *Dover-castle*, to protect a *Spanish Armado* intending for *Flanders*, the Spaniards were boldly set upon by the Dutch, and utterly destroyed. Had this presumptuous attempt of the *Hollander* met with a vindictive King, it would not have been so silently connived at. These Affronts being thus slightly passed by, imboldened them to attempt higher matters;

matters: for the English Nation on a suddain involved in a Domestick War, they made use of this opportunity to fish freely on the English Coast; which they continued so long, that from custome, they would argue a right; because they had done it, therefore they ought to do it still: presuming withall, to make *Englands* Harbors the bounds to their Soveraignty. A rich Bank of Treasure, and great strength in shipping, prompted them to this project; and the rather, because *England* was wasted by War, and disunited amongst themselves: Now they thought it their time to attempt the designe, wherein they fancied an assured and absolute Conquest; not at all considering what advantages in Navigation *England* hath over them; as first, not a ship can well pass the Narrow Seas between *Dover* and *Calice*, but must run the hazard to be snapt in their passage, unless they sailed under protection of a strong Fleet of War. Secondly, in stormy Weather the Winds would inforce ships at Sea to put into the English Harbours for shelter. In both which respects, it must needs be very prejudicial to the Dutch, if they fell out with *England*: their Traffick

this way being stopt up, no other means remained to continue a Trade to *France*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, *Turkey*, *East* and *West Indies*, but by the North of *Scotland*, with a Circumference about *Ireland*, whereby the Merchant must necessarily be exposed to a double danger in respect of Enemies: And that which is more unavoydable, the tempestuousness of the Sea in this Northerly Latitude, would have rendred their passage that way both unsafe and uncomfortable. But it seems these Considerations never entred into the thoughts of that State; their minds were onely troubled with dividing Spoils, and how to give Laws by Sea to the whole world. This high conceit of Fortitude, many times bars up the doors against prudential Counsels. Well, blinded as the Dutch were, *Van Trump*, that *leading Card* against the English Commonwealth, must begin the Game, and that when their Embassadors were in Treaty at *London*.

The Parliament of *England* remembring their late saucy Action in the *Downs*, resolved to make it redound to the honour of *England*: to that end, they fell into a close debate of the Nations right in those Seas: now

now *Mare Clausum* speaks English, to let every one see the Dominion of the Narrow Sea is *Englands* safety and Protector, under Divine Providence, from the fury of forraign Foes, which if it were lost, a Confluence of all Nations would quickly subjugate the Land to their will. How sensible the Senate and People of *England* were of this, is easily seen by the industrious Counsels of the one, and incomparable Valour of the other; so that in a few moneths the Dutch sustained more loss by this their wilful undertaking, then before they had done in several years War with the *Spaniard*. The English Parliament being thus engaged in a defensive War, quickly changed the Scœne to offensive, maintaining it with wonderful Policy and Prudence: but on a suddain, in stept General *Cromwel*, and justled them out of Power, taking upon himself to end this War. He fought the *Hollander* twice prosperously, which brought over into *England* four Embassadours extraordinary to sollicite a Peace: these using pecuniary Perswasions, so far prevailed with the Protector, as made him balance the publick Concernments with his private Interest; and so granted their desires.

The Peace being thus concluded, and publiſhed, the people of *England* were then perſwaded to a general Thankſgiving, by a Declaration, partly made up of nine Verſes out of the 107 *Pſalm.* To make obſervation on *Englands* Profit by this Peace, is needleſs; that I will leave for the Merchant to rejoyce in.

Actions of State are like the Billows of the Sea, one deſigne drives forward another, as they are agitated by the Princes breath. No ſooner was peace proclaimed abroad, but Plots commenced at home: the chief Deſigners were two *Gerrards*, Brothers, one *Jones* an Apothecary, *Teuder*, *Fow*, and *Vowel*: ſome of theſe *(through mercy)* were ſaved, but *Vowel* and *Gerrard* muſt ſuffer for example.

In the ſame Juncture of time fell out an arrogant exploit of *Don Pantaleon Sa*, brother to the *Portugal Embaſſadour*: this man being followed by a fanatique Crew, came one evening to the New Exhange armed with Swords, Piſtols, and Hand-granadoes: what the original provocative to this deſigne was, is uncertain: however, one wrapt in Buff (a bold Blade no doubt) being followed by Knights of *Malta*, Foot-

Foot-boys, and the like, aſcended the Staiers into the upper Exchange, where firing a Piſtol, a Gentleman there walking, was ſlain. There happened to be walking the ſame time this *Gerrard* above-mentioned: he ſeeing their Countenances not ſo ſwarthy as this deed was ſable, draws his Rapier, and with a magnanimous ſpirit drove them all before him down ſtaiers. The Lord Protector having notice of theſe *Portugals* frollique, upon examination reſolved to proceed thereupon without reſpect of perſons, and to make the chiefeſt Actor an example of Juſtice; which being found to be the Embaſſadours Brother, he was condemned for this ridiculous riot, and executed at *Tower-hill* on the ſame Scaffold (though for different cauſes) with *generous Gerrard.* The eyes of the Spectators never beheld ſuch different tempers in two men: *Gerrard* no way appald in countenance or behaviour, like a true Engliſhman, out-braved Death on the very Block. His body being removed out of ſight, up came *Don Pontaleon Sa* the Portugal, with a body too heavy for its ſupporters, and a countenance which ſufficiently demonſtrated, that the terrour of his heart had in a manner made him

him insensible of the smart of the Executioners Ax; so that many present believed his head served onely to satisfie the Law, his life being already fled through fear.

But now on a suddain there breaks forth an Insurrection in the *Highlands* of *Scotland*: these mountanous people having little to loose but their lives, would ever be trying to shake the English yoak from off their necks. The chief bellows to blow these miserable men to destruction, was the Earl of *Glencarne*, a man whose industry was ever pregnant in contriving new designes against the English: he having now drawn together a considerable strength, proclaimed to his fellows what great assistance would be wafted over to them from the Low Countries, by which means it might be easie (if unanimous) to obtain their Liberty, and get immortal Fame by freeing their Country from the present subjection it lay under. This was heard with general applause, and sprightly prosecuted, especially now *Middleton* was come from the *Netherlands* with the promised provisions for War. This *Middleton*, amongst other things, brought a special Commission to be Commander in chief over

ver all those then in Arms; and under him in the next degree was *Monro* Lieutenant General. This spoiled all; for *Glencarne* scorned to raise an Army for others to command; he loved the Cause well, but would not be disparaged by it: must he foment and stir up others, to be brought down himself? or take pains for others gains? No, he would not endure this, seeing it was a diminution to his honour, which as a Souldier he equally prized with life. On the other side, *Middleton* was too stiff to stoop; he stoutly stood to have *Monro* in the second place of Superiority. The consideration of the dangerous consequence of this falling out, made all the Gentlemen endeavour a Unity: which endeavours prevailed so far, as to procure a reconciliation between *Middleton* and *Glencarne*, provided *Glencarne* might be made Lieutenant General. But the pride of *Monro* could by no means condescend to this motion.

When thus they had bandied together for some time, at last *Glencarne* challengeth *Monro* to a single Combat; which being accepted of, on a certain morning they fought, with fortunate success to *Glencarne*,

who wounded and disarmed his Adversary, and then immediately after left the Army with about 500 Gentlemen, who made their composition with the Governour of *Dunbarton* to live peaceably at home, and leave *Middleton* to shift for himself.

Thus dissention among the Grandees leading the Van, destruction quickly after brought up the Reare. For General *Monk* with the English being not ignorant of these transactions among the Highlanders, and delaying for some time to march against them, till he had seen the event of their divisions, and observed his opportunity to suppress them; upon certain intelligence of their motion, he advanced to meet them; and engaging *Middleton* at *Loughgerry*, after some small bickering the Scots were wholly routed, and *Middleton* enforc'd to flee back again into *Holland*.

The Lord Protector in *England* seeing on what a tickliſh Foundation his greatness stood (for though he had obtained a Government, yet was it not confirmed to him by the People) therefore according to the tenure of the *Instrument* of *Government*, he summoned a Parliament to assemble at *Westminster*, *Septemb.* 3. 1659. when there ap-

appeared a great number of grave judicious persons, men that sufficiently understood the peoples priviledges, having many times before been Champions to defend them from the enchroachments of Usurpers. The day before their sitting, the Protector went by water from *White-hall* to the *Painted Chamber*, whither he sent for the Members; where they being come, he desired their company to hear a Sermon at the Abby-Church the next day, and afterwards he would impart his minde to them. About nine in the morning, his Highness (not much affecting pomp and bravery) rode in his Coach to the Church: with him there sate his Son *Henry* and the Lord *Lambert*: his Gentlemen very richly clad, marched first, bare-headed; next before the Coach, went the Pages; and on one side of the Coach walked on foot Mr. *Strickland* one of the Council, and Captain of the Guard, together with the Master of the Ceremonies; on the other side, in like manner, was Captain *Howard* Captain of the Life-guard. After these, followed in Coaches, the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, of the Treasury, and the Council; at last, the ordinary Guard of

of the *Protector* put an end to the train. In this manner he went to the Abby. As he entred the Church, there was born before him four Maces, the Purse and a Sword, which the Lord *Lambert* carried, bare-headed.

When *Dr. Goodwin* had ended his Sermon, the Protector and Parliament went to the *Painted Chamber*, where he declared to the Members in a set Speech, (briefly thus:)

That the Parliament then met, were such a Congregation as England *never saw before; and that it might be a matter worthy such a meeting, to give a Series of Gods Providence all along to these times; but that being well known to most of them, he should proceed to let them know in what condition these Nations were when this Government was erected. Every mans heart was then against another: that we had then our humors and interests, and every thing almost was grown Arbitrary. Next of all, what a prodigious contempt there was of God and Christ,*

Christ; the Grace of God was turned into wantonness, and his Spirit made a Cloak for vile practises: yet many would say, Matters of Religion belonged not to the Magistrate, he was onely to look to the outer man, not to meddle with the inner. Nay, the abomination was swell'd to that height, that the Ax was laid to the root of the Ministry, as Babylonish and Antichristian. While these things were in the midst of us, and the Nation rent and torn, one Family against another, and nothing in the hearts and minds of men but overturn, overturn, overturn; at the same time swarms of Jesuites coming over, having their Consistories abroad to rule all the Affairs of England, *and the dependencies thereof. Withall, the Nation was deeply engaged in a War with* PORTUGAL, HOLLAND *and* FRANCE. *In such a heap of Confusion was this Nation, that a speedy remedy must be applyed, and hath been applyed. This Government (let men say what they will) is calculated for the peoples interest.*

That

That for his own part, he could with humbleness towards God, and modesty before them, recount something in the behalf of it. First, it had indeavoured to reform the Law: it hath put into seats of Justice men of known integrity and ability: it hath settled a way for probation of Ministers to preach the Gospel. And besides, it hath called a free Parliament (blessed be God) we see this day a free Parliament. As for the Wars; a peace is made with Sweden, Denmark, *the* Dutch *and* Portugal: *moreover, at this time a treaty is depending with* France. *These things are but Entrances and Doors of hope: but now he made no question to enable them to lay the top-stone of this work. This Maxime he recommended to their observation, that* Peace, though it be made, is not to be trusted farther then it consists with Interest. *The great work that now lay upon this Parliament, was, that the Government of* Ireland *might be settled in terms of honour, and that themselves would manage Affairs with*

with Prudence, lest forraign States retain hopes of advantage by their confusions. For himself, he did not speak like one that would be a Lord over them, but as one that was resolved to be a fellow-servant with them in this great Affair. To conclude, he wished them to repair to their own house, and there use their Liberty in the choice of a Speaker.

The *Protector* having ended his Speech, the Members immediately repaired to the Parliament-house, and chose *William Lenthal* Master of the Rolls to be their Speaker; then they resolved *to tune the Instrument of Government.* The first debate was, *Whether the Legislative Power should be in a single Person and a Parliament.* This Ball was bandied about for some time. The Protectoreans with might and main endeavoured to have the Question resolved to be no question, but rather to be passed immediately in the Affirmative. This was strenuously opposed by the major part of the House: amongst the rest, a noble Gentleman stood up and made an excellent Speech, wherein he shewed *the Snares that*

then

then were laid to entrap the Peoples Priviledges: for his own part, he declared that God had made him Instrumental in cutting down Tyranny in one person, and now he could not endure to see the Nations Liberties ready to be shakled by another, whose right to the Government could be measured out no otherways then by the length of his Sword; 'twas this imboldned him to command his Commanders. To the same effect many more Speeches were made, in direct opposition to a single Person.

Thus the Parliament for eight days together run divisions upon the Protectors Instrument, till it jarred so much, that it was impossible to play one pleasant Tune for the Court to dance after. This highly offended his *Highness*, and made him resolve to put the Parliament into a better mode, if possible: to which end, away he goes by water to the *painted Chamber*, and there sent for all the Members of Parliament then sitting, to appear presently before him: there he declared,

That his sorrow was very great, to find them falling into heats and divisions; he would

would have them take notice of this, that the same Government that made them a Parliament, made him a Protector; and as they were intrusted with some things, so he with other things. In the Government there was Fundamentals that could not be altered: as,

1. *That the Government should be in one Person and a Parliament.*

2. *That Parliaments should not be made perpetual, nor always sitting.*

3. *The Militia was not to be trusted in any one hand or power, but so, that the Parliament ought to have a check upon the Protector, and the Protector upon the Parliament.*

4. *That in matters of Religion, there ought to be Liberty of Conscience, and means used to prevent Persecution.*

For the rest of the things in the Government, they were examinable and alterable as the State of Affairs did require. For his own part (he told them) *his heart was even overwhelmed with grief to see that any of them should go about to overthrow*

throw what was settled, contrary to their trust received from the people; which could not but bring on very great inconveniences.

In this manner he perswaded them to Conformity in his designes: but fearing words might be little regarded, he therefore prepared a Laxative Composition wrapt up in a Recognition, which was to be taken as followeth:

I do hereby promise and engage to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland *and* Ireland; *and shall not (according to the tenour of the Indenture whereby I am returned to serve in Parliament) propose, or give my consent to alter the Government, as it is setled in one Person and a Parliament.*

This

This dose purged some Members out of the House; and others again swallowed it without any reluctancie; so that for all this, the Parliament (though they looked somewhat thin) continued sitting five Moneths after, in which time they did much, in doing nothing. The Protector seeing how opposite they were to his hopes, could not brook these their dilatory proceedings; and seeing they would not settle him, he resolves to unhouse them; and accordingly takes the first opportunity his Instrument would give him (not slipping one day) and dissolved them.

Upon the very nick of this Catastrophe, the Court was Alarm'd with news of a great rising in *Shropshire*, *Montgomeryshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Northumberland and Yorkshire*; it is needless to tell the rise and growth of these malecontents: their folly and fall may sufficiently manifest, there were secret invisible springs that turned the maine wheels of this Design. However, the Protector continued still Victorious, and triumphed over his Enemies.

Long had the World stood in amazement at the Protectors mighty preparati-

ons, wondering what the intent should be, or event would prove: The Design was too deep to be eaſily fathomed, being managed with ſuch ſecreſie, that the chief Commanders both by Land and Sea, who were to put it in practice, knew not at firſt what they went about; onely this they were aſſured of, that it was for the honour of God, the good of their Countrey, and would be to themſelves a profitable glory. Time, with great induſtry and vaſt ſums of money, having at laſt produced two mighty Fleets, one of them was commanded by General *Blake*, who (being fitted onely for the Sea) ſailed away to the Straights: about two Months after, the other Fleet put out to Sea, commanded by General *Pen*, who took aboard him a Land-Army, under Conduct of General *Venables*. Theſe Land-Forces being in all three thouſand, were divided into five Regiments, under their reſpective Commanders, and diſtributed through the Navie, conſiſting of about thirty Sail of good Ships, but provided with neceſſaries (neither ſutable nor ſufficient) for ſo long a Voyage.

Decemb. the 19th 1654. this Fleet ſet ſail

ſail from *Portſmouth* for the *Barbadoes*, the appointed place of Randezvous: it pleaſed God to give them a ſpeedy paſſage, inſomuch that the 29 of *January*, they were all at Anchor in *Carliſle* Bay, and preſently landed their men upon the Iſland.

The King of *Spain* all this while, not being aſſured that theſe Forces were deſigned againſt him, yet by many circumſtances believing no leſs, he ſent a ſpeedy Mandate to the Marqueſs *de Leda* Governour of *Dunkirk*, to paſs into *England* in the quality of an extraordinary Ambaſſador, that ſo he might know the certainty thereof. This gallant Commander (for ſo indeed he was) preſently after arrived at *London* accordingly: but after ſome ſtay, finding little ſatisfaction in his Audiences, he returned back again to give an account to his Maſter.

But to return: during the abode of the Fleet at the *Barbadoes*, the Generals, Colonels, and inferiour Officers were not negligent in their ſeveral ſtations. General *Pen* cauſed the Carpenters of each Ship to ſet up thoſe Shallops which were brought over in Quarters out of *England*:

And ordered the Coopers to trim and fit water-Casks: Besides, he sent two Frigats to S. *Christophers* and *Nevis*, for raising of Voluntiers there. In the mean time, General *Venables* formed a new Regiment of Sea-men to serve upon occasion at Land; these were put under the Conduct of Vice-Admiral *Goodson*; the rest of the Regiments brought out of *England*, were easily compleated to a full number: Likewise, a Troop of gallant Horse were raised by the Islanders, at their own cost and charges (the Carcases of which were afterwards buryed in the Souldiers bellies, for want of better food.) But these were not all the strength: for the Planters Servants understanding that if they would serve the State, their time should still go on, and that at last (in spight of their Masters) they should enjoy their Freedoms in as ample a manner as if they had served them; this spurred them on to become Souldiers of Fortune; and many were presently listed into several Regiments accordingly. The Fleet was also augmented by twenty Sail of Duch Vessels, which were made prize for presuming to traffick with prohibited goods contrary to the Articles of

of Peace betwixt the two Nations. The Land-Army being now in a readiness, their number was found to be so great, that every Ships share was as many as it could well carry. *March* 31. they set sail from the *Barbadoes*, and in six dayes after came by the Lee under S. *Christophers*. Here joyned with them about 1300 more, which came off from several Islands, in hopes to be made for ever. From hence they shaped their course directly for *Hispaniola*. On the 13 of *April* the whole Navie came fair by the Island, and plainly discovered the Town of *Santa Domingo*: immediately hereupon, a Council was called, and the Guides consulted withal: here it was concluded that General *Venables* should to Land. According to which resolution, the next day he landed about ten Leagues to the Westward of the Town, with 7000 Foot, a Troop of Horse, and three days Provision of Victuals. No sooner were they landed, but every mans tongue was tipt with gold; nothing could be thought on, but the plunder of Plate and Jewels; small things could not enter their mindes: as for Hangings, Houshold-stuff, &c. they

would be cumberſome to carry, and therefore they reſolved to leave ſuch things behinde them. In this extacy of joy was the Souldiery; when behold, upon a ſudden, there appeared a Proclamation from the General, commanding, that when they entered the Town of *Sancta Domingo*, no man ſhould preſume to plunder either money, Plate, or Jewels, neither kill any tame Cattel, on pain of death. This made the Army look ſowre on their imaginary ſweet-meats; their golden hearts were now turned to leaden heels; ſo that it was indifferent to them, whether they went farther, or tarried there: Yet for all this, on they marched thorow Woods of incredible thickneſs, receiving no oppoſition, except the exceſſive heat of the Sun, which cauſed an intolerable drought, that oppreſſed them ſorely; having not had one drop of water in many miles march, but what they carried in their own bladders; ſo that Urine was as white-wine to them that could ſwallow it.

General *Pen*, after the landing of theſe men, ſet aſhore three Regiments more under the command of Colonel *Bullard*, in

a Bay where a fair freſh-water River disburdened it ſelf; this was within two Leagues of the Town, and appointed to be the place for conjuncton of the whole Army. It was not long before the General (according to appointment) having peaceably paſt the Woods, came to the River, and joyned himſelf with *Bullards* Brigade. Here, upon view, the Army was found to be 9700 (but few fighting) men. From this river the Army halted away to take poſſeſſion of the Town, which in imaginarion was already won: there marched on before the reſt, a forlorn Hope conſiſting of 500 men; afterward followed the main body of the Army: in this order they marched within four miles of the Town, when upon the ſudden a ſmall party of *Spaniards* encountred the forlorn Hope, and in an inſtant forced them in confuſion thorow the next Regiment, which was alſo routed: the Body of the Army coming up to their reſcue, made the Enemy retire to a Fort hard by in the Woods, without any conſiderable loſs at all to the *Spaniards*: on the Engliſh ſide was ſlain Captain *Cox*, the chief Guide for the place, & many others.

The General having now ſeen the imbecility

becility of his men, through want of water and many other neceſſaries, he cauſed them to march back again to the River from whence they came, to refreſh themſelves in order to a full proſecution of the Deſign in hand. To which end, ſcaling ladders were made, and two ſmall Drakes mounted, with a Mortar-piece and Granado-ſhels which were landed from the Fleet: theſe were conveyed by water to be ſet on ſhore at a convenient place near the Town. All things being now in readineſs, to try concluſions, the Army once again diſlodged, and were by the Guides promiſed to be brought upon the Town of S. *Domingo* by a private way, where they might paſs thorow the Woods free from danger of any Fort. Such a way there certainly was; but theſe blind Guides taking another to be it, the whole Army were brought near to the place where before they had been ſhamefully repulſed. The *Spaniards* mean time having certain intelligence by *Negroes* and *Molattoes* of the Engliſh march, prepared to entertain them in their paſſage. *April* 25. 1655. the whole Army approached near to a Fort which the *Spaniards* had in the Wood built of Brick, in a tri-

triangular form without Flankers: in it were nine Pieces of good Ordinance, and 300 reſolute fellows to manage them. The Engliſh Army a little before noon approaching near this Fort, were upon the ſudden charged by a Party of the Enemy that lay undiſcovered among the Trees: theſe reſolute *Spaniards*, being about ſeventy in number, at firſt fired a round Volley of ſmall ſhot upon the forlorne Hope, and then flew in like mad-men with their ſharpe Steel Lances upon the Engliſh (who were already even ſuffocated with thirſt, and hardly able to ſtand, much leſs to fight) ſo that in a moment the Generals running Regiment, with near half the Army, flew back to the Rear, and poſſeſt their fellows there with ſuch a pannick fear, that every one began to ſhift for himſelf. Mean while the *Spaniards* purſued their Victory with the greateſt ſlaughter they were able to make: for meeting with no reſiſtance (but what that ever-renowned Gentleman Major-General *Haines* was able to make alone of himſelf, who never ſtirred one ſtep, but dyed not unrevenged in the mid'ſt of his Enemies,) they wreaked their fury at pleaſure on theſe daſtardly dunces; til

till at last, being overcome with killing, they retreated back in Triumph with seven English Colours, the evident Trophies of their Victory. The Retreat of the Enemy, gave opportunity for the living to number the dead: upon view, it was found that 600 were slain outright, 300 wounded, (most in their backs) and besides, 200 more crept into bushes, and ran away to save themselves; which afterwards were knockt on the head by *Negro's* and *Mollatto's*.

Upon this sad disaster, the Army that night drew up nearer the Spainsh Fort, as if they intended some mighty matters; and having planted a Morter-Peice in a convenient plot of ground, and all things being ready to do execution on the Fort, upon a sudden the souldiers were ordered to draw off: so the Army without doing any thing, marched away to their old watering place in the Bay. To what intent and purpose this was, I shall be silent, and leave it for others to judge.

The Army being come into the Bay, had not that supply of Victuals from the ships as formerly, but were necessitated by parties to go in the Woods to catch Cattel; which many

many times cost them dear: for the *Negro's* instead of hunting Cows, would oftentimes change their game, and breath them back again to their Quarters. These things brought the Army to such distress, that (fearing to fight for Food abroad) they exercised their Valour at home upon the Troop-horses belonging to their own Army: thus did they continue for some days, till a resolution was taken to imbark them, and with all speed to make for *Jamaica*. *May* the third day, (all the remaining part of the Army being shipped) without the least disturbance from the Spaniard, the Fleet set sail for the aforesaid Island. On the tenth of the same moneth, the whole Fleet cast Anchor in *Jamaica* Harbour, and quickly after possest themselves of *Oristano* the chief Town in the Island: here the Army having taken up their standing, began to plant (which since hath been and is like to prove a bad Neighbour to the adjacent Spanish Islands.) General *Pen* presently after returned for *England*, and was quickly followed by General *Venables*, to give an account to the Court of the brave service they had performed for the honour of their Country; which pleased the Protector so

well

well, that he sent them both to the Tower of *London.*

This unfortunate Voyage to *Hispaniola*, cannot well be let pass without some small inspection into the miscarriage of the Action. Where there is want of Food, and Arms fitting for an Army, they must of necessity become a prey to their Enemies: neither of which were sufficiently provided for in the beginning, as they ought to have been. It hath been alwayes the policy of Conquerous, first to possess, and then to plant: but the Wives and Children in this expedition, shewed a confidence in the fruition, before they gained possession. *Alexander* at his entrance into the Wars of *Persia*, had but 35000 men; which proved sufficient to carry on his enterprise. By this we see, two thousand *Cocks* are better to fight then ten thousand *Capons*. But above all, if the spring be corrupted, the stream cannot run clear: Where covetousness is at the root, the branches of a design are alwayes blasted: This made *Achan* prosper no better with his ill-gotten gold. A General that will prohibit plundering in an Enemies Country, must resolve to do all the service himself: for Souldiers will suffer

suffer him to win all, that must wear all.

To dwell longer on this lamentable lame Story, can be no way useful, unless it be to call to minde that excellent saying, *Man proposeth, but God disposeth.* Therefore to sweeten the bitterness of the blow received in *America*, it will not be much amiss to recount brave *Blakes* successes in *Affrica.* Not long before *Pen* set saile for the unfortunate Islands, *Blake* set forth with a considerable Navy to scowre the *Straights* from Pirats which had much damnified the English Merchants in their passage out of the Levant Sea. At first he beat about on the Spainsh Coast, in hopes to finde them roving abroad; but missing of his expectation, a sudden resolution was taken up to fire their nests, and consume their shipping in the very Harbors: to effect this, *April* 18. 1655. the Fleet approching near *Tunis*, General *Blake* sent to the *Dye*, demanding satisfaction for ships taken, and a speedy release of the poor English taken in them, from their present Captivity. To this Message such an arrogant Answer was returned by the imperious *Turk*, as very much enraged the English Sea-men: insomuch that after a small debate,

bate, it was concluded to revenge themselves on nine ships that lay in *Porta Ferino*: the wind at present sitting fair, encouraged a present prosecution of the designed project, which was effected in this manner: At first, there entered the Harbour the Boats of every Ship man'd with resolute Sea-men; and then followed *Blake* himself in the Admiral, with the Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral: These lying within Musket-shot of the Enemies Castle and Forts, plagued them perpetually with whole broad sides, until the Boats had utterly consumed the Turkish men of War, which were reduced to ashes in four hours time, with no more loss to the English, then 25 men slain, and 48 wounded. This may in part wipe off the blemish which stained *Englands* reputation in the former disastrous Expedition.

At this time, the Lord Protector endeavouring to strengthen himself abroad, made an alliance with the *Swede*; the effects of which Peace have since been felt to purpose, in some parts of *Europe*. Then presently after, he constituted Major-Generals, and divided *England* into eleven

eleven parcels amongst them. The names of these Vice-Roys, and the Counties allotted to every one's share, were as followeth:

Colonel *Kelsey*

For *Kent* and *Surry*.

Col. *Goff*

For *Sussex*, *Hampshire* and *Berkshire*.

Gen. *Desbrow*

For *Glocestershire*, *Wilts*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Devon and Cornwal*.

Lieutenant Gen. *Fleetwood*

For *Oxfordshire*, *Bucks*, *Hartford*, *Cambridge*, Isle of *Ely*, *Essex*, *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*.

Major Gen. *Skippon*

For the City of *London*.

Com. Gen. *Whaley*

For *Lincolnshire*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, *Warwick* and *Leicestershire*.

Major *Butler*

For *Northamptonshire*, *Bedford*, *Rutland*, and *Huntington*.

Col. *Berry*

For *Worcester*, *Hereford*, *Salop*, and *North-Wales*.

Col. *Wortley*

For *Cheshire*, *Lancashire* and *Staffordshire*.

Lord

Lord *Lambert*
For *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Westmerland* and *Northumberland*.
Col. *Barkstead*.
For *Westminster* and *Middlesex*.

These Major-Generals in their respective Provinces, did the Protector no small service, in forcing Delinquents to pay the Decimation of their Estates, which was imposed upon them by the Court (for the sins of their youth;) he very well knowing:

'Tis good for Princes to have all things fat,
Except their subjects; but beware of that.

Yet this new device after a while grew troublesome to the grand Projector himself, who fearing they might in time eclipse his own greatness, (if continued) brought them down again to move in an inferiour Orb.

Another designe (of a far different nature, but for like ends with the former) was about this time set on foot by the Protector,

tor, to wit, the re-admission of the Jews into this Nation. This people indeed were sometime Gods peculiar people, *to whom pertained the adoption, and the Glory, and the Covenant, and the giving of the Law, and the service of God, and the promises:* insomuch that *Moses* thus expostulates with them; *What Nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon him for?* But as if all this had not been sufficient, it pleased God so far further to honour them, that *of them, according to the flesh, Christ came:* who although he were *approved of God among them, by miracles, wonders and signs*, for their conviction; Yet they entertained him with crucifixion, uttering this direful imprecation thereupon, *His bloud be upon us and our children.* God took them at their word. For (not to mention what some affirm, that a bloudy issue hath ever since hereditarily descended upon them) not long after (according to Christs prophecy) their City was destroyed, their Temple not on stone left upon another; and themselves ceasing to be a Nation, became (with *Cain*) Fugitives, and Vagabonds upon the Earth;

having now, according to that prophecie of *Hosea*) *been many dayes* (yea many years) *without a King, and without a Prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an Ephod, and without a teraphim*; being dispersed amongst all Nations, and hated by all people: remaining nevertheless in such a degree of contumacious obduration, that here in *England* (whither some of them wandred) they crucified children in despight to (and derision of) the name of Christ. For which, and other execrable practices, they were justly expelled this Nation by King *Edward* the first, in the year of Christs incarnation, 1291. And so willing were the people then to be rid of them, that for this Act of that King, the Commons in Parliament freely granted him a whole Fifteenth. Thus they were expulsed; and ever since (for the space of 364 years) they have been excluded, without the publike permission of so much as one Synagogue in *England*.

But this our Protector having a large (I say not conscience, but) heart, and being of tender bowels, his charity extended so far, as to plead for the re-entertainment

ment of these guests: to which purpose, he propounded it to several eminent Ministers for their approbation; alleadging, that since there is a promise of their Conversion, means must be used to that end, which is the preaching of the Gospel; and that cannot be had, except they be permitted to reside where the Gospel is preached. But (by his leave) when Gods good time is come, there shall not be means wanting to accomplish that work; which being of an extraordinary nature, is not like to be done by ordinary means. Besides, such was (then, and yet is) the temper of the people of *England*, so full of diversities in opinions, and reduced to such an indifferencie in matters of Religion, that it is more then probable, the number of their Proselytes would have exceeded that of our Converts.

But this is not all: for it seems our Protectors charity that we mentioned before, (according to the Proverb) began at home: he had a promise of 200000 l. from the Jews, in case he procured their Toleration here, as saith Mr. *Prynne* in his Narrative, p. 56. which sweet morsel he had swallowed by thus gratifying them, had not the design

design been opposed by Arguments as sharp as weapons of STEEL.

The War with *Spain* beginning now to wax warm, not onely under the Torrid Zone, but likewise Northwards of the Tropick; the Protector thought it best to annoy this Enemy in as many places as possible; which could not well be brought about without a Peace with *France*, which being effected, roome might be made for English Feet to tread Flemish ground. The French at this time earnestly desired the same: for their chief minister of State Cardinal *Mazarine* saw every Champaign, how prejudicious it was to his Masters Affairs in *Flanders* (especially in besieging a Sea-Port Town) to be without correspondencie with *England*. This gave the Protector not onely opportunity of making up the long continued feud that had been betwixt the two Nations, but to do it on very advantagious terms, wherein the French King was content to deny himself, in sending out of his Dominions his near relations the *Stuarts*; which kindness the Protector requited, with sending him 6000 Foot-Souldiers. Thus the alliance was contracted. The

The impediments that hindered Peace with *France* being past over, to the Protectors great content, he set himself wholy to a thorow prosecution of his Wars with *Spain*. For this purpose, the two Generals *Blake* and *Montague*, had with a strong Navie long beleaguered the Port of *Cadiz* by Sea, and with many provocations endeavoured to dare out an Enemy: but the grave-pac'd Spaniard durst not step one stride to drive the English from his coasts; but rather waited the lucky hour, when scarcity of provisions, or distress by weather would do the work to his hand, and save the Limbs and Lives of many good Catholicks which might miscarry in forcing the English farther off. But this piece of Policy little prevailed: for when the Fleet wanted water and other necessaries, the Generals found out a way to supply it, by sayling to the Bay of *Wyers* in *Portugal*, whence they were recruted; in the mean time, leaving behind Captain *Stayner* with a Squadron of seven Ships to have an eye on *Cadiz*.

Now it hapned that in the absence of the Generals, a stiff gale of wind forc't *Stainer* to ply it off to Sea, which brought him upon

upon the discovery of an excellent object; it was the King of *Spaines* Plate-Fleet, richly laden with Gold, Silver, Pearl, and other good commodities newly brought from the *Indies*. The Spaniards at the first sight of the English Frigats, took them for Fisher-boats; which indeed they were, in a sense; for Captain *Stainers* work was to fish for gold; and now seeing so fair a shole swimming, he thought he would be sure to catch some considerable quantity, or lose his life in the attempt: wherefore with these three, the *Speaker*, *Bridgwater*, and *Plymouth* Frigats, (the remaining part of the Squadron being driven to Leeward) he gallantly fell upon the Spanish great Galleons, which were seven in number; and plyed them so sore with great shot, that in few hours the whole Fleet was quite spoyled; one whereof was sunk, another burnt, two forc'd on ground, one run away, and two remained in the Conquerours hands, which were safely conveyed to *England*, and very joyfully received by the Protector, who set apart a particular day to give God thanks for this good success.

The Protector being much necessitated for

for money, and withal impatient to tarry longer for a Confirmation of his Dignity by the People, which although he could not obtain of the preceding Parliament, he hoped he might gain of another; this perswaded him to attempt once more a new Representative: Which being resolved upon, he issued out Writs for Election throughout the three Nations.

But remembring the Speeches and carriage of some in the late Parliament; private intimation was given to certain persons in several Counties, to obstruct (if possible) their Election again in this ensuing Session: yet for all this, the generality of people being swayed by respect, made choyce of them they thought fit, and such as were most able to carry on the weighty affairs of the Commonwealth.

Septemb. 17. 1656. being appointed for the general meeting at *Westminster*, the Members accordingly made their appearance at the Parliament House, where they found (quite contrary to the ancient Priviledge of Parliament) that no Members could enter into the House, except they were first tyed up in a promise, Not

to act any thing prejudicial to the present Government. Many of the Members would not bite at this Bait, but rather chose to return home again, seeing they could not sit with a safe conscience. Those that entered the House, having made choyce of Sir *Thomas Widdrington* to be their Speaker, began to act answerable to the Protectors own desire: which we shall see in its due place; mean time, take this ensuing Relation of General *Blakes* worthy exploit against the Spaniard.

Of all the desperate Attemps that ever were made in the World against an Enemy by Sea, this of noble *Blakes* is not inferiour to any: He lying upon the Spanish Coast, had intelligence given him, that the *West-India* Fleet were arrived at the *Canary Islands*, and put into the Bay of *Sancta Cruz*, on the Island of *Tenariff*. Upon this, the Fleet weighs Anchor on the 13 of *April* 1657. and by the 20th of the same Month, were fair in the *Offing* of *Sancta Cruz*, where they discovered how bravely the Spanish Ships, (sixteen in number) were barricado'd in this Bay, where they lay in a manner Semi-circular.

Near

Near to the mouth of this Haven, stands a Castle sufficiently furnished with great Ordinance, which threatned destruction to any that durst enter without its leave into the Harbour: besides this, there stood seven Forts more, round about the Bay, with six, four, and three great Guns apiece, and united together by a Line of Communication from one Fort to another, which was man'd with Musqueteers. To make all safe, *Don Diego Diagues*, General of the Spanish Fleet, was not idle, in making provision for the best defence of his Armado: he caused all the smaller ships to be moved close along the shoar, and the six great Galleons stood farther out at anchor, with their broad sides towards the Sea: It hapned at this time, there was a Dutch Merchants ship in the Bay; the Master whereof seeing the English ready to enter, and that a combate would presently be commenced, it made him fear that among all the blows that would be given, he could not avoyd some knocks; therefore to save himself, he went to *Don Diego*, and desired his leave to depart the Harbour: For (said he), *I am very sure*, Blake *will presently be amongst*

mongst you. To this, the resolute Don made no other Reply, but, *Get you gone if you will, and let* Blake *come if he dares.*

They that knew *Blakes* courage, could not but know it needless to dare him to an engagement; for himself was ever forward enough to fight, especially when the honour of his Nation lay at stake: like himself were his Sea-men, who never questioned Commands, but readily ran upon the most desperate attemps: which sheweth, that courage in a Commander, infuseth activity in the Souldiers; as here it did in an eminent manner: for Gen. *Blake* having seen his Enemy, presently called a Council of Officers to contrive the best way for carrying on the present exploit. In this Council of War, Glory quite eclipsed hazard; so that little else was discoursed upon, but a quick Execution, which quite buryed difficulty in Oblivion. All things being ordered for fight, a Squadron of Ships was drawn out of the whole Fleet to make the first Onset: these were commanded by Captain *Stainer*, in the *Speaker* Frigat; who no sooner had received Orders, but immediately he flew into the Bay with his canvas wings, and by eight in the mor-

morning fell pell-mell upon the Spanish Fleet, without the least regard to the Forts, that spent their shot prodigally upon him. No sooner were these entered into the Bay, but *Blake* following after, placed certain Ships to pour broad sides into the Castle and Forts; these played their parts so well, that after some time the *Spaniards* found their Forts too hot to be held. In the mean time, *Blake* strikes in with *Stainer*, and bravely fought the Spanish Ships, which were not much inferiour in number to the English, but in men they were far the superior. Here we see, a resolute bravery many times may carry the day, and make number lie by the Lee: this was manifest; for by two of the Clock in the after-noon, the English had beaten their Enemies out of their Ships.

Now *Blake* seeing an impossibility of carrying them away, he ordered his men to fire their prizes: which was done so effectually, that all the Spanish Fleet were reduced to ashes, except two Ships that sunk downright, nothing remaining of them above water, but some part of their masts.

The English having now got a compleat victory

victory, were put to another difficulty by the wind, which blew so strong into the Bay, that many despaired of getting out again. But Gods providence was miraculously seen, in causing the wind upon the sudden to vere about to the South-west (a thing not known in many years before) which brought *Blake* and his Fleet safe to Sea again, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* from the Castle played their great Guns perpetually upon them as they passed by. The wind, as it proved a friend to bring the English forth, so it continued to carry them back again to their former station near to *Cadiz*.

Should we compare the vastness of this attempt with the diminutive loss the English received, it may go near to raise incredulity in the Reader. However, it must not be past over in silence. All the men that *Blake* had slain in this fight, which lasted from eight in the morning to seven at night, were but 48, and one hundred and twenty wounded. On the Spanish side, all was lost that could be lost, their whole Fleet being quite destroyed; so that the English gain was nothing but Honour, which ever attended *Blakes* attempts. For

For this good service, the Protector at the Parliaments desire sent this worthy Commander a Ring worth five hundred pounds, and presently after Capt. *Stainer* came to *England* that his Ship might be new fitted for the Sea, which gave the Protector a fair opportunity to clap on his shoulders a whole Knighthood, which served to satisfie for all his brave services.

The Protector, according to a private agreement with *France*, prapared a Brigade of Foot to joyn with the French Army under Command of Marshal *Turin*, that so both together might fall into *Flanders* against the *Spaniards*. The English Forces designed for this service, were 6000. many of them old Souldiers, but most new raised men; over whom Sir *John Reynolds* was made Commander in Chief, and Col. *Morgan* Major-General (who afterwards was Knighted by the Lord *Richard Cromwel* for his eminent service) these being provided with all necessaries for a march, were rendezvoused on Black-Heath; from whence they marched away to the Sea-side, and were immediately transported over to *Bulloin* in *Picardy*. At their landing, the Souldiers had all new Red-

Red-Coats, distributed amongst them, which made such a glistering show, that the French King said he never before saw the like sight. About the later end of *October* 1657. the English were advanced into the Spanish Territories; and being joyned with *Turin*, the whole Army sate down before *Mardike*-Fort lying about two miles from *Dunkirk*. This place was looked upon to be of great importance, and might much conduce to the taking in of *Dunkirk* it self, (as afterwards it proved.) The French and English having beleaguered this strong place, did not lie long before they reduced it to a surrender upon Composition; so that it was delivered up wholly into the possession of the English. But presently after (the French being withdrawn into winter-Quarters) came a strong body of *Spaniards*, and made a fierce Camisado upon the Fort, hoping to give the English little joy in their new Conquest; but it fell out quite otherwise: for the assailants were stoutly repulsed, and inforc't to flee, having lost in the attempt several brave Commanders.

The Protectors forraign affairs standing in a posture answerable to his desires, his

his domestick designes at the same time did likewise very well correspond thereunto: for the Parliament having sate near nine Months, had in this time past many Acts which crowned the Protectors hopes so fully, that more could not have been desired by him, nor well granted by them. For first, out of a deep sence of his loss (should such a design as bold *Syndercomb*'s take effect) they made provisions for the security of his Highness Person, wherein it was Enacted *High Treason, for any to attempt, compass, or imagine the Protectors death.*

This Act having pared the claws of cholerick humours at home, in three whoops more, the Title of *Charls Stuart*, &c. was utterly defunct. And besides this, (to answer the end for which they were called) round sums of money were granted to carry on the Spanish War (notwithstanding his Highness late Conquests in the *Indies*) that so the Protector might with more facility bang the legs of that long-limb'd Enemy. The Acts made for this purpose, were these that follow:

An

	Per Mens.
An Act for an Assesment upon *England*, for three Months, at the rate of---	60000 *l.*
On *Scotland*, for three Months, at ———	05000 *l.*
On *Ireland*, for three Months, at ———	05000 *l.*
On *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* for three years :	
England to pay ———	35000 *l.*
Scotland, ———	06000 *l.*
Ireland, ———	09000 *l.*

An Act for continuing of Tunnage and Poundage.

An Act for preventing the multiplicity of buildings in and about the Suburbs of *London*, and within ten miles thereof: a whole years Revenue to be presently payd, for dwelling or out-Houses that had been reared upon new Foundations since the year 1620.

An Act for Excise of merchandize imported; Hobby-Horses, Childrens Rattles, and old shirts not exempted.

These, with many more, being at once presented to the Protector for his consent,

sent, were by him passed; at which time he made this short Speech to the Parliaments Speaker.

I perceive, that among these many Acts of Parliament, there hath been a very great care had by the Parliament to provide for the just and necessary support of the Commonwealth, by these Bills for levying of money now brought to me, which I have given my consent unto: and understanding it hath been the practice of those who have been chief Governours, to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons, their care and regard of the Publike, I do very heartily and thankefully acknowledge their kindness herein.

The Protectors thanks for this, could do no less then animate the Parliament to compleat the great work they were about for settlement of the Nation. This business had been dayly debated, and was almost brought to perfection, when on a sudden, a Petition was ushered into the House by a worthy Citizen of *London*, to have his Highness one Tittle higher in his Title. Hereupon, the great Machine of

Englands Government, called the Petition and Advice, was haſtened away to the Protectors view, with a deſire that his Highneſs would be pleaſed to magnifie himſelf with the Title of KING. Alas! what thing more averſe to his nature could be preſented to him, then this? It was not to ſit in high places, that made him undertake the Government, but rather to be a Servant to his Countrey: Monarchie he knew was as odious to the Army, as (according to the proverb) comparisons among the people; and therefore he could not look upon this otherways then as a Temptation to try the ſtrength of his reſolution againſt that which before had like to have wrackt the peoples Liberties; which (ſaid he) undoubtedly had fallen out, had not he ſtept into the ſea of bloud, and with invincible Arms preſerved the Ship of State from thoſe Piratical inchroachers that were ready to board her. Yet to do nothing unadviſedly, nor without mature deliberation, his Highneſs took time to return the Parliament this poſitive anſwer (to their liquoriſh deſire) which he with much meekneſs gave them in the Painted Chamber,

Chamber, in theſe words: *That he could not undertake the Government with the Title of King.* Upon this, the Parliament voted that *Protector* ſhould be the ſtile of the chief Magiſtrate.

All things being now brought to maturity in the *Petition and Advice*, and nothing wanting to make it a Law, but onely the Protectors condeſcention; a Committee was ſent to deſire a Conference with his Highneſs: which he granted, and appointed the place of meeting to be in the Painted Chamber. *May* 25. 1657. his Highneſs (attended by his chief Officers) came accordingly; and there the Speaker Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, preſented him with the Parliaments *Petition and Advice*; the ſubſtance whereof was as followeth:

1. *That his* Highneſs *under the Title of* Lord Protector, *would be pleaſed to exerciſe the office of chief Magiſtrate over* England, &c. *and to govern according to all things in this Petition and Advice: alſo, that in his lifetime he would appoint the Perſon that*

should succeed in the Government after his death.

2. That he would call Parliaments consisting of two Houses, once in three years at farthest.

3. That those Persons who are legally chosen by a free election of the people to serve in Parliament, may not be excluded from doing their duties, but by consent of that House whereof they are Members.

4. In the fourth, was shewn the qualifications of Parliament-Members.

5. In the fifth, the Power of the other House.

6. That the Lawes and Statutes of the Land be observed and kept; and no Laws altered, suspended, abrogated, repealed, or new Law made, but by Act of Parliament,

7. For a constant yearly revenue, ten hundred thousand pounds to be settled for maintenance of the Navy and Army, and three hundred thousand pounds for support of the Government, besides other

other temporary supplies, as the Commons in Parliament shall see the necessities of the Nations to require.

8. That the number of the Protectors Council shall not be above one and twenty; whereof the Quorum to be seven, and not under.

9. The chief Officers of State, as Chancellors, Keepers of the great Seal, &c. to be approved of by Parliament.

10. That his Highness would encourage a Godly Minstery in these Nations; and that such as do revile or disturb them in the Worship of God, may be punished according to Law; and where the Lawes are defective, new ones to be made in that behalf.

11. That the Protestant Christian Religion, as it is contained in the Old and New Testaments, be asserted and held forth for the publike profession of these Nations, and no other; and that a Confession of Faith be agreed upon and recommended to the people of these Nations; and none be permitted by words or

writings to revile or reproach the said Confession of Faith, &c.

This is the sum of the most material matters contained in the Parliaments Advice; which the Protector liked very well, and was resolved to follow; yet with much reluctancy in himself, considering the great burthen that was to be borne upon his shoulders, which he had rather any man should bear then himself: but being it was the pleasure of Parliament that none but he must be the buckler to defend *Englands* Priviledges, he past their Petition, and declared unto the whole Assembly, as followeth:

That he came thither that day, not as to a Triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that ever he had in all his Life, being to undertake one of the greatest burthens that ever was laid upon the back of any humane creature; so that without the support of the Almighty, he must sinke under the weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of these Nations. This being so,

so, he must ask help of the Parliament, and of those that fear God, that by their prayers he might receive assistance from God: for nothing else could enable him to the discharge of so great a duty and trust.

That seeing this is but an Introduction to the carrying on of the Government of these Nations, and there being many things which cannot be supplied without the assistance of Parliament, it was his duty to ask their help in them; not that he doubted: for the same Spirit that had led the Parliament to this, would easily suggest the same to them. For his part, nothing would have induced him to take this unsupportable burthen to flesh and blood, but that he had seen in the Parliament a great care in doing those things, which might really answer the ends that we have engaged for, and make clearly for the liberty of the Nations, and of the Interest and preservation of all such as fear God under various Forms. And if these Nations be no

thankful to them for their care therein, it will fall as a sin on their heads.

Yet there are some things wanting that tend to reformation, to the discountenancing vice, & the encouragement of vertue; but he spake not this as in the least doubting their progress, but as one that doth heartily desire, to the end God may Crown their work, that in their own time, and with what speed they judge fit, these things may be provided for.

This Speech being ended, the Members returned again to the House: and in few dayes after, the Speaker received a Letter from the Protector, desiring the Parliament to adjourn their sitting till further time. Hereupon, the speedy Inauguration of his Highness was concluded upon. Accordingly, *June* 26. 1657. all things being prepared in *Westminster*-Hall for this great solemnity, the Protector (about two of the clock in the after-noon) went by water to the Lords House; and after some short retirement into a room near the Painted Chamber, he came forth, attended

ded by the chief Grandees of his Court: all these being marshalled into Ranks and Files, marched away with his Highness to the place appointed in *Westminster*-Hall; where the Protector having taken his standing, under a cloath of Estate, the Speaker (Sir *Thomas Widdrington*) in the name of the Parliament presented to him a Robe of Purple-Velvet lined with Ermines, a Bible, a Sword, and a Scepter, (all which were precious tokens of the Parliaments favor) at the delivery of these things, the Speaker made a short Comment upon them to the Protector, which he divided into four parts, as follofolloweth.

1. The Robe of Purple, *this is an embleme of Magistracy, and imports Righteousness and Justice: When you have put on this Vestment, I may say you are a Gown-man. This* Robe *is of a mixt colour, to shew the mixture of Justice and Mercy. Indeed, a Magistrate must have two hands:* Plectentem, & amplectentem.

2. The Bible *is a Book that contains*

tains the Holy Scriptures, in which you have the happiness to be well vers'd. This Book of Life consists of two Testaments, the Old and New: the first is Christum Velatum; *in the second, is* Christum Revelatum: *it is a Book of Books, and doth contain both Precepts and Examples for good Government.*

3. *Here is a* Scepter, *not unlike a staff: for you are to be a staff to the weak and poor: it is of antient use in this kind. It's said in Scripture, that* the Scepter shall not depart from Judah. *It was of like use in other Kingdoms:* Homer *the Greeke Poet calls Kings and Princes,* Scepter-Bearers.

4. *The last thing is a* Sword, *not a Military, but Civil Sword; it is a Sword rather of defence then offence; not to defend your self onely, but others also. If I might presume to fix a Motto upon this Sword, it should be this:* Ego sum domini Protectoris, ad protegendum populum meum.

This

This Speech being ended, the Speaker took the Bible, and gave the Protector his Oath: afterwards, Mr. *Manton* made a prayer, wherein he recommended the Protector, Parliament, Council, the Forces by Land and Sea, Government, and people of the three Nations, to the Protection of God. Which being ended, the Heralds by sound of Trumpet proclaimed his Highness Protector of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging: requiring all persons to yeeld him due obedience. At the end of all, the Protector with his Train returned (a joyful man, no doubt) to White-Hall, and the Members to the Parliament-House, where they prorogued their sitting to the next *January*.

There is no humane joy free from the mixture of some sorrow; yea, many times it falleth out to be equivalent to (if not superabounding) the joy it felt. So it fell out here: for though the Protector might rejoyce at this acquisition of a Scepter, yet the death of General *Blake* (like a dish of cold water cast into the boyling Pot of his rising fortunes) could do no less then mitigate the heat of it, and cover

cover the Courts countenance with a Cypress Vail.

This noble *Blake* in the beginning of *Englands* distractions, sufficiently testified a high resolution, in his almost miraculous defending of *Lime* and *Taunton* against the furie of Prince *Maurice* and the Lord *Gorings* Armies. Afterwards, the worth of this inestimable great Commander being taken notice of in Parliament, they resolved, it should not long lie hid at home, but shew it self abroad; and therefore he was advanced to be one of their Generals at Sea. At his enterance into this Office, he pent up Prince *Rupert* in the chief Port of *Portugal*, and hunted him from Sea to Sea, till he had reduced those ships with him, which before had revolted from the Parliament.

This was but petty Play, to after-Labours: For no sooner did the quarrel begin between the two Re-publikes, *England*, and the United Provinces, but *Blake* was the first that resisted their arrogancie in the *Downs*; and ever after continued a fortunate Vindicator of his Countreys Priviledges, from the incroachments of insulting Neighbours. The last part he ever

acted in a Sea of blood, was against the *Spaniards* at *Sancta Cruz*; here with 25 Sail, he fought (as it were in a ring) with seven Forts, a Castle, and 16 ships, many of them being of greater force then most of those ships *Blake* carryed in against them: yet in spite of opposition, he soon calcined the Enemy, and brought his Fleet back again to the Coast of *Spain* full fraught with honour. But what Commander is able to repel the stroaks of Death? This is he that doth conquer the Conquerours, and level the Honours of the mightiest Monarchs with the meanest Captains: there is no withstanding his force; for all must fall; *Blake* himself is compel'd to strike the top-sail and yeeld, now death hath got the weather-gage of his crasie body; so that being no longer able to hold out, he expired at the entrance into *Plymouth*.

He was a man wholly devoted to his Countreys Service; resolute in his undertakings, and most faithful in the performance: with him, valour seldom mist its reward, nor cowardize its punishment. When news was brought him of a metamorphosis in the State at home, he would then in-

incourage the Sea-men to be most vigilant abroad: for (said he,) *'Tis not our duty to minde State-Affairs, but to keep Forreigners from fooling us.* In all his Expeditions, the wind seldom deceived him, but most an end stood his friend; especially in his last undertaking at the *Canary Islands*. To his last, he lived a single life, never being espoused to any but his Countreys quarrels. As he lived bravely, he dyed gloriously, and was buryed in *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel; yet enjoying at this time no other Monument, but what is reared by his Valour; which Time it self can hardly deface.

The Lord Protector having now ensured his own Greatness, he thought it good to confer Titles of Honour upon his Children; and to that purpose sent his Son *Henry* into *Ireland* with the Title of Lord Deputy. This young Gentleman in his Government ruled with so much discretion, that in small time he had brought that disordered Nation into the most hopeful condition of a flourishing State. But a grand Catastrophe afterwards falling upon the *Cromwels* Government, his Authority reverted into the hands of a

subsequent Parliament.

The time of the prorogation of the present Parliament being expired, the Members appeared again at *Westminster* the 20th of *January* 1657. and did presently receive into the House their fellow-Members which the Protector had before secluded from sitting in the first Session of this Parliament. This they did, upon the fourth Article of the Petition and Advice, by which, *no Members legally chosen, should be excluded from performance of their duty, but by consent of Parliament.*

In this interval of the Parliaments sitting, the Protector had provided his Peers which were to make up the other House, who accordingly took Seats in the Lords House: but with so much regret to the House of Commons, whose complexion was quite changed from what it had been formerly, that now they would not own the work of their creation, but looked upon it as a by-blow, a thing by chance, or a Pageant Parliament set up on purpose to mock them. In this surly humour the Protector let them run on for near a fortnight together; till at last they made his Highness wince with handling

his Prerogative-Royal; which he being not able to endure, in a fume flew from *White-Hall* to the Houſe of Lords; and having ſent for the Commons before him, he told them, *That it concerned his intereſt, as much as the Publike Peace and Tranquillity, to terminate this Parliament; and therefore he did now put an end to their ſitting.* Thus he blew them away with a ſudden puff of winde from his mouth.

But now comes into play a terrible Plot; no leſs place then *London* was to be fired, and in the hurly-burly of confuſion that it would make, muſt the Tower be taken, the Mews ſeized, and all the Souldiers about the City be ſacrificed to the fury of —— The Protector being well acquainted with theſe kinde of machinations, knew very well how to ſtifle them in the birth; and therefore he ſent preſently for the Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Councel of the City of *London*, to forewarne them of the approaching danger, and to Commiſſionate their *Militia* to raiſe Forces for ſecurity of the City, and by their vigilancy to counter-plot theſe Plotters. Upon this, many perſons were apprehended, a High Court of Juſtice

ſtice erected, and Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Dr. *Hewyt*, Mr. *Mordant*, and many inferiour fellows who were to have been Commanders in the execution of this deſign, were brought to Trial. Sir *Henry Slingsby* and the Doctor were both condemned to looſe their Heads upon Tower-Hill; and ſix others (of the meaner ſort) were adjudged to be hanged, drawn and quartered: but of theſe, onely three ſuffered: one in Tower-Street, another in Cheapſide, and the third before the Exchange in *London*. For the procuring of Sir *Henry Slingsby* and Dr. *Hewyts* Pardon, great endeavors were uſed: the Miniſters of *London* petitioned the Protector for the Doctors life, and many great perſons for the Knights: But the Protectors ears were deaf to all intreaties made in their behalf; ſo that nothing could ſatisfy his anger, but the lives of thoſe two conſiderable perſons.

Prodigies in nature, as they are ſeldom ſeen, ſo when they happen, are ſure preſages and fore-tokens of alterations that ſhall fall out in the place where they do appear. At this time, *June* 2. 1658. arrived an ominous Whale in the River of

Thames, (not to do *Homage to his Highneſs* (this was a fond conceit) as one would have it) but rather to forewarn him of his end (which not long after happened.) This fiſh, contrary to its nature, which is to return to Sea when it ſents the freſh water, came ſwimming up the River againſt the tide as far as *Greenwich*, where it was taken, and found to be fifty eight foot in length, and every way proportionable.

Flanders being the Scœne of War, wherein the united Forces of *England* and *France* did intend this Champaign to act mighty matters; in the beginning of *May*, *D' Aumont* a French Marſhal, hoping to get a good bargain, turns Merchant, and trucks for *Oſtend*. Mony, as it over-turns all things, was at this time made uſe of to corrupt the Noble blood of the Souldiers of that Gariſon, and make them turn Traytors to this their truſt: but the ſequel will ſhew how far honeſty is above treachery. The Chief Factor that drove on this bargain, was one Colonel *Spindeler*: he having acquainted the Governour of *Calice* that *Oſtend* was to be ſold, this Monſieurs mouth

mouth preſently watered at the motion, and therefore acquaints the Court how a rich commodity was now offered to ſale at a cheap rate. The French Grandees preſently bite at the bait, little doubting the hook was daub'd over with this pretty pretence, that the Governour, Magiſtrates and Citizens of *Oſtend*, being grieved at the Engliſh keeping their Coaſt blockt up with Ships, to rid themſelves of this continual trouble, they would rather be under *France*, then remain any longer in their preſent condition. This motion being made, they came to a price, and agreed upon a good round ſum of mony, which Marſhal *D' Aumont* was appointed to pay, and take poſſeſſion of the place at a time agreed on. He being well apaid in the imployment, ſlily ſlipt from *Calice* with three Ships fraught with Souldiers, and ſoon after fell in amongſt a Squadron of Engliſh Ships commanded by Vice-Admiral *Goodſon*, then lying near *Oſtend*. The Engliſh Commander ſeeing how confident theſe the Protectors Confederates were in the deſign they went about, was willing to aſſiſt them with Sea-men, the better to facilitate their

landing. Whil'ſt *D' Aumont* was preparing to entet the Town accoroing to agreement, the *Spaniards* within (being a courteous Nation where they take affection) were very active in making preparations for the entertainment of their French Gueſts: to this end, the Governour of *Oſtend* cauſed the Inhabitants to keep their Houſes, and not to ſtir from thence till they heard the Bells Ring in the City Steeple: then the great Church, and Capuchin Friars Church, with many more ſecret places, were crowded with cluſters of Souldiers; theſe were to give the French a *Spaniſh* Fig at their landing. All things being in readineſs on both ſides, *May* the 4th in the morning, ſome of the French-men (that were before received into the Town) went out and invited their Countrey-men to come in. *D'Aumont* upon this, and the ſight of white Colours placed upon the Walls, (for Decoys,) did not in the leaſt diſtruſt, but took all to be gold that gliſter'd. Hereupon, the tide beginning to ſerve, about ten in the morning, four French Veſſels, a ſhip of *Dover*, and ſix or ſeven Boats from the Engliſh ſhips, ſailed into the Haven;

and

and preſently the French landing upon the Key, were in a triſe drawn up in Battalia. Upon this, certain Spaniſh Officers went to enquire for the money that was promiſed them: to which the French returned anſwer, That it was ready in one of their ſhips. This being as much as could be expected, the Officers returned into the Town again, and immediately ſhewed the French an *a la mode* trapanning trick; for the great Guns from two Batteries (one of which was mounted with twelve, the other with eight,) let flie their murthering ſhot upon the poor French Foot; and to compleat their miſery, the Bells rung (as before appointed) which brought the Souldiers and Towns-men about their ears. The French now (when it was too late) ſeeing how hard a bargain they were like to have, made ſome ſmall ſtir at the beginning: but finding it fruitleſs to reſiſt, they layd down their Arms, and ſubmitted on quarter. Thus much for the taking of *Oſtend*.

The ſlie *Spaniard* having thus ſlurred their Enemy, it raiſed in the French an unquenchable thirſt of revenge; and therefore to quit ſcores, the whole French

 and

and Englisſh Armies joyned together, reſolving to wreak their wrath upon the Town of *Dunkirk*. This place may be called, *The Key of Flanders*, it being a Sea-Port-Town, and (of all men) beſt known to Engliſh Merchants, whoſe ſhips were frequently carryed prize into it. But now to put a *finit* to their infinite Loſſes, a formidable Siege was framed before it, which hotly alarm'd the *Spaniards* in all their Quarters.

Hereupon, *Don John* of *Auſtria* takes theſe two things into ſerious conſideration: firſt, the importance of the place: for its Situation, it was a Key to *Flanders*, a frontier to *France* (next after *Graveling*) and a certain ſupply of moneys, by continual booties brought in thither by his men of War. On the other ſide, ſhould he loſe *Dunkirk*, the Engliſh (in whoſe poſſeſſion it would be put) had a door opened, and fit opportunity to bid fair for all *Flanders*; here might an Army be landed from *England*, and from hence incurſions made to the Walls of *Bruxels*. Mean time, the Spaniſh Ports, *Newport* and *Oſtend*, could expect no leſs then to be perpetually infeſted by men of

of war; which would utterly ſpoyl their Trade, and ruine the Inhabitants: theſe and ſuch like conſiderations mounted *Don John* upon fixt reſolutions to undertake the relief of *Dunkirk*, though it were to the hazard of his whole Army.

Mean while, the Confederate Forces beleaguering this ſtrong place, did in a ſmall time (working like Moles) run their Trenches to the Spaniſh Counterſcarpe; and ſtill encroaching upon the Wall, they promiſed fair to a ſpeedy accompliſhment of their Deſign. Theſe things were well known to the Spaniſh Army, who now ſaw the relief of *Dunkirk* would admit of no delay; for were it not ſpeedily accompliſhed, the Town of neceſſity muſt lie proſtrate to the Enemies mercie. The bettter to effect which therefore, *Don John* the Spaniſh General having drained his Gariſons to fill up his Army, ſuddenly advanced with 15000 men to the relief of his diſtreſſed friends; theſe by a ſwift march' through *Fuernes*, quickly ſeated themſelves upon ſome ſandy Hills within an Engliſh mile and a half of *Turine* the French Generals Camp. The report of the Enemies near advance, made both

the French and Englisſh Officers conſult upon the beſt courſe that could be taken to repel the Force that now ſate upon their Skirts, indeavor to fruſtrate their labours in the preſent Siege, and render it fruitleſs. Time for conſultation being ſhort, (for it was on the over-night) they agreed unanimouſly to give the *Spaniards* the next morning a warm breakfaſt. All this night, the Officers of both Nations were very active to provide for the enſuing action; the Army being found ſufficient to fight a Field Battel, and at the ſame time to keep the beſieged from ranging abroad. For this ſervice moſt of the Engliſh were drawn from their entrenchment; and being joyned to the French Horſe, they marched againſt the Enemy. In the morning both Armies being come near together, it was perceived, the *Spaniards* poſture was rather Defenſive then Offenſive: but the Engliſh Commanders knowing it was no time to dally, and being deſirous withall to ſhew the diſcipline of their own Country, (which is to make ſeeing and fighting all one) did preſently mount the Sand-Hills with a forlorn of three hundred Muſquetiers commanded by

by Captain *Devaux*: after theſe followed that courageous Commander Lieutenant-Col. *Fenwick*, with the Lord General *Lockharts* Regiment. The *Spaniards* perceiving that the reſolution of theſe men was by degrees to creep within them, did as highly reſolve to keep them off at the Armes end, by pouring down perpetual vollies of great and ſmall ſhot.

General *Lockhart* knowing what duty belonged to his Office, did here ſhew the part of a noble Commander: for finding the French unwilling to enter, now the Engliſh had opened the gap; and on the other ſide, ſeeing the gallantry of his own Regiment, who although they could no longer gain ground, yet ſtill kept their ſtation, notwithſtanding they were expoſed to the enemies aſſaults, he cauſed a conſiderable Brigade of freſh men to re-inforce thoſe that had firſt born the brunt of the Battle. This Reſerve (through Gen. *Lockhart's* care) coming in time to the relief of their tired fellows, made no long delay, but fell into the Spaniſh foot with the butt-end of their Muſquets; who not being able to withſtand their courage, left the Field, and

and fled towards *Fuernes*. The French Horse seeing the good success of the English Foot, did likewise make a charge upon the Spanish Cavalry, who being disheartned with the routing of their Infantry, thought it their safest course to run after them. But the French shewed excellent valour in pursuit: for the day being won, none durst stand in their way: the poor *Spaniards* were sadly handled by them, and hew'd down on all sides. Being extreamly scatter'd in their flight, both the English and French were put to the trouble of gleaning for Prisoners, which at last were found to be 800 Officers, and about 2000 private Souldiers. How many were slain, is uncertain: for the Conquerours not being willing to loose time in numbering them, made hast back again in triumph to their former siege.

To particularize in setting forth the gallantry thus expressed on the English side in this encounter, would cause me to exceed my wonted brevity: let it therefore suffice to give an instance thereof in the personal valour of two only; *viz.* Col. *Jones*, and Major General *Drummond* a Scotch-man, who were most eminent therein: these two Gentlemen came at first to *Dunkirk* only to satisfy their curiosity; but this fight happning in the time of their stay, it raised in them a noble resolution to be no longer idle Spectators, but brave partakers in their Country-mens labors. For Col. *Jones* his part, he at the first onset charged on foot with Lieutenant-Colonel *Fenwick*; and after mounting a Horse, fell so desperately on the *Spaniards*, that being too far engaged amongst them, he was made their Prisoner; but afterwards being exchanged, the Protector made him Knight and Baronet in recompence of his valour. Major General *Drummond's* spirit being little inferiour to the best in the Field, behaved himself with much bravery; which was so much the more, by how much the less he was concerned in the Quarrel; no obligation inducing him to venture his life, except it were the present engagement of some friends that bound him (through respect to them) to partake of their dangers; which afterwards proved his own death: for in the beginning of the fight, his Horse was shot under him; and presently after, having

having mounted a second, he was by an unhappy push of a Pike dismounted again; yet still prosecuting the service more then minding his own safety, he received a desperate wound that brought him to the grave.

But now to return: The Army having vanquished the Relievers, did renew their attempts with extraordinary vigor upon the Town of *Dunkirk*. The Marquess *de Leda* (Governour thereof) seeing how hardly he was beset, could not contain himself within the narrow compass of his own Walls, but having a desire to beat up the French mens Quarters, he suddenly sallied out of the Town with a strong Party; but alas, all proved to no purpose; the Fates cannot be withstood: neither was he free from errour in the attempt. For as if in a natural body (upon apprehension of danger) the vital spirits retire to the heart, life is preserved; but if they forsake that, and depart to the extremities, death ensues: so this *Don* (being the life of the rest, as indeed all Generals and Governours are to their Armies or Garisons) sallying out in person (that should have been encouraging those in

in the Town) procured his own death, and the miscarriage of his design; therein shewing more valour then discretion. For upon his death, a cold damp seized upon the *Dunkirkers*, who seeing what prodigious Balls of fire were flung out of the English Morter-Pieces into the Town, were sorely terrified thereby; and so much the more, in regard of their not being accustomed to such stratagems; his Holiness the Pope having prohibited the use of Granado's amongst his Catholikes, to prevent burning of Churches. Considering therefore that the longer they stood out, the harder would be their termes; And seeing all hope of relief by Land was lost, the Sea secured against them, and daily discouragements arising every way; therefore, to prevent further inconveniences, the *Spaniards* desired a present Capitulation; which being easily granted, it was agreed that the Town should be surrendered upon these following Articles:

1. *That the Town should be yeelded up, with all the great Guns, their stores of Victuals, Magazine of Arms and Ammunition,*

munition, without any imbezelment.

2. *The Officers and Soulaers to march out with Drums beating, Colours flying, two Pieces of Ordnance, and their Baggage.*

3. *That they should have the liberty to march with a Convoy to conduct them to S.* Oners.

4. *The Inhabitants to remain indemnified in their Persons and Goods, and to enjoy their former Customs and Priviledges for two years, and not to be molested touching the exercise of their Religion.*

These Articles being ratified by the King of *France*; this strong Town of *Dunkirk* was delivered up into the hands of the English, by the King of *France* and Cardinal in Person, upon Tuesday, *June* 25. 1658. The *Spaniards* at the same time quitting it, there marched out one thousand horse and foot; and seven hundred more, that had been wounded in the siege, followed after, as their strength gave them leave: The English having possession of the Town, found in it 140 great Guns, all Brass except eight, with Ammunition and Provision sufficient to maintain

maintain it for a great while longer then it was kept.

The *Naisby* Frigat riding Admiral of the English Fleet in *Dunkirk* road, at that time when the Town was delivered up, Cardinal *Mazarin*'s curiosity was whetted with reports of this stately Ship, insomuch that he desired to give her a visit: which General *Mountague* understanding, he invited the Cardinal and other French Lords aboard: they all most readily accepted of it, and returned many complements (which the French are never unprovided of) for the singular favour offered them. The time appointed being come, the Cardinal in his Pontificalibus, with a great Train of Noble-men, went in Boats, to see the Ship: at his lanching forth, the English Frigats, in the bravest equipage they possibly could be put, saluted him with the roaring noise of great Guns, so continuing firing as he past by them. Approaching near the *Naisby*, the English General with many Officers and Gentlemen met him in their Boats, and conducted him aboard. His Eminency and the rest being landed in this floating Island, the General treated them

them with a noble Banquet, at which the Cardinal shewed so much abstemiousness, that of all the varieties provided for his entertainment, he tasted little, and onely drank of Rhenish Wine: afterwards General *Montague* shewed him all the parts and places of this excellent ship; which so highly pleased the Cardinal, that he protested, *Of all the sights he ever saw, none in his life pleased him like this.* With this great satisfaction he returned again to the Shore; and as at his comming, (for a welcome) so again at his departure, all the Men of War gave him their broad sides for a farewel.

The yeer gliding thus away in Victories and Triumphs, *Dunkirk* inforc'd to grow under the shade of the English Oake, and all prospering so well in *Flanders*, as if *Mars* himselfe had born the English Banners, caused endearing congratulations mutually to pass between the *Protector* and his *Cozens* of *France*. The Lord *Fawconbridge* being made one of the blood by Matrimony, carryed the first complement to *Calice*, and there presented it to the King; which was quickly after returned back again by Monsieur

Mancini nephew to Cardinal *Mazarine*, and the Duke *de Crequi*: these arrived at *London* to present their respects; which having done, they returned with high satisfaction. These being departed, another far-less-welcom Messenger arrived at the English Court, even Death it self, who came to require of our great *Cromwel* what was his due by Nature. Him no Arguments can perswade, nor Policies evade: here Prayers and Tears prevail not, neither can money bribe him: Promises of Preferment signifie nothing, with him; for he lays all earthly Honour in the dust. His fatal Sickle cuts down all.

The first Symptomes of this great mans last sickness, appeared presently upon the death of his Daughter *Cleypole*; whose end is thought by many to have hastened his dissolution. About the beginning of *October*, his distemper discovered it self to be an Ague; which conspiring with a combination of other malignant distempers, so depressed his vitals, that he fell into many Trances, before his final *exit*; the intervals of which (wherein he gained some repose) he spent in conferences with Dr. *Owen*, Dr. *Goodwin*, and several other

Divines, and with his Privie Counsellors; with these, about the Succession here; with the other, about his own possession hereafter. To succeed him in the Protectorship he appointed his eldest Son *Richard*.

In the evening before his departure, he was heard to pray thus.

Lord, I am a miserable Creature, yet I am in Covenant with thee through grace; and I may, I will come unto thee for thy people. Lord, thou hast made me (though very unworthy) a mean Instrument to do them some good, and thee service; and many of them had too high value of me, though others would be glad of my fall: but Lord, howsoever thou dispossest of me, do good for them. Give consistencie of Judg-

Judgment, one heart, and mutual love unto them. Let the name of Christ be glorious throughout the world. Teach those who look with much affection to thy Instrument, to depend more upon thee. Pardon such as delight to trample upon the ashes of a worm: for they are thy people too: And Pardon the folly of this short Prayer, even for Jesus Christ his sake.

Afterwards his sickness violently increasing upon him, it separated his soul from his body on Friday the third of *September* 1658. near three of the clock in the afternoon: death then became a Conquerour, and overcame him, that before had vanquished the Scotch Armies twice on the same day of the year.

The Corpse, presently after his expiration, being embalmed, and wrapped up

in a Sheet of Lead, was on the twenty sixt of *September*, about ten at night, privately removed from *White-Hall* in a mourning Herse, attended by his domestick Servants to *Somerset-House*, where it remained in private for some days, till all things were in readiness for publike view; which being accomplished, his Effigies was with great state & magnificence exposed openly; multitudes daily flocking to see the sight, which appeared in this order. The first room where the Spectators entered, was wholly hung with black; at the upper end whereof, was placed a Cloath and Chair of State: In like manner, was the second and third rooms, all having Scutcheons very thick upon the Walls, and Guards of Partizans placed in each room for people to pass through. The fourth room was compleatly hung with black Velvet, the Ceiling being of the same: here lay the Effigies, with a large Canopy of black Velvet fringed, which hung over it. The Waxen Picture lying upon it's back, was apparel'd in a rich Suit of Velvet, robed in a little Robe of Purple-Velvet, laced with a rich gold Lace, and furr'd with Ermins; upon the Kirtle was a large Robe of

of Purple-Velvet, laced and furr'd as the former, with rich strings and tassels of gold. The Kirtle was girt with a rich embroydered Belt, wherein was a Sword bravely guilt and hatched with gold, which hung by the side of this *fine thing*. In the right hand was a Scepter, in the left a Globe; upon his head was placed a Purple-Velvet Cap furr'd with Ermines, sutable to the Robes: behind the head, was placed a rich Chair of Tissued Gold, whereon was placed an Imperial Crown, which lay high, that the people might behold it. The Bed of State whereon he lay, was covered with a large Pall of black Velvet, under which was a Holland sheet, borne up by six stools covered with Cloath of gold. About the Bed was placed a compleat suit of Armes, and at the feet of the Effigies stood his Crest. This bed had fixt about it an Ascent of two steps; a little from thence stood eight silver Candlesticks about five foot high; with white wax Tapers standing in them, of three foot long. All these things were environed with Rails and Ballasters four-square, covered with Velvet; at each corner whereof there was erected an

upright Pillar, which bore on their tops Lions and Dragons, who held in their Paws Streamers crowned. On both sides of the Bed were set up in sockets, four great Standards of the Protectors Armes, with Banners and Banrols of War, painted upon Taffaty. About the Bed stood men in Mourning bare-headed; and without the Rails, others to receive people in, and turn them out again.

When this Shew had been seen for many weeks together, the Scœne was then altered; the Effigies being removed into another room, it was there set up, standing upon an Ascent under a Cloath of State; being vested as it was before, lying: onely now his Purple-Velvet Cap was changed for a Crown. In the same manner as formerly, were men waiting upon him bare-headed. In this posture he continued until the 23 of *November*, which day was appointed to carry him with all solemnity to *Westminster-Abby*.

This great Funeral was performed with very great Majesty, in this manner following. All things being in readiness, the Waxen Picture of the Protector (with a Crown on his head, a Sword by his side,

a Globe and Scepter in his Hands) was taken down from his standing, and laid in an open Chariot, covered all over with black Velvet, adorned with Plumes and Scutcheons, and drawn by six Horses in black Velvet. The Streets from *Somerset-House to Westminster-Abby*, were guarded by Souldiers in new Red Coats and black Buttons, with their Ensigns wrapt in Cypres: which made a Lane to keep off Spectators from crouding the Actors.

For the Procession.

In the first place went a Marshal attended by his deputy, and thirteen more on horseback, to clear the way: after him followed the poor men of *Westminster* by two and two, in Mourning Gowns and Hoods: next to them, the servants of those Persons of quality that attended the Funeral. These were followed by the Protectors late domestick servants, with his Barge-men and Water-men. Then came the servants of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*. Following them, were Gentlemen Attendants on Forraign Ambassadors and publike Ministers. After

marched the poor Knights of *Windsor* in Gowns and Hoods : then the Clerks, Secretaries, and Officers of the Army, Admiralty, Treasury, Navie, and Exchequer : next, the Commissioners of the Excise, of the Army, and Committee of the Navie. Then the Commissioners for approbation of Preachers; behinde these followed all the Officers, Messengers, and Clerks belonging to the Privie-Council, and both Houses of Parliament. Next in order followed

The Protectors Physitians.

The Head-Officers of the Army.

The Officers and Aldermen of *London.*

The Masters of Chancery, and his Highness Council at Law.

The Judges of Admiralty, Judges in *Wales*, and Master of Requests.

The Barons of the Exchequer, Judges of both Benches, and Lord Mayor of *London.*

The Persons Allied in Blood to the Protector, and the Members of the other House.

The publike Ministers of Forraign Princes.

The *Holland* Ambassador alone, having his

his Train held up by four Gentlemen.

Then the *Portugal* Ambassador, and the *French* Ambassador, in like manner.

The Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal.

The Commissioners of the Treasury.

The Lords of his Highness Privie-Council.

All the Grandees were in close Mourning, the rest but in ordinary.

The whole Assembly passing along in divisions, were distinguished by Drums, Trumpets, Banners and Horses, whereof there were eleven in all, four being coverd with black Cloath, and seven in Velvet. These passing in comely order, at length came the Chariot with the Effigies, on each side of which were six Banner-Rols (twelve in all) born by several Persons; And likewise several Pieces of the Protectors Armor carried by eight Officers of the Army, attended by the Heralds. Next went *Garter* Principal King of Armes, attended by a Gentleman on each hand bare-headed. Now came the chief Mourner. And to conclude all, came the Horse of Honour, in very rich

Trappings

Trappings imbroydered on Crimson-Velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow Plumes of Feathers, being led by the Master of the Horse. The Rear of this brave Shew was brought up by the Protectors Guard of Halberdiers, the Warders of the Tower, and a Troop of Horse.

The Effigies in this manner being brought to the West-Gate of the *Abby-Church* of *Westminster*, it was taken from the Chariot by ten Gentlemen, who carried it to the East-end of the Church, and there placed the Picture in a most Magnificent Structure built in the same Form as one before had been (on the like occasion) for King *James*, but much more Stately.

Thus much for the History of *O. Cromwel*: Now follows

His Character.

WE finde him in the beginning of *England*'s Distractions, a most active Instrument to carry on the *Cause* for *King* and *Parliament*; this

this pretence holding water, and proving prosperous, he then became the main stickler for Liberty of Conscience without any limitation. This toleration became his master-piece in Politicks; for it procured him a party that stuck close in all Cases of necessity. These Libertines in general, being divided into several particular Fractions (as *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, *Socinians*, *Millenaries*, *Antisabbatarians*, *Ranters*, *Quakers*, *Seekers*, and God knows how many more) did all of them serve as steps to mount our Protector to the highest pitch of Preferment. After he had made use of all that could augment his Interest, then Humility condescended to look thorow his fingers at a Crown: but still waving the ayrie Title of *King*, he rather chose to accept the substantial Power of *Protector*. The *Primum mobile* of his desires herein being somewhat satisfied, then Parliaments were rallied, and by him as familiarly routed; wherein he shewed himself to be in *Policie* as far above the *Peoples Capacities*, as *Saul* in *Stature* was above the *Israelites*. In his governing of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, it is obvious to all, he studied *Men*

more

more then *Books*; so that his turn was ſerved in all Offices: parts advanced few; but he that would never queſtion Commands, but act freely his Intereſts, was ſufficiently qualified for preferment: Yet this he would do, when Embaſſadours were to be made, or Forces ſent into Forraign parts, then ſutable ſpirits fitting the Imployments, were always cal'd out to ſerve; as the Lord *Loekhart* for *France*, and *Reynolds* for *Flanders*: the firſt going in quality of Embaſſadour, the other as General.

In the choyce of his Privie-Council, much cunning might be ſeen: yet he never relyed ſo much on their Counſels, as to have it ſaid, *England* was governed by a *Council* and *Protector*: for he made the world know, it was by *Protector* and *Council*.

In his riſe, he never cut down one ſtep before another was built to ſupport him: this was ſeen in his levelling the *Long Parliament*, and preſent ſpring of the next *Little One*: then, they being diſſolved, in comes an *Inſtrument* for his own *Government*. In all theſe Changes, he took time by the foretop, not ſuffering ſuch an *In-*

terregnum as might encourage the Peoples minds to work him any miſchief.

His Speeches were for the moſt part ambiguous, eſpecially in publike meetings; wherein he rather left others to pick out the meaning, then did it himſelf. But when Offenders came under his own examination, then would he ſpeak plain Engliſh, and declare his power unto them in a ranting ſtile.

Secrecie in carrying on Deſigns, is the principal part of a Prince: at this he was excellent, both in Military and Civil Affairs; inſomuch that few actions ever miſcarried under his hands, except that grand one of *Sancta Domingo*.

They that go about to diminiſh his Valour, do little leſs then rob him of his right: for in the Camp his Armor depreſt fear, and made him ſtand in defiance of all Guns under the Demie-Cannon; but at Court, his courage was ſomewhat quailed with a new light ſprung up, called, *Killing no Murther*.

The Pride and Ambition which ſome ſay he was guilty of, may be eaſily excuſed as an original ſin inherent in nature: and we all know, *That which is born in the bone*

bone, will never out of the flesh.

To conclude, he carryed his Design clear, and hit the mark he aim'd at, notwithstanding the Parliament, *Triplo-Heath* and *Dunbars* Ingagements: which shews, that *Policy* and *Piety* may both lie in a bed, and yet not touch one another. But now we mention *Pietie*,

His Religion must not pass my Pen; in this he was zealous, not altogether like the Pharisee, that prayed in the Temple; but really often would he mourn in secret, and many times did his eyes in publike distil tears at the Nations stubbornness.

To take him in the whole, he was a *Man* better fitted to make a *Prince* of, then the *People* was to *receive him*: this we see sufficiently in the management of the Government to his Death. But afterwards, the sudden disaster which befel his *Posterity* was so *admirable*, that it cannot be imputed to any thing else but

Digitus Dei.

A Catalogue of Honours conferr'd on several Persons, by *Oliver Cromwel*, Lord Protector, in the time of his Government.

His Privie Council.

Henry Lawrence Lord President.
Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood.*
Major Gen. *Lambert.*
Philip Lord *Liste.*
Nathaniel Fiennes Commissioner of the Great Seal.
John Desbrow. } Generals at
Edward Mountague. } Sea.
Sir Gilbert Pickering.
Sir Charls Woolsley.
Col. *William Sydenham.*
Edmund Earl of *Mulgrave.*
Walter Strickland, Esquire.
Philip Skippon, Major Gen.
Col. *Philip Jones.*
Richard Major, Esquire.
Francis Rouse, Esquire.
John Tharloe, Secretary of State.

The Members of the other House, alias House of Lords.

1. LOrd *Richard Cromwel.*
2. Lord *Henry Cromwel* Deputy of *Ireland.*
3. *Nathaniel Fiennes* } Commissioners of
4. *John Lisle.* } the Great Seal.
5. *Henry Lawrence,* President of the Privie Council.
6. *Charls Fleetwood,* Lieut. Gen. of the Armie.
7. *Robert* Earl of *Warwick.*
8. *Edmund* Earl of *Mulgrave.*
9. *Edward* Earl of *Manchester.*
10. *William* Lord Viscount *Say* and *Seal.*
11. *Philip* Lord Viscount *Lisle.*
12. *Charls* Lord Viscount *Howard.*
13. *Philip* Lord *Wharton.*
14. *Thomas* Lord *Faulconbridge.*
15. *George* Lord *Euers.*
16. *John Cleypole,* Esquire.
17. *John Desbrow* } Generals at
18. *Edward Montague.* } Sea.
19. *Bulstrode Whitlock* } Commissioners of
20. *William Sydenham.* } the Treasury.
21. *Sir Charls Wolsley.*

22. *Sir*

22. *Sir Gilbert Pickering.*
23. *Walter Strickland,* Esq.
24. *Philip Skippon,* Esq.
25. *Francis Rous,* Esq.
26. *John Jones,* Esquire.
27. *Sir William Strickland.*
28. *John Fiennes,* Esquire.
29. *Sir Francis Russel.*
30. *Sir Thomas Honywood.*
31. *Sir Arthur Haslerigge.*
32. *Sir John Hobart.*
33. *Sir Richard Onslow.*
34. *Sir Gilbert Gerrard.*
35. *Sir William Roberts.*
36. *John Glyn.* } Chief Justices of
37. *Oliver St-John.* } both Benches.
38. *William Pierrepoint,* Esquire.
39. *John Crew,* Esquire.
40. *Alexander Popham,* Esq.
41. *Philip Jones,* Esq.
42. *Sir Christopher Pack.*
43. *Sir Robert Tichborn.*
44. *Edward Whalley,* Com. Gen.
45. *Sir John Barkstead,* Lieut. of the Tower.
46. *Sir Tho. Pride.*
47. *Sir George Fleetwood.*
48. *Sir John Huson.*
49. *Richard Ingoldsby,* Esq.

50. *James Berry*, Esquire.
51. *William Goff*, Esq.
52. *Thomas Cooper*, Esq.
53. *Edmund Thomas*, Esq.
54. *George Monke*, Gen. in *Scotland.*
55. *David* Earl of *Cassils.*
56. *Sir William Lockhart.*
57. *Archibald Johnson* of *Wareston.*
58. *William Steel* Chancellor of *Ireland.*
59. *Roger* Lord *Broghil.*
60. *Sir Matthew Tomlinson.*
61. *William Lenthal* Master of the Rolls.
62. *Richard Hampden*, Esq.

Commissioners of the Great Seal, and their Officers.

Nathaniel Fiennes.
John Lisle.
William Lenthal Master of the Rolls.

Officers attending.

Henry Middleton Serjeant at Arms.
Mr. *Brown.*
Mr. *Dove.*

Judges

Judges of both Benches.

John Glyn, Lord Chief Justice.
Peter Warburton } Justices of the
Richard Nudigate. } upper Bench.
Oliver St-John Lord Chief Justice, and
Edward Atkins }
Matthew Hale } Justices of the Com-
Hugh Windham. } mon Bench.

His Barons of the Exchequer.

Robert Nicholas.
John Parker, and
Roger Hill.

Serjeant at Law.
Erasmus Earl,

Atturney General.
Edmund Prideaux,

Sollicitor.
William Ellis.

Serjeants at Law called by him to the Barre.

Richard Pepes, 25 January 1653.
Thomas Fletcher, 25 January 1653.
Matthew Hale, 25 January 1653.

William Steel,	9 February 1653.
John Maynard,	9 February 1653.
Richard Nudigate,	9 February 1653.
Thomas Twisden,	9 February 1653.
Hugh Windham,	9 February 1653.
Unton Crook,	21 of *June* 1654.
John Parker,	21 of *June* 1654.
Roger Hill,	28 of *June* 1655.
William Shepard,	25 *October* 1656.
John Fountain,	27 *November* 1656.
Evan Scithe.	

Viscounts.

CHarls *Howard* of *Glisland* in *Cumberland*, created Baron *Glisland*, and Lord Viscount *Howard* of *Morpeth*, the 20th of *July* 1657.

Baronets.

JOhn *Read* Esquire, of *Bocket*-Hall in *Hertfordshire*, created Baronet the 25 of *June* 1656.

John Cleypole Esquire, created Baronet the 16th of *July* 1657.

Thomas Chamberlayn of *Wickham* Esquire, made

made a Baronet the 6th of *October* 1657.

Thomas Beaumont of *Staughton-Grange* in *Leicestershire*, Esq; created *March* 5. 1657.

John Twisleton Esq; of *Horsemans-Place* in *Datford* in the County of *Kent*, created Baronet of the same, *March* 24. 1657.

Henry Ingoldsby Esq; created 31 of *March* 1658.

Henry Wright of *Dagenhams* in *Essex*, Esq; created Baronet, *March* 31. 1658.

Edmund Dunch Esquire of East-*Wittenham* in *Berkshire*, created Baron of the same place, *April* 26. 1658.

Griffith Williams Esq; of *Carnarvon*, made a Baronet the 28 of *May* 1658.

Knights, when and where made.

SIr *Thomas Viner*, Lord Mayor of *London*, at Grocers-Hall, *Feb.* 8. 1653.

Sir John Copleston, at White-Hall, *June* 1. 1655.

Sir John Reynolds, at White-Hall, *June* 11. 1655.

Sir

Sir Chriſtopher Pack, Lord Mayor of *London*, at White-Hall, *Septemb.* 20. 1655.

Sir Thomas Pride, at White-Hall, *Jan.* 17. 1655.

Sir John Barkſtead, at White-Hall, *Jan.* 19. 1655.

Sir Richard Combe, at White-Hall, *Aug.* 1656.

Sir John Dethick, Lord Mayor of *London*, at White-Hall, *Sept.* 15. 1656.

Sir George Fleetwood of *Bucks*.

Sir William Lockhart, at White-Hall, *December* 10.

Sir James Calthrop of *Suffolk*.

Sir Robert Tichborn, Lord Mayor of *London*, and *Sir Liſlebone Long*, Recorder, *December* 15.

Sir James Whitlock at White-Hall, *January* 6.

Sir Thomas Dickeſon of York, *March* 3. 1656.

Sir Richard Stainer, at White-Hall, *June* 11. 1657.

Sir John Cleypole Baronet, at White-Hall, *July* 16. 1657.

Sir William Wheeler, at *Hampton-Court*, *Aug.* 26. 1657.

Sir Edward Ward of *Norfolk*, at White-Hall, *Novemb.* 2.

Sir Thomas Andrews, Alderman of *London*, at White-Hall, *Novemb.* 14.

Sir Thomas Foot, Alderman,
Sir Thomas Atkin, Alderman,
Sir John Huſon, Colonel. } *Decemb.* 5.

Sir James Drax, at White-Hall, *Jan.* 6.

Sir Henry Pickering,
Sir Philip Twiſleton. } White-Hall, *Feb.* 1.

Sir John Lenthal, at White-Hall, *March* 9.

Sir John Ireton, Alderman of *London*.

Sir Henry Jones, at *Hampton-Court*, *July* 17. 1658.

Sic tranſit Gloria mundi.

FINIS.

FINIS

LIFE
OF
CROMWELL

1860