

III.—THE SCOTTISH CAMPAIGN IN NORTHUMBERLAND
AND DURHAM BETWEEN JANUARY AND JUNE,
1644.¹

By C. S. TERRY, M.A.

[Read on the 22nd February, 1899.]

In September, 1643, the English Parliament had entered into the Solemn League and Covenant with Scotland. The alliance once more threatened Newcastle and the north of England, which, since the withdrawal of Leslie and his army in August, 1641, had been maintained in the interests of Charles by the efforts of the earl of Newcastle. Towards Newcastle the attention of Parliament had early been turned. On January 14th, 1642, a declaration² had passed both Houses, 'That no Shippe, Shippes, or Barques, shall from henceforewards, make any Voyage for the fetching of Coales, or Salt, from *Newcastle, Sunderland, or Blyth*, or carrying of Corne, or other Provision of Victuall, Vntill that Towne of *Newcastle* shall be freed of, and from the Forces there now raised, or maintained against the Parliament.' In the middle of July, under the title *Newcastles Lamentation and Hulls Preservation*, a pamphlet was printed in London³ giving an account of an attempt which had been made on the 16th of the

¹ This paper deals with the early portion of the campaign of 1644, the second invasion of England by the Scots in the course of the Civil War. The story of the latter portion of the campaign, the interest of which is largely centred in the siege of Newcastle, is followed in another paper in this volume. The author's object in this paper has been to follow the progress of the campaign, so far as is possible, in the news-letters and pamphlets which the Civil War called forth in such large numbers. The materials for the paper have been furnished largely from the sources acknowledged on page 83 of this volume. Some of them have been published by Richardson in his *Reprints*. None of them, so far as the author is aware, has been utilised to present a consecutive story of the stirring period with which they deal.

² *A Declaration of the Lords and Commons, 1642* (Richardson *Reprints*).

³ Printed by Order by G. Tomlinson, London, 1642. An earlier pamphlet, dated May 24th, 1642, entitled *Horrible Newes from Yorke, Hull, and Newcastle*, states, 'There is a contention and Mutiny at Newcastle, it was supposed that his Maiesty would have taken that for his Fort, and some were resolved to assist his Maiesty, others the Parliament, which was the greatest part. And report hereof being made to the House of Commons, a Committee was appointed last Monday of this present moneth to sit, touching the differences between the Major, and Townesmen of Newcastle, further Examination being taken therein.'

month, by the earl of Newcastle, while Charles was still engaged at Hull, to place a force of five hundred men into the town. 'The Towne and colliers of New-Castle,' however, 'manfully resisted them, and made them Retreat out of their Bulwarks and out of the Town; and upon their resistance killed eleven of their men.' The earl, therefore, had retired to York in order to collect 'more strength to go against the Inhabitants of New-Castle.'

By the following month, however, Newcastle and its authorities had definitely ranged themselves on the king's side. Upon the 19th of August, 1642, Nicholas Cole, the mayor, and the common council passed the following resolution:—⁴ 'Upon due consideration had of his Majestys great and urgent occasions at this time for money, and for the duty and respect which they rightly owe to his Matie, It is thought fit by Mr. Mayor, the Aldermen, Mr. Sheriff and the rest of the Common Council, being the representative body of this Corporation that there shall be lent out of the revenues of this Towne the sum of 700*l* of lawful English money, and it is so ordered hereby accordingly in demonstration of their due obedience.' With the closing days of the year, the queen's agents in Holland were busily furnishing from that quarter men and money for the support of the royal cause. In a letter from Rotterdam, dated 'December 16, 1642, *stilo novo*,'⁵ a correspondent speaks to the fact that the queen's agents 'labour here exceedingly in sending away Men, Money, Horse and Ammunition unto Newcastle. Upon thursday last [Dec. 12th] I was at the Hague and there saw Her Majestys Standard which was just then going away, to be sent to Newcastle.' Four hundred officers and old soldiers, four hundred horses, with a further contingent of one thousand, he adds, were to follow. And further, 'It is very credibly reported here, that there is now sending away with all speed to Newcastle 160,000 pound sterling . . . by way of loane raised by Papists in these parts . . . for the Queene.'

The preparations which were being made in the north were viewed with considerable alarm by the Parliament. In May of the next year, 1643, the 'Antilope' was despatched on a cruise of observation along

⁴ *Corporation Records*.

⁵ *A Great Discovery of the Queens Preparations in Holland, 1642* (Richardson Reprints).

the north-eastern coast. The narrative of its voyage⁶ is of considerable interest :—

From Aboard His Maiesties Ship called the 'Antilope.' In Holy Island Road, upon the coast of Northumberland, this 11. of June, 1643.

May the 24. we came right before Tynemouth Barre, and with our Ship stood right in before the Castle, and within shot of it, to see if they would shoot at us, but they did not, neither did we at them, the wind then being faire, and West-North-West, we discovered two Ships comming over the Barre, before they were aware of us, and when we were within ken of them, they could not go backe (being much amazed to see our Ships on such a suddaine) but checked into the Shoare, thinking to stand to their heeles, but we firing six pieces of Ordnance at them, made them submit, whereupon they bore up to us, and so wee made them lawfull Prize, upon examination wee found them to be of Lyn, and had carried Corne to Newcastle, for the reliefe of the Romish Rout, and Anti-Christian crew there, whereupon the Castle was presently in an uproare, wee observing the souldiers running too and againe, expecting still when they would shoot at us, but they did not; being belike jealous of the lower-Townes men, whom they feared would have taken our Part, and doubtless they would have done so, had we proceeded on: we came then to an Anchor before the Bar, about sun-set, and that night we had a well-wisher who stole off in a boat, and gave us intelligence of a great Papist that lived about a mile north from the Castle, within half a mile off the shoare, the House I knew well, and the owner thereof, one Mr. Cramlington of Newsham, who had made ready halfe a dozen Horses and Men to goe to the Earle of Newcastles Army, whereupon I animated the Captaine to prevent his going, and likewise I undertook to be their guide, so about 12. a clocke at night, we armed foure score men, well provided, whome we landed on the shoare, and thence marcht up in order unto the House, and placing our Centinels, round about it, we repaired first to the Stable, thinking to make all sure there, but we found not onely all the Horses gon, but the Gentleman himselfe, the day before: after some small opposition, we entred the House, but found no Ammunition at all therein, whereupon our Souldiers plundered it, and so returned on Ship-board. The next morning we set saile for Barwick.

After describing their doings at Berwick and Holy Island, the writer concludes, 'The next Newes you heare from me, will be about some service we expect to performe against Newcastle it selfe and then I will write to you more at large.'

Meanwhile, the strict embargo laid by Parliament upon trade with Newcastle was beginning to cause considerable discontent and privation. On June 5th, 1643, it was represented that 'the City of London and all the greatest part of this kingdom are like to suffer

⁶ *A True Relation of Very Good Service Done by the Antilope.* London, July 4. Printed by Elizabeth Purslow, 1643.

very deeply in the want of that Commodity [coals] and which is like to have very dangerous consequence in the influence which it may have upon the necessities of the meaner sort.'⁷ The veto of Parliament remained in force, however, until Newcastle had fallen in October of the following year.

Beyond this regulation, so damaging to the commercial prosperity of the town, no steps had so far been taken for its reduction. Sir John Marley, its mayor and governor, had, however, it would appear, to guard against measures more insidious than overt attack. In December, 1643, the earl of Lanark 'went to Newcastle, quhair he had sum dealling with Schir Johne Morall, governour of Newcastle, to betray the town to oure Generall Leslie.' The Scottish writer adds inaccurately, possibly in order to explain Lanark's failure, 'This tresson is discoverit, he [Marley] is removit and wardit, and ane new governour put in his place.'⁸ Lanark's attempt to suborn Marley had followed hard upon the ratification of the alliance between Scotland and the English Parliament in the previous September. From that moment London and the Parliament awaited with eager confidence the fall of the royalist stronghold in the north. The news-sheets of January, 1644, are filled with optimistic and circumstantial statements that the Scots had already arrived before Newcastle, and that the town had surrendered. Dissensions between Marley and sir Thomas Glemham were reported with equal assurance.⁹

⁷ *An Ordinance with Severall Propositions*, 1643 (Richardson Reprints). See also in that collection a quaint pamphlet, *Sea-coale, Char-coale, and Small-Coale, or a Discourse concerning the Prohibition of trade with Newcastle*, 1643.

⁸ *Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland* (Spalding Club), vol. ii. p. 299.

⁹ *A Continuation of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages*, No. 2, for January, 3-10, 1644, 'From Newcastle the certaine intelligence is; That a great difference hath lately arisen between Sir Thomas Glemham (appointed by the Earle of Newcastle to be Governor there) and Sir John Marlow now Major and Governour of that Towne; which controversie as is credibly reported, the Scots have sent letters, intimating thereby, they intend to be there shortly, and beside the difference betwene them, by which it is manifest, we shall not much longer waite in hopes for their comming to assist us, but enjoy our expectations.' *The Parliament Scout*, No. 29, for January 5-12, 1644, reports, 'The newes came flying this Wednesday [the 10th] at night, that the Scots were come as far as Newcastle almost, which though questioned by many, yet because its so much desired, and every mans expectations are upon their coming, we will now believe it, and be confident by this day sennight they will be at Newcastle, and so we may here fall to rigging up old and new ships to fetch coals, which by that time they get thither no doubt there will be coals ready to take in; therefore let those that have wood, sell good pennyworths, lest they repent it.' *The Scottish Dove*, No. 13, for January 5-12, 1644, prematurely prints 'a full Rela-

Accompanying these premature rumours of the arrival of the Scots and of the fate of the town, information reached London which would strengthen the hopes which the royalists had placed upon Newcastle's ability to sustain a siege. The *Parliament Scout*¹⁰ reported: 'We had newes also, that two ships were come to Newcastle from Denmarke, the one with twenty brasse pieces, store of Ammunition and powder, and that that ship compelled a ship laden with corne to go in with them.' The ships probably conveyed also Donald, lord Reay,¹¹ who remained to take part in the siege in October, 1644. The deposition of John Chamberlayne,¹² a mariner of King's Lynn, who was at Newcastle on January 25th, 1644, gives an interesting account of the preparedness of Newcastle to resist the attack to which common rumour asserted that the town had already succumbed. He states that sir Thomas Glemham was awaiting the arrival of the Scots in Northumberland, while Marley had in garrison at Newcastle no more than five hundred men, all of whom were townsmen. The 'High Castle' was the only place in the town fortified. Within the last ten weeks, however, the garrison had received one hundred and fifty

tion of the taking of Newcastle by the Scots in the following terms: 'This Evening it is with much confidence affirmed that the Scots have taken Newcastle: We had two dayes since newes that they were on Saturday [the 6th] morning before it. For my part, I believe it is true that it is taken, they say they presently yeelded, and that Sir Tho. Glemham quit the Towne, and is gon to Yorke.' *The British Mercury or the Welsh Diurnal*, No. 7, for January 6-13, 1644, in a style reminiscent of Shakespeare's Fluellen, reports, 'Her heare of a certaine truth, that the prave Sea-cole Towne of Newcastle is taken by our brudders of Scotland, and that Sir Thomas Glemham hath quit the Towne, and is gone to Yorke; but how, when, and in what manner it is taken, her shall at this time forbear to relate, till her has better information. But pelieve her, 'tis very true, for her heard a Pird [the *Scottish Dove*] sing so in a printed paper on Friday last.' *A Continuation of Certain Speciall Passages*, No. 3, for January 10-17, 1644, even quotes as evidence information brought to London by a sea-captain, who declared that he was at Newcastle on January 10th when the Scots came before the town, 'whereupon after very little respite the Towne was surrendered.' *Occurrences of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages*, No. 3, for January 12-19, 1644, offers a letter of the governor of Newcastle in proof that the 'townsmen of Newcastle seemed so much to desire the Approach of the Scots, that hee could not expect, but that when they came before the towne, they would yeeld it up to them, whether he would or no.' *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 35, for January 18-25, 1644, states boldly, 'wee have now certaine advertisement by one which came to Towne on Tuesday, Jan. 23. from the Towne of Newcastle, that the Scots came in thither on wednesday was fortnight, there are in all ten compleat Regiments come into England, wherof seven of them are quartered in Newcastle.'

¹⁰ No. 29, for January 5-12, 1644.

¹¹ Wishart, *Memoirs of Montrose* (ed. Murdoch and Simpson), p. 154 n.

¹² *Portland MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Comm. pt. I. app.) p. 167.

barrels of gunpowder, as well as some small guns which had come over some eight days before in a Danish ship from Amsterdam. Five hundred muskets had also arrived in two cobsles from Scarborough. A certain 'Browne Bushell' was in Newcastle, and had been there for six or seven weeks past. The 'Ipswich Sarah' was there also, lading with coal for Hamburg, whence she was to return with arms. There were also five men-of-war at Newcastle, and a ten-gun ship had lately run ashore at Coquet Island, but her guns had been secured and taken to Glemham at Alnwick. Two ships from Holland with arms and ammunition were daily expected. As to Glemham's forces, they were estimated at five thousand, but half of them were unarmed. In Newcastle, many were well-affected towards the Scots, and a great deal of coal was lying awaiting shipment on the staithes. The garrison, Chamberlayne reported, had recently destroyed a fort between the 'Uplight' at Shields and Newcastle, but there still remained the 'Spanish work' and the 'Lower Light Fort.'¹³

Meanwhile the Scots, whom their sanguine well-wishers in London regarded as already in possession of Newcastle, were but slowly making their advance across the Border. On January 20th, 1644, colonel Francis Anderson, stationed at Wooler, informed Glemham as follows :—¹⁴

Sir,—The Last night I had notice that Weltons Regiment¹⁵ was quartered in Warke Barony, at Preston, Leermouth, Wark, and Mindrum, it was twelve of the Clock at night before the intelligence came to me, whereupon I immediately caused the guards to be strengthened and doubled, my Scouts attending untill the morning for more perfect information, that I might advertise you of it ; it is now confirmed by one that was this morning amongst them, that there is six Colours of Horse, which were drawing out, and the Drums beating for the calling-out of some Companies of Foot, which also are come over, but the certain number of foot, I cannot as yet learne, but suppose them to be a part of the Lord Maitlands Regiment,¹⁶ which lay at Calstreame [Coldstream-on-Tweed]. I shall endeavour to keep my Quarters hereabouts, untill I receive farther orders from you. I am now drawing my whole Regiment into Wooler, having heard for certain as I was now writing, that a great body of the Enemies Foot, and very

¹³ The Spanish fort at Tynemouth and the Low Light fort at North Shields were retained for the guarding of the river.

¹⁴ *Copies of Letters from Sir Francis Anderson and Others* (Richardson Reprints).

¹⁵ Colonel Michael Welden's regiment contained seven troops. Alexander Home was lieutenant-colonel.—Rushworth, *Collections*, vol. v. p. 604.

¹⁶ The Midlothian regiment of ten companies ; col. lord Maitland ; lt.-col. Piscottie ; major John Hay.—*Ibid.*

many Troopes of Horse advanced over Barwick Bridge yesterday, and were as farre as Haggeston [Haggerston]; it is conceived they will forthwith march towards Belforde, for they are quartered on the English side; you will please to take these things into a present consideration, and afford a present answer.

The army which, under Leslie, was thus threatening Northumberland, is given at 18,000 foot, 3,000 horse, and 500 or 600 dragoons.¹⁷ It was 'weill armit with feild pieces, swadden fedderis, and all ingyinis of warr necessar.'¹⁸ It consisted of the following regiments: ¹⁹ the Loudoun-Glasgow, under lord Loudoun, ten companies; the Tweeddale, under the earl of Buccleuch, ten companies; the Clydesdale, under sir Alexander Hamilton, general of the artillery, ten companies; the Galloway, under colonel William Stewart, ten companies; the Perthshire, under lord Gask, ten companies; the Angus, under lord Dudhope, ten companies; the East-Lothian, under sir Patrick Hepburn, laird of Wauchton, ten companies; the Strathearn, under lord Cowper, ten companies; the Fife, under lord Dunfermline, ten companies; the Kyle and Carrick, under the earl of Cassillis, ten companies; the 'Nithsdale and Annandale, under Douglas of Kilhead; the Mearns and Aberdeen, under the earl marshall, three companies; the Linlithgow and Tweeddale, under the master of Yester, ten companies; the 'Levyed' regiment, under lord Sinclair; the Stirlingshire, under lord Livingstone, ten companies; the Merse, under sir David Home, ten companies; the Midlothian, under lord Maitland, ten companies; the Edinburgh, colonel James Rae, ten companies; the Teviotdale, under the earl of Lothian, ten companies; the 'Ministers' regiment, under colonel Arthur Erskine, five companies. Fifty-two troops of horse, also, were commanded by Leven, David Leslie, the earl of Eglinton, lord Kircudbright, lord Dalhousie, lord Balcarres, Michael Welden, lord Gordon, and the marquis of Argyle. Colonel Fraser, lieutenant-colonel Crawford, and serjeant-major Monroe acted as 'Dragooners.'

Rushworth gives the following scale of pay to the various ranks in the army:—

A Schedule of Allowance to be made to Officers and Souldiers, Horse and Foot, in the *Scottish Army*, for their Entertainment in their March, or as they shall be Quartered in *England*, not exceeding these Proportions and Rates hereunder mentioned:—

¹⁷ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 603.

¹⁸ *Memorials of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 298.

¹⁹ Rushworth, *ibid.* p. 604.

| | L. | s. | d. |
|---|-----|-----|-----|
| To a Master of Horse, daily | 00. | 06. | 00. |
| To a Root-Master, or Captain of Horse, daily ... | 00. | 06. | 00. |
| To a Lieutenant of Horse, daily | 00. | 04. | 00. |
| To a Cornet | 00. | 02. | 06. |
| To each Corporal, Quarter-master, and Trumpeter ... | 00. | 01. | 06. |
| To every Trooper for his own Dyet, daily | 00. | 01. | 00. |
| To every Horse-Officer, or Trooper, for his Horse, of straw 5 sheeves, or a Stone of Hay | 00. | 00. | 04. |
| And of Oats, the measure of three Gallons, English, at If the Country People have no Oats, they may have them at Magazine at <i>Berwick</i> , and shall have allowance for them, | 00. | 00. | 06. |
| To a Lieutenant-Collonel of Foot, daily | 00. | 05. | 00. |
| To a Major of Foot, daily | 00. | 04. | 00. |
| The Captain | 00. | 03. | 00. |
| The Lieutenant | 00. | 02. | 00. |
| The Ensign | 00. | 01. | 06. |
| The Quarter-master and Sarjeant, each | 00. | 01. | 00. |
| The Corporal and Drummers, each | 00. | 00. | 08. |
| The Common Souldiers, daily a-piece | 00. | 00. | 06. |
| To the Carriage-men the like Entertainment as to the Common Foot-Souldier; and for the Carriage-Horse 3 pennyworth of Straw or Hay, and 2 penny-worth of Oats. | | | |
| The Dragoon is to have for himself 8d. a day, and for his Horse three pennyworth of Straw or Hay, and a groats-worth of Oats. | | | |

The Officers of Dragoons are to have Entertainment at Discretion, not exceeding the Rates following:—

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|
| The Lieutenant-Collonel, daily | 00. | 06. | 00. |
| The Major, daily | 00. | 05. | 00. |
| The Captain, daily | 00. | 04. | 00. |
| The Lieutenant, daily | 00. | 03. | 00. |
| The Ensign, daily | 00. | 02. | 06. |
| The Serjeant, daily | 00. | 01. | 04. |
| The Corporal and Drummers, each | 00. | 00. | 10. |

In regard to the Scottish ordnance, sir Alexander Hamilton appears to have invented a new type of gun 'made purposely for this designe, above three quarters of a yard long, or some a yard, that will carry a twelve pound bullet, to doe great execution at a distance, and yet so framed that a horse may carry them.'²⁰ Leven's heavy

²⁰ *The Scots March from Barwicke to Newcastle.* London: Andrew Coe, 1644.

ordnance was, however, sent by sea to Blyth to meet the army at Newcastle.²¹

The movements which sir Francis Anderson reported to Glemham at Alnwick on January 20th, presaged the commencement of the campaign. On the same day, Glemham received from Argyle and sir William Armyne, commissioners with the Scottish army, a copy of the Solemn League and Covenant and a long declaration upon it.²² Glemham replied to Argyle as follows :—²³

My Lord,

I have received by your Trumpeter a Letter from your Lordship and Sir William Armyne : It is long and of great concernment. And the other directed to Colonel Gray, who for the reason before mentioned, and for the reason that here are none but Officers, he cannot return you an Answer so suddenly by your Trumpeter. But I will send presently to the Gentlemen of the County to come hither, and then you shall receive my Answer, with the officers and theirs by themselves, by a Trumpeter of my own.

Your Servant,

THO. GLEMHAM.

Alnwick, Jan. 20. 1644.

In fulfilment of his promise, Glemham, on January 22nd, conferred with the gentlemen of the county.²⁴ In face of their numerical inferiority compared with the invading Scots, Glemham invited them to consider what should be done with the positions which they might be compelled to evacuate as Leven advanced, or whether it was advisable to offer any resistance at all, but to withdraw in the hope of being adequately reinforced. Upon the first point the opinion of the meeting was divided. Some of those present were in favour of laying the country waste in front of the Scots, others were disinclined to sanction so drastic a measure. Upon the hopelessness of any attempt to resist the Scots in their present numbers all were agreed.²⁵ Glemham, therefore, contented himself with securing the signatures of those present to a spirited answer criticising the statement

²¹ *A True Relation of the late Proceedings of the Scottish Army* (Richardson Reprints).

²² *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644, p. 31. The letter is dated 'Barwick, the 20th day of January, 1644', by the warrant and in the name of the Committees of Both Kingdoms.—*Copies of Letters from Sir Francis Anderson and Others* in Richardson Reprints. *The Memorials of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 306, says the letter was sent to Glemham, 'now governour of Newcastle, in the place of that deposit traittour, Schir John Morrall.'

²³ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 607.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *The Scots Army advanced into England* (Richardson Reprints).

furnished him by Argyle and Armyne of the motives which animated the Scots in their present invasion of English territory.²⁶ Unable to offer serious resistance to Leven, Glemham at once called in his forces, evacuated Alnwick and retired on Newcastle,²⁷ having first destroyed the bridge across the Aln at Alnwick.²⁸

With the way thus cleared, Baillie and his command moved from Kelso to Wooler on January 23rd, and on the following day Leven was at Adderston awaiting the arrival of the artillery.²⁹ From there, on the day of Leven's arrival [January 24th], one who accompanied him sketched in a letter³⁰ the future progress of the expedition. 'We are confident,' he writes, 'our quarters shall be about the Town of Newcastle upon Saturday the 27. of this Instant; which if they will not yeeld up, we have no purpose to stay there, unless it be to seize on the Block-Houses upon the River, that the Parliament ships may come in in safety (for there is no fear from the Castle).' The winter was exceedingly severe, and that part of the Scottish army which crossed at Kelso passed over the Tweed on ice.³¹ Upon the arrival of the army at Alnwick, Argyle marched towards Coquet Island, and possessed himself of it after firing a single shot. He took prisoners seventy officers with their men, and captured seven pieces of ordnance, with their ammunition, together with provisions sufficient for one year which he found stored there.³² Placing a garrison in the island, Argyle, presumably, joined the main body of the army at Alnwick.

By January 28th, the Scots had reached Morpeth. Writing from York to prince Rupert on that date, the marquis of Newcastle

²⁶ *The Memorialls of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 307, gives the letter. It is signed by 'Jacob Munday, Robert Clavering, Thomas Glenhame, Robert Boswell, Ritchard Tempest, Edward Grey, Edward Polen, Charlis Bradlig, George Muschans, Frances Ker, Frances Carnegie, Thomas Tindail, Raip Millot, Frances Andersone, Alexr. Wndermill.'

²⁷ *Scottish Dove*, No. 17, for February 2-9, 1644, quoting a letter from Glemham, dated January 28th.

²⁸ *Mercurius Britannicus*, No. 2, for January 31-February 6, 1644.

²⁹ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 612.

³⁰ *The Scots Army advanced into England, certified in a letter dated from Addarston, the 24. of January. From his Excellencies the Lord Generall Leslies Quarters.* London, 1644.

³¹ *A True Relation of the late Proceedings of the Scottish Army* (Richardson Reprints).

³² *Ibid.* *A True Relation of the Scots taking of Cocket Island* (Richardson Reprints).

expressed his inability to cope with Leven. 'I know they tell you, sir,' he writes,³³ 'that I have great force ; truly I cannot march five thousand foot, and the horse not well armed. The Scots advanced as far as Morpeth, and they are fourteen thousand as the report goes. Since I must have no help, I shall do the best I can with these.' Leven rested at Morpeth until February 1st, awaiting the arrival of the rearguard.³⁴ Glemham had designed to hinder their advance by destroying the bridge at Felton as he already had demolished that at Alnwick, 'but the Masons and workmen which hee brought thither for that purpose, were so affrighted by reason of the exclamations and execrations of the Countrey women upon their knees, that while Sir Thomas went into a house to refresse himselfe they stole away, and before hee could get them to return, hee received an alarum from our Horse which made himselfe to flee away with all speed to Morpeth, where he stayed not long but marched to Newcastle.'³⁵

Leaving Morpeth on February 1st, Leven had intended to encamp within two miles of Newcastle on the following day. He halted, however, at Stannington on the 2nd, having been confronted by 'some unexpected lets by reason of water and other impediments,' while the English and Scottish parliamentary commissioners remained at Morpeth to supervise the commissariat.³⁶ This unexpected delay proved most fortunate for the marquis of Newcastle. He was thereby enabled to throw himself and his forces into Newcastle on February 2nd,³⁷ a few hours, as it proved, before the arrival of the Scots. On the 13th, the marquis and general King despatched a letter to Charles informing him of their movements :—³⁸

Receiving intelligence of the Scots continuing their march, he [King] hasted to Newcastle in his own person some days before his forces could possibly get thither ; where truly he found the town in a very good posture, and that the Mayor, who had charge of it, had performed his part in your Majesty's service very faithfully ; and all the aldermen and best of the town well disposed for your service. And though our charge was very tedious, by reason of floods occasioned by the sudden thaw of the snow, yet I came thither the night before the Scots assaulted the town, which was done with such a fury as if the gates had been promised to be set open to them ; but they found it otherwise ; for the

³³ Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert*, vol. ii. p. 368.

³⁴ *A True Relation of the late Proceedings of the Scottish Army.*

³⁵ *Ibid.* ³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.* ³⁸ *Life of William Duke of Newcastle* (ed. Firth), p. 347.

truth is, the town soldiers gave them such an entertainment (few of our forces being then come into the town, and these extremely wearied in their march), as persuaded them to retire a mile from the town, where they have remained ever since quartered in strong bodies, and raising the whole country of Northumberland, which is totally lost.

The marquis's timely arrival and the resistance he inspired caused considerable disappointment among the Scots. Sir William Armyne, in a letter to Lenthall from Morpeth,³⁹ announced Leven's arrival at Newcastle on February 3rd: 'The Marquess of Newcastle, whom they call the Kings General, came late into the town the night before, which was unknown to us, and upon the approach of some of our soldiers to a work of theirs without the town⁴⁰—where some few were slain—they within set on fire and burnt down all the streets and houses lying without the walls on the north side of the town, by which and the other circumstances we gather that they are resolved obstinately to hold it out to the last.'

Upon the approach of the Scots, the marquis sent out a party of horse to reconnoitre. They returned and reported Leven to be at hand with '22,000 horse and foot, well armed and commanded.'⁴¹ Before the preliminary skirmish at the outwork, from which the Scots were repulsed,⁴² Argyle and Armyne, ignorant of or neglecting the marquis's presence,⁴³ sent a trumpeter to the town with the following letter:—⁴⁴

To the Right worshipful the Major, Aldermen, and Common-Councill,
and other the inhabitants of the Towne of Newcastle.

Right Worshipfull and loving Friends,

Our appearance here in this posture, through mis-informations, and misunderstandings, may occasion strange thoughts in you. If we had opportunity of speaking together (which hereby we offer and desire) it is not impossible, that as we hold forth the same Ends, *The preservation of Religion, The Kings true Honour and Happinesse, The publicke Peace and Liberty of his Dominions*; so we might agree upon the same way to promote them: If you yeeld to this Motion, you shall finde us ready to do our parts therein; but if worse counsell take place with you, and all Parley be rejected, although thereby you will be unjust to your selves, yet we have reason to expect ye should be so just to us, as

³⁹ *Portland MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Comm., pt. i. app.) p. 169.

⁴⁰ 'A work that was not finished.'—*Life of Duke of Newcastle*, p. 65.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* ⁴² 'They were beaten back with much loss.'—*Ibid.*

⁴³ 'Seemed to take no notice of my Lord's being in it, for which afterwards he [Leven] excused himself.'—*Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *A True Relation of the late Proceedings of the Scottish Army.*

to acquit us of the guilt of those manifold Inconveniences and calamities that may be the fruits of those forceable wayes you will thereby constrain us to. We desire your present Answer.

Subscribed the 3. of Febr. 164 $\frac{3}{4}$. by the Warrant, and in the name of the Committees and Commissioners of both kingdoms, by us,

Your friends,
ARGYLL.
W. ARMYNE.

To this letter Marley and his colleagues returned a speedy answer.⁴⁵

My Lord,

We have received a Letter of such a nature, from you, that we cannot give you any Answer to it more then this, That His Majesties Generall being at this instant in the Towne, we conceive all the power of Government to be in him. And were he not here, you cannot sure conceive us so ill read in these Proceedings of yours, as to treat with you for your satisfaction in these Particulars you write of, nor by any Treaty to betray a trust reposed in us, or forfeit our Alegiance to His Majesty, for whose honour and preservation together with the Religion and Lawes of this Kingdome, we intend to hazard our Lives and Fortunes, and so we rest,

Your Servants

| | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| JOHN MORLEY. <i>Major.</i> | |
| NICHOLAS COLE. | THOMAS LYDELL. |
| LIONEL MADDISON. | ALEXANDER DAVISON. |
| MARK MILBANKE. | FRANCIS BOWES. |
| FRANCIS ANDERSON. | HENRY MADDISON. |
| RALPH COCKE. | LEONARD CARR. |
| ROBERT SHAFTOE. | CUTHB. CARR, <i>Vic.</i> |
| RALPH GREY. | JOHN EMERSON. |
| HENRY REWCASTLE. | CHARLES CLARKE. ⁴⁶ |

Subscribed by us, the 3. of Febr. 164 $\frac{3}{4}$,
in the names of the Common-Counsell
and the rest of the inhabitants of the
Towne of Newcastle.

Of the delivery of Argyle's letter and of the town's reply to it, one who was present in Leven's camp gives the following account :—⁴⁷

The Army marched towards Newcastle, and about twelve a'clock came before the town, and drew up very near it, horse and foot, and then before the engaging of any of our forces, we sent in a Letter . . . by the Marquesse of Argyles Trumpeter.

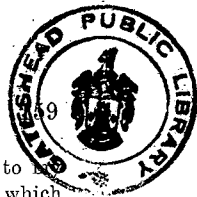
Upon the town's answer the writer makes the following observations :—

⁴⁵ *A True Relation of the late Proceedings of the Scottish Army.*

⁴⁶ For notes on these signatories see pp. 156-7 in this volume. ;

⁴⁷ *A True Relation, etc.*

SHIELDFIELD FORT ATTACKED.



The firste, that this Towne of Newcastle have resigned themselves to the Lord of Newcastle, and extinguished their right to the Government, which will be a good president for us, if God see fit to deliver it into our hands. Secondly, the Malignity of the next expression (although hee was absent) which if their malice had not bene beyond their wit, they would have spared and rested in their former answer. And thirdly, they teach us a lesson, which wee shall learne in time, to avoid Treaty. And lastly, it is not improbable, That the Town of Newcastle hath a deep score to pay for their contempt of the Gospel, persecution of their Ministry, the pride, idlennesse, and fulnesse of bread, which reigned among them. But I remit them to their owne Master whose Judgements are unsearchable.

Early in the afternoon, in the interval between the despatch of Argyle's trumpeter and the receipt of the town's answer,⁴⁸ the Scots delivered that attack upon the outlying fort in the Shieldfield already referred to in the marquis's despatch. The writer, whose caustic observations on the conduct of Marley and his colleagues have been quoted, gives an account⁴⁹ of this incident : —

Some of our men were drawn up to a stone-Bridge⁵⁰ a quarter of a mile from the town, at the entrance into the Shield-field, to beat out some men of theirs out of a little Sconce that lay near it,⁵¹ and did it presently without losse; but they retired to a sharper work near the Windmill,⁵² where the controversie was more hot, and our arguments not strong enough; the great peeces⁵³ being not come in regard of the uncertainty of the Sea by which they were to come. . . . In six houres assault or thereabouts, wee lost only fourteen men. The enemy having lost about seven or eight, fled to the Town, and we possessed the Fort, which is within halfe-musket shot of the walls: After that they sent forth eight Troopes of Horse which the Generall-Major of the Horse charged with five, though they could not charge above three in breast together in respect of the Coale-Pits; notwithstanding which the charge was so hard upon the enemy, that they presently retired into the Town, there was none killed on either side, only we took two prisoners, wherof one was Lievtenant, who cursed and railed for halfe an houre together. . . . They discharged many great Pieces from the Town towards night, but to little purpose. But in the evening they sacrificed

Betwixt the Letter and the Answer.—*Ibid.* ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Over Pandon burn.

⁵¹ The duchess of Newcastle does not mention this incident. See note 40, however, from which it may appear that this protecting outwork was unfinished, hence the retirement upon the larger Shieldfield fort. For the Shieldfield fort, see p. 212 in this volume.

⁵² The windmill, a well-known landmark a few generations ago, stood near the Shieldfield fort, on the east bank of Pandon burn.

⁵³ 'Hee [Leven] had not then his murthering pieces ready.'—*A True Relation of the Scots taking of Cocket Island.*

all the Houses without the Walls which were very many (as they think) to his Majesties service, we heard the cry of the poor people, and it is like to be heard higher.

The attack upon the Shieldfield fort, which had commenced before the receipt of Marley's answer to Argyle's letter, continued until late in the evening. A letter written from Leven's quarters on February 21st⁵⁴ gives a few supplementary details. The letter states:—

We came before the Town of Newcastle without any opposition, till we came before the Town, where the enemy had made up a Fort against us; for gaining whereof, my Lord Generall sent forth a party of Muskettiers to storm the East side of it, and another party to storm the West: they went on with as much courage and resolution as ever any did to so great an attempt, discharging their Muskets very courageously in the midst of the greatest disadvantage that could be, being in the open fields, almost fully in the view of their enemy; the enemy being sheltred with Fortifications, and answering our Musket-shots with shots of Canon and Muskets. In which posture they continued till twelve of the clock at night, with the losse onely of Patric English, Captain-Lieutenant to the Lord Lindsay, and 9 common Souldiers.

The result of the engagement on the afternoon of Saturday, February 3rd, was, therefore, to leave the Scots in possession of Shieldfield fort. Its abandonment was one of Marley's first measures when, in the following autumn, Leven again threatened the town. Its loss at this period, however, determined Marley to demolish the outlying houses on the east of the town at Sandgate,⁵⁵ as he had already destroyed the suburbs on the north. The conflagration thus caused continued 'burning all that night, and Sunday and Monday all day.'⁵⁶ While Marley destroyed the suburbs, the Scottish troops near Sandgate, 'about half a flight shot from the water, with the concurrence and advice of the Generall of the Artillery, seized upon two Ships and ten lighters.'⁵⁷

It is probable that Leven had not looked for much resistance. In 1640, his victory at Newburn had been followed by the flight of Conway and by the immediate surrender of the town.

⁵⁴ *A Faithfull Relation of the late Occurrences and Proceedings of the Scottish Army before Newcastle* (Richardson Reprints).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* ⁵⁶ *Ibid.* *The Memorials of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 369, states:— 'The town of Newcastell brynt up the suburbis thairof, lest the enemy sould tak advantage thairof; and, as wes reportit, oure army had gottin the worst anse or twyss, and so mony hurt that chirurgeanis wes send out of Edinbrugh to cure them.'

⁵⁷ *A Faithfull Relation*, etc.

Now, however, Marley and his fellow townsmen had declared their intention of devoting their lives and fortunes to the cause they had embraced. Nor did the marquis of Newcastle show any disposition to follow Conway's example. An assault of the town was impossible, however, without the heavy siege guns which the Scots had sent by sea to meet the army. Not until Tuesday, February 6th, did they reach Blyth Nook, from whence, on the next day, they were conveyed to the Scottish camp at Newcastle.⁵⁸ Upon their arrival, the Scots, on Thursday, February 8th, extended their operations with the view of further surrounding the town, and of securing the coal-pits on the Gateshead side of the river. On that date, 'we sent forth a Party,' writes one⁵⁹ serving under Leven, 'which seized on some Boats and Liters, wherewith we intend to make a Bridge to morrow over the River, where all the Newcastle Ships continue still, being hindered to escape by seven of the Parliament ships,⁶⁰ whereby a great part of the Horse and Foot, with some Ordnance, are to passe to the Bishopricke of Durham, and environ the Toun on all hands, and secure the Cole pits on the South.'

Meanwhile, the efforts of the English were directed towards laying waste the country from whence the Scots drew their supplies. About February 11th, sir Thomas Riddell, in command at Tynemouth, sent out a party for that purpose, which fell in with a Scottish foraging party:—'A Squadron of our Horse, about 15 men, with whom other 10 accidentally joyned, fell upon 100 Musketiers of the enemy sent from Tinmouth for that service, killed 14 or 15 of them, and took prisoners 50; whereof the General kept onely 2, and sent 48 into Newcastle; and the Marquesse sent back 7 or 8 of ours who were catched straggling. The Gentleman who gave this Defeat, is the Earl of Eglington's Major, his name is Montgomery.'⁶¹ The marquis upon returning his prisoners thanked Leven for his courtesy, and expressed the hope that shortly he might be in a position to repay it.⁶²

⁵⁸ *A True Relation*, etc.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* See, also, p. 178 of this volume.

⁶⁰ The messenger, who brought the news to London of Glemham's meeting with the Northumberland and Yorkshire gentry at Alnwick, reported that he saw at Newcastle seven ships loaded with goods for Holland, and that he had warned certain of the Parliament's commanders, who designed to intercept them with eleven ships.—*The Scots March from Barwicke to Newcastle.*

⁶¹ *A Faithfull Relation*, etc.

⁶² Newcastle to Charles, March 9th, 1644.—*Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1644.

While the Scots continued round Newcastle, the marquis wrote to Charles⁶³ to enlighten him on the critical position of affairs :—

These enclosed will let your Majesty see that absolutely the seat of war will be in the north, a great army about Newark behind us, and the great Scotch army before us, and Sir Thomas Fairfax very strong for the West Riding of Yorkshire, as they say, and his father master of the East Riding: so we are belet, not able to encounter the Scots, and shall not be able to make our retreat for the army behind us. This is the greatest truth of the state of your Majesty's affairs, whatsoever any courtier says to the contrary. If your Majesty beat the Scots your game is absolutely won; which can be no other way but by sending more forces, especially foot.

The nature of the marquis's plans finds some explanation in his 'Life,'⁶⁴ written by his wife: 'The enemy being thus stopped,' she writes, 'before the town, thought fit to quarter near it, in that part of the country; and so soon as my Lord's army was come up, he designed one night to have fallen into their quarter; but by reason of some neglect of his orders in not giving timely notice to the party designed for it, it took not an effect answerable to his expectation. In a word, there were three designs taken against the enemy, whereof if one had but hit, they would doubtless have been lost; but there was so much treachery, juggling and falsehood in my Lord's own army, that it was impossible for him to be successful in his designs and undertakings. However, though it failed in the enemy's foot-quarters, which lay nearest the town,⁶⁵ yet it took good effect in their horse-quarters, which were more remote.'

The Scottish cavalry were stationed along the valley of the Tyne as far west as Prudhoe and Corbridge. On February 19th they were attacked in both quarters, in accordance with that 'design' of the marquis, probably, of which his wife speaks. The incident at Corbridge is thus described :—⁶⁶

2 Regiments of horse of the Scottish army, in which were 15 Troupes, under the command of the Lord Balgonie the Generalls son, and the Lord Kirkcudbright⁶⁷ lying at Corbridge two miles from Hexham, had an Alarme given

⁶³ Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert*, vol. ii. p. 381.

⁶⁴ ed. Firth, p. 65.

⁶⁵ Probably at Elswick, where Leven had his quarters from August to October, 1644, and opposite the Redheugh, where he had camped in 1640.

⁶⁶ *A Faithfull Relation*, etc.

⁶⁷ The two regiments of horse stationed at Corbridge were Leven's (of which James Ballantyne was lieutenant-colonel, and sir Robert Adair, major; eight companies), and Kirkcudbright's (lieutenant-colonel James Mercer, major Alexander Cruke; seven companies).

them by 25 Troups of the Enemy, who [were] under the command of Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Colonel Fenwick, who had also waiting on them, three or 400 Musquetters, which the other Troups wanted: Both parties drew up betwixt Corbridge and Hexham; and Ballentyne Lievtenant Colonell to the Generalls Regiment, charged the enemy and made them give way with losse, and so the second time, and had taken above 100 prisoners, but not satisfied with that, gave a third charge, which drave them to their Musquetters which were placed behind them, and being thus engaged with horse and foote, our Troups were disordered and had a very strait retreat through a gap, where some men were lost, but the enemy pursued not far, for they were, as I suppose, loath to engage beyond their foot notwithstanding their advantage. Our men wheeling in that disorder, were met by Colonell Robert Brandling, with ten Troups more, who crossed the water below Corbridge, and was to have fallen upon the Reere of our men, but it fell out to be the Front in their returne. Brandling forwardly rode out before his Troupes to exchange a Pistoll, and one Lievtenant Elliot rode up to him, and when they had discharged each at other, and were wheeling about to draw their swords, Brandlings horse stumbled, and the Lievtenant was so neere him as to pull him off his horse, which when his men perceived they retreated, which gave courage to our men to fall on, which they did, and drove them over the River againe, killed some, and forced others through the water so hastily, that there were some of them drowned, and thus was the day divided . . . there were about 60 men killed upon the place. We have lost Major Agnew,⁶⁸ Capt. Forbes, a Cornet . . . We have taken Colonell Brandling, one Lievtenant, none else of note. We are upon moving.

The marquis, in a despatch to Charles⁶⁹ on March 9th, gave a somewhat different version of this fight at Corbridge, in which the victory was made to rest with Langdale. On the side of the Scots two hundred are mentioned as having been killed, captain Haddon⁷⁰ among them, and one hundred and fifty as having been wounded or taken prisoners, among them Leven's son, wounded in the shoulder, major Agnew, Archibald Mackie, and cornet Ker. Langdale had also captured two 'horse colours' and a 'dragoon colour.' Clearly the engagement was of an indecisive nature. On the same day colonel Douglas crossed the river at Prudhoe, and attacked a 'quarter' of the Scots with such success that the enemy abandoned four other 'quarters' in the neighbourhood.⁷¹

But, with the scanty forces at his disposal, the marquis found it impossible to adequately defend the many river-fords between Hexham

⁶⁸ A major Agnew was attached to the Galloway regiment.

⁶⁹ *Cal. of State Papers (Dom.)* 1644, under date.

⁷⁰ Possibly major Haddon of the Loudoun-Glasgow regiment.

⁷¹ Newcastle to Charles, March 9th, 1644.—*Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1644.

and Newburn. So soon as the Scots showed a disposition to advance into Durham, perforce he must leave them, as he expressed it, 'to their own wills.'⁷²

On the nineteenth day [February 22nd] after his first appearance before Newcastle, Leven, deeming it inadvisable to lock up his army in difficult and lengthy siege operations, ordered the forward movement which the marquis had expressed himself as powerless to prevent. In his camp on the north side of the river Leven placed six regiments; the Mearns and Aberdeen, the Strathearn, the 'Levyed' regiment, the Perthshire, the Merse, and the Nithsdale and Annandale, with some troops of horse under sir James Lumsden,⁷³ afterwards governor of Newcastle during Charles's last and longest visit to the town in 1646. With the rest of his forces Leven set forward on February 22nd. His march is described in some detail in a lengthy letter despatched from the Scottish quarters at Sunderland on March 12th, 1644.⁷⁴

Sir, It being resolved, as most conduceable to our affairs, that the Army should passe the river of Tyne, leaving behinde on the north side 6 Regiments, *viz.*, the Earl of Marshals, Lord Coupers, Sinclars, Gasks, Wedderburne and Kelheads, and som Troops of Horse under the command of Gen. Major Sir James Lumsdail.

Upon Thursday the 22. of February, we marched from our Quarters neer Newcastle to Hadden on the wall,⁷⁵ some foure miles up the river; and all that night lay in the fields, almost in the very same place where we quartered the night before our crossing Tyne at Newburne in the last Expedition:⁷⁶ which passage the enemy had now fortified, not onely upon the river side, but above neer the top of the hill.

Upon the 23. day, we marched forward, and were quartered along the river side, from Ovinghame to Corbridge, about two miles distant from Hexam: Wpon the other side appeared some of the enemies Horse marching toward us; but about midnight, their Regiments of Horse that were at Hexam marched thence,⁷⁷ leaving behinde them Major Agnew (who had formerly been taken in the skirmish at Corbridge) for a safe-guard to the house of Colonel Fenwicke, who had used him courteously. The Lords providence was very

⁷² Newcastle to Charles, March 9th, 1644.—*Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

⁷³ *The late Proceedings of the Scottish Army.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Heddon-on-the-Wall.

⁷⁶ August 28th, 1640.

⁷⁷ Newcastle purposed to give the Scots battle, but finding them 'quartered on high hills close by the river Tyne,' in a difficult position, and aided by the bad weather, the marquis was 'necessitated to withdraw his forces, and retire into his own quarters.'—*Life* (ed. Firth), p. 67.

observable, in vouchsafing two fair dayes upon us in our march; the day preceeding our march being very Snowie, and a terrible storm of Drift and Snow ensuing the day after.

Upon Wednesday the 28. we passed Tyne, without any opposition, at three severall Foords, Ovinghame, Bydwell [Bywell], and Altringhame [Eltringham] betwixt these two (the Foot wading very deep) and that night quartered in villages neer the river. The Lords providence was as observable in that nick of time we passed the river, which for eight dayes after had been impossible for us to have done, in respect of the swelling of the river by the melting of the Snow. When we had passed Tyne, we marched to the water of Darwen [Derwent river], where we found an impetuous flood, and still waxing so, that there was no possibility for our Foot to march over, but at a narrow Tree-bridge neer Ebchester; where the half of our Foot marched over the Bridge by files, the other half stayed on the other side till the next day; so that the whole army was necessitated to quarter all night in the fields.⁷⁸ Upon Friday [March 1st] the rest of the Army came over, and we directed our march towards Sunderland, being the fittest place for receiving of Intelligence, and supplying our Army. The day was very cold, and in the afternoon came on a thick rainy mist, notwithstanding whereof, we came within a mile of Chester on the street.

Upon Saturday, March 2. we passed Ware [the Wear] at the new Bridge neer Lumley;⁷⁹ the enemy shewing themselves in a body upon a hill toward Newcastle, about two miles distant from us. We quartered that night at Harrington, and the villages adjacent, where we did rest all the Lords Day [March 3rd], and entered Sunderland upon Monday the 4. of March: All that day, and the day following, was spent in taking care to supply the Army with Provisions;⁸⁰ which we obtained with no small difficulty, being the enemies Countrey; for so we may call it, the greatest part of the whole Countrey being either willingly or forcedly in Arms against the Parliament, and afford us no manner of supply, but what they part with against their wills.

So far the advance of the Scots had been unmolested. The marquis of Newcastle, however, strengthened by forces from Durham, and by twelve troops of horse from Yorkshire under sir Charles Lucas, followed in pursuit of Leven.⁸¹ On Wednesday, March 6th, at one o'clock, the marquis crossed the Wear at the 'new bridge' by which the Scots had passed four days before. Soon after, he came in sight of the enemy and drew up in battle order. The Scots, how-

⁷⁸ 'On the high moors.'—*Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644, under date March 9th. See Baillie, *Letters*, etc., vol. ii. p. 152. ⁷⁹ At 'the Newbridge.' *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ In *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644, under date March 1st, is a minute of the Committee of Both Kingdoms that 'supply of victuals to the Scottish army is most pressing'; on March 8th, is a recommendation by the same that ships trading to Newcastle shall be approached as to conveying victuals to the Scots, to return with coals; on the same date, the commissioners with the Scottish army are informed by the same, 'We have sent you a quantity of butter and cheese in the 'Hopeful Reformation' of London, Henry Blunt, master.'

⁸¹ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 615.

ever, though they did not risk an engagement, continued in sight for the rest of the day.⁸² On the 7th, in 'exceeding snowy' weather, the Scots took up a strong position on Boldon hills. Here the marquis dared not attack them, but after further skirmishing on the 8th, moved his army southwards to Durham,⁸³ leaving the Scots in undisturbed possession of Sunderland.

These movements are described more graphically in the letter⁸⁴ already quoted.

Upon Wednesday, the enemies Forces of Durham and Newcastle being joyned, and likewise strengthened by the accession of 12 Troops of Horse from York-shire, under the command of Sir Charles Lucas, being supposed to be about 14000 Horse and Foot, did shew themselves upon the top of a hill about three miles distant from Sunderland. Such of our Army as could be presentlie advertised, were drawn up within half a mile of them, and continued all that night (though it were very cold and snowing) in the fields.

Upon Thursday the 7. the enemy drew up their Forces upon a height about two short miles from us ; but the snow fell in such abundance, that nothing could be done till the middle of the day, that it was fair ; at which time we advanced towards them, and they marched Northwards, as is conceived to gain the winde. Both Armies were drawn up in Battell, the enemy having the advantage of the ground ; but we could not without very great disadvantage engage our Armie, in regard of the unpassable ditches and hedges betwixt us. Both Armies faced other till the setting of the Sun, at which time the enemy retreated, and we kept the ground till the next morning in a very cold night.

Upon Friday the 8. in the morning, there was some little skirmishing betwixt some small parties of Horse, wherein the advantage that was, fell upon our side ; we took divers prisoners, by whom we understood that many of theirs were wounded. Our commanded Muskettiers and Horse advanced, and gained the ground where the enemy stood the day preceeding ; The enemy still retired, and, as appeared, with a purpose to retire altogether ; for they fired the nearest villages, and retired under the smoke thereof : Our commanded men advanced neerer the height, the enemy giving ground all the time : We had resolved to fall back upon their rere ; but there came suddenly a great storm of Snow, which continued for an hour, so that we could not see the enemy : and before we could discover them again, it began to snow again, and continued snowing till night : Which opportunity the enemy made use of, and marched away in great haste to Durham. We understand since from very good hands, that through the extremitie of the Weather these two nights (the enemy lay in the fields, and there hastned march to Durham) they have suffered great losse, many of their men and horse dying, but more run away : We hear they have lost of their Horse 800 besides the losse of their foot ; we sustained some losse, but blessed be God, no wayes considerable.

⁸² Newcastle to Charles, March 9th.—*Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

⁸³ *Ibid* ; Rushworth, *ibid* ; *Life of Newcastle* (ed. Firth), p. 68.

⁸⁴ *The Late Proceedings of the Scottish Army.*

This day [March 12th] the Army is marching towards Durham, ready to do as occasion shall offer, leaving two Regiments at Sunderland for the security of that place.

Our Army hath been in very great straits for want of victuall and provisions. The enemy hath wasted and spoyled all the Countrey, and driven all away before them. And five Barques sent from Scotland to us, with provisions are lost, three of them perished, and two of them were driven to Tyne by extremity of Weather, and seised on by the enemy; so that sometimes the whole Army hath been ready to starve, having neither Meat nor Drink: We never have above twenty and four hours provisions for them. But these impediments and difficulties, or what may hereafter fall out, we are fully confident by Gods assistance, shall never abate in the least sort: Our constant resolutions and endeavours for promoting so good a Cause, as the Vindication of these Kingdoms, from Popery and Tyranny, and the establishment of a through Reformation of Religion, which will be the surest and firmest Foundation of a just and safe Peace; a recompence for all our sufferings, and the best means of a more happy and near conjunction of both Kingdoms.

From our Quarters at Sunderland, 12. March. 1644.

Setting out towards Durham on March 12th, the Scots reached that city on the following day, seeing no signs of the enemy on the march. Afraid, however, of leaving Sunderland, their sea-base, for the present unprotected, and experiencing difficulty in securing forage for their cavalry,⁸⁵ they withdrew to Sunderland once more, and on the 15th attacked the fort at South Shields. The story of the events from March 13th to the 25th, is, however, told best in the words of the writer whose letter narrating the march of the Scots to Sunderland has been quoted. In a further letter, dated from Leven's quarters near Sunderland, he writes:—⁸⁶

Sir, Since my last of the 12. to my best observation and remembrance, the motions and successes of this Army have been these:

On the 13. for the enlargement of our Quarters, and to straighten the Enemy, wee drew towards Durham, but after wee had tarried there so long as our horse provisions lasted, not being willing to remove further, till Sunderland, a place of so great consequence to us, were better fortified, we returned thither and quartered the Army on the North side the River of Ware [Wear] towards Newcastle at the Sheilds; in this march wee saw no Enemy.

⁸⁵ Rushworth, whose story appears to be drawn from the tract containing the letter of March 12th printed in the text, and from that of the same writer in the tract referred to in note 86, explains Leven's withdrawal from Durham thus:— 'being not able to get Horse-provisions, and unwilling to remove further till Sunderland were better Fortified, returned and quartered their Army on the North-side the River Weare towards New-Castle at the Shields.'

⁸⁶ *A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Scottish Army from the 12. of March instant to the 25.* London. Printed for Robert Bostock and Samuel Gellibrand, dwelling in Pauls Church-yard, 1644. See Baillie, *Letters*, ii. 154.

On the 15. at night, a party was commanded out to assault the Fort upon the South side Tine⁸⁷ over against Tinemouth Castle, which they did, but with no successe, though with little losse: after we had considered of this repulse two or three dayes, and fasted on the nineteenth, the Fort was againe assaulted by another party; for the encouragement of which the Generall went with them in person, and on the 20. being Wednesday in the morning we tooke it with the losse of nine men, the hurt of more: In it we found five Peeces of Iron Ordnance, seven Barrels of Powder, seventy Muskets; the men escaped in the dark to the water-side, where boats received them, only the Lievtenant, and foure or five more were taken Prisoners; This Fort was commanded by one Capitaine Chapman an inhabitant of the South-Shields. I went that day to see the Fort, my own judgment in such cases is nothing worth, but others thought it a difficult peece, and I confesse I wondered much to see it taken on that manner.

The capture of the fort at South Shields is described with more detail in a pamphlet entitled *The Taking of the Fort at South Shields*.⁸⁸ The writer, after stating that the attack on the fort on the 15th failed, owing to the men engaged upon it 'fearing too much the danger and difficulty,' proceeds to describe the successful attack on March 20th.

A party not so strong as the former, was sent to storme the Fort, there being no other way of taking it; Col. Stewart, Col. Lyell, Lieutenant Col. Bruce, and Lieutenant Col. Ionston,⁸⁹ with some inferiour Officers, led on the party, the Fort was very strong, the Graffe without being esteemed 12 foot broad, and 11 deepe, the work above ground three yards high, and within it five iron peece of Ordnance, some nine pound ball, some more, an hundred souldiers, seventy musquetiers, and thirty Pike-men: It was situated with great advantage, being defended on the one side by the Ordnance of Tinemouth Castle, and on the other by a Dunkirk Frigot with ten peece of Ordnance; notwithstanding 140 of our souldiers, without any other Armes but their swords, carried bundles of straw

⁸⁷ This fort is not that which the marquis of Newcastle had constructed in 1642. In a letter from 'a gentleman resident in Yorke, to his friend living in Lumbard street,' printed in *Lamentable and Sad News from the North*, printed at London, 1642, the statement occurs, that at Shields, the marquis being then at Newcastle, 'there are 300 men in worke making a Sconce to command all ships that come in, and go out.'—See *Arch. Aeliana*, vol. xv. p. 218. Brand, *History of Newcastle*, quotes letters from Newcastle on June 22nd and 23rd, 1642, which state, 'they are casting up trenches as fast as may be: there is a fort making at the haven mouth that no ships can go in. or out without their leave. The Earl of Newcastle is making forts at Sheels, one of each side.' Clifford's fort at North Shields was not built until 1672, when it was erected at the government's expense. Before that, at a little distance from it, there was 'a fort of baskets filled with sand and mortar, with a gun placed between each basket.'—Brand, *ibid.* p. 331.

⁸⁸ Richardson *Reprints*. It is a letter dated from Wetherby, April 20th, 1644.

⁸⁹ From these names it appears that the Galloway [Stewart], Linlithgow and Tweeddale [Johnston], and Stirlingshire [Bruce] regiments took part in the assault.

and sticks, wherewith they filled the ditch, set up the scaling ladders (wherof some did not reach the top of the Fort, the ditch not being well filled) and with their swords gave the first assault, then a party of Musquetiers, and after them a party of Pikes, all marching up till they entred the ditch, where they disputed the matter above an houre, in which time the Enemy discharged upon them 28 shot of Canon, some with Musquet ball, others with cut lead and iron, beside many Musquet shot: Our soldiers did resolutely scale the ladders, and some entred at the gunports: the Defendants behaved themselves gallantly till it came to stroke of sword, and then they fled away by water in boates: sixteen of them were killed, a Lieutenant and five souldiers who stood cut to the last, were taken, and so we gained the Fort, with the peeces, and some barrels of powder, and their colours.⁹⁰

William Tunstall, writing to his father-in-law, sir Edward Radclyffe of Dilston, gives an account⁹¹ of this event from the standpoint of the losers:—

Sir, Upon Wednesday gon a sennet,⁹² the Scotcs set upon a litel fort at the Sheldes and was forsed backe, but the horse would not let the foute rune. Upon the place where they first asalted it there laye maney deade bodeyes. Upon the next asalt, being the same daye, they brought of there men, but with greate losse to them, Tinmouth Castle and the fort playing hotley upon them, and it was thought they lost towe hundred men that daye; but theye gave it not over. Soe for the last Weddensdaye they set upon it againe, and gained the fort and five eyron peece of ordenance in it, our men fleying doune to a penisse in which it was reported that Sir John Pennington was in, but the penisse discharginge some ordenance at the Scotcs they retreated; and it is said they lost 3 houndred men at the takeing of it, and we losing but five men.

Your son in lawe to command,

WILLIAM TONSTALL.

Wicliffe, the 22th of March.

On March 20th, the date on which the fort at South Shields had fallen, a slight engagement had also taken place at Chester-le-Street, in which the victory had rested with the Scots. Lieutenant-colonel James Ballantyne, of the regiment of horse which had taken part in the engagement at Corbridge on February the 19th, 'understanding there was a troop of the Marquess's Horse Quartered at Chester-on-the-Street, came with a Party into the Town a private way, and

⁹⁰ The writer gives the losses of the Scots as seven killed, and a few hurt by stones and 'cut iron,' or shrapnel.

⁹¹ Quoted in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. i. p. 213.

⁹² Tunstall refers to the first attack by the Scots on Friday the 15th. He describes their repulse on that day as of a much more serious nature than appears in the Scottish accounts.

wholly surprized them, and took the Guards last, and brought away 40 Horse with their Arms.⁹³

Their position at the mouth of the Tyne enabled the Scots both to cut off Newcastle from the sea, and also to replenish their own commissariat by the capture of in-coming ships. On March 22nd, 'understanding there were some Ships laden with Coales and Salt in the River Tine about the Sheilds, we sent a party who with the help of some Keel-men and Sea-men drew the ships to this [the Durham] side, so that for the present they are under the power of this Army.'⁹⁴

Already, therefore, the Scots were virtually masters of Northumberland and of the north of Durham. Their possession of Sunderland kept open their sea-communication with Scotland and London, and they had secured a more or less effective hold upon the Tyne. On the side of the royalists but little effort had been made, so far, to contest the possession of these important positions with the invaders. Upon the 14th of March, however, there appears to have been a slight engagement between the garrison in Newcastle and the regiments which Leven had left at Elswick in February.⁹⁵

But though the royalists had so far been unable to withstand Leven in the field, they had so successfully laid waste the districts upon which the Scots depended for food and fodder that the requirements of their commissariat were beginning to demand a change of quarters. Leven, it would appear,⁹⁶ was contemplating a march into the south of Durham and Yorkshire where forage might be more easily obtained, and where he would be more closely in touch with the Parliament's commanders. It was imperative that such a junction of forces should be prevented; so the marquis of Newcastle, whom Montrose had joined at Durham on March 15th,⁹⁷ determined to risk

⁹³ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 615. The same details are in *A True Relation*, etc. *The Taking of the Fort at South Shields* adds that Ballantyne killed ten, took two captains of foot, and twenty horsemen, and that none of the Scots was killed or hurt.

⁹⁴ *A True Relation*, etc.; *The Taking of the Fort*, etc.

⁹⁵ 'Thair cam word to Abirdene of ane bloodie fight betwixt the Kingis men at Newcastell, and oure army lying thair, vpon the 14th of Marche, quhair our men had the worst.'—*Memorialls of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 327. It is possible, however, that this may refer to the first attack at South Shields on Friday, March 15th. Baillie, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 155, states that 5,000 Scots were confronting Newcastle about May 17th, 1644. ⁹⁶ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 613.

⁹⁷ Wishart, *Montrose* (ed. Murdoch and Simpson), p. 42.

an engagement. On the 23rd, the marquis drew his forces out of Durham to Chester-le-Street, and on the next day, Sunday the 24th, took up a position at Hilton, on the north side of the Wear; the Scots placing themselves between him and the sea, at Whitburn Lizards (on Cleadon Hill), to the east of Hilton.⁹⁸ The battle, in which Montrose found the marquis somewhat 'slow,'⁹⁹ can best be described in the language of those who were present at it. Writing from Sunderland on the 25th, while the issue was still doubtful, the author of the letter in *A True Relation* states:—

On the 23. of this instant the Enemy drew up their Army from Durham and thereabout toward Chester, and on the 24. being the Lords day, drew up in the north side of Ware, at a place called Hilton, two miles and a halfe from Sunderland, the same distance as when they faced us before,¹⁰⁰ only this is on the north side Ware, the other on the south; we accordingly drew up on a hill east from them toward the sea. Our Cannon were at Sunderland our head quarter, but by the help of the Sea-men lying in the haven, wee conveyed one great peece over the water, who themselves drew itt up to the field where it was to be planted, the tide failed for carrying the rest at that time, som small field peeces wee had. After the Armies had faced each other most part of that day, toward five a'clock the Cannon began to play, which they bestowed freely though to little purpose, and withall the commanded Foot fell to it to drive one another from their hedges, and continued shooting till eleven at night, in which time we gained some ground, some barrels of gun-powder, and ball and match; wee lost few men, had more hurt and wounded, of whom no Officer of note hurt with danger but the Lievtenant Colonell of the Lord Lothians Regiment; ¹⁰¹ what their losse was is yet uncertain to us, but we know they had more slaine, as wee finde being masters of their ground.

This morning being the 25. they are facing each other, but the ground they possesse inaccessible by us without great disadvantages in regard of the many hedges and ditches betwixt; what the event of this meeting will be I do not know, nor will not guesse, hitherto hath the Lord helped us: our men are chearfull, our hopes good.

Sir James Lumsdaine came over to us¹⁰² very opportunely with a brigade of three thousand of the forces wee had left in Northumberland the 23. of this instant,¹⁰³ which hee now commands in the field.

The words given out on both parts were these, On ours *The Lord of Hosts is with us.* On theirs, *Now or Never.*

Captain Lawson and Captain Newton have taken a prize in the Tees laden with Cloth and Lead.

⁹⁸ Bourne, *Hist. of Newcastle*, p. 233. ⁹⁹ Wishart, *ibid.* p. 42.

¹⁰⁰ On Thursday, March the 7th.

¹⁰¹ Lieutenant-colonel Patrick Leslie of the Teviotdale.

¹⁰² Lumsden had been left in command of the cavalry at Newcastle since Leven left the neighbourhood of the town on February 22nd.

¹⁰³ February 22nd. was the date.

Another partisan of the Scots gives the following account¹⁰⁴ of the battle, the critical nature of which appears from the motto 'Now or Never' which the marquis adopted. On Sunday, March 24th, he writes, the enemy

marched toward our quarters intending to have set upon us in Sermon time, and being a foggie day to have-surprised us ; their approach being discovered, a great part of the Army was presently drawn together. The Enemy sent down from Bowden [Boldon] Hill where they were drawne up, some commanded Musquetiers to line the hedges betwixt them and us, and wee did the like, for the Armies could not joyn, the Field between us being so full of hedges and ditches ; our Dragoons beganne the play, and then the Musquetiers in the hedges upon both sides, our bodies of Foot advancing at all Quarters to the hedges, the Enemies Cannon discharging upon them an houre and a halfe with very small hurt. This service continued very hot, till after twelve of the clock at night. Many Officers, who have been old Souldiers did affirm they had never seen so long and hot service in the night time ; there was divers killed on both sides, but the number of their slane did very farre exceed ours, as wee understood by the dead bodies we found the next day upon their ground, beside the seven Waggon drawght of dead and hurt men not able to walk, that the Constable of Bouden affirmed he saw carried away. The Enemy quit their ground, where they left much of their powder, match, and armes behinde them ; and retired to the Hill where the Body of the Army lay.

On the royalist side, the following account¹⁰⁵ pictures the battle naturally in somewhat brighter colours :—

On Sunday last he [the marquis of Newcastle] got the Scots out to West Bedwick near Hilton Castle in the Bishopric of Durham where they sat fast upon Bedwick Hill : my Lord Marquis had often invited them to fight, with overtures of many advantageous opportunities, but could not possibly draw them out :¹⁰⁶ on this hill four regiments of his Excellencys foot fell to work with six regiments of the rebels. The fight began about three in the afternoon and continued from that time till night, and continued more or less till next morning, the rebels all this time being upon their own *Mickle Midding*, and there they lay all night : next morning (being Monday) the Lord Marquis followed them till afternoon, and then they vanished instantly into their trenches and retirement in Sunderland.¹⁰⁷ Then his Excellency (seeing no hope of getting them out) drew off towards his quarters, and they being

¹⁰⁴ *The Taking of the Fort at South Shields.*

¹⁰⁵ *Mercurius Aulicus*, for March 30th, 1644.

¹⁰⁶ This statement is contrary to fact. Newcastle had been numerically the weaker. The Scots had passed to Sunderland almost without resistance. The marquis's sole effort to engage them had been on March 7th.

¹⁰⁷ If accurate, this was no more than a slight episode. The broad fact is clear that either Newcastle retired or was powerless to prevent the Scots from advancing south after the battle.

sensible of so many provocations, came on his rear (which was 500 horse) with all the horse they had (for as yet they never looked the Lord Marquis in the face), but the rear (with the loss of some thirty men killed and taken) presently faced about, being seconded by that valiant knight, Sir Charles Lucas, with his brigade of horse, who fell on so gallantly that forced all their horse (which is about 3,000) to hasten up the hill to their cannon, all the way doing sharp execution upon them so as their Lancers did lay plentifully upon the ground (many others being taken and brought away prisoners) their cannon all that while playing upon the Lord Marquis his horse with so little success as is not easily imagined. In both these fights [on the 24th and 25th] they that speak least reckon a full 1,000 Scots killed and taken which cost the Lord Marquis 240 of his common souldiers, scarce an officer being either killed or taken, though many of their leaders are certainly cut off. Their foot ran twice, and would not stand longer than their officers forced them on with the sword; the Lord Marquis hath taken many of their arms, especially of their Scottish pistols. Next morning [Tuesday the 26th] his Excellency drew towards them again, faced them a long while, but they had too much of the two days before, and would by no means be entreated to show themselves.¹⁰⁸

It is difficult to reconcile this with the Scottish account of the battle. Its very discrepancies reveal the fact, however, that the engagement was a drawn one when, on Tuesday, March 26th, the marquis withdrew his forces to Durham. Five days later, on March 31st, the Scots broke up their camp at Sunderland, followed him more leisurely, and on April 12th, forced him to evacuate the city and to beat a further retreat southwards. John Somerville, writing¹⁰⁹ to James Scot of 'Bonyntoun,' a letter dated from Middlethorp, near York, on May 1st, 1644, gives the story of their march until Leven sat down to the sieg^e of York.

Upon the penult. of March the airmie marchit from the quarteris besyd Sunderland and went to the Bruntfield Murhoussis [Moorhouses], and vpon the morn being the first of Apryll, the airmie marcheit from thair to Eisington [Easington] hill, and stayit thair till the eight of the said month; and from that we marcheit from that [*sic.*] to the Quarintoun [Quarrington] Hills, vpon the south syd of Durhame, within a myle or two of the toun; and vpon the 10. day at 12. o'clock at nicht, Major Ballintyne with sum commandit men went out and

¹⁰⁸ Hilton fight was at best a drawn battie, though Newcastle failed in his endeavour to hold the Scots back from further advance. Lithgow, in his *Exact and Experimental Relation*, however, calls it 'that laudable Victory.' Colonel John Moore, writing from Lathom to the earl of Warwick, on April 4th, 1644, says, 'There came intelligence to us ye other day that there had been a great battel fought betwixt the Scots and ye E. of Newcastles forces w^{ch} continewed two dayes, but the Lord was pleased to give the victory to the Scots.'—*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 10th report, app. pt. iv. p. 27.

¹⁰⁹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 10th report, app. pt. i. p. 53.

took 20. men and threttie hors, with pistollis and saiddillis, and on of the men was a capitane. And upon the 11. day thair came sum keillis vp the water of Wear from Sunderland to fetch Coillis, and the ennemie send out sum dragouneris and commandit musquitteires and tuik the men that was gairding the keillis, and slew of them and cutted the keillis ; and vpon the 12. day, in the night, the Marquis of Newcastle with his airmie fled from Durhame; and we get no intelligence till the 13. day att 3. cloak in the efternoon and then the airmie maircheit efter them with all the haist they nicht ; bot they had ever geat a fair start, and we came to the Ferrie Hill [Ferryhill] that nicht ; and vpon the 14. day, being Sunday, we marcheit verrie airtie befor the soon rais, and the hors men followit in haist and cam to Derntoun [Darlington] befor 7. cloak in the morning and sent out a pairtie of horse to persew thair reir. Our major commandit the pairtie ; he with his pairtie tuik fourtie men and many horses and slew many of their straggillars and gat tuo thousand merkis worth of silver plait, and mikill cheis, pork and bread, and we stayit thair till nicht and the hail airmie crosit Teis water that nicht and day, we marchit fra that to Northallertoun : and the morn being the 16. day, we marchit fra that to Thormanbie [? Thornaby] and we get provision from the touns about and fra that we marchit to Borrowbriggis [Boroughbridge] and the morn being the 18. day we marchit fra that to Wedderbie [Wetherby] and we mett with Sir Thomas Fairfax his trouppers and dragouneres : and vpon the 22. day we marcheit within two myllis of York and my Lord Fairfax his foot came vp to the uther syd of the water foir against our ligar ; and in the nicht the hail trouppes that the Marquis of Newcastle had in York went out and fled and our trouppes with my Lord Fairfax his trouppes followed and tuik 60 prisonars and many horses ; and they war so hard chaisit that they war forcit to tak the cullouris from the standaris and ryd away with [them] and live the staff behind them, and they ar to the King to Oxfuird : and we and Fairfax his forces are lying about the City of York and their hail foot is within, with 4. trouppes of hors. Sir Marmaduke Longlie [Langdale] is fled and gon to the King with the hail hors that was in the Kingis northern airmie, and is myndit to bring Prinsee Ruppert and the hail forces that they can mak to rais the seidge at York. The souldieres that we tak off thairis sayes they gatt a mutchkin of beans an unce of buttar and a penny loaf evirrie ane of them per diem and thair is ane ordinance that evirrie ane within the citie of York sall haue bot ane maill per diem : for the Marquis of Newcastle and general King has causat search all the citie for provisions and takin all into the stoir hous and gives out to the people that is within the citie efter the manner foirsaid.

The march of the Scots from Sunderland to York, from March 31st to April 22nd, is described in other contemporary news-letters published for the information of the well-wishers of the Scots in London. The correspondent, whose letters have been already quoted in connexion with the march of the Scots from Newcastle to their repulse of the marquis at the battle of Hilton, continues his story in a further letter dated April 14th, after the army's arrival at York,

addressed to 'Master Bowles.'¹¹⁰ Resuming his narrative from the events of March 25th, he proceeds :—

The enemy upon his retreat from Hilton marched toward Durham; where upon the Scottish Army drew to Easington being the mid-way betwixt Hartlepoole and Durham, where we found reasonable good quarter for our horse, and resolved to abide thereabout till wee made the Enemy either fight or flee.¹¹¹ Those quarters we kept till April 8. when (after a Fast kept the day before by us through the Army :) we marched to a place called Quarrendon Hill, two miles from Durham.

The Enemy seeing us draw so neare and his Souldiers decreasing upon the approach of danger, drew as many forces as could be spared out of Newcastle and Lumley Castle to uphold his strength of Foot; but finding all would not doe, hee thought fit, (it is supposed upon intimation from Selby of the Victory there obtained by the Lord Fairfax which was the 11. of April :) On the 13. of April being Saturday, to remove his whole Force, and that in a great deale of haste, leaving his troublesome Provisions behind him. They directed their march Westward towards Bishops Awkland in and about which they lay that night. And on the next morning they marched towards Bernards Castle and Piercebrig, where it was supposed they would Quarter on the fourteenth.

Generall Leven hath omitted no time in the pursuit; for upon the first notice without any respect to the ransacking their forsaken quarters, raysed his Leaguer from Quarrendon hill and marched on the Saturday [the 13th] to Ferry hill, and so forward on the Lords day to Darnton [Darlington], which is as farre South as the Enemy could reach by that time, only a little Eastward off him. And the resolution of the Army is, to be guided by the Enemy in their march, whom they intend to follow or rather march along with, either till they shall have advantage to fight with him, or shall meet with the Lord Fairfax to enclose him. If there be any truth in reports, Newcastle hath lost halfe his Army without fighting.

The Enemy quitted Lumley Castle¹¹² upon the Friday night, April the 12. so that we have now free liberty to make use of all the Coales upon the River of Ware, and are in good hopes of those upon the River Tine very shortly when our Army is at leisure to demand Newcastle,¹¹³ whose garrison is almost exhausted.¹¹⁴ Wee have a report that the enemy hath quitted Hartlepoole,¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ *Intelligence from the Scottish Army, Being the Extract of Letters.* London: Printed for Robert Bostock and Samuel Gellibrand, dwelling in Pauls Church-yard, 1644. See Baillie, *op. cit.*, ii. 168.

¹¹¹ *The Taking of the Fort, etc.*, explains that the Scots advanced to Easington to 'intercept the Enemies provisions from Hartlepool,' which was still in the hands of the royalists.

¹¹² In obedience, no doubt, to the marquis's summons to the garrison here and at Newcastle to join him.

¹¹³ This leisure did not arrive until after the fall of York on July 16th. Leven and his army once more appeared before Newcastle on August 12th, and took the town by assault on October 19th, 1644.

¹¹⁴ The six regiments left by Leven clearly invested the town straitly, though Lumdsen and the cavalry were summoned to join Leven in the Bishopric.

¹¹⁵ The town ultimately fell to Callendar on July 24th. See p. 182 of this volume.

but that is uncertaine. Generall Major Lumsdaine [Lumsden] is marching after the Army with two thousand men, and twenty load of Ammunition for supplies if need be.

The passing of Leven into Yorkshire offered the opportunity of regaining the positions in Northumberland and the Bishopric which had been captured by the Scots. Sunderland, the fort at South Shields, and Morpeth, which had received a Scottish garrison in the early days of the campaign, were the most important. Their recapture would not only undo the work accomplished by Leven since his arrival in England, but would also create a very timely diversion while the fate of York hung in the balance. The execution of this design fell to Montrose, in whose movements the interest of the war in Northumberland and the Bishopric throughout April and May chiefly centres.

After the battle of Hilton, while Newcastle, on March 26th, had commenced his retreat upon York, Montrose, who had been present at that engagement, had made his way towards Scotland, entered it in the second week of April, and proceeded to Dumfries. His design had been to rally the royalists in Scotland, but finding it impossible to make headway he returned to Northumberland, where Leven's withdrawal offered him an opportunity of doing useful service for Charles.¹¹⁶

About the beginning of May, Montrose arrived at Newcastle and, about the 10th, he and lord Crawford, who was afterwards taken prisoner upon the fall of Newcastle in October, led an expedition against Morpeth. The castle was defended by captain James Somerville and captain John McCulloch, who succeeded in repulsing the first attack. Montrose sent for six guns from Newcastle, and sat down to the siege of the place. After nearly three weeks, during which the Scottish cavalry under colonel Michael Welden had endeavoured to relieve the castle, Morpeth fell on May 29th. In the course of the siege the garrison had lost one major, three captains, three lieutenants, four ensigns, one hundred and eighty soldiers, and had expended two hundred cannon shot.¹¹⁷ Shortly

¹¹⁶ Wishart, *Montrose* (ed. Murdoch and Simpson), p. 46.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*; Napier, *Life of Montrose*, p. 25. The fight is referred to in Spalding, ii. 379, 'Thair was ane fight about Morpot, quhair divers of our Scottis foot soldiouris were overcum by the Banderis, strippit out of thair

after his success at Morpeth, Montrose, acting with Marley in Newcastle and with the governor of South Shields,¹¹⁸ got into his hands the fort which the Scots had captured on March 20th. It was commanded by captain Thomas Rutherford of 'Ranfertlie,' who treacherously surrendered the fort to the enemy,¹¹⁹ in whose hands it apparently remained for but a short time. Some attempt was made about the same time to win over Sunderland. The plot was in all probability of the nature of that which had already secured the fort at South Shields. It was discovered by the seamen of the town, who placed themselves under arms, planted cannon in position, and with the help of colonel Charles Fairfax drove back Montrose, Musgrave, and others engaged in this attempt to Newcastle.¹²⁰

Five months had passed since the arrival of the Scots had been heralded in London with such confident assertion that Newcastle had fallen or would shortly fall to them. But the capture of that town was seemingly no nearer now than then. Leven was before York. With Montrose at large in Northumberland, every day seemed to add to the difficulties which the assault of such a town as Newcastle would naturally entail. Writing from York on May 24th, 1644, to the Committee of Estates at Edinburgh, lord Lindsay clearly pointed to that fact. 'Wee intreat your lordships,' he wrote, 'to

clothis and armes, and send hame naikit.' In the 'Decreit of Foirfalter' against him, Montrose is indicted 'For invading and intaking of þe castle of morpeth For Joyneing himselve w^t collonell clavering and his forces about the tyme of the invading of þe said castle of morpeth.'—*Acts of Parliament of Scot.* vol. vi. pt. i. p. 316.

¹¹⁸ Whitelock, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 262.

¹¹⁹ On June 17th, 1644, the Scottish Estates instruct Leven and the governor of Sunderland to suspend the execution of the sentence lately passed at Sunderland against captain Rutherford of Ranfertlie for surrendering the fort at South Shields.—Balfour, *Annales*, vol. iii. p. 185. On June 21st, 1644, Leven wrote from York to Lauderdale, 'In obedience to a letter from your lordships of the 14th instant, I have given order, that after a counsell of warr hath tryed Captaine Thomas Rutherford, who gave over the fort at South-Sheels, and hath cleered the proces, the same, with the said captaine, shall be sent to bee disposed off, as your lordships shall think good.'—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 37. In the 'Decreit of Foirfalter' Montrose was further indicted for 'assaulting of þe forte vpon the water of Tyne called the Soutshells, keiped and haldin for the tyme be the said capitan Thomas rutherford for the use and be the comand of þe comittie of þe estates of this kingdome and forcing the said capitan Thomas rutherford to yeild the said forte to the said colo^{ll} clavering.'—*Acts*, etc., *ibid.* p. 317.

¹²⁰ Whitelock, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 262. Parliament, on June 3rd, 1644, voted the Sunderland seamen £200 for their 'Affection and Fidelity.'—*Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

delay no tyme in sending of these forces into England ; for yf it had beene done in tyme, a few horsemen, with our foote forces there, and Collonel Weldens regiment, might have beene more than sufficient for the securing both these countyes opposing the commission of array, and bringing the town of Newcastle to great straits, which we feare shall now become a work of greater difficulty to a stronger power.'¹²¹ Baillie noticed the same fact: 'The delay of Callendars incoming so long' he writes,¹²² 'has given time to the Marquis of Montrose to make havoc of the northern counties, which will make the siege of Newcastle the harder.' To the provision of men and money for that arduous undertaking both England and Scotland, early in June, began to turn. Before the end of the month, Callendar had entered England with the supplementary forces which Lindsay had so earnestly requested. A month later, his forces were partially investing Newcastle, and he himself was anxiously awaiting the coming of the main army under Leven, whom the capture of York, on July 16th, at length freed for that service.¹²³

¹²¹ Thurloe, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 35.

¹²² *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 196.

¹²³ In regard to the events with which this paper deals, some further, but slight, information may be obtained from Baillie's *Letters and Journals*. In vol. ii. p. 179, in a letter dated May 9th, 1644, he expresses no doubt a very general feeling of disappointment at the want of definite success which so far had attended Leven's efforts:—'We trust God will arise, and doe somewhat by our Scotts armie. We are afflicted that after so long a tyme we have gotten no hitt of our enimie ; we hope God will put away that shame. Waller, Manchester, Fairfax, and all getts victories ; but Lesley, from whom all was expected, as yett has had his hands bound. God, we hope, will loose them, and send us matter of praise also.' Robert Douglas's *Diary* (see p. 185 of this volume) details the march of Leven in brief detail. Sir James Turner's *Memoirs of His Own Life and Times, 1639-1649* (Edinburgh, 1839), adds some light to the narrative of the events which took place early in February, 1644, before Newcastle. He had come from Ireland to represent the position of the Scottish forces there, and finding that Leven had crossed the Border, followed and came up with him at Newcastle. 'While I was here' [Newcastle], he writes (p. 30), 'I looked upon the posture this armie of Scots (of which the Parliament so much boasted) were in. I found the bodies of the men lustie, well clothd and well moneyd, bot raw, untrained and undisciplind ; their officers for most part young and unexperienced. They had divided themselves in severall bodies, and in severall quarters, everie one or any of which might with a resolute sally been easilie beate up, and then, in my opinion, the rest would have runne. There was sixe thousand men of Newcastles armie within the toune, and Lieut. Generall King, then Lord Eithen, with them. I admired them, nor could I wonder enough since, that he never endeavoured to give his countrey men a visite. He was a person of great honor ; bot what he had savd of it at Vlotho in Germanie, where he had made shipwracke of much of it, he losd in England. The Scots maine care was, how to get over Tine, never careing to possesse themselves of a passe on that river for their retreat, so much did they trust to their owne valour and successe. While I was there, they indeavoured one night [apparently on February 8th] to bring boats from the



glasse houses [on the river, a short distance to the east of the town], or above them, to the river, and so make a bridge. Bot fearing the Kings forces sould fall out upon them that were at worke, Argile and his committee sent over Colonel Steuart [of the Galloway regiment] with 1200-foot, to stand betweene the workmen and the toune. They had bot a little narrow bridge [over the Pandon burn, near the Shieldfield fort, which already was in Leven's possession; or possibly over the Ouseburn further to the east near the glass-houses at Ouseburn] to passe in their goeing and comeing, and if 2000 had fallen stoutlie out of the toune on them, they had killd and tane them evirie man, for retire they could not. Argile heareing this was my opinion, which was seconded by others, askd Deare Sandie [sir Alexander Hamilton], Sir James Lumsdaine [with whom Turner had served in 1632 in the service of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden] and myselfe, what was best to be done. We were unanimous that false alarums sould be given about the wholl toune, to divert the enemie from sallieing too strong upon Steuart, for the tounes utter guards of horse had certified them within of his approach. I was sent with this message to the Generall, whom I found goeing to supper. When I returnd, I was ashamd to relate the answeare of that old Captaine; which was, that he feard the brightnes of the night (for it was mooneshine) would discover the burning matches to those on the walls. I told him, the mooneshine was a prejudice to the designe, for it wold hinder the matches to be sene; for the more lunts were seene, the better for a false alarme. However, the alarums were made in severall places, which were taken so hotlie where I was beside the workmen, that though I calld often to them, it was our owne people, yet some great persons, whom I will not name [Turner's prejudice regarding Leven is obvious throughout his *Memoirs*] calld eagerlie for their horses, and when they were on them rode away. The work was left undone, because it was neep tide, and Steuart returnd safelie, to the great disgrace of these within. . . . I have often made myselfe merrie with that nights worke, first to consider how the Committee of Estates, especiallie their president Argile, who was a good seaman, did not advert it was neep tide, before they attempted the removeall of the boats: secondlie, how they adventurd to face a toune wherein there was sixe thousand horse and foot, with 1200 men, and no way for them to retreat: thirdlie, of Generall Levens impertinent ansuer to my message: fourthlie, to see men affrayd at their owne shadow, men runne away for ane allarme themselves had causd make; and for a farce to the play, to heare my old Colonell Steuart, when he was returnd to his quarters, vapour and bragge of the orderlie retreat he had made without loss of a man, when there was not so much as a foot boy pursuing him.