



Durham
University

Scottish Soldiers

Using archives to uncover the past





Above: Richard Annis, Archaeological Services Durham University, excavating some of the human remains found at Palace Green Library, November 2013 (© North News and Pictures)

Front Page: Commemorative plaque at Palace Green Library's Café to remember the soldiers held at Durham Cathedral (Photograph by Jeff Veitch)

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Introduction

This booklet has been produced following 'Bodies of Evidence: How science unearthed Durham's dark secret', an exhibition based at Palace Green Library. The exhibition focused on the discovery, excavation and analysis of 28 skeletons beneath what is now The Courtyard Café at Palace Green Library. Following detailed research on the human remains and archival sources from the era, it was established that the skeletons belonged to some of the Scottish prisoners of war captured at the 1650 Battle of Dunbar. Some of these prisoners had been held in Durham Cathedral, including this group. For more information on the discovery and analysis, see <https://www.dur.ac.uk/archaeology/research/projects/europe/pg-skeletons/>.

This booklet will use the archival resources of Durham University Library to reveal more about three key areas surrounding this battle and the wider English Civil War:

- The Battle of Dunbar and its impact on Scotland
- Oliver Cromwell's reputation
- The impact of the English Civil War on North East England

The archival resources will be accompanied by some background information and questions to provoke thought and discussion amongst students tackling this period of history, and to encourage deeper reading and analysis of the texts. By doing this, they will be acting as historians themselves, reading and interpreting the original sources and coming to their own conclusions.

About the author

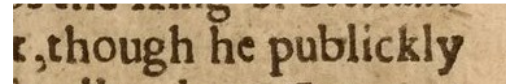
Paddy Holland works as a Learning Assistant as part of Durham University's Library and Heritage Collections Learning Team. He works across a number of University sites including Palace Green Library Special Collections and Archive, the Oriental Museum, Botanic Gardens, Durham Castle, Museum of Archaeology and the World Heritage Site Visitor Centre. He completed an MA in Museum Studies in 2012 and continues to teach both children and adults about a wide range of subjects as part of the Learning Team's formal and informal learning programmes. He has also worked in schools across the North East and beyond delivering outreach sessions based on the University's collections.



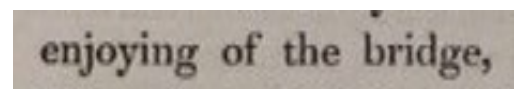
How to use archives

Many of the sources in this pack will have been written at the time of the English Civil War or shortly afterwards, so may be hard to read. It helps to remember:

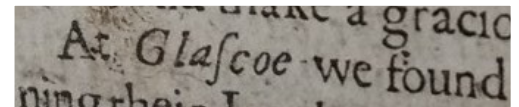
- Some words will be **spelt differently** to today, for example: 'Publickly' meaning 'publicly'
- Some words have **fallen out of use**, or have **changed** their meanings - this example refers to taking control of the bridge.
- What looks like an 'f' will often be an 's', such as this spelling of 'Glasgow'...
- ...and what looks like an 'I' is often a 'J'.



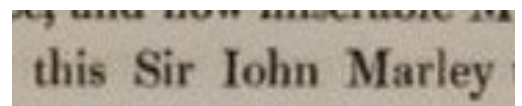
...though he publickly



enjoying of the bridge,



At Glascoe we found



this Sir Iohn Marley

- The **calendar** used in the 17th century was different to today; their new year started on 25th March. So, if a date is mentioned before 25th March in the original source, you need to add a year. For example, if a source mentions an event happening on 1st March 1644, on a modern calendar, it would be 1st March 1645.

When reading archival material, it's best to take your time, sound out the words and read sections out loud - they will make more sense this way.

While this resource pack has been designed with Key Stage 3 students in mind, it is suitable for other age groups studying the English Civil War and its wider impacts, and we would encourage users beyond Durham to engage with the material in this booklet.

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What was the Civil War?

The phrase 'English Civil War' is a bit of a misnomer; it wasn't just confined to England, and it wasn't really a single war, but lots of smaller conflicts, each linked to one another. What's more, this period is notorious for involving many different religious and political groups, shifting allegiances and many different individuals jockeying for power and influence.

For the sake of simplicity, this booklet will refer to the 'Civil War' as being the period between 1642 - 1651 - that is, from the opening of hostilities between Charles I and Parliament, to the last defeat of Royalist forces in mainland Britain. This section will cover the history of these tumultuous years, as well as an overview of the Battle of Dunbar and its aftermath.

An age of revolution: The Civil Wars in Scotland & England

The 17th century was an age of revolution. The Civil Wars (or Wars of the Three Kingdoms) violently disrupted most of the British Isles.

Civil War broke out in England in August 1642, after a decade-long power struggle between King Charles I and Parliament over religious freedom and the rights of the monarch. In the battles that followed, proportionately more British lives were lost than during the First World War.

Events moved quickly as people chose sides. Towns took up arms against towns, villages fought villages, and families became divided. In January 1649, the King was executed in front of a large crowd having been found guilty by Parliament of treason against his own people.

Oliver Cromwell

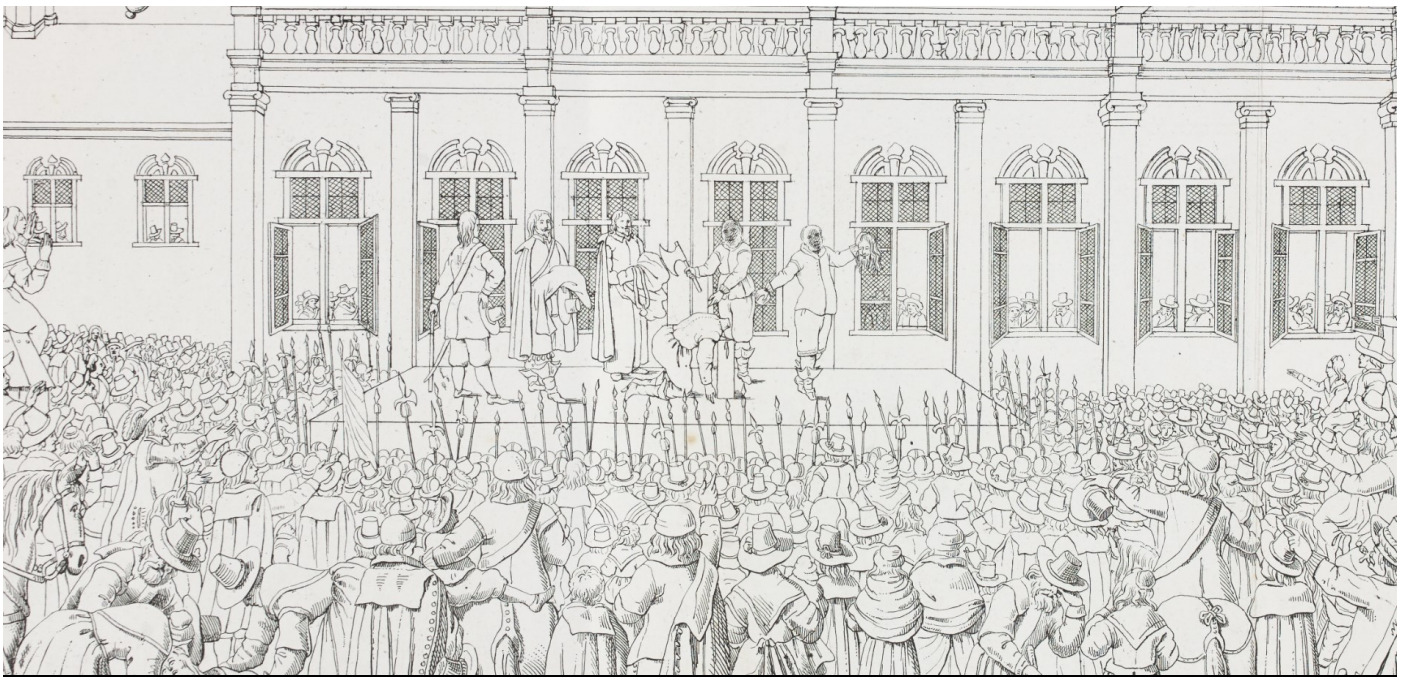
Out of the confusion, Oliver Cromwell emerged as Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland. A brilliant but merciless soldier, Cromwell's military genius contributed greatly to the defeat of the Royalist army (see Section 2 - Oliver Cromwell's Reputation for more on this controversial figure).

In the summer of 1650, Cromwell crossed the border into Scotland in order to pre-empt any threatened invasion of England. The Scots supported the claims of the future Charles II to the united thrones of Scotland, England and Ireland. This was on the condition that he signed and upheld the National Covenant in Scotland and would support Presbyterianism as the official religion in England, should he come to power.



Portrait of Charles I (© Durham University (Palace Green Library))

WHAT WAS THE CIVIL WAR?



Detail from an engraving of the execution of Charles I (© Durham University (Palace Green Library))

Scotland and Cromwell's Troops: Allies to Enemies

In 1638, King Charles I's attempts to impose changes on the Church in Scotland met with fierce opposition. Men flocked to sign a National Covenant to uphold the Scottish Kirk, but the King refused to give way. In the years that followed, Covenanting Scots and Parliamentary English fought together as allies against the Crown.

In England, Cromwell's Parliamentarians set out to dismantle the authority of the monarch and the Anglican Church. After Charles I was executed, many in Scotland – where Kirk and Government were closely intertwined – viewed Cromwell and the English as heretics with no right to execute their king.

With Charles I dead, his son, Charles II took vows in June 1650 to observe, uphold and defend the practice and customs of the Church of Scotland. The man who claimed the throne and the right to rule in England was now, to all intents and purposes, a Covenanter. The Scots and the Crown were now united in opposition to Cromwell.

The Soldiers of the Scottish Army

At the beginning of 1650 the Scottish Army was extremely few in number. Attempts were made to raise a levy of 19,000 troops from the nation's population. Twelve years of war had taken its toll on men of fighting age in Scotland. Each county appointed a committee to decide what manpower could feasibly be raised.

In August 1650, General David Leslie was deprived of many of his most experienced commanders and veteran soldiers in an ideological purge, leaving increased proportions of inexperienced troops. This provoked one frustrated Scottish colonel to call it an army of '*nothing but useless clerks and ministers sons who have never seen a sword, much the less used one*'. Although the Scottish army was greater in number, Cromwell's army was composed of well-disciplined veterans.

3rd September 1650 - One day that changed their lives: The Battle of Dunbar

The Scottish and Parliamentary forces played a game of cat and mouse south of Edinburgh. The Scots operated a scorched earth policy, preventing the English troops from living off the land. Cromwell pulled back to Dunbar where

WHAT WAS THE CIVIL WAR?

he was using the harbour as a supply base.

The pursuing Scots Army under General Leslie was greater in number, but those who took to the battlefield were not of prime fighting age. Depleted by 12 years of fighting, there were many new recruits in the Scottish ranks. Untested as soldiers, conscripts were drawn from families from the Lowlands, Central Scotland and Aberdeenshire who had suffered terrible and repeated famine over generations. These were *'lads recruited fresh from the fields'*, called out from workshops and weaving sheds, towns, farms, crofts and fishing villages. By contrast, Cromwell's New Model Army was composed of experienced, well-disciplined veterans.

The resulting battle was brutal and over within an hour; Cromwell's superior troops and tactics won the day.

The Long March to Durham

The Scottish soldiers taken prisoner were ordered to march south, with the exception of the injured and sick, who were released. Already starving, the prisoners received no food on the first stage of their march, and little after that. Malnutrition, illness, and infection spread under these conditions. Some prisoners escaped. At least 30 men were shot for refusing to continue without food.

Accommodation for the prisoners was poor. At Alnwick Castle, the prisoners were penned in the middle bailey. At Morpeth, the castle was no longer fit to hold them and prisoners were corralled into a walled garden where they dug up and ate cabbages and roots.

Freezing, hungry, filthy, suffering from dysentery and other infectious diseases, only around 3,000 men eventually arrived in Durham, where they were housed in the Cathedral – which had been closed for worship under the Commonwealth government.

The following pages show the route from Berwick-upon-Tweed to Durham, giving an idea of the sheer distance covered by the prisoners (the route taken starts on the right of the first page, and works from right to left). Both images are © Durham University, Palace Green Library.

The Battle of Dunbar: the numbers

Cromwell reported that there were double the numbers of Scots to English:

22,000 Scots (16,000 foot soldiers 'at least'; 6,000 cavalry)

11,000 English (7,500 foot soldiers, 3,500 cavalry)

He claimed that 3,000 Scottish soldiers were slain, to the loss of only 20 English casualties.

According to another writer at the time, 9,000 Scots were taken prisoner, with between 3,000 and 5,000 sent to march south.

'We are put to exceeding trouble... with the numerousness of our Prisoners; having so few hands, so many of our men sick...'

Letter from Cromwell to Lord President of the Council of State, 4th Sept 1650

'I pray you let humanity be exercised towards them: I am persuaded it will be comely'

Letter from Cromwell to Haselrigge 9th Sept 1650.

The Long March to Durham - the quotes

DUNBAR

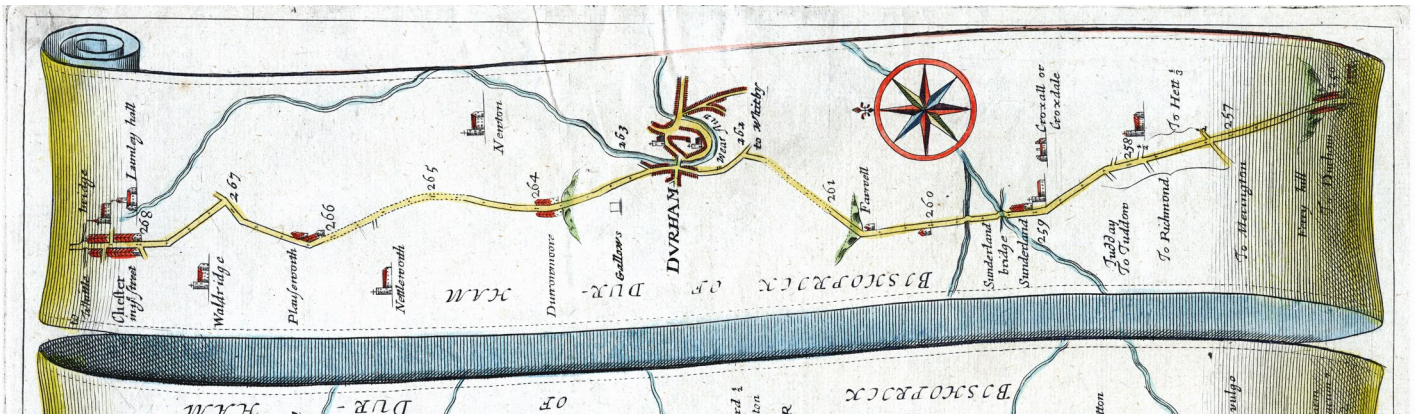
[We] ... have taken as near as can be judg'd, ten thousand prisoners, and above ten thousand Arms ... they left all the guns they had behind them, being in number nine, with all their ammunition, bag and baggage and all they there had ...

Excerpt from the official account of the battle, published by the Council of State from the report of an express messenger sent by Cromwell (September 1650).



The continuation of the Road from LONDON to BARWICK & extending to BARWICK Beginning at Cheller in 9th Street in Epiphanius Plate the 5 and left containing 70.000 m. vizt to Newcastle to Morpeth 15 to Alnwick 18 to Belford 18 to BARWICK 15

WHAT WAS THE CIVIL WAR?



The Long March to Durham - the quotes (continued)

BERWICK

I heard that the Officers who march'd with them to Berwick, were necessitated to kill about 30 fearing the loss of them all for they fell down in great numbers, and said they were not able to march, and they brought them far in the Night, to that Doubtless many ran away.

Sir Arthur Haselrigg

ALNWICK

As noe question but your heare of a greate defeate given the Scottes for a testimony whereof ware 6,000 prisoners lodged within these walls one night betwixt the middle and upper gait; I hope there is no feare of Scottes invasion...

Robert Watson, an officer at Alnwick Castle writing to the Earl of Northumberland's Steward in London (11th September 1650)

MORPETH

... the Prisoners being put into a large wall'd Garden, they eat up raw cabbages, Leaves and Roots ... which poisoned their Bodies

Sir Arthur Haselrigg, October 31st 1650

NEWCASTLE

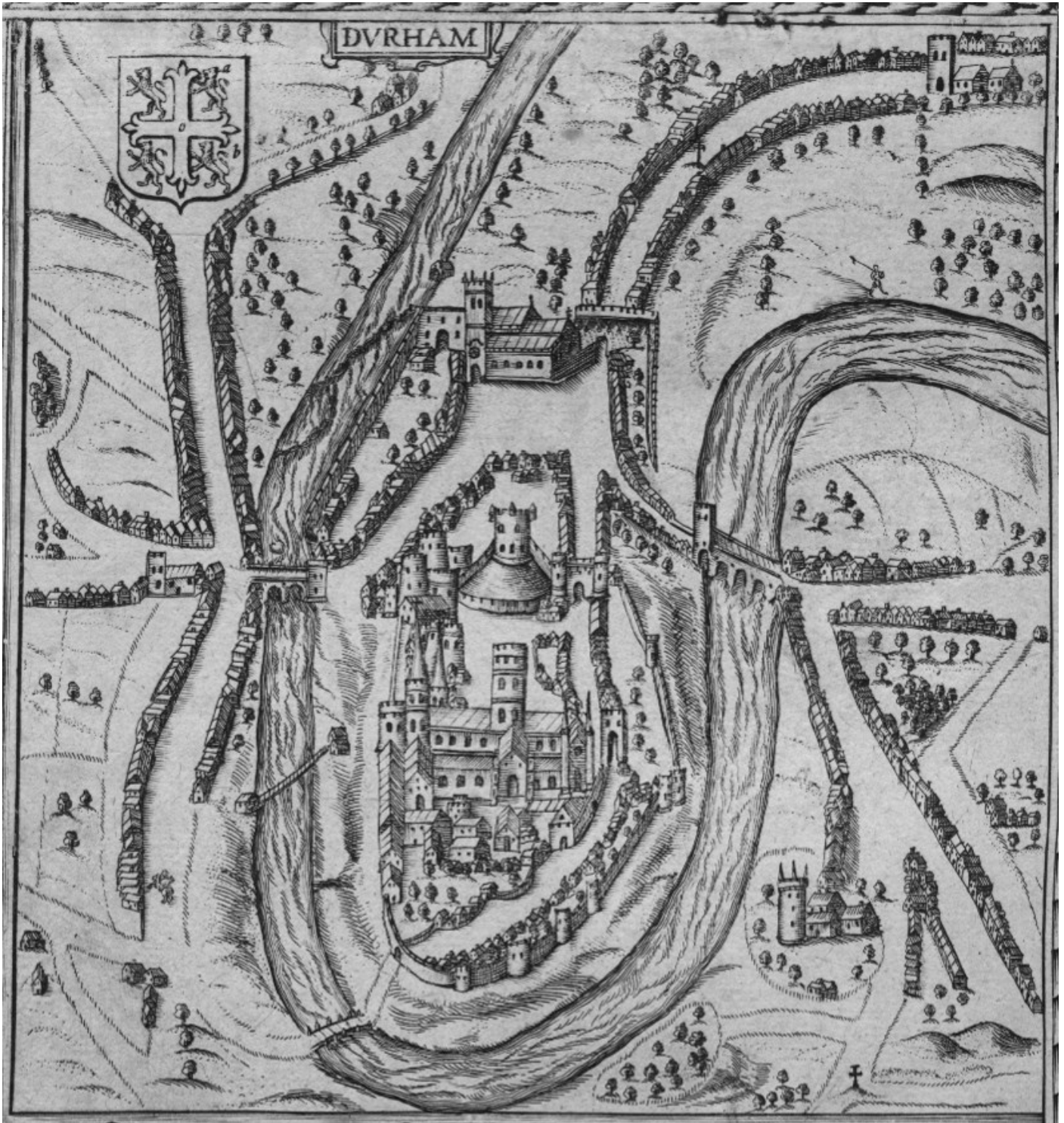
In October 1650 the Newcastle Corporation paid for 'the cleaning of St Nicholas's Church where the Scots prisoners were kept one whole night'; they also paid for coals and candles for the guards at the church and for two tar barrels to burn 'naughty' meat.

'Naughty' meat is meat that is not fit for human consumption – old or spoiled.

DURHAM

But in the year 1650: this Abbey Church was made a prison for the Scotts and quite defaced within, for ther was to the number 4,500 which most of them perished and dyed there in a very short space and were thrown into holes by great numbers together in a most Lamentable manner ...'

WHAT WAS THE CIVIL WAR?



John Speed's map of Durham, 1610. Although drawn up 40 years before the Dunbar prisoners were brought here, it still gives a good impression of the size and nature of the city when they arrived (© Durham University (Palace Green Library)).

WHAT WAS THE CIVIL WAR?

The Impact of the Battle in Scotland

Back in Scotland, the defeat at Dunbar was seen as a national disaster.

Across Scotland, spontaneous local voluntary collections of money were made to support the prisoners. Escaped prisoners trying to make their way home were supported in the areas they passed through. Money and care were given to injured soldiers released after the battle.

Women whose husbands were missing after the battle were advised not to remarry unless they had clear evidence of their husbands' death.

Durham during the Civil Wars

This was not the first time the Scots had been in Durham. In 1640-41, they occupied the whole of north-east England, returning again between 1644 and 1647 to support the Parliamentarians.

Durham Castle, Cathedral, and clergy faced an uncertain future. The Book of Common Prayer was abolished in 1645, the office of the Bishop was discontinued in 1646 and Deans and Chapters dissolved in 1649.

Durham Castle was sold off and Durham Cathedral graveyard leased for grazing. Across England, cathedrals were put to different purposes, as prisons, billets for troops, stables, workhouses, storehouses for gunpowder and ordnance.

In Durham, Cromwell and Parliament proposed the conversion of the cathedral into a northern university. New College was established between 1656 and 1659, although no students enrolled and the project was closed down at the Restoration when the clergy returned. It was possibly because of these proposals that the fabric of the cathedral suffered so little.

Arrival in Durham

Durham at this time was a small town with only 3,000 inhabitants. Overnight, its population doubled.

Inside the cathedral building, conditions were cramped and prisoners probably spilled out into the cloister and adjoining spaces. Reddening on the surviving stonework in the nave indicates where the prisoners huddled around burning braziers. Far more serious than the cold was the rapid spread of dysentery, 'the flux' as it was called at the time.

Sick prisoners were led away to the castle where Sir Arthur Haselrigge, the governor at Newcastle, who had been charged with their care, claimed that they were decently fed and nursed. After a lengthy period of starvation and duress, the prisoners' metabolism may not have been able to process food and nutrients, and this may even have resulted in death. Whatever the truth, around 1,600 prisoners were dead within 50 days.

Burial of the Dead

The dead were buried between Durham Castle and the Cathedral, close to Windy Gap, an ancient footpath that once led to a small gate in the castle walls. This was the end of the castle's grounds – out of sight from prying eyes.

Here the graves remained lost for over 350 years, although the story of the Scottish prisoners was passed down locally over generations and we know from our excavations that the burials must have been seen during earlier building work on at least three occasions.

The Battle of Dunbar and its impact on Scotland

"The Scottish soldiers imprisoned at Durham were involved in one of the most brutal, bloody and short battles of the 17th Century civil wars.

At first light on September 3, 1650, the better trained and more disciplined English Parliamentary army, under the command of Oliver Cromwell, defeated the Royalist-supporting Scottish Covenanting army, led by General David Leslie, in less than an hour at the Battle of Dunbar on the south-east coast of Scotland.

Contemporary reports suggested anywhere between 300 and 5,000 soldiers were killed. Modern calculations suggest that an estimated 6,000 Scots were captured with about 1,000 sick and wounded released to go home.

The remaining 4,000-plus undernourished and battle-worn prisoners were marched 100 miles south to Durham, in North East England, via Newcastle upon Tyne.

En route to England 1,000 men are believed to have died from hunger, exhaustion and gastric problems, probably dysentery. Others were executed, while some escaped.

Of the remaining 3,000 sent for imprisonment in Durham Cathedral and Castle, it is estimated that 1,700 died and were buried in the City.

Dr Pam Graves, of Durham University's Department of Archaeology, compiled the historical report into the background and aftermath of the Battle of Dunbar.

She said: "Despite claims that prisoners were supplied with bread and milk and given straw to sleep on, the deaths continued due to illness, starvation and poor sanitation, with many of the sick housed in Durham Castle.

"Cold was a factor and it is commonly believed that to keep warm, prisoners burned woodwork from the Cathedral, which at the time was not functioning as a place of worship, its Dean and Chapter having been evicted."

It's not clear how long the surviving prisoners were held, but historical accounts say some were ordered to work in the salt-pan, linen and coal mining industries or as general labourers in North East England.

It is thought that around 500 were sent to Ireland to serve in the Parliamentary army with others shipped to France, Barbados or Virginia. Some of the sick who had survived were forced to drain the Fens in Norfolk.

About 150 prisoners boarded ships for the New England region of America where they were sold for £20 to £30 each to work in sawmills or ironworks as indentured servants.

They were able to gain their freedom if they saved enough to redeem their sale price or if they worked the full term of their indenture and a number went on to become successful farmers in Maine."

Taken from the Scottish Soldiers Project webpage, <https://www.dur.ac.uk/archaeology/research/projects/europe/pg-skeletons/history/>

This section looks at some accounts of the Battle of Dunbar and its wider impact on Scotland from the archives of Durham University Library.

THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR: SOURCE A

And for as much as we believe many godly people in *Scotland* are not satisfied with the proceedings of this Nation concerning the death of the late King, the rejection of his Issue, the change of the Government, and several actions converfant thereabout. Although it

England and Wales. Army. **A declaration of the army of England, upon their march into Scotland.** / Signed in the name, and by the appointment of His Excellency the Lord General Cromwel, and his council of officers, London, printed by Edward Husband and John Field, 1650. Routh 71.H.5/34

(5)
it cannot be supposed that we shall in this Paper meet with all Objections that may be made, (these very particulars alone requiring more lines then we intend in the whole) Yet we briefly say, That we were ingaged in a War with the said King, for the Defence of our Religion and Liberties; and how many times Propositions for a safe and well-grounded Peace were offered to him, and how often he refused to consent thereto, you well know, which according to humane accompt he might have closed with, had not the righteous God, who knoweth the deceitful heart of man, and is the preserver of Mankinde, (especially of his people) in his secret judgement, denyed him a heart to ascent thereto. By which Refusals he made it appear, That nothing less would satisfie, then to have it in his own power to destroy Religion and Liberties, the subversion whereof he had so often attempted: That He was a man guilty of more Innocent Blood in *England, Ireland and Scotland*, even of those he ought to have preserved, as a Father his Children, then any of his predecessors, or (we think) then any History mentioneth, the guilt whereof he brought upon his Family by solemn Appeals to God: That the Son did tread in the Fathers steps, and pursue his Designs, destructive to Religion & Liberty: That a party in Parliament, false to God and to their trust, were willing, & did endeavor to betray the Cause into the late Kings hands: That a remaining number in Parliament, desiring to be true to God, and to the People that intrusted them, (out of Integrity of Heart, and fearing that the high Displeasure of God would fall upon them if they had not done it) did bring to Justice and cause to be executed, the

In the run up to the Battle of Dunbar, both armies worked hard to discredit each others' cause—pamphlets like this one were created with this in mind. The following source was written to justify the Parliamentary army's invasion of Scotland, and how the war was actually everyone else's fault but their own.

Pages 4 and 5

- This source begins by addressing the people of Scotland, trying to win them over to their point of view—how is this attempted?
- How does the source justify the execution of Charles I? What is the main focus of their argument?
- How does the source justify denying Charles I's son the throne?

THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR: SOURCE A

of the Government...
As for the Presbyterial, or any other form of Church Government, they are not by the Covenant to be imposed by force; yet we do, and are ready to embrace so much as doth or shall be made appear to us to be according to the Word of God. Are we to be dealt withal as Enemies, because we come not to your way? Is all Religion wrapt up in that, or any one Form? Doth that name, or thing, give the difference between those that are the Members of Christ, and those that are not? We think not so. We say, Faith working by love, is the true Character of a Christian; and, God is our witness, in whomsoever we see any thing of Christ to be, there we reckon our duty to love, waiting for a more plentiful effusion of the Spirit of God to make all those Christians, who by the malice of the World are diversified, and by their own carnal mindedness do diversifie themselves by several Names of Reproach, to be of one heart and one minde, worshipping God with one consent. We are desirous, That those who are for the Presbyterial Government, should have all freedom to enjoy it; and are perswaded, That if it

quital, not their...
Sectarian Army, a Christian dealing; all which we do with comfort commend to God, and can notwithstanding all this, say, By the Grace of God, we can forgive and forget those things, and can, and do desire of God, that the precious in *Scotland*, may be separated from the vile, which is the end of this our Paper. And to the truth of this, let the God of Heaven in his great mercy, pardoning our weaknesses, judge of us, when we come to meet our Enemies in the field; if through the perversness of any in Authority with you, God shall please to order the decision of this Controversie by the Sword, which we from our hearts, beseech the Lord to avert, and to give you the like Christian and Brotherly affection towards us, which we by Gods grace bear towards you.

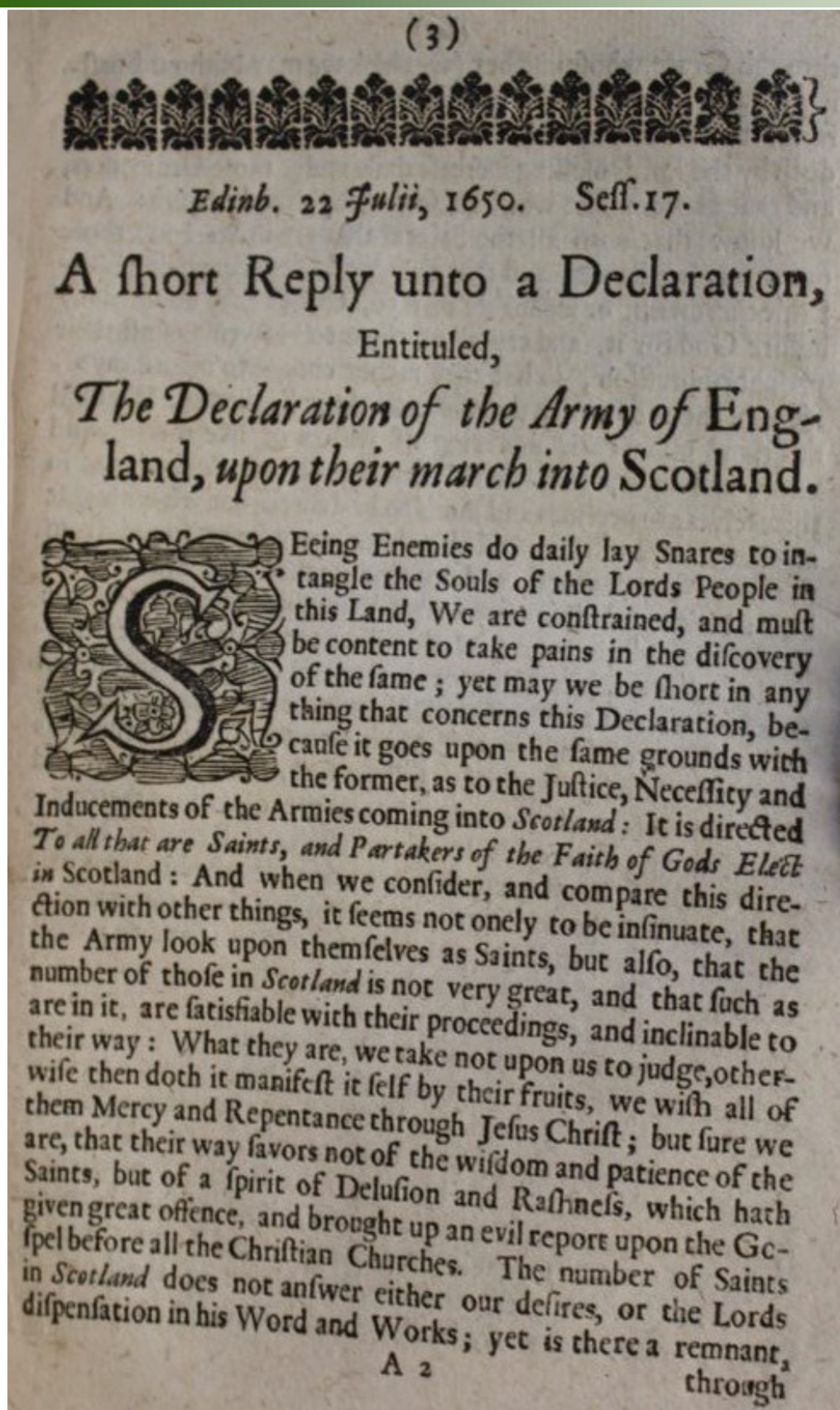
*Signed in the name, and by the appointment of
his Excellency the Lord General Cromwel,
and his Council of Officers.
Joh. Rushworth, Secretary.*

Page 9 (top)

- This extract is reassuring any Scottish readers that the Presbyterian church would not be attacked by the Parliamentary army in Scotland—how does it do this?
- How does this extract define a Christian?
- How does this extract explain why there are many different forms of Christianity?
- Does this source sound honest? Would you be trusting the English army, if you were a Scottish Presbyterian?

Page 15 (bottom)

- How does this text summarise their argument?
- What is the final sentence trying to explain?
- How does this text shift the blame for the current crisis to the Scottish leadership?



Ker, A. *A short reply unto a declaration, entituled, The declaration of the Army of England, upon their march into Scotland. Together with A vindication of the declaration of the Army of England upon their march into Scotland, from the uncharitable constructions, odious imputations, and scandalous aspersions of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, in their reply thereunto*, London, printed by John Field for Francis Tyton, August 16. 1650. Routh 65.B.15/18

This source contains the reply, by the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, to the previous source, as part of a pamphlet defending the original *Declaration*. At this time, it was normal for pamphlets to be written critiquing works by political opponents. In turn, defenders of the original pamphlet might write a response of their own, and as people may not have read it, they would include their opponent's work first.

Pages 3 and 4

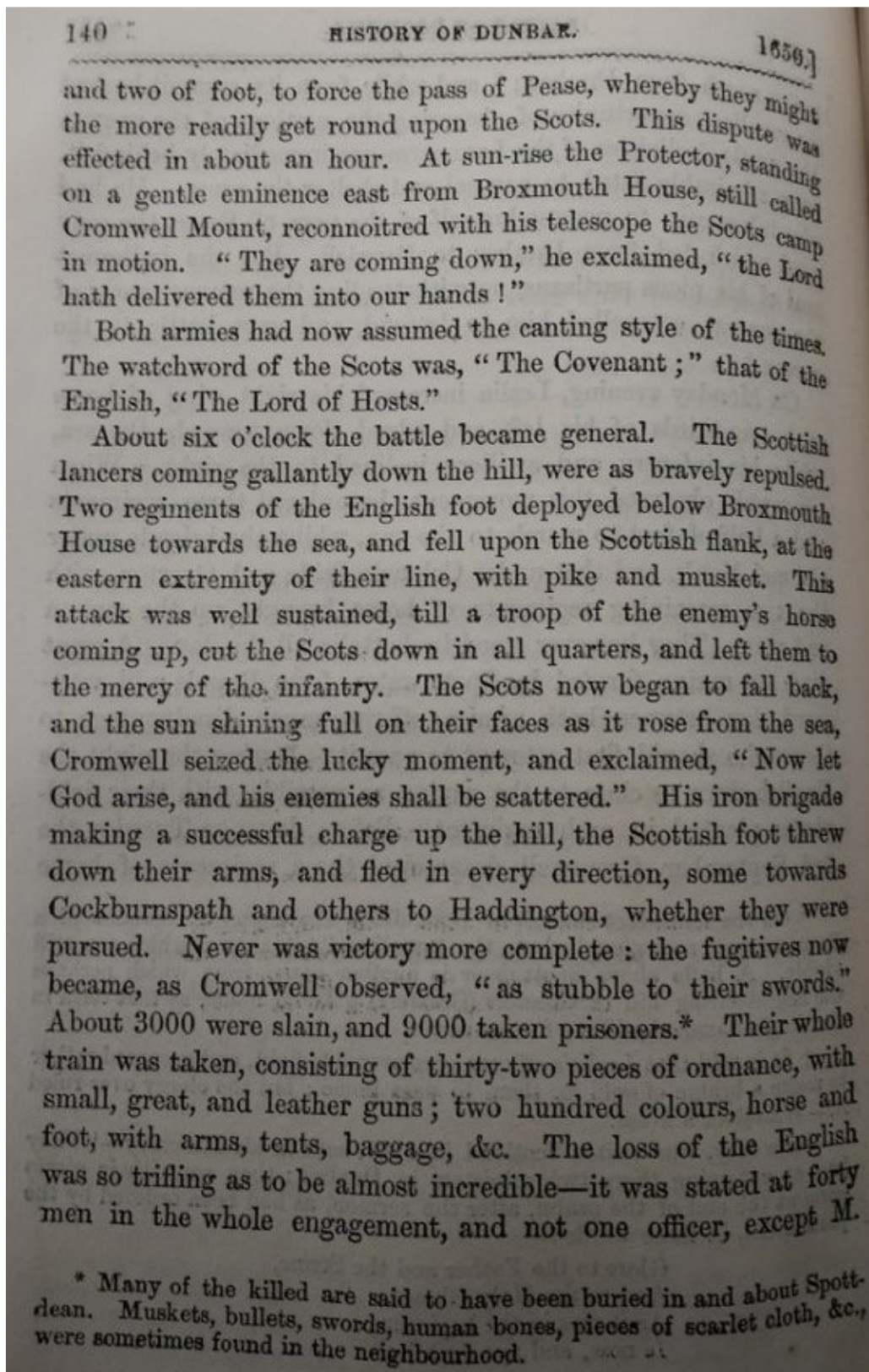
- How is Source A described at the beginning of this source?

- What is the first criticism of Source A?
- How is the Parliamentary army described as acting? Is there any way to say how accurate this is?
- ...'these things in themselves are precious and much to be desired'. What things are these? How are they contrasted with the actions of the Parliamentary army?

THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR: SOURCE B

(4)
through Grace, whose number (we think we may without boasting speak it unto the praise of the free grace of God) is not inferior to that of any other of the Churches of Christ, and it doth by the Lords blessing increase daily under those Ordinances, and that Government which these men slight and despise: And we know that unto all the Saints that are in *Scotland*, those mens way is grievous, and that they are so far from being satisfiable therewith, or inclinable thereto, that as they mourn daily before God for it, and cry all of them to Heaven against their present oppression, so had they rather choose to indure any affliction, then to involve themselves in the guilt thereof. We shall not stand upon their prefacing of wishes of like mercy, and truth, and light, and liberty with themselves, these things in themselves are precious and much to be desired; but we wish that all the Saints, both here and elsewhere, may be preserved from the errors and darkness, and looseness, that they are involved into: Neither shall we stand upon that which they assert of the Declaration of their pretended Parliament, our Answer thereto doth demonstrate what cause there is to doubt, that it will satisfie impartial and uninterested men, concerning the justice and necessity of sending their Army into *Scotland*; the matters contained therein, being either false in fact, or unjust in law, and the conclusions made from thence, and the resolutions thereupon taken, being disagreeable to the principles of Religion, Nature and Nations. Their purpose is by taking off of objections that lay against their proceedings, and by holding forth something of dangers, to perswade the people of God in this Land to a withdrawing of themselves from the publique Councils and courses of those who are in Authority, and we beleve in the intendment of it unto a compliance with their way, which we hope, neither their smooth words, nor their solemn appeals to God, which our hearts trembles to think of, nor any thing else that can proceed from them, shall be able to effectuate. We desire them to remember what hath been the dreadful consequent of Solamn Appeals to God, in others whose actions hath not been answerable to their Professions, and from thence to learn to fear the great and dreadful Name of the Lord our God, who, we trust, shall defend his people in this Land,
and

- How does this source refer to their opponents?
- According to this source, what was the real purpose of Source A? How would this be achieved by their opponents?
- Source A is warned not to do a particular thing - what is it, and why should they not do it?



Miller, J. *The history of Dunbar, from the earliest records to the present period; with a description of the ancient castles and picturesque scenery on the borders of East Lothian*. Dunbar, printed and published by James Downie, 1830. SC 14056

This source was published in 1830 by a Dunbar businessman and printer, James Miller, combining a number of other sources. This extract looks at the Battle of Dunbar itself.

Pages 140 and 141

- How does 'the Protector' (Cromwell) react to the sight of the Scottish army moving towards his own?
- How did the Scottish and English armies identify themselves in battle?
- How does the battle unfold?
- How does the battle go wrong for the Scottish?
- How does Cromwell describe the rout of the Scottish army?
- What were the casualties for both sides?

- Are these figures reliable?
- Apart from prisoners, what else did the English army take from the Scottish?
- How did Cromwell react to winning this battle? Why did he react in this way?

1650.]

PROCLAMATION BY CROMWELL.

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Rokesby, who died of his wounds ; but from the resolute attack of the Scots at the onset, the small loss of the English is justly doubted.*

Many men of distinction fell in this fatal conflict, amongst whom were the Homes of Wedderburn, father and son, and Sir William Douglas of Kirkness, who appears to have fallen at Broxmouth, as a plain stone, bearing his name in legible characters, lies in the shrubbery south-east from the house. Amongst the prisoners were twelve lieutenant-colonels, six majors, thirty-seven captains, &c. Cromwell's first act after the battle was to return thanks to the Almighty for the victory he had gained ; and, as if anxious to refute the odium of cruelty imputed to him, sent back the principal prisoners in his own coach, and the wounded in waggons. It is further asserted by Walker, that after the battle of Dunbar he sent " a thousand of the wounded men in a gallantry to the Countess of Winton."

The following proclamation was issued by the conqueror, respecting the wounded left in the field :—

" Forasmuch as I understand that there are several soldiers of the enemy's army yet abiding in the field, who, by reason of their wounds, could not march from thence : these are therefore to give notice to the inhabitants of this nation, that they may have free liberty to repair to the field aforesaid, and with their carts, or any other peaceable way, to carry the said soldiers to such places as they shall think fit, provided they meddle not, or

THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR: SOURCE D

ons; that he is at Rome, and presseth and puts forward the said Propositions very hoily; That the Pope and Cardinals begin to take the same into serious consideration, and that it is expected something will be done upon them. Having received these later, and further advertizments, and finding that the design is still carried on to obtain Monie and means from the Popish partie, for the subduing this Common-wealth, to Tyrannie, and no doubt, in gratitude for the means of recovery, will also settle Poperie; It was thought fit the whole should bee Reprinted, to the end that all men might be undeceived. And that even those who have given up themselves to be imposed upon (by that sort of men who pursue an Interest, of all others, most destructive of the peoples just and naturall libertie, may see, what a blessed Propugnator this King of Scotland is like to be of Presbytery his heart being at Rome, and his principall hopes from thence.

It would bee too great a wrong to any Reader, to think there were need of any observations to bee made upon a matter

(3)
matter that so clearly evidenceth its own nature both in its Root and tendencie. They who will yet be deceiv'd, deserve not either pittie after their error, or the labor of conviction.

(5)
His maternal Grandfather was wont to say, after his Apostacy from the reformed Religion to Popery, That the Crown of France was worth little, if it were not worth a Mass or two. Perhaps the King of Scotland doth not much abhor from it, though he publickly begins on the other side, by swallowing a Covenant or two, which if his Father could have done, hee might have undone us all. But the King of Scotland had no other way to get possession; and therefore though the Crown of Scotland be the least worth of the three, yet hee who had none, thought it worth a couple of Covenants, especially when hee can with as little Scruple break them, as hee took them, when these his Propositions at Rome have procured the begg'd Supplies, and such assistance as may enable him to profess what hee is: and the

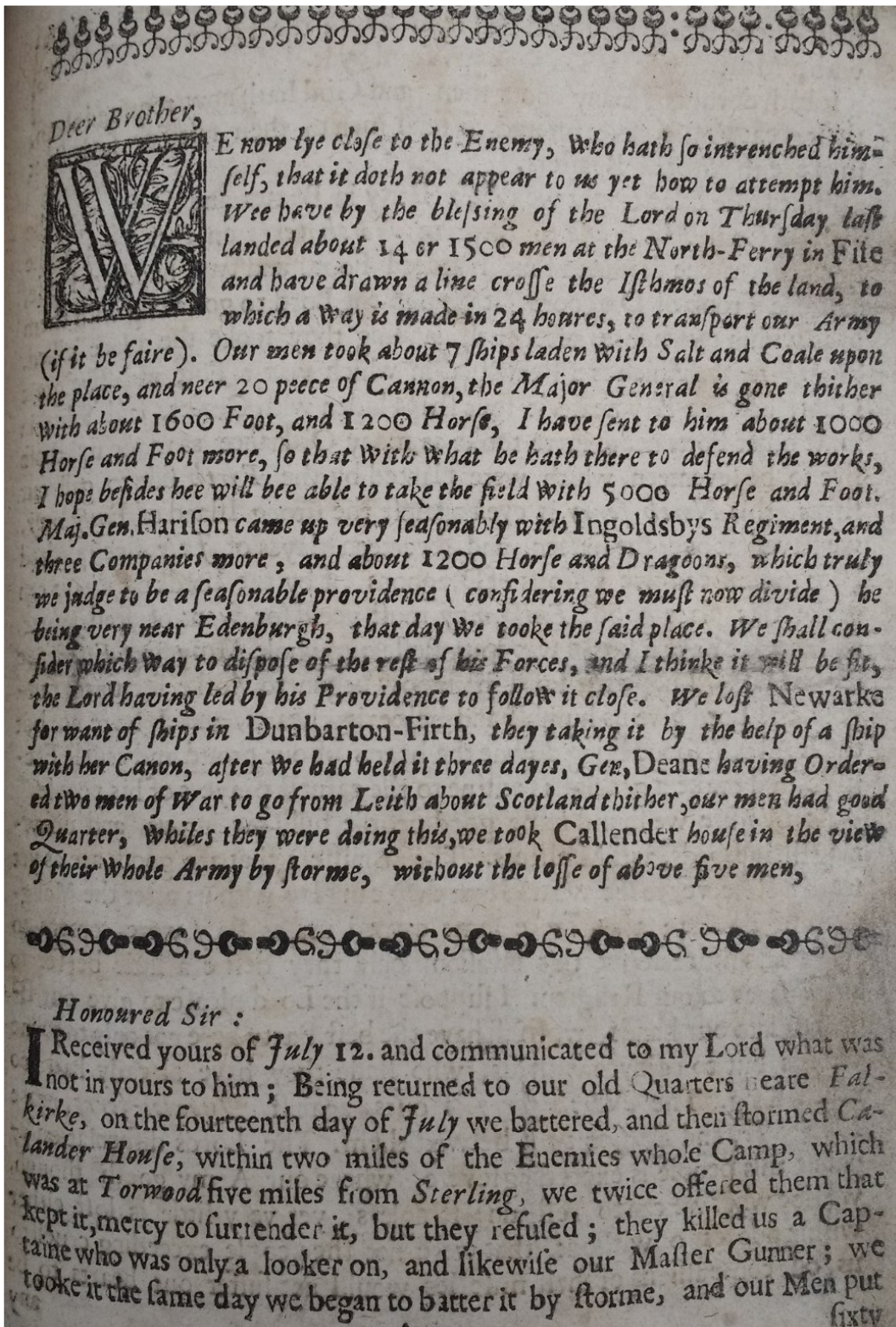
Anon. *The King of Scotlands negotiations at Rome, for assistance against the Common-wealth of England, as also severall letters of the Chancellour of Scotland to the King since his coming into Scotland, taken in his cabinet at the late fight neer Dunbar* ... Edinburgh: printed by Evan Tyler, 1650. Routh 16.G.46/5

The propaganda war continues with this pamphlet, supposedly based on letters recovered from the battlefield at Dunbar. Many people already suspected both Charles I and Charles II of being secretly Catholic, so pamphlets like this would only feed into such prejudices. In it, Charles II seeks help from the Pope to defeat Parliamentarian forces and impose Catholicism on Britain.

Pages 2, 3 and 5 begin here with news of Charles II at Rome, attempting to secure support for his cause

- What are the propositions apparently put forward by Charles II?
- What does it mean by 'settle Poperie'?
- Why have the letters been printed, according to the pamphlet?
- How are the king's supporters referred to?
- How is Charles II's honesty questioned?

THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR: SOURCE E



Anon. *A great victory God hath vouchsafed by the Lord Generall Cromwells forces against the Scots. Certified by several letters from Scotland. Relating the entring of part of the English army into Fife. 2000 of the Scots slaine. With a list of the particulars of the great and glorious successe therein. And the taking of Callender house by storme. Together with a letter from the Lord Generall to ... William Lenthal Speaker of the Parliament.* London : printed for Robert Ibbitson ..., 1651. Routh 63T.13/8

Pamphlets like this spread the news of campaigning armies far throughout Britain and beyond, though obviously with a strong bias towards one side or the other. This example demonstrates the fighting that continued after the Battle of Dunbar, and shows that Scotland was not going to give up without a fight.

Pages 1 and 2

- In the first letter, why can't the army attack their enemy (the Scottish)?

- What supplies and equipment has the army taken?
- What types of soldiers does the army use? What sort of equipment would they use?
- Has the army experienced any setbacks? What happened?
- What sort of building was Callander House?
- How did Cromwell's forces take control of it?

THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR: SOURCE E

(2)
sixty in the House to the Sword, some others dyed of Wounds, and about sixteen being wounded had their lives; the House is very strong with a Moate about it, and a great Wood by it.
It hath devoured many of our men, and God hath now requited them, their great Army never offered to send man to their releife; such stout men are the *Scotch* Boasters.
The same day at night we sent a Party in Boates and Ships over the *Fyrth*, from *Blacknesse* to surprize *North-ferry* on *Fife* side; at the first we sent one thousand four hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse, and one Troop of Dragoons, it pleased the Lord to goe along with them, so as within two houres after their landing they tooke the place called *North-ferry*, which is a Penintula, in which was a Fort with five great Guns, and in a Bay neare it four ships laden with Coales, and Salt; in some other Forts neare it we tooke as many Ordnance as made up those five to be seventeen, which were planted by the *Fyrth* side to gall our ships, this *North-ferry* is even against the strong Island of *Enisgarvy*, we have sent over the sixteen, and sevyenteen dayes of *July*, five hundred Foot more, and five Troops of Dragoons, if by the Lords mercy we can make this place good, *Enisgarvy* must yeeld for want of fresh water, and then we have a brare way to possesse our whole Army into *Fife* if we see occasion. I hope the Lord hath now begun to worke for us to purpose, the Lord give us humble and beleeving hearts, and I feare not but the Lord will soone bring downe the hearts of our proud and cruell Enemies, and make a gracious returne to the earnest prayes of his people.
At *Glascoe* we found some good people fully owning us, and disowning their Lords, and Ministers. The Ministers that are good, are as yet upon a Reserve, to see what Game they can play with us after the Maligants be downe; thus farre some owned us, as they were content to dispute no more about this invasion; only they desire a little better to know us, as to our Religion. I suppose if the Lord please to give our Enemies into our hands, we shall have the best Party here not only to joyne with us, but to rejoyce with us, who finde they have already had too much King. The *North-ferry* is over *Blacknesse*, and *Enisgarvy* is over *Enisgarvy*.

- How many of Cromwell's men were killed or wounded?
- What happened to the defenders of the house? Why do you think they were treated in that way?
- How are the Scottish described?
- The evening after taking Callander House, Cromwell's forces launch another attack - how does it unfold?
- What do Cromwell's troops seize from the Scottish?
- Scottish troops continued to hold the strong point on the island of Enisgarvy - what would make them surrender? What would be the result of this?
- Why do some people at Glasgow welcome the invading English army?

Oliver Cromwell's Reputation

Oliver Cromwell (1599 - 1658) remains both a fascinating and an intensely controversial figure in British history. Born the son of a middle class landowner, he died the most powerful man in England, having risen to the rank of Lord Protector by 1653, and ruling effectively as a king - naming his successor, knighting his supporters, and dissolving Parliament whenever he wished.

So how did Cromwell climb so high?

Thanks to family connections, he was elected to Parliament in 1628 and 1640, where he quickly established himself as an opponent to Charles I. At the same time, his views became more and more puritan following a period of illness.

When the first part of the Civil Wars broke out in August 1642, Cromwell quickly showed himself to be a skilled commander. Within a year, he had notched up a series of victories. In January 1644, and June 1645, at the battles of Marston Moor and Naseby, he effectively decided the outcome of the battle with skilled use of his cavalry troops.

However, he was not always popular with his fellow officers. His puritan views meant that he only recruited sufficiently devout men into his forces. He also helped to pass an Act that banned most members of Parliament from holding positions in the army, with himself and fellow supporters exempt.

This separation of the army and Parliament soon caused friction, as soldiers began to see their pay delayed repeatedly. Cromwell attempted to support both sides, but soon lost patience with some MPs, who he saw as risking another civil war—in August 1647, he forcibly expelled 11 of them from Parliament.

He also tried to compromise with Charles I, by now a defeated prisoner. He wanted to keep Charles as king, but with reduced powers and greater religious toleration (for suitably Protestant and puritan groups). However, Charles refused to compromise, and secretly stirred up further Royalist uprisings in 1648. Cromwell swiftly crushed the king's supporters, and now lost patience in turn with the king, supporting his trial and execution.

However, Royalist support continued in Ireland and Scotland. In 1649-50, Cromwell invaded Ireland, securing large areas for the Commonwealth but also presiding over the notorious massacres at Drogheda and Wexford. To this day, Cromwell's name is widely reviled in Ireland.

Returning to England, Cromwell was made commander-in-chief of Parliament's forces in time to lead an invasion of



Oliver Cromwell's Reputation

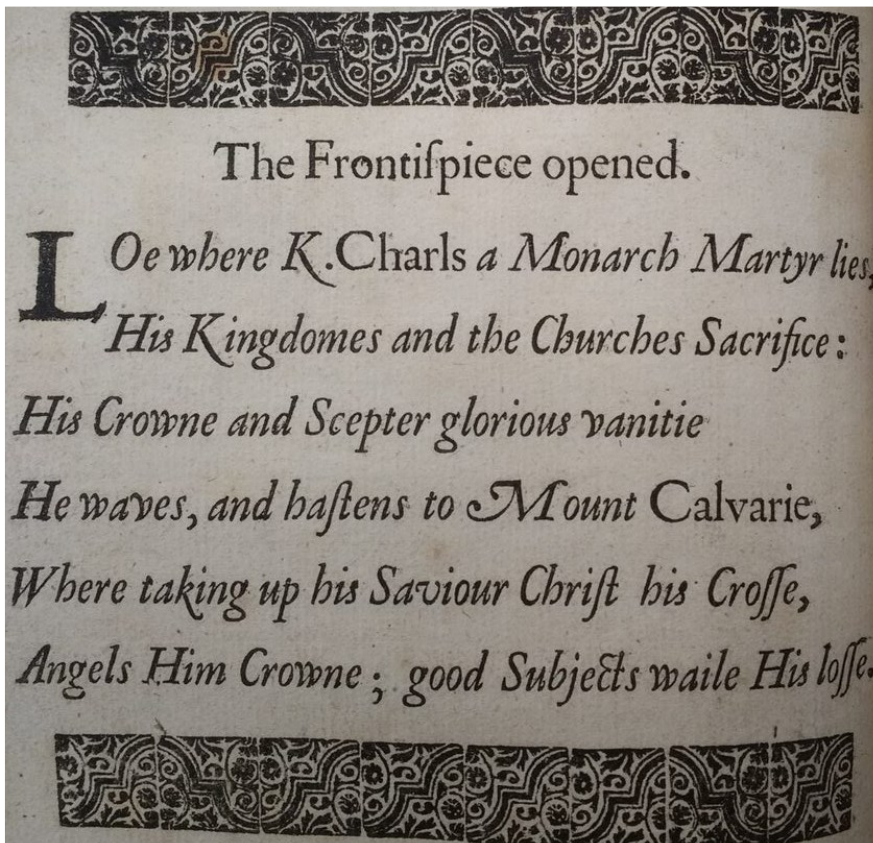
Scotland, culminating in a major victory at the Battle of Dunbar on September 1650 (see previous section). Charles I's son, now crowned in Scotland as Charles II, then led an invasion of England but was defeated by Cromwell at Worcester in September 1651, finishing off Royalist support for good until after Cromwell's death.

What followed was years of political manoeuvring, as the army and Parliament both jockeyed for power, before finally Cromwell was made Lord Protector in December 1653, reigning as king in all but name until his death in September 1658.

Cromwell's son, Richard was then made Lord Protector, but he struggled to maintain the same grip on power as his father had. In the political chaos that followed, Charles II was able to secure enough support to return in triumph and be crowned king in 1660, ending the Commonwealth period.

The fate of Cromwell's body shows the level of hatred reserved for him by his opponents. Cromwell's body was dug up and hanged at Tyburn on 30th January 1661, before being decapitated. The body was thrown into pit, but the head was displayed on a spike for many years afterwards.

This section will look at sources which not only explained to contemporary audiences what events were unfolding, but also people's opinions of Cromwell. As such, much of the following examples are strongly anti-Cromwell in nature, as they were written during the reign of Charles II.



Anon. *The subjects sorrow: or, Lamentations upon the death of Britaines Iosiah, King Charles, most unjustly and cruelly put to death by his owne people, before his royall palace White-Hall, Ianuary the 30. 1648. Expressed in a sermon upon Lam. 4. 20. Wherin the divine and royall prerogatives, personall virtues, and theologicall graces of his late Majesty are briefly delivered: and that His Majesty was taken away in God's mercy unto Himselfe, and for the certaine punishment of these kingdoms, from the parallel is clearly proved.* London: printed in the year 1649. Routh 63T.12/12

This pamphlet presents the text from a sermon given by a priest called Robert Brown, given not long after the execution of Charles I. Added to this is an engraving featuring the dead king and a short poem at the start of the pamphlet.

Frontispiece

- There is a clear pro-Royalist bias in this source - how does this present itself in this poem?
- Who is King Charles I compared to?
- Looking at the poem and the image, what is happening to his crown and sceptre? Does he appear willing to surrender these symbols of royalty?
- What kind of narrative has been created using just this poem and image? How different do you think this would be from the reality?
- What is implied about the people who carried out Charles I's execution?



CROMWELL'S REPUTATION: SOURCE F

The memory of his piety and glorious reputation of his virtues shall be for ever precious, and whatever Dogs barke against it, alwaies remaine a fixed and shining Starre of the greatest magnitude in the firmament of Honour. And thou carnall Prophet who walkest by the light of thine owne eyes, and callest thy darknesse light, thou who (as the Jewes unto our Saviour) didst reach the Vineger and Gall unto Gods Anointed in the Agony of his sufferings, offeredst that false, furious, and forc'd application of Scriptures, which thy counsels must fill up with an interpretation, (as the event shewes) know that there is a lying and seducing Spirit in thee, that thou wrestest the Scripture unto thine owne damnation: thou Sorcerer and chief Witch of these times, full of all subtilty and all mischief, thou child of the Devill, thou Enemy of all righteousnesse, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right wayes of the Lord? Thy Epicurian and sublunary Divinity cannot admit that a violent death should be a singular testimony of Gods favour, yet here thou seest it in Josiah; wilt thou have all temporall judgments to be punishments due unto sinne? wil not thy triumphant wickednesse let thee know, that some afflictions are for Tryals, and the

Pages 24 and 25

- How is Charles I compared to Cromwell and his supporters? How are the two sides described and presented?
- According to this source, how does Cromwell and his supporters justify Charles I's execution?
- According to the source, what is due to happen following Charles I's death?
- Charles I was refused a royal funeral or a burial at London, but was buried away from the public at Windsor Castle. Why was this, according to the source?
- What does this source suggest may have happened if Charles I was buried at London?

(25)

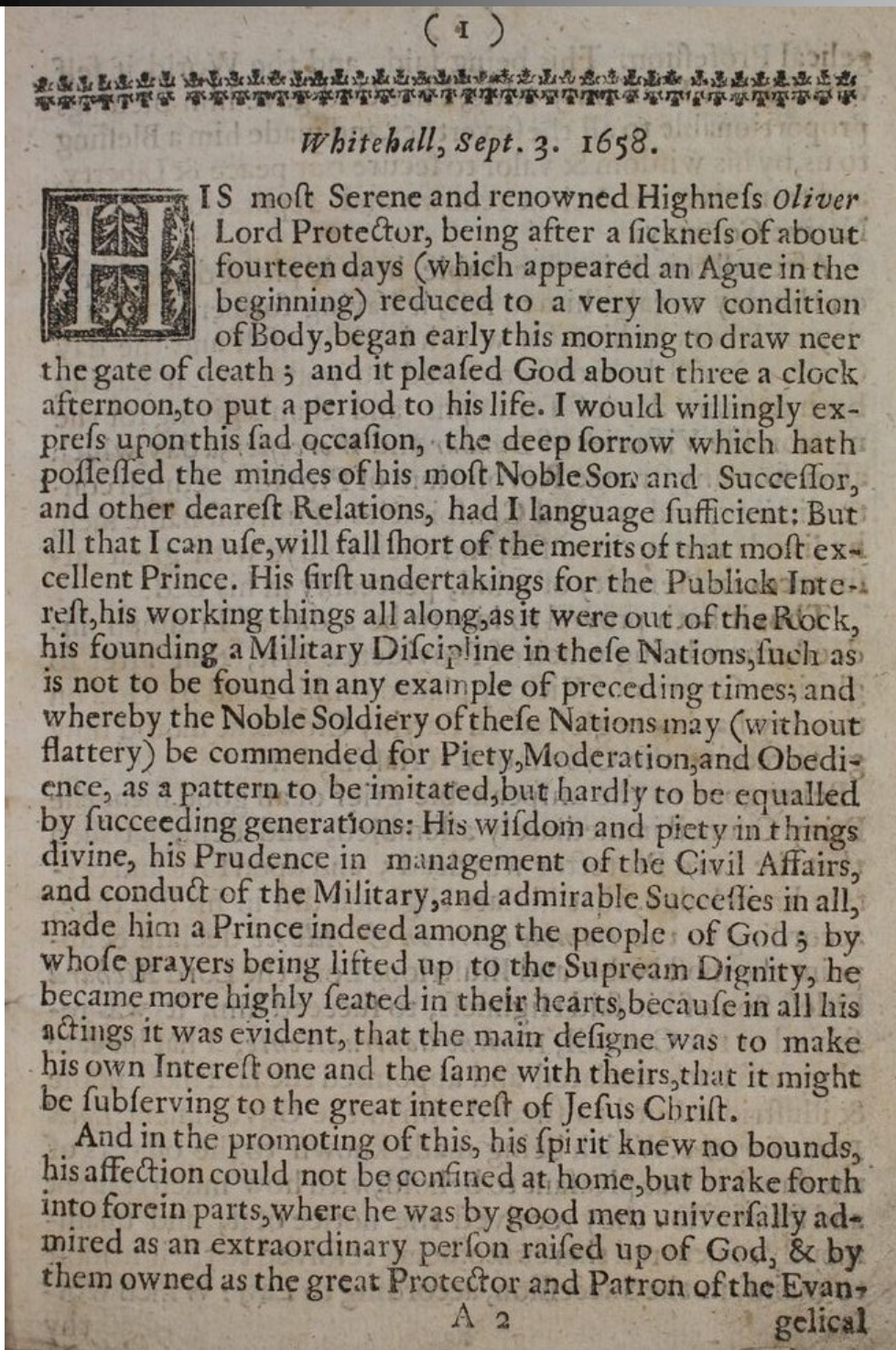
additions of grace and glory unto Gods Children, and therefore the chief marks of Gods favour: As in our gracious King Charles, who was also taken away from the evill to come, in Gods mercy unto him; which thou even thou, unto the shame and confusion of thy face (although thou hast hardned it) shalt see in the approaching day of Englands calamity, which in a great part is procured and hastned by thy infernall counsels; thou needst not to have given that Scripture such a violent stretch so to streine it as to make it reach from Assyria unto England, or to travaile so farre for a reason why His Majesty should not have a royall interment with His Ancesters; the causes were nearer thee, Let me assigne them:

First, it had been a Condemnation of your selves to have allowed him solemne and Kingly Funeralls, unto whom you gave so unjust and cruell a death, that were to build up what you were resolved to destroy.

Next, you could not but know, that the neighbourhood of his sacred earthly remains must needs refricate the scarce skinn'd sorrowes of London; when they should have such a standing and still present Monument of their former happinesse, in His Majesties peaceable Government; and of their new misery in your Tyranny, which would serve also (this being the place of the greatest confluence) to recrude the griefe of the whole Kingdome, and probably beget such compunction and reluctancy in both City and Kingdome, as would testifie it selfe, by their attempt to cast you downe, headlong from your new and wickedly acquired Dominion.

Another reason was, lest the nearnesse of his Body whom you murdered, might too frequently offer unto you the horror of your Guilt, and redouble unto you those inward cheques and lashings of your Consciences (which you cannot be without) and so impede and trouble your Counsels.

The Devill



Anon. *Some farther intelligence of the affairs of England. The death of the renowned Oliver Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland. With an exact relation of how Somerset-House was prepared for his effigies. The proclaiming according to the humble petition of advice, the Lord Richard, eldest son of his late Highness, Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland...*

London : printed by M. S. for Tho: Jenner ..., 1659. Cosin L.4.43/1

This pamphlet sets out information from England, with the biggest issue being Oliver Cromwell's death on 3rd September 1658, and his replacement as Lord Protector by his son Richard. This source provides a more positive view of Cromwell, as it was written before Charles II was crowned the following year - after that, most material on Cromwell is fiercely critical of him.

Page 1

- How is Oliver Cromwell described?
- Considering that he has

Charles I executed and helps to establish a republic in England, what do you think about the way Cromwell is addressed here?

- How is Cromwell's death described? Does it sound particularly accurate? Why has his death been written about in this way? Note - an 'ague' is similar to malaria, causing shivering and fevers.
- What are Cromwell's achievements?
- Compare the way Cromwell is described in religious terms, with the way Charles I is similarly described in Source F. What are the differences and similarities?

Oliver Cromwell L. ^{Genl} of Eng^d Scot^d and Ierl^d borne at Huntington of the name of Williams of Glamorgan and by K. H. 8. changed into Cromwell was educated in Cambridge afterward of Lincons Inn at the begining of the Warres Cp: of a Troop of Horse raised at his owne charge and by the Parli^{mt} made Comander in cheefe reduced Ierl^d and South wales overthrew D: Hambletons Army the Kerkes Army at Dunbar reduced all Scotland defeted Ch. Stewards Army at Woster he had two Sons L^d Richard Protector in his fathers room e L^d Henry now L^d Deu^{ty} of Ierl^d and 4: Daughters L^{dy} Bridget first married L: Ierton afterward L^t C. Fleetwood L^{dy} Elizabeth married L: Clapole L^{dy} Mary married L^d Vicount Fauconbrige L^{dy} Francis married the R^t Ho^{ble} Rob: Rich Granchild to the Ho^{ble} E: of Wazwick was declared L: ^{Genl} of Eng^d Sc^d and Ir^d 16: of Decemb: 1653. died 3. Sep: 1658. after .14. dayes sicknesse of an ager with great asurance and serenitie of minde peaceably in his bed. Natus. 15. Ap: 1599. Dunkerke in Flanders surrendered to him 20th of June. 1658.



Engraving of Cromwell lying in state after his death

- Above the image of Cromwell lying in state is a brief obituary - what are his main achievements? Why are those particular achievements singled out?
- Why do you think the execution of Charles I isn't mentioned here?
- Compare this image with the engraving of Charles I from Source F. What are the similarities and differences? What kind of message is conveyed by these images?

There was something different in this mans Tyranny from all former precedents, as there were stronger and stranger Corruptions of manners in the Times He lived, so that he seemed to be accommodated to them. Never were there such wilde speculations, such dotages and caprichio's in point of Religion, which made half the Nation mad, and run with zeal to the ruin of their Country; Now the destructivenessse of these Chymera's and Whimfies of Piety, that austere Sanctimony under which we laboured, could never better be discovered, then by the divine permission of this mans arrival and ascent to the Supreme power, thereby giving the world a Specimen of the deep mischief of pretended and morose Holyneffe.

Heath, J. *Flagellum: or, The life and death, birth and burial of O. Cromwell the late usurper: faithfully described. With an exact account of his policies and successes: not heretofore published or discovered.* London : printed by W.G. for Randall Taylor ..., 1665. Routh 49.H.22

This book was published well into the reign of Charles II, at a time when criticising Cromwell would have been widely encouraged, and aims to present a biography of the former Lord Protector.

Preface (left top)

- What was different in Cromwell's 'tyranny' compared to previous rulers?
- How are Cromwell and his supporters referred to?
- The author uses religious language to describe Cromwell's ascent to power - why do you think this is?

The Learning and Civility he had, coming upon him like fits of *Enthusiasme*, now a hard Student for a Week or two, and then a Truant or *Otioso* for twice as many Months; of no settled constancy; the very tenour and mode of his future Life till his grand attainment.

Among the rest of those ill qualities which fructuated in him at this age, He was very notorious for robbing of *Orchards*; a puerile crime and an ordinary trespassse, but grown so scandalous and injurious by the frequent spoils and damages of Trees, breaking of Hedges and Inclosures, committed by this *Apple-Dragon*, that many solemn Complaints were made both to his Father and Master for redresse thereof, which missed not their satisfaction and expiation out of his hide, on which so much pains were lost, that, that very offence ripened in him afterwards to the throwing down of all boundaries of Law or Conscience, and the stealing and tasting of the forbidden fruit of *Soveraignty*, by which (as the Serpent told him) *He should be like unto a God.*

Page 5 (left bottom)

- How does this passage describe Cromwell's behaviour as a child?
- How seriously did Cromwell take his studies, according to this source?
- What crime was he also apparently guilty of as a child? How seriously does the author take this accusation?
- How is his behaviour as a child linked to his later actions in becoming Lord Protector?

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assault Collonel *Wall* being unfortunately killed, his dismayed Soldiers listened to the offer of quarter before they had need of it, and admitted them upon those terms. *Cromwell* having notice that the Flower of the *Irish* Army was in his hands, gave order to put all in Arms to the Sword, where were killed Sir *Arthur Aston*, Sir *Edmund Varney*, Coll. *Warren*, Coll. *Dun*, *Finglasse*, *Tempest*, &c. with 3000 Soldiers the best in that Kingdome.

He came next before *Wexford*, which having refused to accept of a Garrison, now the Enemy was under their Walls, was contented to admit of 500 men under the command of Sir *Edmund Butler*, and the Lord Lieutenant came also in sight of the Town, before whose face *Stafford* the Governour of the Castle basely betrayed it to *Cromwell*, together with the town who there treacherously murdered 2000 more.

Most abominably and barbarously cruel he was in this place, for near 200 of the better sort and the beautifullest Women of the City, having (upon the Town being entred) fled to the Crosse, and with the command of their charming eyes, and those melting tears, prevailed upon the Souldiers for quarter; now at his coming thither, and after a laughing jeering enquiry what they did there, and other mocking insultations, were commanded to be knock'd on the head, which those that promised them life nobly refusing, He commanded another Regiment to encompass them, and there most horribly massacred them all.

Ross was the name of the place whither a Garrison was

Page 86

- At this point in the book, Cromwell has invaded Ireland and attacked the towns of Drogheda and Wexford.
- What happened at Drogheda?
- What happened at Wexford?
- How accurate do you think this account is? Note - there are other accounts of the massacres happening, not least from Cromwell himself.
- Assuming that this source is accurate, why do you think Cromwell acted in this way?
- Why would Cromwell's soldiers have acted in the way that they did?
- What message would these massacres send to the other Irish and royalist rebels?

CROMWELL'S REPUTATION: SOURCE I

First, That the original cause of the low condition that we are now (in relation to Trade) reduced unto, had it's beginning in *Olivers* time, and the foundations of it, layed, either, by his ignorant mistaking the Interest of this Kingdome, or wilfully doing it, for the advancement of his own particular Interest.

Secondly, That his time, for the short continuance, had as much of oppreſſion, and injustice, as any former times.

Thirdly and lastly, That he never in his later dayes, valued either honour or honesty, when they stood in the way of his ambition, and that there is nothing to be admired in him (though so much Idolized) but that the partiality of the world, should make him so great a favorite of ignorance, and forgetfullness, as he seems to be.

When this late Tyrant, or Protector, (as some calls him) turned out the Long Parliament, the Kingdome was arrived at the highest

Bethel, S. *The world's mistake in Oliver Cromwell; or, A short political discourse, shewing that Cromwell's mal-administration, (during his four years, and nine moneths pretended protectorship,) layed the foundation of our present condition, in the decay of trade.* London, Printed in the year 1668. Routh 67.F.12/7

This work, also published years into Charles II's reign, completely denigrates the character of Cromwell, presenting him as dishonest and a disaster for the country as a whole.

Pages 2 and 3

- What are the three main reasons why Cromwell was a bad leader, according to this source?
- How and why did he damage trade?
- Why do you think the author takes the trouble to mention how Cromwell was 'idolized', and called the Protector by 'some'?
- What successes are listed by the author before Cromwell came to power?
- How is Cromwell coming to power described?
- What reasons are given for Cromwell ruining all of the listed opportunities he has when he comes to power?
- What does Cromwell ruin for England, according to this source?
- Why did going to war with Spain prove so disastrous?

(3)

highest pitch of Trade, Wealth, and Honour, that it, in any Age, ever yet knew. The Trade appeared, by the great Sums offered then for the Customes and Excise, Nine hundred thousand pounds a year, being refused. The Riches of the Nation, shewed it self, in the high value, that Land, and all our Native Commodities bore, which are the certain marks of opulencie. Our Honour, was made known to all the world, by a Conquering Navie, which had brought the proud *Hollanders*, upon their Knees, to begg peace of us, upon our own Conditions, keeping all other Nations in awe. And besides these advantages, the publick stock, was Five hundred thousand pounds in ready Money, the value of seven hundred thousand pounds in Stores, and the whole Army in Advance, some four, and none under two months, so that though there might be a debt of near Five hundred thousand pounds upon the Kingdom, he met with above twice the value in lieu of it.

The Nation being in this flourishing and formidable posture, *Cromwell* began his Usurpation, upon the greatest advantages imaginable, having it in his power to have made peace, and profitable Leagues, in what manner he had pleased withall our Neighbours, every one courting us then, and being ambitious of the friendship of *England*; But as if the Lord had infatuated, and deprived him of common sence and reason, he neglected all our golden opportunities, misimproved the Victory God had given us over the *United Netherlands*, making peace (without ever striking stroak) so soon as ever things came into his hands, upon equal terms with them. And immediately after, contrary to our Interest, made an unjust Warr with *Spain*, and an impollick League with *France*, bringing the first thereby under, and making the latter too great for Christendome, and by that means, broke the ballance betwixt the two Crowns of *Spain*, and *France*, which his Predecessors the Long Parliament, had alwayes wisely preserved.

Pages 8 and 9

- What reason is given for Cromwell invading Spanish-controlled islands in the West Indies (the Caribbean)?
- How does the author condemn Cromwell's actions?
- How are Cromwell's actions explained, especially when viewed by 'impartial Judgement'?
- There are 5 bad decisions made by, or blamed on, Cromwell presented here - what are they?
- How does the author explain how Cromwell's debts were lower than expected?
- How does Richard Cromwell become the new Lord Protector, according to this source?

signs, he did the Interest of the Reformed Religion; For if he had succeeded in his unjust Invasion of the Spanish Territories in the *west-Indies*, (as God seldom prospereth dishonest undertakings) it being intended for a State acquisition, the benefit would not have been defusive, but chiefly to himself and Favorites, and prejudicial to the people in generall, though at the expence of their substance, the acquests would have been made: purely *Moses* had an eye, when he said that they should not multiply Silver and Gold. And thus, as *Cromwell's* designs must, to an impartial Judgement, appear to have been laid, some dishonestly, others impolitickly, and all contrary to the Interest of the Kingdome, so the Issue of them was dammageable to the people of *England*: As,

First, in his sudden making a Peace with *Holland*, so soon as he got the Government, without those advantages for Trade, as they who beat them did intend to have had, as their due, and just satisfaction for their Charges in the War.

Secondly, in his War with *Spain*, by the losse of that beneficial Trade to our Nation, and giving it to the *Hollanders*, by whole

(9)

whose hands we drave (during the War) the greatest part of that Trade which we had of it, with 25. in the hundreth profit to them, and as much losse to us.

Thirdly, by our losse in that War with *Spain*, of 1500 *English* ships, according as was reported to that Assembly, called *Richards* Parliament.

Fourthly, in the disgracefullest defeat at *Hispaniola* that ever this Kingdom suffered in any age or time.

Fifthly, and lastly, in spending the great Publick stock he found, and yet leaving a vast Debt upon the Kingdom, as appeared by the Accompts brought into *Richards* Assembly; which had, (I believe) been yet much higher, but that they who under him managed the Affairs, were a sort of People who had been long disciplin'd, (before his time) to a Principle of Frugality, and against Cheating; though at cousening the poorer People, for their Masters benefit, some of them were grown as dexterous, as if they had been bred in the Court of *Spain*; For besides imposing *Richard* upon the People, after his Fathers death, by a forged Title, according to the very Law they took to be in being, when by his Assembly, they were ordered to bring in an Account of the Receipts, and payments of the Kingdom; they made about Sixty thousand pounds spent in Intelligence, whereas it cost not above Three or Four thousand at most; and calculating the rest by these, it may well be concluded, that they were expert in their Trades.

Pages 12 and 13

- What is the author's opinion of John Lilburne? Why do you think he was so reviled by the author?

- Note - John Lilburne was a prominent 'Leveller': a radical group that called for equality for all before the law and a vote for all men, amongst other things. He was imprisoned many times in his life.

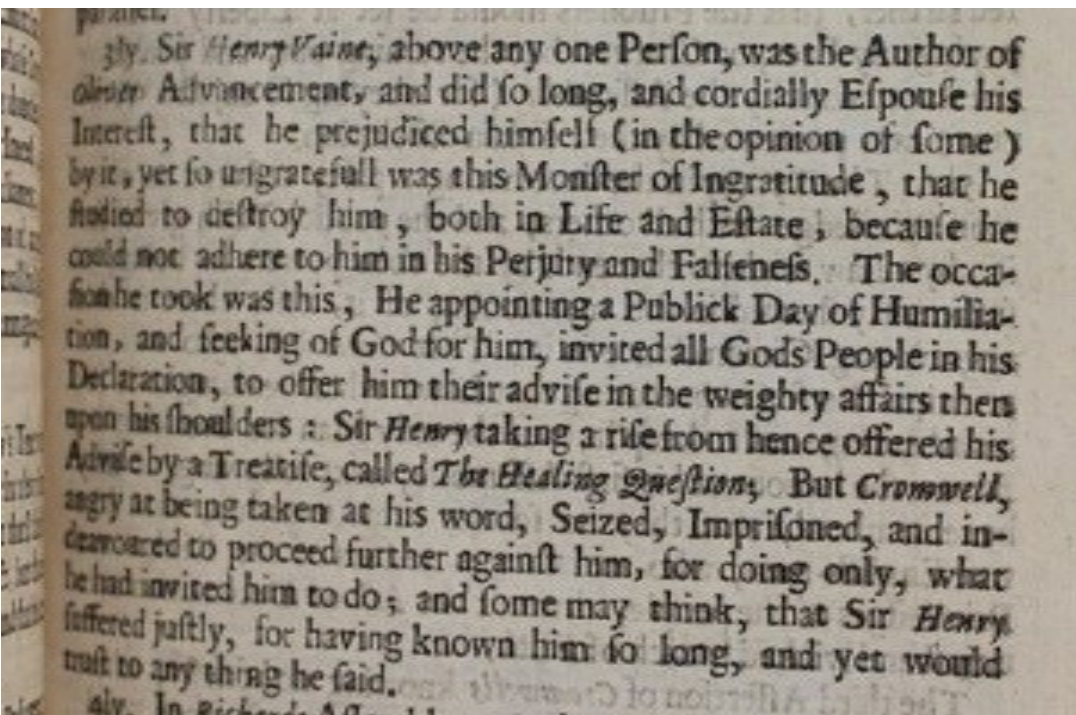
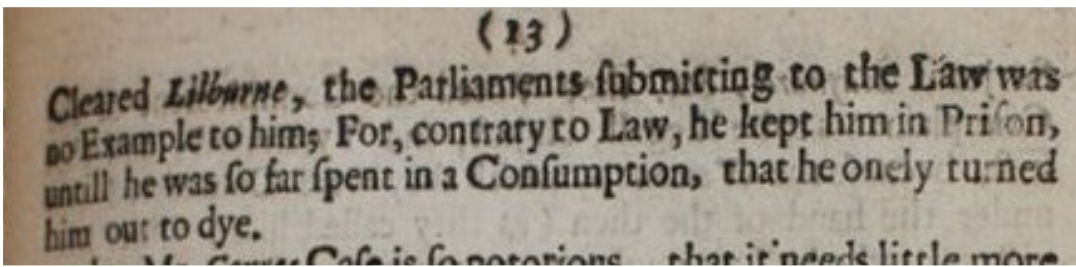
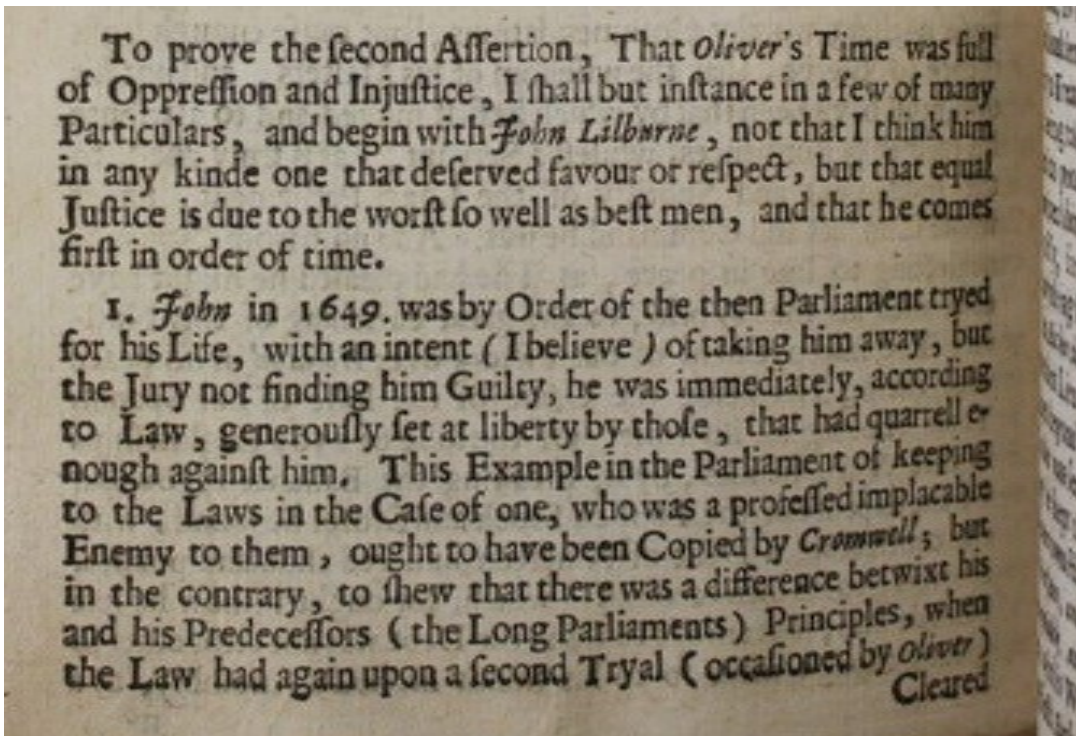
- How does the author use the case of John Lilburne to present Cromwell as a dishonest figure?

- Why does Cromwell eventually release Lilburne?

- What does Sir Henry Vane do to attract Cromwell's anger, according to this source?

- How does Cromwell trick Sir Henry Vane?

- How does this demonstrate Cromwell's dishonest character?



CROMWELL'S REPUTATION: SOURCE I

unjust and wicked breach of Faith,

The third Assertion of *Cromwell's* knowing no honesty, where he thought his particular Interest was concerned, is made good: First (though therein he mistook his Interest) in his odious and unjust Warr with *Spain*, without the least provocations, meerly out of an ambitious and covetous design of robbing that Prince of his Silver and Gold Mines, and because he judged it for his Credit to disguise his unlawfull desires, he proceeded in it, by imploying his Creatures in the City, to draw the Marchants to complain of Injuries done them by *Spain*, and to Petition for Reparations; but by a cross Providence, his Project had a contrary Success; for instead of answering his seekings, the Marchants

Pages 14 and 15

- What is the purpose of Cromwell's dishonesty, according to the author?
- How is Cromwell's war with Spain described?
- Why does Cromwell go to war with Spain?
- How does Cromwell, according to this source, attempt to justify his war with Spain?
- How are Cromwell's agents described?
- Why does Cromwell's plan to create a reason to go to war with Spain fail?
- What was Cromwell's reaction to his plan failing?

(15)

remonstrated to him, the great preejudice that a Warr with *Spain* would be to *England*, and shewed, that that King had been so far from Injuring us, that he had done more for Compliance and preventing a breach with *England*, than ever he had done in favour of any other Nation; But when *Oliver* saw his Method would not take, he called the Remonstrators Malignants, and began the Warr of his own accord, in which, he was highly ingratefull in designing the ruine of that Prince, who all along had been most faithfull to his Party.

Page 15 and 16

- According to this source, how did Cromwell encourage disagreement between the army and Parliament?
- What do you think were the army's main criticisms of Parliament?
- How did Cromwell apparently get away with lying to everyone?
- Why is Cromwell praised by some people, according to this source?
- Why is this praise underserving, according to this source?
- How does 'his Majesty' (Charles II) keep the peace in England?

another; and because the Artifices he used are too many to innumerate, I shall but instance in some few; As his flie complaining Insinuations against the Army to the Parliament, and against them to the Army: His being the chief Cause of the Parliaments giving rewards to his Creatures, and then, whispering

(16)

ing Complaints amongst his Officers, of their ill Husbandry: His obstructing the House in their business, by long drawing Speeches, and other wayes, and then complaining of them to his Souldiers, that he could not get them to do any thing that was good: His giving fair words to every one, without keeping promise with any, except for his own advantage, and then excusing all with forgetfullness: And his deserting his Major Generalls, in their decimations, crying out most against them himself, when he only had set them at work, because questioned by his Assembly, is not to be forgotten, &c. I would not be understood, to re-

truly admired for nothing but Aponane & Ambition, and being ing *Tyberius* in dissimulation, I am not ignorant, that some thinks it matter of praise in him, that he kept us in peace, four years, and nine months; but that hath little in it, his Majesty having done the like, almost double his time, since his Return, with one fifth part of that number of Souldiers which he Commanded; and sometimes

CHAP. LX.

1649.

Sept.
Tredah
stormed.

garrison of three thousand men, under Sir Arthur Aston, an officer of reputation. He expected that Tredah, lying in the neighbourhood of Dublin, would first be attempted by Cromwell, and he was desirous to employ the enemy some time in that siege, while he himself should repair his broken forces. But Cromwell knew the importance of despatch. Having made a breach, he ordered a general assault. Though twice repulsed with loss, he renewed the attack, and himself, along with Ireton, led on his men. All opposition was overborne by the furious valour of the troops. The town was taken sword in hand; and, orders being issued to give no quarter, a cruel slaughter was made of the garrison. Even a few, who were saved by the soldiers, satiated with blood, were next day miserably butchered by orders from the general. One person alone of the garrison, escaped to be a messenger of this universal havock and destruction.

CROMWELL pretended to retaliate by this severe execution the cruelty of the Irish massacre: But he well knew, that almost the whole garrison was English; and his justice was only a barbarous policy, in order to terrify all other garrisons from resistance. His policy, however, had the desired effect. Having led the army without delay to Wexford, he began to batter the town. The garrison, after a slight defence, offered to capitulate; but, before they obtained a cessation, they imprudently neglected their guards; and the English army rushed in upon them. The same severity was exercised as at Tredah.

October.

EVERY town before which Cromwell presented himself, now opened its gates without resistance. Ross, though strongly garrisoned, was surrendered by Lord Taffe. Having taken Estionage, Cromwell threw a bridge over the Barrow, and made himself master of Passage and Carric. The English had no farther difficulties to encounter than what arose from

Hume, D. *The history of England, from the invasion of Julius Caesar to the revolution in 1688. A new edition, with the author's last corrections and improvements. To which is prefixed, a short account of his life, written by himself.*

London, printed for T. Cadell, F.C. & J. Rivington, J. Cuthell, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, John Richardson, J.M. Richardson [and 25 others in London and one in Oxford], 1823. SC 02964 v.7

This is part of a general history of England by the famous philosopher David Hume, written well over a century after the events covered in this section. Here, Cromwell's actions in Ireland are once again considered (note - Drogheda is here referred to as Tredah).

Page 170

- Why did the commander at Drogheda want to delay Cromwell's forces with a long siege?
- What happens during the attack on

Drogheda?

- What explanation is given for Cromwell's actions?
- Does Hume believe Cromwell's arguments? Why?
- Wexford also suffered a massacre - how does Hume explain Cromwell's actions here?
- Can Cromwell's actions be justified? Why?

171

THE COMMONWEALTH.

from fatigue and the advanced season. Fluxes and contagious distempers crept in among the soldiers, who perished in great numbers. Jones himself, the brave governor of Dublin, died at Wexford. And Cromwell had so far advanced with his decayed army, that he began to find it difficult, either to subsist in the enemies' country, or retreat to his own garrisons. But while he was in these straits, Corke, Kinsale, and all the English garrisons in Munster, deserted to him, and opening their gates, resolved to share the fortunes of their victorious countrymen.

CHAP.
LX.
1649.
Novemb.

which arose from a victorious enemy. Cromwell, having received a reinforcement from England, again took the field early in the spring. He made himself master of Kilkenny and Clonmel, the only places where he met with any vigorous resistance. The whole frame of the Irish union being in a manner dissolved, Ormond soon after left the island, and delegated his authority to Clanricarde, who found affairs so desperate as to admit of no remedy. The Irish were glad to embrace banishment as a refuge. Above 40,000 men passed into foreign service; and Cromwell, well pleased to free the island from enemies, who never could be cordially reconciled to the English, gave them full liberty and leisure for their embarkation.

Page 171

- How did Cromwell's army begin to suffer as the campaign against the Irish and the royalists wore on?
- Cromwell does have some good news as he marches around Ireland - what is it?
- How does Cromwell ultimately defeat the Irish/royalist rebellion?
- How does Cromwell remove thousands of enemy soldiers?
- What does Hume mean by 'foreign service'?

The impact of the Civil War on North East England

There were very few areas of Britain left unscarred by the Civil Wars—although most people never experienced a battle, many would have seen food and other supplies taken by opposing armies, or experienced hardships created by the extreme conditions. Many would have joined the armies, or read the pamphlets created to discredit the opposing side.

The North East of England was no exception to this, and saw more than its fair share of conflict during this period, owing to its closeness to Scotland, as well as the key port of Newcastle upon Tyne, with its access to the coal fields of the region.

This economic importance was part of the reason why Scottish Covenanter forces occupied the North East during the Second Bishop's War from August 1640 until September 1641. During this time, the Scottish army extracted money and resources from the North East to help pay for their army, as well as improve their own economy.

This extraction of money and supplies was repeated during the second Scottish occupation of the North East, this time from January 1644, lasting until February 1647. On both of these occasions, widespread hardship was reported throughout the region, as soldiers were often left unsupervised by senior officers. This meant that they used force to secure food and lodgings from the local population. Making matters worse were the poor lines of communication and supply, leading to some soldiers going without pay for months at a time. This could lead to violent confrontations between the soldiers, their officers and local people (see source K).

However, not all of the interactions between the Scottish army and local people were violent. Parish records show a number of baptisms with the father listed as being a member of the Scottish forces—sometimes named, sometimes not (see source L). Some of these soldiers then seem to have settled in the area.

Between the two Scottish occupations, and especially at the outbreak of war in 1642, major settlements were fortified in an attempt to maintain control over this area and its resources. Newcastle in particular saw much alteration, turning the whole city into a fortress and increasing the number of soldiers stationed there.

All of this was to prove fruitless, however. After a siege lasting 8 months, Scottish forces breached the walls with cannon in October 1644 (see source O). Added to this were many battles and skirmishes in the region as Scottish and Royalist forces tried to out-manoeuve each other and secure lines of communication and supply.

One final impact was a consequence of the Battle of Dunbar (see section above). Thousands of Scottish prisoners were marched south, through the North East, stopping off at a variety of towns and cities along the way. Eventually housed in the empty and disused Durham Cathedral, many went on to die of various diseases. Once ill, the prisoners were housed in Durham Castle, with the dead being buried in mass graves on Palace Green.

The following section explores this impact further through the archives held at Palace Green Library.

Bruce, J. (ed.) *Calendar of state papers, domestic series, of the reign of Charles I 1625-[1649] preserved in the...Public Record Office*. London : Longman, 1858-97. 941 STA (DOM)

The Calendar of State Papers Domestic (CSPD) is a large collection of documents related to home affairs collected and used by secretaries of state during the reign of a given monarch. They can be made up of reports, minutes of meetings, committee agreements, letters, petitions, orders and much more besides and can relate to a wide variety of issues the governments of the day were faced with.

As the English Civil War unfolded across the country, the CSPD covered a broad range of events, including those directly affecting the North East of England - as the following examples, taken from volumes 16, 18, 20 and 21 of the CSPD from the reign of Charles I, covering the years 1640 to 1648, show.

Page 540, from vol. 16 (1640)

[July ?] 81. Intelligence from Scotland [sent to Edward Viscount Conway]. All the news out of Scotland is that there are 40,000 or 50,000 men ready upon 48 hours warning to undertake any design the Lords [of the Covenant may] direct. The Lords met on Friday at Jedburgh, but their resolution I have not yet heard. They publicly profess that if they have not redress for those ships which the English have taken, which are said to be about 80 sail, they will [march] for England, and they only stay for answer to a letter they wrote to the King about these ships. They say the letter is peremptory and sharp, and shall be the last they will ever write in that way.

- In the run-up to the Second Bishop's War, what is the threat that the Covenanter army is making against England?
- What is the main grievance the Covenanters have, according to this source?
- Do you think that this really was the main grievance, or could other complaints (such as religious disagreement or taxes) be more important? Why?
- How do the Covenanters make sure that the English understand how close they are to war?

Page 43, from vol.18 (1641)

July 5, London. 16. Henry De Vic to Sir John Pennington, Admiral of the Fleet, aboard the "St. Andrew" in the Downs. The King begins his journey for Scotland on Monday next. The Queen Mother should have gone this day, but her indisposition has not only hindered it, but rendered the time of her departure uncertain. The Scots demand, as a condition necessarily to precede the disbanding or retreat of their army, the payment of 200,000*l.*, *i.e.* 120,000*l.* for arrears, and 80,000*l.* as part of the brotherly benevolence. This being performed, they promise to depart with their whole army within 48 hours, otherwise they must still continue where they are. Only this favour they can and will do to comply with the Parliament's occasions:—that whereas they are indebted to those of Newcastle and the country thereabout some 28,000*l.*, they are content that sum shall be deducted from the 200,000*l.* on condition the Parliament will undertake the payment thereof to their creditors.

CIVIL WAR AND NORTH EAST ENGLAND: SOURCE K

- Charles I is due to leave for Scotland shortly after this was written - why couldn't the Queen Mother begin her journey? What does it mean by 'indisposition'?
- What are the terms that the Covenanter army are demanding? Note - 'L.' on the end of a number refers to pounds.
- Why could the Scottish army be so badly in arrears? Who would they need to pay so much money to?
- What 'favour' do they grant the English?
- How much money does the Scottish army owe Newcastle and the surrounding area?
- Do you think that the amounts of money being discussed here demonstrate that the North East of England was valuable to Charles I and Parliament?

Page 100, from vol. 18 (1641)

as directed. There was a great disorder upon their marching out of Durham. I hear a major with some others was killed; the General went himself to appease the business. Money was the cause of the disorder; it seems the Highlanders, who were the men that made the dispute, had not such satisfaction as they expected. [Copy. $\frac{3}{4}$ p.]

- Was the withdrawal of the Covenanter army from Durham in August 1641 smooth? Why? What happened?
- What was the disagreement about? Does this link in to the previous extract in this source?
- What kind of impression do you get of the Highlander soldiers? How do you think they were viewed by their fellow soldiers?

Page 343, from vol. 18 (1642)

June 20, 25. Warrant of the King to Sir John Heydon, Lieutenant of the Court at York, Ordnance. We having present occasion for the use of ordnance and munition for defence of our person, we require you to send by sea hither or to Newcastle, inasmuch as it will not be safe to do so by land, such cannon, arms, powder, shot, and munition as you can get out of our stores, ships, or otherwise, in such secret and close manner that the same may not be intercepted by those who wish not well to our safety and person. [Signed and sealed. $\frac{3}{4}$ p.]

- Now that the English Civil War has started, what is this warrant from Charles I asking for? Note - remember, Charles is speaking about himself in the third person.
- Why does Charles want the weapons to be sent to York or Newcastle? Does this show the importance of Newcastle?
- Why would it not be safe to send weapons over land?
- Why does the Lieutenant of the Ordnance have to work in such secrecy?

Page 367, vol. 18 (1642)

Aug. 9, Chelsea. 105. The same to the same. The King is taking precautions for securing Newcastle, whither perhaps will be the easier passage of the arms and munition brought over in two frigates, and recently landed at Holy Island, under the conduct of Prince Rupert and his brother, who reported the same to the King at York. Meanwhile

- Why is Charles I so keen to secure and reinforce Newcastle?
- How are his weapons and ammunition being moved about?

Page 453, vol. 18 (1643)

commodious way of disbanding, and that parties on both sides may see it speedily effected. 12. You are to move his Majesty that all forces out of Newcastle and other towns wherein any have been placed since these troubles may be removed, and fortifications that have been lately raised may be slighted. 13. That the garrisons of such towns, forts, and castles as had any before these troubles may be reduced to the proportion they contained in 1636. 14. You

- This extract is part of a list of instructions to Parliamentary negotiators, sent to speak to Charles I. What are these two points asking for?
- Why has Newcastle been singled out for special mention here?

Page 470, vol. 18 (1643)

July 18. 112. Petition of the inhabitants of Thornaby, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, to the Commissioners of both kingdoms. Petitioners live nigh Stockton Castle in the Bishopric of Durham, whereof Captain James Levingstone is now Governor, and have had their meadows eaten up with his horses betwixt Lady Day and May Day last, which amounted formerly to 60*l.* per annum, and is petitioners' chief maintenance in winter; the captain saying further he would take the meadow grass of the said ground when ready and carry it over to the castle, as in part he hath done. Whereupon petitioners addressed themselves to the Committee of the Bishopric of Durham who wrote letters, as by the annexed copy may appear, and the captain neglecting their letters, petitioners repaired to the Committee of War in York who also wrote on their behalf as by a copy thereof, likewise annexed, may appear. Supposing the captain would desist from his former claim upon receipt of the last mentioned letters, they got the meadow into hay and were carting it home when the Governor sent his quarter-master with soldiers commanding petitioners to carry it to the river side, where all the hay is detained till he be satisfied, his demand. He usually distrains petitioners' goods upon the said

Page 470, vol. 18 (1643) cont.

river side, where all the hay is detained till he be satisfied, his demand. He usually distrains petitioners' goods upon the said grounds and keeps them till they be almost starved, and will not render them but upon payment. The soldiers take and kill their goods at pleasure without satisfaction, have broken a windmill nigh the town, and draw their swords upon petitioners when in a peaceable manner they have desired to pass their garrison. Pray for redress, the rather for that the said Governor hath refused to obey so many former advertisements from the Committees of both counties. [1 p.] *Annexed,*

- What is the main complaint set out in this petition?
- Who is the petition addressed to? Who else have the petitioners turned to for help?
- What do the petitioners do once they assume that they have won their case? How are they stopped from doing this?
- How are the governor's soldiers behaving?
- Do you think that this shows the breakdown in law and order in the North East during the English Civil War?

Page 162, vol. 20 (1644)

Nov. 27. Newcastle. 59. Sir George Vane to his father Sir Henry Vane. The gentlemen entrusted here are almost at a nonplus, having with much difficulty engaged the country to advance the Scots' forces amongst us one month's pay in provision and money; but money is the thing that is pressed for throughout the country, which is very difficult to be found amongst us and amongst the ordinary sort of people not to be had; so that this month, for which [it] was engaged, being now expired and no course yet settled for the regular payment of this army and relieving this poor ruined country, I cannot tell what way will be found to content the officers and soldiers. The General is going into Scotland and many of the principal commanders absent, so that the country is likely to be in a very sad condition, and in particular the parts about you at Raby and Staindrop, in which two places there are 160 and odd footmen quartered besides those that are at Wackerfield, Cockfield, Shotton, and Langley Dale, all in co. Durham. I have been labouring ever

- By this point, Newcastle has been taken by the Scottish army. What are the two immediate problems to be dealt with?
- How hard is it to find money in the area? What could be the effect of not paying the soldiers?
- Why is it proving difficult to work closely with the Scottish leaders?
- Which places are specifically mentioned as having Scottish troops quartered there?

Page 174, vol. 20 (1644)

Dec. 4. 65. Sir George Vane to his father, Sir Henry Vane. If my
Durham. letters are plain and open, the sense I have of the insupportable
burden this country in particular has for a long time groaned under
makes me apt to overshoot myself. I shall not need to detain you
longer on this subject at present, but shall remind you to speed a
resolution for a regular way of maintaining the Scotch army, pro-
traction of time being the utter undoing of these parts. I have
paid the money to Colonel Wardlaw, and received his receipt for
150*l*. Discourses private affairs. I found the [Scots'] General of Ar-
tillery very willing to ease your tenants of the soldiers that have
been billeted upon them now this fortnight contrary to his own
declaration, but find not the officers so ready to obey his commands
as he expected, the soldiers being still unremoved, notwithstanding
that he twice gave order about it. The truth is the soldiers are
our masters, and do what they list. Your tenants have generally

- What is the ongoing issue facing Durham in this letter? What might happen if it is not dealt with?
- What does the Scottish General of Artillery agree to do?
- Why can't he move his own soldiers out from their current billets?
- Who is really in charge of things in Durham, according to this letter?

Page 289, vol. 20 (1645)

38. I. *I should have written to you by the last post when I
was at Durham, but the Committee was so troubled with
the officers of those regiments which lie there for want of
money, which our country cannot aff rd, that I forgot
to hand the above letter until the post had started. Sir
of the worst our timber, and some wood was yielded in the
Earl of Newcastle's time. Do what I can I cannot keep
the people who live near there from cutting down and
stealing of your wood. Several of the tenants of the
demesne lands of Barnard Castle, whose leases will be
cut in March or May next, have been with me for taking
of other leases. I desire to know your resolutions herein.*

- Why has this letter between members of the Vane family (a wealthy landowning family in County Durham) been delayed?
- What would be the wider impact on the people living in Durham of this issue?
- What other problems are facing the author?
- Does the author of the letter seem sympathetic to the plight of the tenants threatening to give up their leases?

Page 49, vol. 21 (1645)

August 6. 40. The Committee sitting at Brancepeth to the commander of
 Brancepeth. the Scots' army in co. Durham. The country people think them-
 selves sore burdened and oppressed by impositions laid on them
 by you. We forbear to do anything herein, because we are ad-
 vertised that the Commissioners of both kingdoms, who are to go
 to Scotland, are now upon their way thither and will be here very
 shortly, with whom we will advise concerning such like grievances.
 We entreat that you will desist from further molesting any lands
 which are sequestered for the good of the State, and also from
 demanding coal and candle, hoping that a present course will be
 settled at the Commissioners' coming. [*Neither signed nor ad-
 dressed.* $\frac{1}{2}$ p.]

- What is the main concern of the Committee sitting at Brancepeth?
- Why is the Committee not taking any action immediately? Who are they waiting for?
- What is specifically asked of the Scottish commander?

Page 517, vol. 21 (1647)

January 18. Proclamation by his Excellency the Earl of Leven, Lord General
 Newcastle. of the Scottish armies, to the horse and foot under his command,
 them as becometh brethren. And that there may be a friendly
 and brotherly parting, to the preserving of a right understanding
 and a confirming of the happy union between the kingdoms, I do
 further strictly command that none presume to plunder any houses,
 drive away any goods, nor exact by force or demand any moneys
 or provision by way of advance at the lifting of the army, but that
 they remove and depart fairly and peaceably, without doing any
 wrong, violence, or injury whatsoever in their quarters or upon
 their marches. Certifying all officers and soldiers, and all others
 under my command as aforesaid, that if any of them shall offend in
 the premises they shall be brought to condign punishment for their
 contempt of this order. Which I will be published at the head of
 every regiment for the better observance thereof. Given under my
 hand and seal, at Newcastle, the 18th Jany. 1647. [*Newspaper*

- What type of message is this extract? Who is it from, and who is being addressed?
- What is the main message of the order?
- Why has the Scottish leader issued this order?
- What would happen to any soldiers ignoring the order?
- How does the Earl ensure that every soldier hears his message?

Sept. 12. Robert White, s. of Nicholas White milner.
 „ 26. John Humes, s. of George Humes, Scottishman, Ensigne to Capitaine Weatherburne; the mother Isabell, daughter of Will'm Snaith.
 Oct. 19. Elizabeth Greene, d. of Michaell Greene plummer.
 „ 28. John _____, s. of _____; borne in Elvitt att Tho: Rashells house.
 Nov. 9. Raiph Bruce, supposed to be the sonn of George Bruce a Scotchman; the mother Isabell Stephenson of this parishe. Godfathers Ra: Medcalfe & Robt Gray; godmother Mary wife of Geo: Hull.

Headlam, A. W. (ed.) *The parish registers of St. Oswald's, Durham : containing the baptisms, marriages, and burials, from 1538 to 1751.*

Durham, Thomas Caldcleugh, 1891. SC 11472

This source is a Victorian typed-up copy of the original records from St. Oswald's in Durham, and shows a lesser-known aspect of the first Scottish occupation of Durham and the North East of England - the illegitimate children of the Scottish soldiers and local women. The following are examples from the Christenings lists between 1641 and 1643.

Page 96 (top - September to November 1641)

- Compare the description of the parents of John Humes and Raiph Bruce. Why do you think Raiph Bruce is 'supposed' to the child of his parents?

- Are any clues offered to the type of background these two Scottish soldiers came from?

- Looking at all three of the sources, was this parish particularly wealthy? What sort of occupations did people have?

Page 98 (middle - April 1642)

- Why do you think that no name is given for the fathers to Isabell Forcer and John Rampshawe?

- How different could the prospects be for these children?

Page 100 (bottom - March to July 1643)

- The Scottish army had left Durham by August 1641, so why are there still two Scottish men living in Durham at the time? How has the description of George Humes changed?

1642.
 April 2. Rowland & Elizabeth, two twins, the children of Jayne Ridley, laite wife to John Ridley, supposed to be the children of Thomas Humes Captaine lieutenant belonginge to the L^d Humes Regiment in the Scottishe Armie.
 „ 12. Isabell, d. of Myriell Forcer of Stottyate spinster, supposed to be the daughter of a Scott belonginge to the Scottishe Armie.
 „ 15. John, the sonn of Isabell Rampshawe spinster, supposed to be the sonn of a Scott belonginge to the Scottishe Armie.

1643.
 March 25. Imp^s Henry Eden, s. of m^r Henry Eden gent. Godfathers m^r George Martin, grandfather, m^r William Sidgwicke; & m^{rs} Eliz: Tempest godmother.
 „ 26. Cuthbert Smith, s. of Arthur Smith chepman.
 „ 28. Geo: Hall, s. of John Hall creiple.
 April 13. Francis Forcer, s. of Thomas Forcer virginell maker.
 May 11. Ann Kirkley, d. of Geo: Kirkley of Bournhall yeoman.
 „ 30. Raiph Dunn, s. of Robert Dunn yeoman.
 June 17. George Humes, s. of George Humes gent.
 July 13. George Marshall, s. of Walter Marshall Scotchman.



SJR,



I hath not been want of good-will, but of leisure and opportunity to accomplish my promise, whereto I obliged my self when I parted with you: I wish you knew how often I have fancied thankfulness to you in my minde, for that great favour I found from you, but a stranger to me: Pardon my inability hitherto, and accept of this inclosed Account of the condition of this Army, and of the affaires of it. I am put into much hastinesse, otherwise I might add much of circumstances, and relations of sundry other matters: For the present you may know that we are Masters of a vast quantity of Coals belonging to this Port, most of it appertaining to Delinquents, which wilbe (I hope) a comfortable supply to LONDON: But if you have any friends that intend hither for Coales, advise them to bring some provisions for the Army, especially six-shillings Beer, Hay, or Oates: The Army is this day marched towards the Enemie at Duresme, and his Excellencie

10

intends to visite them if they will stay by it; The English Commissioners intend to remaine here till it please God we can get Newcastle, which by Gods blessing, either when the Enemies Armie now in the field is defeated, or the weather a little warmer, will be suddenly.

W. R. *Doing of the Scots in the Bishoprick (An exact relation of the last newes from the quarters of His Excellency, the Lord Generall of the Scottish Army. Dated from Sunderland March 12, 1643. Fully relating every dayes passage, from their passing over the river of Tine, their taking of Sunderland, and a vast quantity of coales appertaining to delinquents. With propositions to the City of London for the sending out shipping for coales from thence : and sundry other proceedings of that Army in their marching towards Duresme, and in manning the siege against Newcastle. From February 27 to March 12. 1643).* [London], 1644, Printed for L. Blairlock (Newcastle : Reprinted by M. A. Richardson ..., 1847). XL 942.8 REP/HIS 2/1

This source is a Victorian reprint of a pamphlet released by the Scottish Covenanter army that had invaded the North East of England (held by the Royalists) in January 1644. Once again, this pamphlet was intended to demonstrate the righteousness of the army's cause, whilst also providing an update of their latest progress.

Remember, as the new year at this point started on March 25th, this pamphlet actually records the Scottish invasion of the North East of England that began in January 1644.

Pages 9 and 10 - Preface

- What reason does the author give for not writing this update sooner?
- Why is he keeping this message short?

- What is his key message?
- What important resource has the Scottish army secured? Why is this so important?
- Who does the author intend to sell coal to? What is he willing to exchange for them?
- What are their next targets?

they also passed over with the Carriages, and so we directed our March toward Sunderland, it being very necessary for supply of the Armie, and receiving Intelligence, that wee should have that Haven secured, near which we came on Saturday night, March the second: And resting the Lords day, the Enemie crossed the River and let it, so we entred on Munday without striking one blow.

In this March from Tine to Sunderland, notwithstanding the many straight and disadvantagious passages (which were so narrow, that sometimes the people were constrained to march one by one, as in a string: and if God had given our enemies hearts, we might either have beene cut in peeces, or stopped) but we found no opposition from the enemy, and scarcely obtained a sight of them, onely a Body of Horse appeared upon our Reare, at our passing over the River of Weare, at New-Bridge, but interrupted us not. We remained in our Quarters on Munday and Tuesday, taking what care wee could for supply of Provisions in this Enemies Countrey, for so we finde it, not receiving any intelligence or willing supply from them. But it is no wonder wee finde not many friends, when there are so few men, the whole

Countrey being in Armes, either willingly or forcedly: so great a power hath the Cathedrall here. On Wednesday the sixth of March the Enemy having united their Forces, and received an accession of strength by Sir *Charles Lucas*, who brought 21. Troopes from Yorke-shire, and by 1500. Foote, from Cumberland, they drew their Forces to a place about two or three Miles to the West of Sunderland, and shewed themselves upon the top of Worme-Hill: This Army was accordingly drawne forth; and both lay at about half a miles distance, on Wednesday night in the fields, on thursday morning they were

Pages 12 and 13

- Why did the Scottish army march towards Sunderland?
- What particular feature of Sunderland made it important?
- Was it very difficult for the Scottish army to take Sunderland?
- Why do you think that they decided to rest on the Sunday, when they could have attacked the enemy?
- What problems did the army encounter on their march from the River Tyne to Sunderland?
- What problems might this have caused the soldiers?
- How do they describe the way that they secured supplies for their army? Is this any different to how the Scottish army is described as behaving in earlier sources?
- Why are there so few allies for the Scottish army?
- What did their enemies do on Wednesday 6th March? Why did they act at that moment?
- How close together did the two armies get?

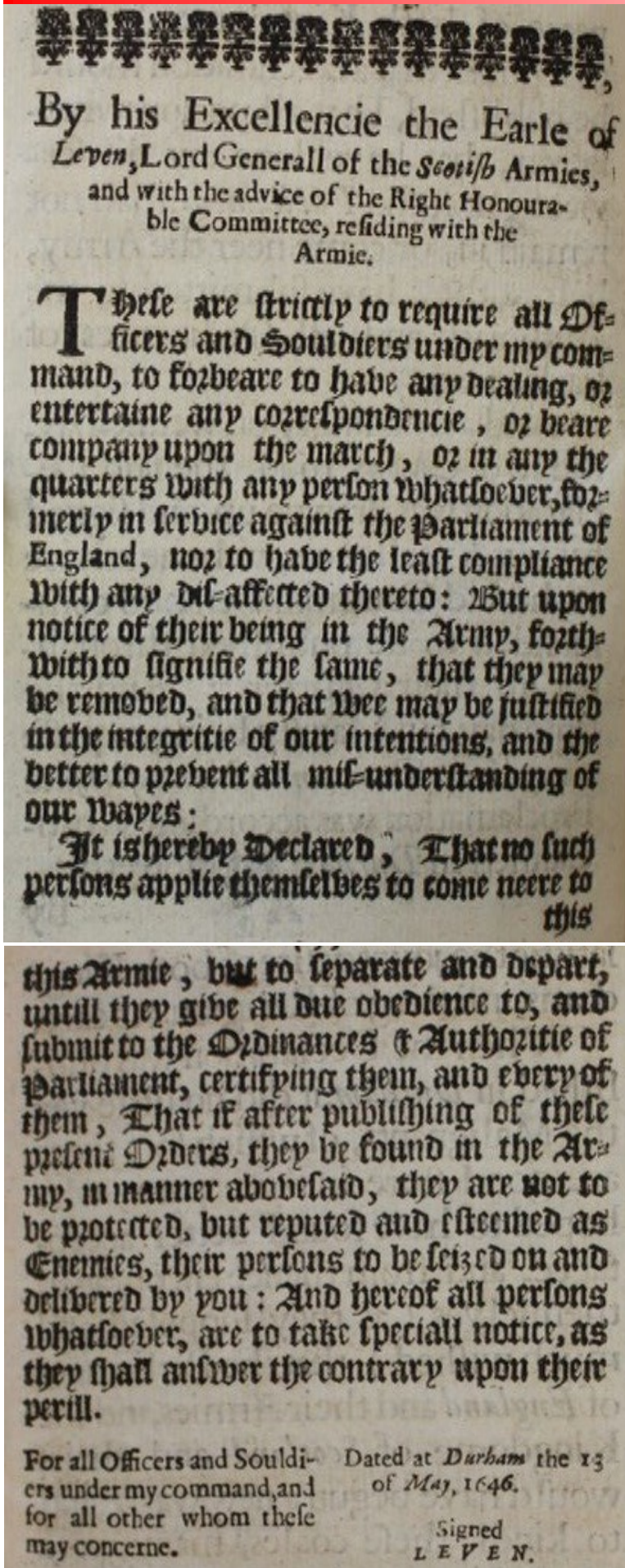
night in the fields, on thursday morning they were againe drawne up something nearer, the Enemy still keeping to the advantage of his ground upon the Hill, so that notwithstanding the nearnesse of some part of both Armies, being not above a quarter of a Mile distant, we could not without very great disadvantage engage this Army, in regard of the impassable Hedges and Ditches betwixt us, so that likewise after the Armies had faced each other that day, they remained in the fields that night also: on Friday morning some little Skirmishes there was, betwixt some small parties of Horse, wherein that little advantage that was, fell to us, taking some few prisoners, by whom wee understood, that they had on Thursday night drawne off their Canon, and withdrawne their Foote, and left a full body of Horse

which faced us in the morning till about tenne of the Clocke, and then taking the advantage of a very thicke storme of Snow, which lasted two or three houres, (and in as sore a manner sure as ever was seene) marched away, and this Army, through the ilnesse of the weather and wayes, rendred uncapable of pursuing, they also having so great a strength of horse in the Reare, and we not supplied with Provisions to march: whereupon on Friday night this Army returned to their Quarters. We since understand by good hands, that the Enemies lying in the field two nights, was almost as bad as a Battell to them, many of their Men and Horse dying, but more running away. Wee likewise sustained some little losse by the extremity of the weather, but nothing neere theirs. Wee heare they lost eight hundred Horse one way or other these two nights.

They are now in Durham, and this Army as yet about Sunderland; onely seven Regiments are (for

Pages 13 and 14

- How much closer were the armies on the following day?
- Why did they not attack one another?
- Did things stay completely peaceful?
- What was the result of the skirmishes mentioned?
- What did the prisoners they took tell them?
- How did the potential battle end?
- Why couldn't the Scottish army chase after the Royalist army?
- Although there was no battle, the two armies suffered losses anyway - why?



Anon. *A declaration published in the Scots army, proclaimed by order from General Leven at Durham, May 13. 1646. With a declaration and orders from the Estates of Scotland, dated at Edenborough, May 8. concerning the King, and those that repaire to him. With the heads of other papers from Newcastle, concerning the manner of His Majesties entertainment there ... With two victories against the enemy in Scotland, two of Colkissoths brothers slaine* London : Printed for Matthew Walbanck, May 21, 1646. XL 942.062 DEC

By this stage, King Charles I was a prisoner of the Scottish army, which remained (for now) allied to Parliament. However, the man in charge of the Scots, General Leven, was faced with a problem - Royalist supporters infiltrating his army, looking to get close to the king and cause trouble. This order was made by the occupying army at Durham.

Pages 4 and 5

- What actions are specifically forbidden by this order?
- What are soldiers ordered to do if they discover Royalists amongst their number?
- What is the main reason behind this, according to the author?
- Royalists are then directly addressed - what are they ordered to do?
- What must they first do, if they wish to approach the Scottish army?
- How are these Royalists to be described, now that this order has been issued?

And the Estates of *Scotland* have discharged all persons whatsoever, to seek or receive any Gift, Pension, or mark of honour from His Majesty, and appointed, that no other desire be propounded to him, but to

satisfie

Pages 5 and 6

- Following on from the previous order, what else is commanded in this next part?
- Why are individuals forbidden to receive gifts, pensions or marks of honour from the king?
- Why are they also forbidden to ask nothing of the king except to help end the war and settle the arguments over religion?
- What was the result of the Declaration being published in Durham?
- How are the Royalists described?
- What was their supposed aim, according to the author?
- How did the Royalists go about trying to secure their aim?

satisfie the joynt desire of both Kingdoms, in settling of Religion & peace.

When the Declaration was published in *Durham*, it did no little vex the Malignants, of which sort there are good store in those parts, who hoped to have found better acceptance, and from thence encouraged themselves (as they supposed and much wished) that the Parliament of *England* and their Armies, and the Kingdome of *Scotland* and theirs would have begun a new warre; and to kindle these coales, many were very active, not only verbally, but in publike action; but blessed bee God, the Cockatrices were crushed in their shels.

they were constrained to turne back. Whereupon the next day the Lieutenant Generall himselfe, came up with the residue of his armye, and fiercelie facing the enemy, beat them from the hill, chased them downe the Gatesyde, and hushing them along the bridge, closed them within the towne. Hereupon he forthwith commanded the Gatesyde, and then the next day he begunne to dispute for the enjoying of the bridge, with the fierie service of Cannon and Musket, which indeed was manfully invaded, and as courageously defended. Yet at last, in despight of the enemy he gained the better halfe of the Bridge, and with much adoe fortified the same with earthen Rampiers, and Artilerie, which still so defensively continued, untill the Towne was taken in by Storme. This being regardfully done, he caused to erect five Batteries, along the Bankhead, and just opposite to the Town, from whence the Cannon did continually extreame good service, not onely against the walls and batteries, but also against particular places, and particular persons: Besides the frequent shooting of Pot-

other. So also the inveterate enemy, making now and then diverse sallies from Towne (issuing at Posterne gates) upon our flanking trenches, engaged themselves into great jeopardies, and our Souldiers to as desperat a defence. Where indeed they both often tasted of mutuall fatalitie; till in end,

workes, two of which exceedingly high, and pallosed, and of great bounds. Nay, the very Capstone of the battlements round about the Towne, were surged and underpropt with little stones; that in case of scalleting, they might have tumbled them over upon the Assailants: Which indeed for the facility of the action, Schoole boyes might have performed. Yea, and all the gapes of the battlements, were shut up with lime and stone, having a narrow slit in each of them, through which they might murder our Souldiers, and secure themselves from a just revenge. The graffe about and without, was digged deeper, and the exterior root of the walls, were steeply lyned with clay-mixt earth, to intercept any footing for Leddars, or climbing thereon: All the Ports about were closed

Lithgow, W. *The siege of Newcastle*. Newcastle : printed by S. Hodgson ... for Emerson Charnley, 1820. Routh 50.K.15

William Lithgow was a Scottish traveller who witnessed the siege of Newcastle (3 Feb 1644 – 21 Oct 1644), and the assault that ended it. The following year, he published his account as a pamphlet, of which the following source is a copy of the original text.

Page 10

- This part explains how the Scottish army got into position to lay siege to Newcastle - where was this position?
- How did the Scots gain control of Gateshead?
- Once taken, what did the Scots go on to seize from the defenders? How did they achieve this?
- What did the Scottish troops do once they controlled the bridge?
- After this, what was set up opposite Newcastle?

Page 13

- What actions did the defenders take to weaken the attacking army?
- How did the defenders get out of the city to attack the Scots?
- What was the result of these attacks?

Page 15

- This passage describes the defences of Newcastle - how have these defences been reinforced?
- What measures have been taken against people climbing the walls with ladders ('scalleting')?
- Were these counter-measures easy to use?
- How have the defenders made sure that they won't be shot at while firing at the Scots?

made hornes. Vpon the Townes Northeast side, and a little without, there was a fortresse erected, called Sheffield Fort, standing on a moderate height, and Champion-like commanding the fields; the modell thus: It standeth squarely quadrangled, with a foure cornerd Bastion at every angle, and all of them thus quadrat, they are composed of earth and wates; having the Northeast side of one bulwarke pallosaded, the rest not, save along the top of the worke about, they had laid Masts of Ships to beat down the assailants with their tumbling force. At the entrie whereof there is a wooden drawbridge, and within it two Courts du guard, the

Page 16

- What extra fortification was provided on Newcastle's northeast side?
- What was Sheffield Fort made from?
- How were the bulwarks on each corner reinforced?
- How did the defenders plan to stop people climbing up the walls?
- What do you think 'Courts du guard' are?

Page 19

- Lord Calendar was one of the Scottish commanders - how is he described here?
- What tasks did he take care to do himself?
- What the 'Mynes' being used for as part of this siege?
- How did he maintain his soldiers' morale?

Page 20

- What order did Lord Lieutenant General Baillie give on the 29th September?
- How long did it take to knock a hole in the walls of Newcastle? Does this length of time surprise you?
- How big a hole in the wall did the cannons create?
- Why did this give 'great encouragement to our Armye'?

indefatigable pains my Lord Calendar took, were more than praise worthy, for late and early, and at all times, he was extraordinary carefull, paynefull, and diligent, in overseeing here and there his Mynes, in directing his batteryes, in managing privat and prudent ends for a publick good, in dispatching of messingers and messages, and in ordering of his souldiers atchievements, by night or by day as they were imployed; insomuch that his industrious, and vigilant actions, became a merveilous amazement; to all these that were acquainted with his paynes, and for my part, to shunne ingratitude, worthy of deserved memorie.

About this some time, September 29, the Lord Lieutennant generall Baillie upon the Townes north syde, and near to St. Andrews Church, gave order (for their his batterie lay) to brash downe a part of the Towne wall, which in three hours space was fortunately accomplished; where the wall fell down, within half a yard of the roote, and so large that ten men might have marched through it in a front. This tryall gave indeed a great encouragement to our Armye; and why? because then our Commanders, were assured, that if their Mynes should be dissappointed, the brashing of the walls should be their last advantage. And yet this breach was

Whereat the enemie growing insolent, gave order for ringing of bells all night, to console (as it were) the distressed mindes of the starving communitie, who rather fed upon violent necessitie, than any other kinde of cherishing or comfortable reliefe: Being whiles flattered with impossibilities, and otherwhiles tyrannized over, by the malicious malignitie of the mercilesse, and now miserable Maior.

For true it is, that this Sir Iohn Marley their Governour, an œconomick Polititian, more wilfull than skillfull, did so inveigle, and blindfold the common multitude, that these letters which hee sent to our Lord Generall, were all read by him in publike to them, being too peremptorie and impertinent: but for the answer of his Excellence that came to him, he concealed them all, making them to believe, that he would admit of no condition, nor grant any safety longer than the revenging sword, might overreach their necks.

All which being falsly and perfidiously spoken, was onely to irritate their doubtfull dispositions,

and to incense their desperate condition, with the deceit of a treacherous despaire, to make them bolder for their dreadfull defence: for indeed there was an order condescended upon, by the Committee, some five weeks before their ruine approached, which was, that if they should render in time, and prevent the greater effusion of blood, they should have faire and free quarters, and all these liberall conditions, that people in the like case, could either look for, or require. But all these profers or offers, were by the Maior vilified, and by him concealed from the people, till their day of desolation was declared. And now the coppies of

and so retired: Now the sequell day come, being Saturday, October 19, (and that day which from age to age Newcastle should never forget) there were certaine commanded men, from every Regiment drawne up; The Officers, I say, having first in their owne quarters throwne the dyce, who should goe in the adventure (fewest blacks destinated thereto) they marched away to all their severall stands about the walls, againe ten of the clocke in the forenoone. Meanewhile the night

Page 21 and 22

- What was happening behind the walls of Newcastle?
- How were people based in the city coping with the siege? What were conditions like?
- How did the people in charge try to raise the spirits of the people of Newcastle?
- What is the author's opinion of John Marley, the Mayor of Newcastle? How does he describe him?
- How is the Mayor's style of ruling described?
- Why do you think the Mayor read out in public the letters he wrote to the Scottish general, but not the general's replies?
- What was the effect of the Mayor not reading out the Scottish general's replies?
- What reason is given for the Mayor lying to the people of Newcastle?
- Do you think that this excuse sounds accurate at all?
- What did the Scottish commanders offer the defenders five weeks before the end of the siege?
- Why wasn't this offer taken up?

Page 24 (bottom)

- Shortly before the Scottish troops attacked the city, what were the officers doing?
- Why were they doing this?
- Why do you think they needed to decide on who would lead the attacks in this way?

batteries brought to their greatest perfection, about three a clock in the afternoone, the two most available Mynes were sprung, one at the Whytefriers Tower Westward, and the other, neare Carres Fort, or Sandgate Eastward; (notwithstanding there were other two sprung here, one of which miscarried) so also, I say, the breaches of the walles by the batteries being made open and passable, and leddars set to at diverse parts for scalleting: Then entered mainely and manfully all the Regiments of our commanded men at all quarters, but more facily and lesse dangerous where the Mynes sprung: The greatest difficultie, and mightiest opposition, nay, and the sorest slaughter we received, was at the climbing up of these steep and stay breaches, where truely, and too truely, the enemy did more harme with hand garnads, then either with Musket, Pyke, or Herculean clubs: This Club hath a long iron-banded staffe, with a round falling head (like to a Pomegranate) and that is set with sharpe iron pikes, to slay or strike with; the forehead whereof being set with a long poynted pyke of iron; it grimely looketh like to the pale face of murther. The first of the foure breaches, was neare to Weavers Tower, where Lieutenant Colonell Henderson a Reformeir, and Major

Now our men being enterd, and fighting for enterie at all quarters round about, Let me pause a while and consider! How grievous? And how dreadfull hot, that cruell conflict was for a long houres space: That truelie it was more than admirable! to behold the desperat courage both of the Assailants and Defendants: The thundering Cannon roaring from our batteries without, and theirs rebounding from the Castle within; the thousands of Musket balls flyeing at others faces, Like to the droving haylestones from septentrion blasts; the clangour and carving Of naked and unsheathed swords, the pushing of brangling Pykes, crying for blood; and the pittyfull clamour, of heart-fainting woemen, imploring for mercie to their husbands, themselves, and their children. That me thought (when now seriously pondered) their reverberating ecchoes piercing the clouds; that terrible noyse of fyrie incensed Martialists, and that loathsome

Page 25

- What does the author mean by 'Mynes were sprung'?
- Where were the mines sprung? What might the effect of these be?
- Were there any other mines?
- How else did the Scottish army get past the walls?
- How difficult was the assault for the soldiers? Was it the same across the city?
- Was there any particular part of the defences that were harder to attack?
- Why would some parts be easier to assault?
- What weapons did the defenders use against the Scottish troops?
- Which weapon was most effective?

Page 27

- At this point, the author pauses his narrative to go into detail about the nature of the fighting - how does he describe the battle?
- Do you think that the author has experience of battle himself?
- How is each weapon described?
- Does this scene match your preconceptions about what the battle would have been like?
- This extract continues onto page 28 below

inspection upon the brazen faces of desperation; had conjured (I say) the Heavens to confound and dissolve the earth; the earth to overwhelme the infernall Pit, the Carkases of men to lye like dead dogges upon the groaning streets: and man against man to become the object of homicidious and barbarous cruelty; O! loathsome sight of despayre. Neither was this all, for our people in this selfe tyme set a house on fire at Clossigate, whereon there fell a meritorious destruction. So had the whole Towne beene served (and a small revenge although it had beene so) if it had not beene speedily prevented by the relenting pittie of the Earle Calendar. So was there likewise at this pre-

Carres fort (where Captaine Surian and some of lesser note lost their lives) then I say, they marched celeriously along to the Sandhill, with flyeing collours and roaring Drummes: Meane while and at this instant, the Lieutennant generall Calendar entering the Towne, dispatched and directed, the Lord Levingston, and Killhead, the earle of Queensberryes brother, with their two Regiments to possesse the walls and to beat the enemy off, all along, betwixt and their passages unto the next breaches northwestward, which was accordingly done: So, and at this tyme, the aforesaid Brigade having attained to the Sandhill, where rancountering the exasperate enemy with a bloodie salutation, the rest of our westerne and northern Brigads, pursuing hotely these shrinking fugitives from the walles, to the choaking Market place: where being distressed (as it were) betweene Scylla and Charibdis, they presentlie called for quarters, and laying downe their Armes without assurance, some were taken, some were shaken, some stood still, and some fled away to hyde their bleeding bodyes in some secret shelter, yea; some sate downe by their fathers fire syde, as though they had caryed no armes.

Upon this surrender (the Major being formerly fled to the Castle, with some others of greater and lesser note) they caused quickly pull downe the red flag on the Castle tope, and set up the whyte flag of peace, signifying subjection. This done, the earle Calendar, having formerly entered the Towne;

Page 28

- The author presents a violent scene as the battle unfolds through the streets of Newcastle. Do you think he approves of the violence?
- Why would the author describe the setting of a house on fire as 'meritorious'?
- Does the author have much sympathy for the city of Newcastle?
- What prevented the entire city going up in flames?

Page 29 and 30

- This passage picks up once one regiment of Scots has entered the city. How did they advance along through the streets?
- What were other regiments ordered to do?
- What happened when the Scots reached the Sandhill?
- How are the beaten defenders described?
- Where did the defenders retreat to?
- Once surrounded, what did the defenders do? Did they all react the same way to being defeated?
- What did the Mayor of Newcastle do once the city was defeated?
- Why did the defenders fly a red flag during the siege and battle?
- This passage continues below.

Calendar, having formerly entered the Towne; with great expedition, gave presently order for quiescing of tumults, and managing disorders, after a considerable way, returned that same night to the Gatesyde. So, as he was the first lay downe before the Towne, so he was duely the first that entred it; and that to the great comfort of the Inhabitants, because of that unspeakable favour, and undeserved mercy, they then suddenly received, far beyond their merit and our expectation.

Then began the whole Armie, commanded, and uncommanded (observing King Davids ancient rule, that they who stayd with the Baggage, and they that fought in the field, should share the booties alike) to plunder, I say, for twenty foure houres time, being an act of permission although to no great purpose. And why? because the common souldiers being onely able to plunder the common people (although they might have justly stretched their hands further) had for the greatest part of them but small benefite, excepting only household stuff, as bed-cloaths, linnings, Tanned leather, calve skins,

men and womens apparell, pans, pots, and plates, and such like common things. But our prime Officers, I say, and others of that nature, by infringing the common souldiers, infringed themselves, and spoyled both their fortunes: for they investing themselves in the richest Malignants and papisted houses, by way of safeguard, had but small compositions for all their protection, and compelled Centries; where otherwise they might have justly and lawfully seized upon all their enjoyments: But this

they: And as they abused their Victorie in storming the Towne, with too much undeserved mercy, so they as unwisely and imprudently overreached themselves in plundering the towne, with an ignorant negligence, and carelesse ommission. And as they thus defrauded themselves, with a whistle in their mouths, so they pitifully prejudged, by this their inveigled course, the common souldiers of their just due, and dear bought advantages.

Page 30 and 31

- What did Earl Calendar (the Scottish commander) do when he won the assault on Newcastle?
- Why would the inhabitants of Newcastle be grateful towards the Scottish commander?
- Does the author approve of the Earl Calendar's mercy?
- What did the Scottish army do once the battle was over?
- How long were they permitted to plunder the city for?
- Do you think that this seems merciful?
- Was the plundering of Newcastle particularly effective? Why?
- What sort of objects were plundered by the soldiers?
- What did the Scottish officers do?
- Does the author approve of how the officers behaved? What is his opinion of the wealthy citizens of Newcastle?
- What does the author think the officers should have done?
- Why does the author firmly believe that the soldiers had the right to plunder the city completely?

For by your leave, if a souldiers industrie be not quickned and animated with bountifull rewards, hee hath lesse will to performe any part of martiall service, than a dead coarse hath power to arise out of

But lest our intentions should be presented to you in a false Glasse, we have thought good to let you see the inside of our undertakings, and the sincere intentions of our hearts in our present proceedings: It is not our own Interests, or setting up of our owne advantages, or the feeding of our owne Lusts that is in our Eye or Ayme; but it is the Glory of G.O.D., the just preservation and safetie of the

Great Britain, Army. *The copy of a letter printed at New-Castle, July the 6, 1647. Sent from the Adjutors of the army under His Excellence Sir Thomas Fairfax, unto their fellow-souldiers in the garrisons of New-Castle and Timmouth*

London: Printed for Tho. Vere ..., [1647]. XL
942.062 ARM

By 1647, Parliament was looking to invade Ireland with a fresh army, intending to disband the New Model Army first. This was despite the fact that:

- A) the New Model Army had just won the Civil War for Parliament, and
- B) Many of the soldiers hadn't been paid for months, and were owed large sums of money.

Needless to say, the soldiers weren't impressed, and a group known as Agitators began to push for pay and reforms. In response, Parliament branded them 'enemies of the state'. This pamphlet from the Agitators was printed in the midst of the national crisis, and is targeted specifically at those troops holding Newcastle.

Pages 2, 3 and 4

- Why do you think the authors felt that they had to so clearly lay out their intentions?
- What are the key intentions of the Agitators? Were there any that you found unexpected, considering that these came from rebellious Parliamentarian soldiers?
- What would they then be happy to do once their aims have been achieved?
- What does the first of three key pieces of advice say?
- Why do you think they chose this as the first piece of advice?
- What can you imply from the fact that the soldiers have to be told to not get discouraged?

the Kings person, the just Priviledges of Parliament, the redeeming of the Lives and Liberties of the free People of England from Tyrannie, Oppression, and Injustice, the maintenance of just Lawes, and the necessarie support and defence of this Kingdome, together with the free and impartiall distribution of Justice to all, which wee have made our Ayme; and when these our Ends shall be obtained, and Meanes for the continuance thereof established, wee shall acquiesse and be readie either to lay downe Armes, or otherwise to be imployed for the Service of the Common-wealth. And that you may be not onely willing (as wee beleieve you are) but also able to prosecute effectually the same things with us, we shall offer this advice to you.

That you will not suffer yourselves to be broken in pieces by any discouragements, but unite your selves in Love, and strengthen one another in Resolution, to keepe your standing, and performe the trust reposed in you,

(4)
in that place of Strength and Consequence wherein you are.

II.
 That you would not (upon any pretended Order whatsoever) betray your trust, or deliver up your Garrison into the hands of any, untill you shall receive Commands from our Generall, whose Warrant onely is able to beare you out in it.

III.
 That you would endeavour to hold Correspondence with us, by appointing some faithfull men, who may at all times acquaint us with your Condition, and receive such Information from us, as may concerne you.
 And

And be you assured, that wee shall at all times faithfully stand by you, in all just and lawfull proceedings, and make all your sufferings our owne, and endeavour to the utmost of our abilities to manifest our selves the earnest seekers of your, our own, and the Kingdomes welfare, subscribing our selves

Exbridge, 25.
 June, 1647.
 Yours, and the Kingdomes
 faithfull friends and servants,
 chosen to Agitate in behalfe
 of the Army.

Pages 4 and 5

- What is the second piece of advice?
- Does this suggest that commands, real or not, are circulating from other sources?
- Who are the soldiers told to only listen to?
- What is the third piece of advice?
- Why have they published these pieces of advice in this order?
- How do the authors reassure the soldiers that they will try their hardest to secure their demands?

Glossary

Anglicanism: The branch of Protestantism ruled over by the king or queen of England; at the time of the English Civil War, this was seen as retaining many ceremonies and traditions of Catholicism.

Bishop's Wars: The two wars fought between Scottish Covenanters and English forces over the amount of control the king should have over Scottish religious affairs; there were, however, other reasons, such as the economy and taxation.

Book of Common Prayer: The official prayer book for use in churches, as ordered by the king - and therefore Anglican in style.

Catholicism: The oldest branch of Christianity, ruled over by the Pope, based in the Vatican City in Rome. By the English Civil War, it had been rejected by the monarchy and the vast majority of the nobility of England and Scotland, though it retained a majority following in Ireland.

Commonwealth of England: The term used for the republic established in England from the execution of Charles I in 1649, through to Oliver Cromwell becoming the Lord Protector of England in 1653.

Council of State: A group of mainly army officers sympathetic to Oliver Cromwell who ruled England from Charles I's execution in 1649, through to Oliver Cromwell becoming the Lord Protector of England in 1653. After this, it became more of an advisory council to Cromwell.

Covenanters: A popular movement based in Scotland, of people who had signed up to the National Covenant (see below). Later made an alliance with Parliamentary forces and helped to defeat Charles I, but later switched sides in support of Charles II.

Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral: Durham Cathedral is governed by the Chapter (a group of clerics), led by the Dean.

General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland: The highest court of the Kirk of Scotland (see below), made up of ministers or elders of each area of Scotland. Meets each year in May to discuss, amend and make church laws.

Indentured servants: Individuals, often poor, who worked for four to seven years in the American colonies in return for their travel across the Atlantic, accommodation and freedom dues (an amount of money or goods paid upon completion of their term). Although they had some rights, generally speaking, life as an indentured servant was hard.

Kirk of Scotland: The Presbyterian (see below) national church of Scotland.

Levellers: A group of radicals from the second half of the 1640's, who advocated for equality before the law for all, more religious tolerance and much wider voting rights, as well as a government that answered to the people, not the king. Leading figures in this movement include John Lilburne (see Source I) and Richard Overton. Note - the term 'Leveller' was given to them by their opponents, who accused them of being far more radical than they were.

Lord Protector: A post taken up by Cromwell (for life) on 16th December 1653, giving him much of the same powers as a king, but without the royal associations.

GLOSSARY

National Covenant: Document signed at Greyfriars Kirk, Edinburgh, on 28th February 1638, by noblemen and clergy. Later copied and distributed throughout Scotland for signing by large numbers of people, who became known as 'Covenanters'. This document sought to defend Presbyterianism from perceived attacks from the king, Catholics and Anglicans. It also aimed to set up a Scottish Parliament, free of Charles I's interference, and to get rid of bishops from Scotland - they were seen as interfering with individuals' connection to God.

Pamphlet: A small and brief printed booklet, especially popular in the 17th century, as they could be quickly and cheaply printed and sold widely. Easy to make, they made it straightforward to share and debate ideas and opinions.

Parliament: Provided advice and council to the king, as well as deciding on laws and taxes, although under the heavy control of the king before the Civil Wars began. During the Wars, formed the main focus of opposition to Charles I.

Presbyterianism: A branch of the Scottish church governed by assemblies of clergy and church elders. In this time period, it was heavily influenced by Calvin and Knox, and was strictly Protestant in nature, believing that God was the true head of the church, not the king. Therefore, the king couldn't interfere with the church, or force it to accept bishops chosen by him.

Protectorate: The term used for the rule of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector from 1653, and of his son Richard Cromwell, until his resignation in 1659.

Protestantism: Branches of Christianity that broke away from the Catholic Church following the Reformation. Examples include Anglicanism and Presbyterianism.

Puritan: A type of English Protestant who believed that the Reformation had not gone far enough, and that Christian worship and churches had to be made much simpler, as well as living by a strict moral code.