

IV.—THE SIEGE OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE BY THE SCOTS IN 1644.

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Upon their arrival in England in January, 1644, the Scots had made but an ineffectual demonstration against Newcastle. Not until June were preparations for the capture of the town seriously taken in hand. On June 3rd, sir Harry Vane was commissioned to proceed to the commissioners with the Scottish army to discuss with them the means by which Newcastle and the four northern counties might be 'rescued from the power of the enemy now master of the field there.'¹ On June 10th, the House of Commons ordered that Thomas Day and William Cullen should have the public faith for the repayment of £355 18s. 11d., paid to colonel Allen upon the ordinance for reducing Newcastle.² On June 20th, the Committee of Both Kingdoms recommended that since Newcastle was not yet reduced, London might be much distressed for coal, and therefore that fresh Scottish forces should be brought into England.³ A week later [June 27th] the Committee wrote to the Scottish Parliament desiring their assistance.⁴

The Scots on their part had already commenced their preparations. A supplementary army was being raised under the command of lord Callendar. His commission, dated June 9th, was supplemented on June 10th, with definite instructions:—'You shall . . . be all meanes endevo^r to reduce and secure pe Toune of newcastell castell of Tynemouth and all other places possessed by the enemy for pe use of pe king and parliament of England. And make such use of pe forces in the Bishopricke as may conduce most for these ends Bot with a speciall regard for pe saifty of pe Toune. of Sunderland.'⁵ Again, on June 18th, the Scottish Parliament issued instructions to its commissioners who were proceeding to England:—'You shall procure

¹ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644. ² *Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

³ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644. ⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i.

there approbatione of or sending the Erle of Callendar with his forces in towardes Newcastle and move them to resolve one the solide wayes for interteining these forces.'⁶

It is clear, therefore, that Callendar's force was relied on, at least to commence the siege of Newcastle, while Leven and the main Scottish army were occupied in Yorkshire. His arrival was anxiously looked for. On June 20th, sir Harry Vane reported from York that Callendar was expected at 'Blyth Neuke' on the 23rd.⁷ It was not, however, until the 25th that Callendar commenced his march.⁸ The strength of his force is variously estimated, but probably fell considerably short of ten thousand men.⁹

Before applying himself to the reduction of Newcastle, Callendar found it necessary to strengthen or regain certain positions round Newcastle, which Montrose's activity in May had either wholly or partially detached from the Parliament. On his march through Northumberland, he re-captured Morpeth¹⁰ which had fallen to Montrose on May 29th.¹¹ Crossing the Tyne at Newburn,¹² Callendar passed on to secure Sunderland. A plot for the betrayal of the town had recently been frustrated by the energy of the Sunderland seamen, who, with the aid of colonel Charles Fairfax, had beaten back Montrose, Musgrave, and others, into Newcastle.¹³ For their 'Affection and Fidelity'¹⁴ the seamen of Sunderland had, on June 3rd, been voted £200. About the same time, sir John Marley in Newcastle had intrigued with captain Rutherford, 'of Ranfertlie,' for the surrender of the fort at South Shields, which the Scots had held since March 20th.¹⁵ Montrose had successfully assaulted it,¹⁶ but when

⁶ *Ibid.* The above instructions clearly controvert Guthry's statement, that Callendar was sent into England chiefly against Montrose, who had recently re-victualled Newcastle, and that instead of facing Montrose he sat down to the siege of Newcastle, 'a task wherewith he was well acquainted, having been bred mostly in the Holland war.'—*Memoirs*, p. 133.

⁷ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

⁸ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.—Committee of Both Kingdoms to Essex, July 9th.

⁹ Rushworth, *Collections*, vol. v. p. 646, estimates them at 10,000. Lithgow, *An Exact and Experimental Relation*, gives them at 6,000 foot and 800 horse.

¹⁰ Whitelock, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 262. ¹¹ Napier, *Life of Montrose*, p. 255.

¹² Lithgow. ¹³ Whitelock, vol. i. pp. 262, 270. ¹⁴ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

¹⁵ Balfour, *Annales of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 185; Whitelock, vol. i. p. 262. 'Delivered up by the Captain of that Fort, without a Stroke striking.'—*Commons Journals*, vol. iii. See page 177 in this volume.

¹⁶ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i. p. 317.

Montrose retired before colonel Fairfax into Newcastle, it would appear to have been regained by the Scots, and Rutherford, its commander, had early in June been sentenced by a council of war for its betrayal.¹⁷

Towards Sunderland, therefore, without halting before Newcastle, Callendar directed his march. On July 8th, he despatched a letter from 'Birlington Leger' to the Scottish Estates, and three days later [July 11th] he wrote to inform them that he was marching upon Sunderland.¹⁸ On July 24th,¹⁹ he summoned Hartlepool, and after negotiation, sir Edmund Carey and the garrison marched out about three o'clock on the following afternoon.²⁰ Stockton surrendered on the same date.²¹ Major Douglas and six companies of foot were placed as a garrison in Hartlepool. Stockton was left in charge of a captain and one hundred and twenty men.²²

The way was now clear upon Newcastle. Single-handed, however, his forces already weakened by the garrisons which had been left in Hartlepool, Stockton, and, probably, Sunderland and Morpeth, the siege of Newcastle was far beyond the capacity of Callendar's command. Opportunely, the capitulation of York, on July 16th,²³ made it possible for Leven to proceed north to his support. On July 22nd, Manchester at Ferrybridge reported that he and the Scots had already separated, and that the latter were at Leeds and Wakefield.²⁴ On August 9th, the Committee of Both Kingdoms was able to report to Essex that the Scots were intending 'the taking in of Newcastle.'²⁵ Indeed, on August 7th, they had broken up their camp about Leeds, and had marched north to Callendar's support.²⁶

¹⁷ Balfour, vol. iii. p. 185, gives an Order of the Scottish Estates, dated June 17th, to suspend the execution of the sentence lately passed on Rutherford at Sunderland. See p. 177 in this volume.

¹⁸ Balfour, vol. iii. pp. 208, 219.

¹⁹ Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 41.—Despatch from Callendar to Lauderdale from 'Oseworthe Leager' [Usworth] dated July 31st.

²⁰ *Ibid.* See, also, Sir James Turner's *Memoirs*, p. 38.

²¹ Thurloe, *ibid.*

²² *Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 181.—Armyne to Lenthall, from Sunderland, August 1st. Callendar was already in possession of Lumley castle. —Wishart, *Memoirs of Montrose* (ed. Murdoch and Simpson, 1893), p. xxi.

²³ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.) 1644.—Leven, Manchester, and Fairfax from York, July 18th.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*—Fairfax at York to Committee of Both Kingdoms, August 12th.

On July 25th, sir Adam Hepburn and Thomas Hatcher wrote to the Committee of Both Kingdoms urging the necessity of more money 'whereby that [Callendar's] army may be enabled to prosecute that service while the summer lasts, they at present having neither money, clothes, nor means to subsist.'²⁷ But without awaiting the arrival of Leven's forces, Callendar had already, on Saturday, July 27th, possessed himself of Gateshead. Writing from his camp at Usworth on July 31st, he gives the following account of that engagement in a despatch to Lauderdale :—²⁸

The report of the enemies intention to fall in upon Scotland, and the hopes I had of the generalls speedie march northward, made me command the generall major Ramsay, the lord Montgomerie with his regiment, and colonell Cambell with eight hundredth comanded men, to march in the night [from Usworth on the 26th] and seize upon Gaitsyde; bot they were prevented by the appearing of the day, and the enemies drawing out both horse and foot to the windmylne [Windmill hill]. Upon the knowledge hereof, I marched with the armie within two myles of Newcastle, and gave orders for beating of the enemies in, which was done, so that before the sounne sett they were verie neir the port at the bridge end, and at night made the port unusefull for the enemies falling out by barricadoeing of it, so that there is nothing without the port in Gaitsyde unpossessed by ws. Notwithstanding whereof if the generall resolve not to march hither, or that I be pressed by a powerfull enemy, which I verie much doubt, I shall be necessitat to quitt it, and retein to Sunderland.²⁹ The ingeaging before the towne will hazard their forces, and divert the enemies from yow; which I rayther choyse to doe, nor that they should fall in upon our countrie, or that any deanger com to it. The tyme of our skirmishing with the enemies upon Saturday thair was only on killed, who was of the Colledge of Justices troupe, named David Lindsay, who it seemes was going to the enemies, as appeares be an letter found upon him written to the earle of Crawford.³⁰

Lithgow,³¹ in his customary vigorous style, adds a detail or two regarding the events on the 27th :—' My Lord Callendar, sending some horse and foote to clear the way for the Gatesyde, they were

²⁷ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 181.

²⁸ Thurloe, vol. i. p. 41. The letter is dated from 'Oseworthe Leaguer.'

²⁹ On July 30th, Lindsay and Fairfax at Ferrybridge reported to the Committee of Both Kingdoms that Callendar at Newcastle was menaced by the forces of Montrose, Goring and Clavering, and that instead of taking Newcastle he might have to retire on Sunderland or Hartlepool. 'Howbeit' they add 'the reducing of Newcastle were a matter of small importance to the kingdom.'—*Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

³⁰ The earl of Crawford had recently arrived in Newcastle from Carlisle.—Napier, *Life of Montrose*, p. 258. He was among the prisoners taken in the town on October 19th.

³¹ *An Exact and Experimental Relation*, etc.

rancountered with the enemye, at the tope of the wynd mill hill, where being prevented by night, and the enemy stronger than they, they were constrained to turne back. Whereupon the next day the Lieutenant Generall himselfe, came up with the residue of his armye, and fiercelie facing the enemy, beat them from the hill, chased them downe the Gatesyde, and hushing them along the bridge, closed [them] within the towne.'

On the following day, Sunday, July 28th, a further struggle took place for the possession of the bridge connecting Newcastle and Gateshead. Lithgow thus describes it:—'The next day he [Callendar] begunne to dispute for the enjoying of the bridge, with the fiery service of Cannon and Musket, which indeed was manfully invaded, and as courageously defended.' At length 'he gained the better halfe of the Bridge, and with much adoe fortified the same with earthen Rampiers, and Artilerie, which still so defensively continued, untill the Toune was taken in by Storme. This being regardfully done, he caused to erect five Batteries, along the Bankhead, and just opposite to the Town, from whence the Cannon did continually extreame good service, not onely against the walls and batteries, but also against particular places, and particular persons: Besides the frequent shooting of Pot-pieces, and other fireworkes of great importance, which daily annoyed the Inhabitants within Toune.'³²

With the capture of Gateshead and the blocking up of Newcastle on the south, Callendar had done all that was possible until the main army under Leven arrived. There had already reached the mouth of the Tyne ten ships of the Parliament's fleet,³³ to block up the town from that side. On August 1st, Leven had sent forward major-general Leslie with three regiments of horse and one of dragoons to

³² Sir W. Armyne in a despatch to Lenthall, dated Sunderland, August 1st, writes: 'Lord Calendar himself with all his forces marched towards Newcastle, and with a strong party of commanded men possessed themselves of Gateshead, and have made some works to stop up the passage of the bridge, and my Lord himself lies with the rest of his men on the top of the hill, not far from them.'—*Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 181. Whitelock, vol. i. p. 290, merely states that Callendar 'blocked up Newcastle on that [Gateshead] side.' The five batteries which Lithgow speaks of were no doubt on Windmill hill, and also to the east of the bridge, commanding the south wall of Newcastle from Close-gate to Sandgate. Their position was shifted somewhat on October 18th, the eve of the final assault. Lithgow gives the names of the chief cannoneers of the five Gateshead batteries as William Hunter, James Scot, Robert Spense, William Wallace.

³³ *Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland* (Spalding Club, 1840), vol. ii. p. 384.

Callendar's assistance,³⁴ and Callendar had despatched Armyne and Robert Barwis to meet and concert measures with him at Leeds.³⁵ Callendar, in fact, was by no means satisfied with the measures that were being taken for his support. Writing to Loudoun on August 4th, from Usworth,³⁶ to inform him that David Leslie was expected with the horse at Durham the next day, he adds, 'I wishe your lordships comands had been as possitive for the speedie advancing of the foote heere, as it was for the horse; for this worke being of great difficultie, a river divyding the armie without a bridge, the enemies being masters of all the boats and keills, the wncertain approachè of an enemy,³⁷ and certaintie of the winter requyres thair present marching forward If this seige shall continewe, greater store of powder, ball, and matche, bothe for cannone and musquett, must be hade.'³⁸ On the 10th, however, Leven arrived at Bishop Auckland, and on the 11th Callendar rode out to meet him.³⁹ On the 12th, the army moved forward to Gateshead and there remained while Leven, on the 13th, paid visits of inspection to Sunderland and Hartlepool.⁴⁰ On Wednesday the 14th, the Scots crossed the Tyne at Newburn, and there halted, moving on to Elswick the following day.⁴¹

Immediately upon their arrival, the Scots commenced siege operations against the town. Writing from Elswick on August 16th to the Committee of Estates at Edinburgh,⁴² lord Crawford and Lindsay says:—'Wee past the Tyne upon Wednesday last at Newburne, and have now besieged this city on all quarters. Wee shall carefully have an ey upon any forces from Cumberland or

³⁴ Rushworth, *Collections*, vol. v. p. 645.

³⁵ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 181. ³⁶ Thurloe, vol. i.

³⁷ Sir Thomas Glemham, with about 3,000 horse, was in Cumberland.—*Cal. of State Papers (Dom.)* 1644, Fairfax to Comm. of Both Kingdoms, August 12th.

³⁸ Armyne and the Scottish commissioners convened a meeting at Durham on August 5th, when the well-affected of the county received commissions from Fairfax.—*Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 182.

³⁹ *The Diary of Mr. Robert Douglas when with the Scottish Army in England, 1644.* The Diary is published with the *Memoirs of James Burns, Baillie of Glasgow* (J. Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1833), and also in *Historical Fragments relating to Scottish Affairs* (1833). Guthry, *Memoirs*, p. 129, states that Douglas had been sent to the army in March, 1644, there being 'a presumption that the Army was in danger to turn Malignant.'

⁴⁰ Douglas, *ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Douglas speaks of Elswick as 'the best quarters.' Leven and his staff were stationed there. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 645, however, states that Leven 'set down on the north-side of the Town.'

⁴² Thurloe, vol. i.

Westmerland, that may have any desigene upon ws, or for releif of this town. . . . Wee have given ordor, that the postmasters betwixt this and Berwic make ready horses to ansswer any that shall be sent to your lordships, and have appointed a new stage from Morpeth and Kenton, from whence they are to come to the lord generalls quarters. Wee intreat your lordships to cause your acts against runawayes be effectually put to execution.' On the same date, from his quarters on the other side of the river, Callendar despatched a letter to the Estates of a less hopeful tenour.⁴³ He and the chief officers of his command complained that his 'part of the army since the cuming up of the lord generalls army, they being on the other syd of the river, hes not mutch bene takin notice of be thame,' and, further, that while a sum of £4,000 was being distributed among Leven's army, Callendar and his forces were in great straits. An equally urgent appeal reached the Estates in a despatch from Crawford and Lindsay, dated Elswick, August 19th,⁴⁴ in which he requested that 'ten thousand weight of poulder, with the like weight of leid, and double weight of matche, may be provided there and sent to Sunderland,' also 'considerable quantities of meall . . . for without it wee have bot small hopes of any maintenance from these who are obliged to it.'

The preliminary steps taken by the Scots towards the investing of the town are described in a despatch from Callendar⁴⁵ on August 21st, in which he states that Leven 'quarters himselfe at Elswick wpon the west end of the toune of Newcastle at the watersyde; and that the east end thair of is assigned to me for my quarters, by and attour gatesyd, and the most part of the bridge, whairof I am in possession alreddie.' He proceeds:—

Wpon Thursdaye the 15. of this instant I croced the water likewayes a little beneath the toune at the glasse workes, takeing with me the lord Sinclaire and the earle of Marachells regiments,⁴⁶ with some commanded men, whom I ludged that nicht (notwithstanding of many cannone shott from the towne and Sheil-

⁴³ Thurloe, vol. i. It is also signed by Wauchope of Niddrie, Forrester, 'Louchtour,' and John Ker. ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* Callendar writes from 'Gatesend.'

⁴⁶ The earl marshal commanded the Mearns and Aberdeen regiment which, on October 19th, took part in the assault on Pilgrim Street gate. Sinclair on that date was still with Callendar. Both regiments had been left before Newcastle on February 22nd. See p. 164 of this volume.

field fort,⁴⁷ and musquett shott upon both syds) in the Sandgaitt, whair I am now bussied about the making of approaches towards the toune, and I have recovered many keeles and boats, as hes made a bridge over the water a little beneath the glasse houses.⁴⁸

The seiging of this toune is much hindered for want of materialls, as spaid, shooles, mattocks, etc. And as the beleaguering of it will be great charges, so the souldiors are putt to extraordinare dewtie. And wee cannot gaitt so mutche money, as will be halfe monethes meanes to every officer, foure merks to every trouper, and a shilling to ilk souldier, for the comissaree heere hes it not. Whairfor seeing thair panes and labour is great, your lordships would be pleased to send up money heere for thair farder encouragement, and give ane speciall comand and ordor to the thesaurer of the armie or his deputs, that thir forces may gaitt some satisfaction, and not to be distinguished in that only from the armie [Leven's];⁴⁹ for it seemes they ar by paye and proviant, though nothing short and inferiour in dewtie.

The last meall, whiche was sent heere, was directed to Hartlepoole, which is now returned back to Sunderland for the use of this armie, in respect of our necessitie and of the evilnesse of the victuall, whiche was heere; yit seeing that is a place very fitt to be a magazine, your lordships wold take it to your consideration, and send victualls thair.

This day [Aug. 21st] some peeces of batterie are sent over to the wther syde of the river;⁵⁰ and I have intercepted a letter yisterday, sent from Sir Thomas Gleinhame out of Cairleel to the major of Newcastle; the copye whair of your lordships shall resave heere inclosed.

It appears, therefore, that within a week of Leven's arrival, Callendar had made the extended position assigned to him, namely, Sandgate and the east side of the town in addition to Gateshead,

⁴⁷ Shieldfield fort stood on the east bank of Pandon burn. Its southern entrenchment is marked by the present Ridley villas in New Bridge street. Thus it stood a trifle to the north of the line of the town wall at Carliol tower from which it was distant about 550 yards—a half-musket shot according to Lithgow. See Brand, frontispiece and the picture at vol. i. p. 17. See also p. 212 of this volume.

⁴⁸ This bridge of boats would be considerably to the east of the Ouseburn, and out of sight of the besieged by reason of the bend of the river, and also of the rising ground between Pandon and Ouseburn.

⁴⁹ It is not difficult to detect here and in Callendar's previous despatch some feeling between his command and that of Leven. That such a feeling existed is further suggested by Lithgow's evident desire to give Callendar due credit for his share in the siege, and by the conflicting statements as to which section of the army entered the town first on October 19th. From the *Leslies of Leslie*, vol. i., it appears that some disagreement existed between them as to the relative seniority of the earldoms conferred on them by Charles in 1641.

⁵⁰ At Sandgate. The position of the Scottish batteries is considered in detail hereafter in connexion with the final assault on October 19th. Lithgow states that Callendar placed two batteries here, one to intercept the besieged from his mines. He adds that they succeeded in beating down 'the top, face, and upmost parts of the Carpenters tower,' probably immediately upon their being placed in position.

effective. A bridge of boats below Ouseburn connected the two portions of his command, and a battery was in position, probably on the high ground on which St. Ann's church stands, between Ouseburn and Pandon. Mining operations had also been commenced at or near the Sandgate. That the fire from his Gateshead batteries proved very galling to the besieged appears from Whitelock's statement⁵¹ that 'most of the inhabitants of the lower town fled to the high town for shelter.'

Lithgow's account,⁵² which is unfortunately rather a rhapsody than a narrative, gives a few details of the preliminaries of the siege. From it we gather that Leven also constructed a bridge of boats. He does not definitely assign its position, but we may infer that it was near Leven's headquarters at Elswick, hidden from the sight of the besieged and out of cannon shot, in the bend of the river above the Redheugh. Nor is he more explicit as to the actual measures taken by Leven to make the siege of the town on his side effective. He states, however, that Leven enclosed 'the West and Northwest parts of the Town, they inclosed all that circuit, till they joyned with Lord Sinclairs Regiment; Sheefield Fort (belonging to the Town) only dividing them.' The Scottish soldiers were accommodated in 'Houts composed of Turff, Clay, Straw, and Watles'; the officers in 'circulating Pavillions, more ready to receive the blustering winde than the sinking raine.' In regard to Callendar's bridge of boats, he adds that it was 'a pretty way below the Glasse house,' and was guarded by lord Kenmuir's⁵³ regiment at both ends, and also by 'three watrie guards of Keill boats, tyed with cable ropes,' and that it was used by the country people to bring in provisions for the army.

It is unfortunate that but little can be learnt of the proceedings inside the town throughout the siege. Lithgow gives, however, a brief account of the measures taken by the besieged for their defence. 'The streets,' he writes, 'that were answerable to thair barrocaded Ports, [*i.e.* to which the gates gave entrance] and in frequent passages, were also casten up with defensive breastworks, and

⁵¹ *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 294.

⁵² *An Exact and Experimental Relation*, etc.

⁵³ Lord Kenmuir, or Kenmure, was appointed on the Committee of War for the stewardry of Kircudbright on July 24th, 1644.—*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, under date. His regiment is not assigned a position in the assault on October 19th. It was probably held in reserve, or confined exclusively to the guard of the bridge of boats.

planted with Demi-culverines of irone:⁵⁴ And above all other workes, the Towne Castle itself was seriously enlarged, with diverse curious fortifications, besides breast works, Redoubts, and terrenial Demilunes ; and withall three distinctive Horne-workes, two of which exteriorly are strongly pallosaded, and of great bounds.' The 'Capstone of the battlements round about the Town' was 'underproppd with little stones' ready to fall on the besiegers should they attempt to scale the wall. The gaps in the battlements were filled with 'lime and stone,' narrow slits only being allowed to remain. All the gates were closed and barricaded, egress being allowed only by the small postern gates. The trench outside the walls had been deepened, and the outward surface of the walls themselves had been 'steeply lyned with clay-mixt earth' to prevent the besiegers from climbing up. Certain structural alterations appear also to have been made in the walls, since in August, 1644, the Company of Barber Surgeons ordered an inspection to be made of Ralph Cock's house with a view to their occupation of it, their hall over Pandon gate having been taken down before the siege commenced.⁵⁵

Immediately after his arrival, Leven summoned the town to surrender.⁵⁶

His letter was as follows :—⁵⁷

As it hath ever been our chieftest care to make our intentions (for the purity of Religion, his Majesties happinesse, and the settled peace of his Kingdomes) publike and manifest to the world, so we do now in a speciall manner desire to give satisfaction to this City in every thing, which may advance the weall thereof : That all scruples and misunderstandings may therefore the better be removed, and your City may reape the sweet fruits of peace, which other Cities under obedience of King and Parliament do quietly enjoy : We have thought good hereby to represent how fitting we conceive a meeting to be of some judicious persons from either side, that you may thereby know our high respects to his Majesties honour and great desire to shun all further effusion of blood, and preserve your City from the extremities of War.

Elswick, Aug. 16. 1644.

LEVEN.

⁵⁴ In Nye's *Art of Gunnery* (1648), chap. 34, he gives the following details of a demiculverin ; $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter of bore, length 10 to 13 feet, weight 3,000 lb., weight of powder for discharge 12 lb. 11 oz., weight of shot $10\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. The point-blank range of such a gun was probably not over 400 yards, or extreme at 5° elevation 1,700 yards. See Greener, *Science of Gunnery* (1846), p. 57, and Lloyd and Hadcock, *Artillery, its Progress and Present Position*, p. 21.

⁵⁵ *Archæologia Aeliana*, vol. xv. p. 233.

⁵⁶ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii. under date August 21st, 1644.

⁵⁷ *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 69, for August 20-27, 1644.

On August 17th, the town returned an answer, refusing to treat, in the following letter :—⁵⁸

My Lord,—Wee have perused and well weighed your Letter, and must return this Answer, That whereas you desire to make manifest your intentions for the purity of Religion, his Majesties happinesse and peace of his Kingdomes, we wish it were so (and not rather pretences), and whereas you write in a speciall manner to give satisfaction of your desires of our weall and peace, Is it possible we should believe you in this, when We see you are the one and only disturbers of our welfare and peace? But to remove all scruples and misunderstandings: We doe declare to you, and the whole world, that our love and obedience is so much to King and Parliament, that if you can shew us Commission from his Majesty and the Parliament, to undertake what you desire, wee shall most willingly condescend thereunto: but otherwise we neither dare, nor will meete, or treat in matters of so great importance, And besides, must needs thinke all your intentions and designs are but to delude ignorant people: And to conclude, if your high respects to his Majesties honour, the shunning of further effusion of blood, the preservation of Newcastle from ruine and extremity of War, be real, return home with your Army, live in peace, and let your neighbours enjoy the same: If not we know and trust, that God who is with us, is above all against us, and in this cofidence we shall ever remaine

Your affectionate friends, if you please,

JO. MARLAY.	NICHOLAS COLE.	THO. LYDDELL.
ALEX. DAVISON.	FRAN. BOWES.	RALPH COLE.
RALPH COCK.	LEONARD CARRE.	ROB. SHAFTOE.

Newcastle, Aug. 17. 1644.

On the 21st, the Committee of Both Kingdoms resolved 'That the answer of the Mayor and others of Newcastle to the summons be reported to the Commons.'⁵⁹ Mr. Pierpoint brought up the resolution to the Commons on the same day. Following this refusal to treat, the siege was pushed actively forward. Leven and Callendar were already in possession of such houses or suburbs as lay without Sandgate, Closegate, Pilgrim street gate and Newgate, and an attempt on the part of the besieged to shake the Scots from their position on the bridge had been recently frustrated.⁶⁰ The apparent imminence of a close investment was not without its effect upon those inside Newcastle who were half-hearted in the cause or fearful of the result

⁵⁸ *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 69. This letter is given in *The True Informer*, No. 44, for August 17-24, 1644, and in other news-sheets, but in somewhat different language, and at shorter length.

⁵⁹ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.) 1644, under date August 21st.

⁶⁰ *The True Informer*, No. 44, for August 17-24, 1644.

of a siege. A news-sheet⁶¹ states: 'Sir Lionel Maddison, Master Clavering, and Master Henry Maddison, three of the Aldermen of the Town, have deserted the Town, and are got to Sunderland, being formerly compelled to subscribe an answer to the first summons when the Scots came in.' Leven had also enlisted the services of three thousand colliers, keelmen, and others, to help in the mining operations.⁶² On Saturday the 20th, these mining operations were sufficiently advanced in the neighbourhood of Closegate to tempt the besieged to make a sortie. Douglas⁶³ describes it: 'The enemy fall on about 3 afternoon, near Clossgate, where Lyndsay⁶⁴ and Metland⁶⁵ had the guard in the works, the souldiers fled; there was taken Lientenant Colonell—Sir James Maxuel, Major to E. Clidsdales regiment,⁶⁶ ane ensigne, and some 9 or 10 common souldiers, some 2 or 3 killed; the officers were not there that day; the bridge of keils⁶⁷ under the [sic] bridge was a making, and on the 21, 22.'

On August 22nd, Leven sent a despatch to the Committee of Estates,⁶⁸ which indicates that lack of money and provision were not the greatest of 'the difficulties which confronted the Scots. He reminded them of the necessity of 'sending to the army all such as have run awaie from there cullers, and are come home; as also all such as have beine wanting of the numbers that were appointed to come away at first out of the severall shires of the kingdome.' On

⁶¹ *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligence*, No. 69, for August 20-27, 1644. The two Maddisons signed the answer to Leven's summons dated February 3rd, 1644 (Printed in *A True Relation of the Late Proceedings of the Scottish Army*). Sir Lionel had come over to Parliament by July 10th, 1644.—*Commons Journals*. Henry Maddison became mayor of Newcastle for 1665-66.—Welford, *Men of Mark*, vol. iii. p. 129. Robert Clavering's signature is attached to the answer sent by Glemham to Argyll and Argyne from Alnwick on January 20th, 1644.—*Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 306. He, too, had come over to Parliament by July 10th, 1644.—*Commons Journals*.

⁶² Whitelock, vol. i. p. 294. Bourne, *History of Newcastle*, p. 233, says that they were Elswick and Benwell colliers employed under 'a false rebellious Scot' named John Osborne.

⁶³ *Diary*.

⁶⁴ Lord Crawford and Lindsay, whom Douglas's *Diary* shows to have returned from a short visit to Durham on the 19th.

⁶⁵ Lord Maitland, colonel of the Midlothian regiment.—Rushworth, vol. v. p. 604. This regiment is not mentioned in the final assault on October 19th. It probably formed part of the reserve on that occasion.

⁶⁶ It is not clear whether sir James Maxwell is referred to as major of the Clydesdale regiment. He is not mentioned in Rushworth's list of Leven's regiments, where the major of the Clydesdale regiment is given as major Lindsay.

⁶⁷ At Elswick. Callendar's bridge at the glass houses was in course of construction on August 15th.

⁶⁸ Thurloe, vol. i.

the same day, the Scottish chancellor, lord Loudoun, arrived from Scotland to review the progress which the siege had made. Leven, accompanied by Douglas, rode out to meet him 'beyond the 3 mile bridge coming from Morpeth.'⁶⁹ Siege operations were in active progress at the time of his arrival. 'The enemy,' says a contemporary news-letter,⁷⁰ 'from the Castle doth mightily annoy us with their great Artillery; but the Scots are casting up with incessant labour what works they can both by day and night to defend themselves. In the mean while, our Pioners are as busie at worke under ground, as our Canons are playing above it. The endeavours on both sides are indefatigable, and in the thick clouds of smoke the thunder of the Canon perpetually disputing.' On the following Saturday, the 24th, Loudoun had an opportunity of witnessing a sortie of the besieged at Newgate on the north-west of the town. That fortification, together with the line of the western wall as far as Herber tower or Westgate, appears to have been under the particular charge of lieutenant-general Baillie. His battery was probably placed on the Leazes, and in the course of the siege it did considerable damage to the wall and to St. Andrew's church immediately fronting it.⁷¹ In the final assault on October 19th, Newgate was breached by the artillery and not by mines, but at this period of the siege the Scots appear to have been mining the wall here as at Closegate and Sandgate. Their mines at Newgate were 'within a stonecast of the wall,'⁷² and Baillie, after entertaining Douglas at dinner, went with him on the afternoon of the 24th, to view the works. 'A little after I came from the works,' writes Douglas, 'the enemy fell on, horse and foot, upon the works kept by Cossil and Kilheads regiment;⁷³ the souldiers ran away. The reason was no officers were attending; they were beaten in again, some two killed, as many wounded, as many taken, both the days of outfall.' The want of officers, to which Douglas had also impliedly attributed the reverse at Closegate on the 20th, presented a serious difficulty. Sinclair writes to the

⁶⁹ Douglas's *Diary*. ⁷⁰ *The London Post*, No. 3, for August 27th, 1644.

⁷¹ See p. 213 for a detailed account of the positions of the Scottish mines and batteries. ⁷² Douglas's *Diary*.

⁷³ Douglas, somewhat confusedly, speaks of this sortie as taking place 'at the works at Pilgrim street called Newgate.' Newgate is clearly intended, though in the final assault on October 19th, the Kyle and Carrick regiment [col. lord Cassillis] and the Nithsdale and Annandale regiment [col. Douglas of Kilhead] were stationed at Pilgrim street gate.

Committee of Estates from Elswick on September 18th,⁷⁴ 'Wee find so great want of officers, that wee have resolved to fill the places of all such as have violat and transgrest thair forlosses.'

On Sunday, the 25th, Loudoun heard a sermon from Douglas in Leven's quarters at Elswick;⁷⁵ his text [verses 5 and 6 from Psalm lxiv.]: 'They encourage themselves in an evil matter: they commune of laying snares privily; they say, Who shall see them? They search out iniquities; they accomplish a diligent search: both the inward thought of every one of them, and the heart, is deep.' The assuring verse which follows was not included in the text, nor was Crawford more hopeful of speedy success in a despatch to the Committee of Estates,⁷⁶ dated 'haste, haste, post haste, Elswick, 27. August, 3 a clock in the morning.' 'For our present condision,' he writes 'wee are using our best diligence for advanceing of our designe against this toune, and' he adds, suggesting difficulties of commissariat, 'shall dispose of our cavalrie as they may be most usefull for the good of the cause and that kingdome, and have meanes of subsistence for themselves.' On the same day, Loudoun concluded his short visit to the camp and proceeded to Sunderland, where he took ship for London.⁷⁷

On September 3rd, an entry in the Whickham register of burials,⁷⁸ speaks to the vigilance of the Scottish sentries: 'A man that was shot bii the Scotish centres in the meadowes, as he was comeing up the water in a boate.' On the same date [September 3rd] the besieging force was weakened by the departure to Scotland of Callendar and Lindsay, with three regiments of foot and one of horse. Montrose's progress called them away, though Callendar shortly after returned to the lines before Newcastle.⁷⁹ But on September 7th, Leven was able to announce that 'we have now approached to the Grafts of this Town, ready to passe our Galleries, and in a fair way (by Gods blessing) to make a short end of the work.'⁸⁰ He therefore deemed the moment opportune to deliver a further summons. On that date [September 7th] the following letter was sent into the town:—⁸¹

⁷⁴ Thurloe, vol. i. ⁷⁵ Douglas's *Diary*. ⁷⁶ Thurloe, vol. i.

⁷⁷ Douglas's *Diary*. ⁷⁸ Surtees, *Durham*, vol. ii. p. 242. ⁷⁹ Douglas's *Diary*.

⁸⁰ *The Weekly Account*, for September 11-18, 1644.

⁸¹ *A Particular Relation of the Taking of Newcastle*. This tract prints most of the correspondence between Leven and the besieged, from September 7th to October 19th, as it was communicated to the commissioners of Scotland.

The answers you have returned to the severall letters you formerly received from those now in the service of the King and Parliament, sufficiently manifest and declare to all the world, your evil dispositions and affections to their affaires, and your hands may one day rise against you in judgment, if you prevent it not. But that no honest ways, or lawfull means may be left unassayed for the good of the Town (if the Lord please to open the eyes of the inhabitants to see what is for his glory, and their own weale), We the Committees of both Kingdomes have thought fit once more to incite you for your own benefit to treat about that love and obedience which you seem to say in your last⁸² to the Lord Generall his Excellencie, you delare to all the world, you beare to King and Parliament; to which triall and test we doe now the more earnestly incite you, to the end of the further effusion of Christian blood may be prevented, and a right understanding among those that seem to make profession at least as you doe of one and the same ends obtained. And because we have seen by experience, you have heretofore trusted to rotten reeds and broken staves (and peradventure some amongst you may perswade with you to do so still)⁸³ not trusting onely to your owne strength within, but also relying upon others without your walls who may fail you if you lean upon them, and in your greatest confidence utterly deceive you; and by that means bring you suddenly to ruine. Consider sadly of your present condition, and though it should please God to give you his grace to doe as true hearted Englishmen, loyall and faithfull to the Crown of England, and the true Religion therein professed, ought to doe; yet endeavour to acquit your selves like rationall men, which is the last advice in this kind you are like to receive from us your friends, if you hearken to our advice.

Signed in the name, and by the warrant of the Committee of both Kingdomes.

Sic Subscribitur SINCLARE.

W. ARMYNE.

Dated Elswick, 7th September, 1644. Directed to the Major, Aldermen, Common-councill, and Burgesses of the Toun of Newcastle.

Along with this letter there went an unofficial one of the same tenour from 'a well-wisher to the Toun of Newcastle.' Copies of it were thrown over the walls 'that they might come into the hands of the inhabitants.'⁸⁴ It read as follows:—

I have been still silent, waiting when you should have taken some course for your owne happinesse, But now seeing your destruction even ripe, if not timously prevented, I could not but give you faire warning, and desire you

⁸² On August 17th.

⁸³ The Scots no doubt were well aware that sir John Marley by no means carried the whole town with him in his rigorous policy of resistance. *The Parliament Scout*, No. 60, for August 8-15, 1644, describes the position within Newcastle: 'the Souldiers are discontented within, the Governour goes not out without a guard.'

⁸⁴ *A Particular Relation*, etc. It is possible that this letter was officially inspired, and designed to communicate to those from whom Marley might withhold it, the desire of the Scots to negotiate an accommodation. More probably it was the work of one of the Newcastle puritans, such as Maddison or Man, who were with the Scottish army.

both Citizens, and Souldiers, for the preservation of your Towne, the safety of your Persons, Estates, and Families, to think upon some way of a speedy Accommodation, and no question you shall meet with a very favourable hearing. It is no more wisdom, nor Honour, but extreame madnesse, any longer to hold out, when the danger is present and certaine; and when all your hopes of reliefe have now failed you.'

To the first of these letters the following answer was returned :—⁸⁵

We have received your Letter, and seriously considered thereon, and if you can shew us any thing under His Majesties hand, that we should yeild up the Town unto you, we will obey it. But whereas you tell us we trust to broken Reeds, and rotten staves, we confidently say again and again, that the God on whom we relye, is our strength and the Rock of our Faith, wherein the strength of our walles doth consist is so firm, that we fear not your threats, your Canon, nor what can be invented against us; And desire you to consider this, and avoid effusion of blood, from

Your friends, if you take our advice

MARLEY.

CARRE, etc.

Signed by Warrant of His Majesties Charter.

That the failure of Glemham and others of the king's commanders in the north to attempt the relief of the town had caused disappointment and even dismay is very probable, since that appears to have been the basis on which the Scots thought it opportune to propose an accommodation at this juncture. That there was within the town itself a considerable party which would have seized upon any reasonable offer of accommodation with the Scots, had it been submitted to their judgment, is clear from the treatment which Marley received upon the surrender of the town on October 19th. The party of resistance was, however, in the majority and this second offer of accommodation, like the first, was stoutly rejected.

It was probably with some such idea as that which had prompted the letter to Marley that, on September 10th, both Leven and Sinclair wrote to the Committee of Estates,⁸⁶ the former to assure them that there was but little danger to Scotland or Newcastle from Carlisle, and that his cavalry had scattered the enemy in Westmorland; the latter to assure the Estates that 'we shall lett no tyme slip, bot rather double our diligence in our designes against this town.' On the 18th, again, Sinclair informs the Estates that David Leslie with 'his whole cavalrie' has been sent into Cumberland.⁸⁷ Any hope of relief for Newcastle from that side might with reason be regarded as closed.

⁸⁵ *The Weekly Account*, for September 18-24, 1644.

⁸⁶ Thurloe, vol. i.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

The rejection by Marley of the accommodation suggested by the Scots was followed by a renewal of the attack upon the town. Upon the receipt of the town's answer,⁸⁸ Baillie opened fire, from his batteries on the Leazes, upon St. Andrew's church and the wall in front of it. His battery succeeded, after three hours' assault, in 'brashing' down part of the wall near the church to 'within half a yard of the roote,'⁸⁹ making an opening through which ten men could enter abreast.⁹⁰ The breach was not however entered, for the besieged succeeded in repairing it with rubbish and timber under a canvas screen.⁹¹ The tower of St. Andrew's also suffered in this or some other assault. Brockett⁹² mentions a tradition that a cannon-ball fired from its tower killed a Scottish minister as he was preaching to a ring of soldiery on the Leazes. Meanwhile the Scots' store of powder and ball appears to have been running short. On September 9th,⁹³ the Committee of Both Kingdoms recommended that two hundred barrels of powder with matches and bullets be sent to Newcastle through Sunderland, and on the 14th,⁹⁴ the Committee requested the Commons that '200 of the 400 [barrels] that are come this day from Kingston' might be utilised for the purpose of replenishing the Scottish magazines. On the same day⁹⁵ a warrant for two hundred rounds of 24 lb., 12 lb., and 9 lb. ball to be despatched to Newcastle, was made out, and on September 16th,⁹⁶ the Commons ordered the despatch of two hundred barrels of powder thither by way of Sunderland.

On Saturday, September 21st, and again on the following Monday, the besieged appear to have made successful sorties. The information is derived from a royalist source,⁹⁷ and obviously overstates the success it chronicles: 'As for that famous garrison at Newcastle, the hungry Scots have been so beaten by it, that the number before the Toune lookes so small as if none were there but *honest Scots*. Their horse are all gone of into Scotland to secure

⁸⁸ Lithgow, however, appears to place this about September 29th. Mackenzie, *Hist. of Northumberland*, vol. i. p. 28, places it after Leven's letter on September 7th. ⁸⁹ Lithgow. ⁹⁰ Mackenzie, vol. i. p. 28.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* The appearance of the wall immediately in front of the north porch of St. Andrew's church suggests that as the portion of the wall 'brashed' by the Scots on this occasion.

⁹² Quoted in *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes* (50 Surtees Society publ.), p. 339.

⁹³ *Cal. of State Papers* (Dom.) 1644. ⁹⁴ *Ibid.* ⁹⁵ *Ibid.* ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Mercurius Aulicus*, for 40th week, ending October 5th, 1644.

their ample Patrimonies at home. The Scots before Newcastle are neither numerous nor courageous, being bravely tamed by that excellent blow which the Garrison bestowed upon them on Monday was seavenight and the Saturday before (Saint James day)⁹⁸ at which two times the brave men of Newcastle slew and tooke above 500 Scots,⁹⁹ killed a principal Commander (we remember not his Scottish name) and tooke 3 peices of Ordnance; since when the Scots are withdrawn from Tinmouth Castle, which till then they blockt up.'

On Monday the 23rd, a further event is recorded in a sermon preached by George Wishart¹⁰⁰ on the following Sunday—St. Michael and All Angels—in St. Nicholas's church. He had been recounting instances in the progress of the siege which suggested the ministry of angels in the behalf of the besieged: 'So,' he continued, 'yet more recent amongst many notable experiences of that kind since the beginning of the siege, on Monday last, the day of the election of our Magistrate, when that thundering shot¹⁰¹ came between the sword-bearer and our chiefest Magistrates, who pulled them back, and made them halt the while? Who interposed his shield to receive it, or his dagger to divert, and put it by? Who did it? Sure I am it was only God, and likelier no means than this same ministry of the angels, at His charge and command.' 'So,' he continues, in reference probably to an event of the same day, 'who took the aim, who gave the fire, to that our piece at West gate, whose breach was covered with their pieces, which caw'd [knocked] a crew of our enemies to the ground at once? Surely he who directed the stone of David's sling against the brain pan of Goliath.'¹⁰²

⁹⁸ St. James's day is calendared, however, on July 25th.

⁹⁹ Obviously a gross exaggeration.

¹⁰⁰ Lecturer in St. Nicholas's church. This sermon is printed in Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose* (Ed. Murdoch and Simpson, 1893), p. xxi.

¹⁰¹ Probably from one of the Gateshead batteries, from which a good view of the civic procession to and from the Sandhill could be obtained. Wishart's sermon ended with a reference to sir John Marley 'our thrice repeated Mayor and Governour.' In answer to Marley's re-election the *Lords Journals* for October 9th, 1644, show that Henry Warmouth was appointed mayor of Newcastle by the Parliamentary party. The *Commons Journals* for October 9th, 1644, approve Henry Warmouth as deputy-lieutenant for Newcastle.

¹⁰² Wishart clearly confirms *Mercurius Aulicus* in some success having been gained by the garrison on September 23rd.

On the following Saturday [September 28th],¹⁰³ the besieged had another fortunate deliverance. The garrison on that day discovered 'the lowest Myne next to the river syde,'¹⁰⁴ near Sandgate, and to prevent its being drowned Callendar gave orders that it should be fired. That very extensive mining operations were being conducted against that part of the wall is clear from Lithgow's supplementary statement, 'The other three adjacent Mynes were not as yet ready.' The deliverance from the mine that was prematurely fired was not the only one for which the besieged had reason to be thankful: 'Who amongst us,' said Wishart,¹⁰⁵ in his sermon on the following day, 'was so wise and vigilant as to foresee and so prevent that blow intended against us by blowing up of our own powder, whereby many of us had been miserably massacred, and the rest made an easy prey and spoil to our cruel enemies? When a great part of the match was burnt, when the fire was come within a finger length of the powder, and we all sleeping secure, who was there so ready with water to quench that fire, to prevent that blow, and not only to preserve us, but that same powder, to work much vengeance upon our enemies? Sure I am, God Himself was the Author of that deliverance, and if by the ministry of any second cause, surely none so likely as this of our text, that of some holy angel at His charge and command—And blessed be His name for it, for evermore.'¹⁰⁶

So far, therefore, the besieged were giving a very excellent account of themselves. The despatches which left head-quarters at Elswick, though they make no reference to the many repulses which had befallen their army, speak equally to other difficulties against which the Scots had to contend. On September 18th, Sinclair¹⁰⁷ writes to the Committee of Estates, 'The thesaurer of this army is returned hither, but nather provisions nor money with him as yet; and when wee shall begin to distribute the shoes among our sojourns, such a number thereof shall be sent unto yow, as may be spared from this.' Callendar,¹⁰⁸ also, on the 24th, writes to the same authority to beg them to send more meal, and clearly chafing at the slowness of their progress, adds that in his opinion they will best serve the interests of the kingdom by hurrying on the business against Newcastle.

¹⁰³ Lithgow assigns this event to about September 29th. ¹⁰⁴ Lithgow.

¹⁰⁵ *Op. cit.* ¹⁰⁶ This may point to treachery within the town.

¹⁰⁷ Thurloe, vol. i. ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

Save for their stout walls, the besieged were in but little better plight. Wishart's sermon on Sunday, September 29th, valuable as one of the few glimpses afforded us inside the town during the siege, is equally valuable as suggesting the patience, courage, and devotion which inspired the garrison in their heroic defence.

Come I now, then [said Wishart] to my exhortation, and I shall deliver it in the very words of Joab to Abishai his brother, and to the Host of Israel, when they fought against the children of Ammon. 'Let us be of good courage and play the men, and behave ourselves valiantly, and God will do what seemeth him best;' and let no man say 'oh, our help is far from us,' for if our eyes were but opened we might perhaps see all the mountains about us full of those fiery chariots and horses, so that they were more that were for us, than all that are against us. I attest the consciences of you all when you look back again to the weeks and months of this siege which are already passed, and call to mind your own opinions and judgments; what thought you that this handful of ours could not only have resisted that equally mighty and malicious enemy; but also so often beaten, killed, and taken them in their very forts and works, in so far that our friends are stricken with admiration and joy, our enemies with amazement and fear, and ourselves more encouraged and strengthened than at first hours? . . . I know that many of you would take it in a great huff and indignation if I should say that you were very cowards who would not hazard your own persons and limbs in so good a cause; and what a miser art thou, who will give thy life, and will not give thy loaf of bread; who will give thy person, and will not give thy purse in that same cause. If we had but hearts of men in us, the poorest of the town needed neither want meat nor clothes yet for a long time, even until the Lord should give us help from his holy place. Neither let any man say that I preach and press this doctrine much upon others, but am as backward from the practice of it as any else, saying I am like the Pharisee who laid heavy burdens upon other mens' shoulders, etc. Nay, I hope I am not so base. Most of you know very well that I am a man who cannot brag, yet will I not complain much of my poverty, but as I am, I am ready to lay down at the feet of our rulers, as much spare clothes as will help to apparel, as much good plate as will help to maintain half-a-dozen of soldiers until we get what help the Lord shall send us; neither shall I keep up a spoon or a blanket unbestowed, before any poor soldier or neighbour wants, but bestowed in the hands of our rulers, to be dispensed in an orderly way, and I take God to witness that if I had either spare corn or coin, it should all go that same way.¹⁰⁹

During the week which followed Wishart's sermon, the garrison obtained further encouragement. In the early morning of October 3rd, they discovered and drowned two of the enemy's mines, and a third on October 4th, 'whereat,' writes Lithgow,¹¹⁰ 'the enemy growing insolent, gave order for ringing of bells all night.'

¹⁰⁹ The passages quoted above follow here.

¹¹⁰ *Op. cit.*

On the other hand, the news which reached London gave a uniformly optimistic account of the progress of the siege. 'The letters this week,' writes one news-letter,¹¹¹ 'from the Leaguer before Newcastle doe certifie, that the besiegers have plaid upon the Town with their Ordnance for divers dayes together, which have done such gallant execution, that they have battered many houses in the Town, and thorow want, and feare there do daily come from the Enemy (though with difficulty) many of the Inhabitants.' Another reports¹¹² that the besieged garrison was put on half rations of food, and that many were dying of the 'flux.' It further states that a fight had taken place over 'a fort on the North [? South] Shells,' which had been lost and won thrice in one day, the Scots eventually retaining it. Another news-letter¹¹³ reports the capture by the Scots of 'one of the wharves belonging to the Towne, by which meanes they can straighten it more than before.' Yet another,¹¹⁴ remarks, under date October 15th, that the cannon of the besieged had been dismounted by the besiegers' fire. An even more hopeless condition of the garrison was suggested in the report that it was ready to submit but for Marley's influence,¹¹⁵ and had even made offer of £30,000 to Leven to be allowed to march out, an offer which had been refused only because Leven would not include the Scottish lords in the town in the proposed accommodation.¹¹⁶

The besieged were clearly, therefore, hard pressed. For two months the Scots had been preparing their mines and battering the walls. Their magazines had now been replenished by the stores despatched from London in September.¹¹⁷ Leven determined therefore to put all to the hazard of a general assault.

On Monday, October 14th, he summoned the town for the third and last time. His letter was as follows:—¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ *Weekly Account* for October 2-9, 1644.

¹¹² *The Countrey Messenger*, No. 2, for October 4-11, 1644.

¹¹³ *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 73, for October 10-17, 1644.

¹¹⁴ *The Parliament Scout*, No. 69, for October 10-17, 1644.

¹¹⁵ *The True Informer*, No. 50, for October 12-19, 1644.

¹¹⁶ *The London Post*, No. 10, for October 23rd, 1644.

¹¹⁷ *The True Informer*, No. 50, for October 12-19, 1644.

¹¹⁸ *A Particular Relation*, etc.

To the Maior, Aldermen, and Common-Counsell of the Towne of New-castle.

We, Alexander, Earl of Leven, Lord Generall of the Scottish Armies, That it may be more manifest, and appeare to all men, how exceedingly we desire you to prevent those evils, which cannot be longer avoided; Notwithstanding you have been formerly invited by our severall Letters in all faire manner, to think on those wayes, which might conduce most to your well-fare. Doe by these presents require, and Summon you, to give up and surrender the Towne of New-Castle to us, to be kept for the use of King and Parliament; That Citizens and Souldiers may be safe, and the Towne being preserved from ruine, may enjoy the fruits of settled Peace, whereof other Townes reduced to the same obedience, doe now liberally taste. You are likewise earnestly desired by no means to conceale¹¹⁹ this our last offer and warning from the Citizens, and Souldiers; As you will be answerable to God and these whom it may concerne. If in these things you faile, you may then expect the extremities of warre, And wee professe our selves, and the Army under our conduct to be altogether free, and innocent of whatsoever bloodshed, and other Calamities may ensue through your obstinacy. Hereto we expect a present answer,

Given under my hand at Elsweeke before New-Castle, 14. October, 1644.

LEVEN.

On the following day, October 15th, Marley and twenty-nine of the Common Council delivered their answer. In it, as throughout the correspondence, we can but admire the resourceful manner in which the garrison sought to gain time, either in the hope of help from outside or, as Lithgow suggests, of being able to render ineffective the two principal mines which the Scots were preparing for the final assault.

Their letter of the 15th was as follows :—

My Lord,—Wee have received your Letter wherein you require and Summon us to give up and surrender the Towne, as you say, for the use of the King and Parliament: alleading diverse reasons mixt with threats to move us thereunto, all which we have well weighed and considered, and as formerly, so now return this Answer, that wee declare to you and all the world, that we keep this Town for the use of his Majesty, and that wee have full Power and Authority from his Majesty so to doe; and if either you, or any other can shew us better or later warrant from his Majesty, we will submit. And although wee neither dare, nor will acknowledge that disloyalty to our lawfull King (which you call reducing to just obedience) is the way to preserve us from Ruine, and to enjoy the fruits of a settled Peace; yet, that you and all the world may see we desire to shunne the effusion of Christian blood; We desire you send us in writing upon what termes and conditions you would have us deliver up the Towne, and then we shall return you a further Answer (which we hope will be satisfactory)

¹¹⁹ This confirms the suggestion made above, note 84, that Marley was suspected by the Scots of misrepresenting their communications to him.

and if this will not give you content, proceed and prosper as your cause requires, and let the blood that is, or shall be spilt, lye upon their soules and consciences that deserve it, and if we be the fault, Let this subscribed under our hands testify against us.

Newcastle, Octob. 15. 1644.

IO. MARLEY.	LEONARD CARR.
NICHOLAS COLE.	ROBERT SHAFTO.
THOMAS LIDDLE.	JAMES COLE.
THOMAS RIDDELL.	MAR. MILBANKE.
RICHARD TEMPEST.	CUTH. CARRE.
ALEXANDER DAVISON.	EDWARD STOTE.
FRANCIS BONES [BOWES].	THOMAS BLENKINSOPE.
RALPH COLE.	SAMUEL COCKE.
[MATTHEW] MATFIN.	GABRIEL ROBSON.
THOMAS MADDISON.	JAMES HARROP.
ANTHONY RICHARDSON.	IO. BLACKBURNE.
HENRY ROWCASTLE.	JOHN ROBSON.
THOMAS CLARKE.	JAMES ARMSTRANGE.
CHARLES CLARKE.	ANTHONY YOUNGER.
WILLIAM COOKE.	WILLIAM ARCHBALD.

To this letter, carefully phrased to convey the possibility of the town's surrender to reasonable terms, Leven returned an immediate answer :—¹²⁰

Right Worshipfull,—Wee have received your Answer to our last, wherein as in all our former Letters, we conceive we have used no threats, but faire, and peaceable expressions, such as can be in differences of this nature ; But that our constant desire to shun the effusion of Christian blood, may more and more appeare to you and all the world. We doe againe¹²¹ desire, without further delay, that Hostages may be sent from either side, and judicious men appointed to treat, on such termes and conditions, as may put an happy end to the businesse, and to meet in such a place betwixt the Towne and the Camp, or within the Towne as shall bee thought fitting by you, hereto we expect your Answer, and remain your loving Friend.

LEVEN.

Elswiek, Octob. 15.

Marley and his colleagues gave that evening to a consideration of Leven's letter, and on the following morning despatched a reply¹²² in which they raised an objection designed to delay the actual nomination of hostages for another twenty-four hours :—

¹²⁰ *A Particular Relation*, etc. It is noticeable that while Leven's replies are prompt, those from the town are for the most part dated the day following the receipt of the letter to which they reply.

¹²¹ The previous occasion was on August 16th.

¹²² *A Particular Relation*, etc.

My Lord,—We received your second letter, directed as the former, and upon good consideration we could have wisht (that according to our desires in our former letter) you would have sent in writ the conditions and termes you desire the Town upon, that we might altogether have considered and condescended to what had bin most fitting and convenient for us to grant, but since you like not that course, but desire hostages may be sent, and some appointed to meet and treat at a place convenient: We must acknowledge and confesse that we doe not hold that power in us to grant, as Major, Aldermen, and Common counsell, but solely to be in Master Major as he is Governour of the military affaires, who we find very willing to condescend to any thing that may tend to the honour of His Majestie, the welfare of Newcastle, and the shunning effusion of blood; if you please to write unto him for that purpose, and so wishing a happy and honest peace in all his Majesties Dominions, we rest.

Your loving friends.¹²³

Newcastle, 16. Octob. 1644.

Leven promptly replied, accepting the proposed method of negotiation, but conveying a mild protest against the delaying tactics which Marley and his colleagues were somewhat obviously employing. His answer was as follows:—¹²⁴

Right Worshipfull,—I conceived for your further exoneration it had been most fitting to write to your selves as Master Major, and the Aldermen and Common-counsell of the Town; but now since I understand from themselves, that the power is solely in you, as Governour of the Military affaires, I will apply my selfe to your owne way, and shall here repeat my former desires, that Hostages may be sent, and a place appointed without further delay, to meet and treat on such things as may most tend to the honour of His Majesty, and the welfare of Newcastle, being always most willing to shun the occasions of effusion of blood. Hereto we expect your answer to morrow before ten a clocke; and that you will likewise make known to us the names and qualities of your Hostages, and such as you think fit to nominate to treat, and the place appointed for meeting, according as our Commissioners shall be in readinesse against the same time. Thus I remaine your loving friend,

LEVEN.

Elsweek before Newcastle, Oct. 16.

Marley received this letter late at night. The drummer who brought it was therefore kept within the town, while Marley sought out a further pretext for delay. In the morning the following answer was sent:—¹²⁵

My Lord,—I received your letter so late, that I was forced to keepe your Drummer all night, and I am very glad to see that you and I aime both at one end, which is His Majesties honour, Newcastles welfare, and the avoyding

¹²³ The signatures are the same as to the letter of October 15th, with the omission of Matthew Matfen, Mark Milbank, Samuel Cock, James Harrop, John Robson, James Armstrong, and with the addition of Samuel Coof [? Cock], William Robson, William Armstrong [? James Armstrong], John Harrigate, Will. Lerop. ¹²⁴ *A Particular Relation*, etc. ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

effusion of blood, and I wish those that treat may be of the same mind; but whereas you desire me to name Hostages and men to treat; I desire you to name yours, and I shall sute them as well as I can; for you know there is no Noblemen with me, but two of your owne Countrymen,¹²⁶ yet we have Knights and other men of good esteem; I shall also desire that there may be but three appointed to treat, and each to bring but one man, and know that what guard you will send with your hostages, that I may send the like, the place of exchange, and that the treaty may be at Newcastle, and when I know your mind in these things, we shall appoint the time of meeting, and if we hold close and sincerely to those ends by you proposed, I doubt not but God will blesse our endeavours and see us at peace, and I hope in his good time, these distracted Kingdômes; which that it may be, shall be the daily prayer of

Your loving friend,

Newcastle, 17. Oct. 1644.

JOHN MARLEY.

Leven replied on the same day,¹²⁷ accepting Marley's suggestion:—

Right Worshipfull,—I have received your letter, and that the businesse may the sooner be brought to a period, I have appointed Sir Adam Hepburne of Humby, the Treasurer of our Army, Sir David Hoom Colonell,¹²⁸ and John Rutherford,¹²⁹ with a Secretary, and each of them a servant to attend them, to treat with such persons as you shall be pleased to nominate within the Toun of Newcastle, and do not conceive any necessity of guards to be sent with the Hostages, except onely an officer, to receive them at the Green field, on the north side of the great sconse, betwixt it and our line;¹³⁰ and I shall herewith also desire that twelve of the clocke may be appointed the time of meeting; and that by this Drummer you may send hither a note of the names of such persons as you intend to appoint for hostages, to be exchanged at the time and place above mentioned; an happy conclusion of the treaty is the desire of

Your loving friend,

Elsweek before Newcastle, Oct. 17.¹³¹

LEVEN.

In the course of that afternoon Marley replied:—¹³²

My Lord,—I Have received your letter, and doe approve of those men you name to treat, being all strangers to me; and likewise that there is no necessity of a guard, onely one Officer to meet them at the place appointed; but you desire that the meeting may be at twelve of the clock, and that I will send the names of those I intend to appoint as hostages, to be exchanged at the time and place

¹²⁶ The earl of Crawford, who on July 19th had been 'forefaulted' at Edinburgh Cross (Guthry, *Memoirs*, p. 140), and lord Reay who had reached Newcastle from Denmark in January, 1644, and remained to take part in the siege.

¹²⁷ *A Particular Relation*, etc.

¹²⁸ Sir David Home, laird of Wedderburn, was colonel of the Merse regiment.—Rushworth, vol. v. p. 604.

¹²⁹ Douglas in his *Diary* calls him 'Provost of Jeddert.'

¹³⁰ Probably a Scottish earthwork to protect the mining operations at Sandgate. The Newcastle hostages left the town by that gate.

¹³¹ The tract inaccurately prints 'Oct. 18.'

¹³² *A Particular Relation*, etc.

above mentioned, which is impossible ; for I received your letter half an houre after twelve, and certainly you meane not twelve at night ;¹³³ but I will keepe promise, and to that purpose, this night I will send you the names of the hostages I intend to send to the place appointed and the time to be to morrow at nine of the clocke in the forenoone ; as for those that are to treat, I intend to supply the place of one my selfe, and shall send you the names of the rest : and so wishing a happy end to these and all the troubles of His Majesties Dominions, I rest

Your loving friend,

Newcastle, 17. Octob. 1644.

JOHN MARLAY.

Presuming that Marley's answer was penned immediately upon the receipt of Leven's letter, further consideration would be required as to the individuals who should act with Marley as commissioners for the treaty, and also as to their attitude towards the terms that might be propounded on the part of the Scots. Later in the afternoon, therefore, Marley supplemented his first letter with the following :—¹³⁴

My Lord,—According to promise I send you the names of the hostages, and of those appointed to treat, and shall keep the time and place mentioned in my former letter, and have set downe their names hereunder. I will say no more, but desire that during the time of the treaty, these courses may be holden which are accustomed in warre ; and so I rest,

Your loving friend,

Newcastle, 17.

JOHN MARLAY.

Gentlemen appointed for the Treaty. Sir John Marlay, Knight, and Governour. Sir Nicholas Cole,¹³⁵ Knight Baronet. Sir George Baker,¹³⁶ Knight : and a Secretary. Hostages. Collonell Charles Brandling.¹³⁷ Lieutenant Coll. Thomas Davieson.¹³⁸ Capt. Cuthbert Carr,¹³⁹ late Sheriffe of Newca.

On the following morning, Friday, October 18th, at nine o'clock, the three hostages from Newcastle 'came out to the Sandgate,'¹⁴⁰ and the Scottish commissioners entered the Town.¹⁴¹ It is quite obvious

¹³³ The 'Maior,' writes Douglas (*Diary*) 'did shift all he could to put off tyme.'

¹³⁴ *A Particular Relation*, etc.

¹³⁵ Ex-mayor of Newcastle. He succeeded in escaping after the fall of Newcastle. A letter of his dated April 22nd, 1645, *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), shows that he was then in hiding in London. He was restored to his property and position at the Restoration.—Welford, *Men of Mark*, vol. i.

¹³⁶ Recorder of Newcastle. On the fall of the town he was imprisoned in the Compter, Suffolk (*Commons Journal*). He was restored to the freedom of Newcastle, on August 8th, 1660 (Brand, *History of Newcastle*, vol. ii. p. 490), and died at Hull in 1667.—Welford, *Men of Mark*, vol. i. p. 175.

¹³⁷ Charles Brandling of Gateshead, who sold the Nun's moor to the Corporation in 1650 (Brand, vol. i. p. 441). 'Charles Lumbay' is the name given in Douglas's *Diary* as that of the first hostage.

¹³⁸ Thomas Davison was mayor of Newcastle in 1669.—Brand, vol. ii. p. 492.

¹³⁹ In command at Newgate.

¹⁴⁰ *A Particular Relation*, etc.

¹⁴¹ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 647.

that Marley and his fellow commissioners had no intention of seriously considering or debating any propositions which might be put to them, but used the opportunity to advance counter-propositions in order to still further prolong the truce. Writing on the following day, after Newcastle had fallen, Sir Adam Hepburn gave his account to the Scottish commissioners in London¹⁴² of the meeting of the treaty commissioners on the morning of the 18th :—

I should have gone into Newcastle on Thursday, but was put off till Friday by those obstinate Miscreants, especially the Mayor of that Town. Sir David Hume, John Rutherford, and I my self, went in on Friday at Nine in the Morning; we had Commission from General Lesley and Committees [representing both kingdoms with Leven's army], if we found real Dealings, to yield to honourable Conditions. The Mayor, Sir Nicholas Cole, and Sir George Baker, were treating with us; they gave us big Words; do what we could, they would not so much as come to speak of Conditions of rendring up the Town; and after three or four Hours Debate, all that we could draw from them, was, that they would think upon our Propositions, and return them within three or four Days; and that, when all Conditions were agreed upon, they would give Hostages to surrender in case Relief came not in twenty Days; nor would they so much as write to the General their own Propositions. [Hepburn proceeds¹⁴³]:—And because we who were commissioned from the Army, were limited to Friday at night, to conclude or give over Treaty, we desired them to write to the Generall, to know his minde concerning those delays, and we should either stay till his Excellencies Answer did come, or would carry it, and return if we had further Commission. They would not grant the favour to us, but told us, They would let us go, and they would write to the Generall to morrow [the 19th]. I went thus far with them, which was more then in Policie I should have done: yet so fain would I have effusion of blood shuned, that I told them in plain terms, That if they did write anything, it should be that night. They sent out a Letter that night, about eight of the clock, wherein they averred many untruths, and told, They would send out their Propositions on Munday next [the 21st]. It was late before many of us could be got together, to give Answer: Those who met, thought it fittest to return an Answer and to send such conditions as we would grant; and to certifie them, That if they did not accept them, and send out Hostages for performance, the Generall would no more treat.

Douglas,¹⁴⁴ in a short paragraph, summarises these proceedings :—

Upon the 18. they entered to treat within the town, but nothing was done, he [Marley] shyfted all. After the dissolving of the treaty, the Generall set all to work against the town. Marley sent out to seek a delay till Monday, but that was not granted. Conditions were sent in, which are now in print; if they embraced, they to send out hostages the morn [of the 19th] before eight, or else we would goe on; and in the meantime no cessation.

¹⁴² Printed in Bourne, p. 233.

¹⁴³ *A Letter from Newcastle* in King's Pamphlets, British Museum. ¹⁴⁴ *Diary*.

It was about mid-day, or somewhat later, that the Scottish commissioners left the town. The report of their mission either forced Leven to the conviction that Marley would not yield except to a successful assault, or at least that a demonstration against the town was likely to bring its authorities to their senses. In the course of the afternoon, as Douglas remarks, Leven 'set all to work against the town,' and among the preparations for assault, Callendar's Gateshead batteries were 'carried about,'¹⁴⁵ in other words, concentrated on the south-east and south-west corners of the town, at Sandgate and Closegate. Scottish regiments supporting the batteries were also moved into position on the rising ground near the burn at Barras bridge, since Marley found it necessary to withdraw his men from Shieldfield fort.¹⁴⁶ They, on their retiring, 'despightfully burned their two Courts du guard to the ground,'¹⁴⁷ with the design of rendering the fort useless to the besiegers.

The evident intention of the Scots to hold themselves in position to deliver an assault on the following morning had the effect which Leven had perhaps contemplated. At eight o'clock in the evening of the 18th he received the following letter from Marley and his fellow commissioners :—¹⁴⁸

My Lord,—We have had some discourse this day with your Commissioners ; but you have bound them to have our answers to your demands in so short a time, as we could not give them that satisfaction as we would gladly ; considering they demanded that which was not according to your Propositions ; namely, his Majesties honour, and the welfare of Newcastle. But we are so unwilling to see Christian blood shed, as that if you please to rest satisfied until Munday, we shall then, God willing, send you Propositions as we hope will give content. If this will not serve, we trust God will deliver us out of your hands, and so we rest,

Your loving friends,

JOHN MARLEY.

NICOLAS COLE.

G. BAKER.

Newcastle, 18. Oct. 1644.

This letter, the tract continues, was considered with 'mature deliberation.' There was some difficulty in summoning the chief officers from their several positions,¹⁴⁹ but the same night Leven despatched the following answer,¹⁵⁰ with the articles of surrender attached :—

¹⁴⁵ Lithgow.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *A Particular Relation*, etc.

¹⁴⁹ See Hepburn's letter above.

¹⁵⁰ *A Particular Relation*, etc.

Right Worshipfull,—I Received your Letter this night, at eight a clocke, wherein you show that you had some discourse with the Commissioners sent from this place, and alleages, they demanded that which was not according to my Propositions, namely, his Majesties honour, and the welfare of Newcastle, and promise to send Propositions on munday next; as your assertion of the Commissioners demands is more then you can make good, that they were against either His Majesties honour or the welfare of the Towne of Newcastle: Sir, I admire how you are not ashamed still to continue in your delatory way, and draw on the guilt of innocent blood upon your head. You demanded a treaty, and Commissioners to be sent into Newcastle, which was accordingly granted, who expected that you should have proposed conditions and propositions to them, whereby a happy and peaceable conclusion might have been made: and albeit you would neither propose to them nor suffer anything to be put in writing, yet they were content so farre to open themselves to you, even in particulars that could have been demanded either for the Officers or Souldiers, Townesmen or Strangers, that no better conditions had been given to any Towne reduced to obedience of King and Parliament within England: This your dealing makes it too apparent, that what ever your pretences be, your intentions have not been reall; yet such is my earnest desire and reall intention to shun the effusion of Christian blood, that I have caused to draw up such honorable conditions as you cannot in reason refuse, which I have herewith sent you; whereunto if you agree, I desire that you send to my Lord Sinclair his quarters at Sandgate tomorrow, being the 19. of October at or before six¹⁵¹ a clocke in the morning four or five sufficient hostages for delivery of the Town upon these conditions by night, betwixt and munday 21. at two a clock in the afternoone; and if you faill in sending out these hostages at the houre appointed, I shall take it as a refusall, and give up all treaty; and in the meane time no cessation [of hostilities] untill the hostages come out upon the conditions foresaid, whom we expect before, or at eight a clocke, or not at all, so I rest

Elswick before Newcastle, Oct. 18.

Your friend,
LEVEN.

With this letter went the conditions on which Leven was prepared to accept the surrender of the town, castle, and forts of Newcastle.¹⁵² They were as follows:—

1.—Officers and soldiers of the Garrison desiring to leave the town to have liberty to do so, with their arms, horses, and baggage, and to proceed to any place within forty¹⁵³ miles of Newcastle not already beleagured, and to be accommodated with 'draughts in their march.'

2.—The same conditions offered to 'all strangers, sojourners,' and residents who may desire to leave the town.

3.—The sick and wounded in the town to have liberty to remain there until their recovery, when they will be allowed to leave the town on the above conditions.

¹⁵¹ A misprint; eight a.m. was the hour.

¹⁵² These articles are printed in *A Particular Relation*, and also in *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1644, under date October 18th.

¹⁵³ In the *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1644, under October 18th, sixty miles is stated.

4.—The citizens of the town to be protected from violence in their 'persons, families, houses, and goods,' and to have the same liberty of trade and commerce enjoyed by other towns already reduced to the obedience of the King and Parliament.

5.—The liberties and jurisdiction of the town to be 'preserved inviolate conformably to their ancient charters.'

6.—Citizens who desire to go to their country houses to have protection and safeguard on their journey.

7.—No free billet to be granted upon any inhabitant without his consent.

8.—The army not to enter the town to occupy it, but only a competent garrison to be placed in it.

The terms offered by Leven, permitting the garrison, as they did, to march out with the honours of war, were both fair and reasonable. He had, however, stipulated that hostilities should be continued until eight o'clock on the morning of Saturday the 19th, when he looked for an acceptance of his proposals. At six o'clock in the morning of that day, his batteries, which had been placed in position the previous afternoon, opened fire on the town at four points; Sandgate, Pilgrim street gate, Westgate, and 'benorth Whyte Frier Tower.'¹⁵⁴ The cannonade lasted until eight o'clock, when the answer of the besieged was expected. Shortly after, it reached Leven, and was as follows :—¹⁵⁵

My Lord,—Wee received your Letter, wherein you say, we cannot make good that your Commissioners demands are against either his Majesties honor, or the welfare of Newcastle; we will give you but one reason amongst many; Whether it be for his Majesties honour that the Toun of Newcastle should be rendred to any of another Nation; nay more, if it be for the honour of the English Parliament: and that it is not for our welfare is so clear, needs no answer. And whereas you say, you wonder we are not ashamed to be so delatory, having demanded a Treaty; We say, we wonder you can be so forgetfull, knowing we have your Letter to show that the Treaty was your own Motion :¹⁵⁶ but for Answer to the rest, and to your Articles; We say, the delivery of Newcastle is not of so small moment, but if you intend as you say, time may well be given till munday for giving answer, for in case we should give consent to let you have this Towne, there is divers more Articles then you have set downe, both fit for us to demand and you to grant. Therefore if you would

¹⁵⁴ Douglas's *Diary*. The position of these batteries is discussed on p. 213.

¹⁵⁵ *A Particular Relation*, etc.

¹⁵⁶ So far as the present correspondence is concerned Marley and his colleagues were clearly the first to ask for terms in their letter of October 15th. A statement signed by Sinclair and Armyne, following Marley and Carr's letter of September 7th, which appears in *The Weekly Account* for September 18-24, 1644, in which the Scots are said to 'desire a Treaty,' bears out Marley and his colleagues' contention, however, that the suggestion of a treaty came first from the besieged.

shun effusion of bloodshed, as you professe, forbear your acts of Hostility, untill we give you Answer upon Munday, wherein we will not faile; otherwise we doubt not but God will require an account at your hands, and besides, will keepe and preserve us from your fury. So expecting your Answer. We rest

Your friends,

JO. MARLAY.

NICH. COLE.

G. BAKER.

Newcastle, 19. Octo. 1644.

No answer was, however, sent to this. 'In stead of sending out Hostages,' writes Hepburn, continuing his narrative of the siege and its preliminaries,¹⁵⁷ 'or desiring a new Treaty, this morning [the 19th] they sent a bitter Invective-Letter, standing to their former Resolutions.' He goes on to explain in part the reasons which made for an immediate assault:—'We had been so long expecting that these men within the Town should have pitied themselves, all our Batteries were ready; so many of our Mynes as they had not found out or drowned, were in danger of their hourly finding out;¹⁵⁸ the Winter was drawing on, and our Souldiers were earnest to have some end of the businesse; which made the Generall (after so many slighatings) to begin this morning to make Breaches.'

Receiving no answer, Marley despatched a letter to Sinclair,¹⁵⁹ as Leven had directed, the tone of which is in marked contrast to the rest of the correspondence. It was as follows:—

My Lord,—I Have received divers Letters and Warrants subscribed by the name of Leven, but of late can hear of none that have seen such a man; besides, there is strong report that he is dead: therefore to remove al scruples, I desire our Drummer may deliver one Letter to himself; thus wishing you could think on some other coute [sic] to compose the differences of these sad distracted Kingdomes, then by battering Newcastle, and annoying us who never wronged any of you; for if you seriously consider, you will find that these courses will aggravate, and not moderate distempers: but I will referre all to your owne consciences, and rest

Your friend,

Newcastle, 19. October.¹⁶⁰

JOHN MARLAY.

This was delivered to Leven.

¹⁵⁷ *A Letter from Newcastle.*

¹⁵⁸ That this hope was partly the cause of Marley's desire to prolong the treaty negotiations is suggested by Lithgow, who states that Marley hoped to delay matters till the besieged 'had discovered our two chiefe Mines, which indeed were very near the point.' He describes later 'the two most available Mynes' as being at White Friar tower and Sandgate. ¹⁵⁹ *A Particular Relation*, etc.

¹⁶⁰ The tract says this letter was sent 'while the Army was in action.' Rushworth, vol. v. p. 650, however, says that the Scots interpreted it as a 'Jeer and Affront,' and opened fire from their batteries in consequence.

Referring to this episode, one of the besiegers; 'R. F.,'¹⁶¹ writes from Benwell after the assault, on the evening of the 19th, 'this morning the Major sent forth a Drummer with a letter, enjoyning him to deliver it with his own hand to General Leven, if there were such a man in the world; for he did beleewe he was dead. The General returned him answer by the Messenger, hee hoped to doe him some service yet before he died.'

It will render the narrative of the assault on October 19th more intelligible, if some description is first attempted of the general scheme of the Scottish attack, the disposition of their regiments, batteries and mines, together with some estimate of the relative strength of besiegers and besieged.

Lithgow's description of Newcastle¹⁶² is sufficiently familiar to be passed by with no more than a reference. 'It standeth mainly,' he writes, 'upon the dwelling face of a continuing hill falling down steep to the bordering river, where one narrow street runneth along from Sandgate to Clossegate.' For the town's artificial defences, Lithgow expressed much admiration. 'The walls about the Town are both high and strong, built both without and within with *saxo quadrato*; and maynely fenced with dungeon Towres, interlarded also with Turrets, and alongst with them a large and defensive battlement, having eight sundry ports.' In a later passage he adds, 'The walles here of Newcastle, are a great deale stronger than those of Yorke, and not unlyke to the walles of Avineon [Avignon], but especially of Jerusalem.' But strong as the artificial defences of Newcastle were, its natural position was by no means of equal strength. Except to the north, it offered on all sides excellent positions for an enemy well supplied with artillery. On the east, the valley through which Pandon burn ran into the Tyne rose to a considerable elevation on the ground dividing Pandon burn from Ouseburn, at a distance of about half a mile from Sandgate and Carpenter tower. From the Corner tower the wall climbed along the western side of Pandon dene, till it reached its north-eastern corner at Carloli tower. This portion of the wall was certainly inaccessible to direct assault, and it appears to have suffered but little from the Scottish attack. Its position was still

¹⁶¹ *A True Relation of the Taking of Newcastle* (King's Pamphlets).

¹⁶² In *An Exact and Experimental Relation*.

further strengthened by the Shieldfield fort, which the besieged evacuated on the 18th. The fort stood about a quarter of a mile to the north-east of Carliol tower.¹⁶³ Lithgow gives a description of it:¹⁶⁴ 'Vpon the Townes Northeast side, and a little without, there was a fortresse erected, called Sheffield Fort, standing on a moderate height, and Champion-like commanding the fields; the modell thus: It standeth squarely quadrangled, with a foure cornered Bastion at every angle, and all of them thus quadrat, they are composed of earth and watles; having the Northeast side of one bulwarke pallosaded, the rest not, save along the top of the worke about, they had laid Masts of Ships to beat down the assailants with their tumbling force. At the entrie whereof there is a wooden drawbridge, and within it two Courts *du guard*,¹⁶⁵ the graffe without is dry and of small importance, save onely that repugnancie of the Defendants within, which commonly consisted of three hundred men.' To the west of the fort, but still upon the east bank of the Pandon dene, stood a windmill.¹⁶⁶ Along the northern extent of the town's wall there was no convenient eminence as upon the east on which artillery might be placed. Immediately fronting Pilgrim street gate, however, at a distance of about one-third of a mile, the ground rose to its highest elevation towards Pandon burn and Barras bridge, where Sydenham terrace and Victoria terrace now stand. Yet another slight elevation ran up from Newgate and St. Andrew's church to the Leazes. Unlike the eastern stretch of the wall, the western was exposed and open to direct attack along its upper length, while the high ground at Elswick and Benwell exposed it equally in its lower reaches. But from the Nevil tower, at the point where the wall ran down the steep bank to Closegate, direct assault was difficult, though mining operations were comparatively easier here than elsewhere, the bank aiding the besiegers.

Newcastle in 1644 may be then described as holding a position which offered but little encouragement to an army not effectively supplied with artillery and mining materials. On the east side it was

¹⁶³ See Brand, vol. i. frontis.; also the picture of the eastern wall of the town from Shieldfield. See also Oliver's map of 1844.

¹⁶⁴ *Op. cit.* Brand, vol. i. p. 442 n., quoting the Warburton MSS., gives the dimensions of Shieldfield fort as 67 yards in length, 67 yards in breadth, and the bastion 20 yards each way.

¹⁶⁵ Burnt by the besieged when they evacuated the fort on October 18th. See above, p. 207. ¹⁶⁶ See references in note 163.

virtually impregnable against direct assault. It was equally so on the west, from Nevil tower or Westgate to Closegate. While Leven relied largely on his artillery and mining train, it was along those two lines of the wall that he relied on them almost exclusively. The mines that were fired were all in those two quarters.

The Scottish batteries were four in number.¹⁶⁷ They succeeded, however, in making no more than three breaches in the wall; at Closegate, Newgate, which Lithgow calls 'Black Bessies Tower,' and near Carliol tower.¹⁶⁸ Hence we may assign the following positions to the attacking batteries.

The south-western battery would probably be placed on the rising ground above the present infirmary and cattle market. From such a position it would cover the walls from Westgate to Closegate, and the mining operations at Westgate and White Friar tower.

The Newgate or north-west batteries had been in position throughout the siege. Lieut.-general Baillie had 'brashed' the wall near St. Andrew's on September 7th, and on August 24th he had taken Douglas to see the works then in progress at Newgate. His battery would then appear to have been placed on the high ground on the Leazes, beyond Leazes terrace and St. James's terrace.

The Pilgrim street or north-east battery would naturally be placed beyond the burn at Barras bridge. There it would command Pilgrim street gate and Carliol tower at the distance of about one-third of a mile, and cover Shieldfield fort to the south-east of it at a distance of about half a mile. The placing of this battery in position would seem to have caused the evacuation of Shieldfield fort on the 18th.

The Sandgate or south-east batteries were two in number,¹⁶⁹ the second to protect the mining operations which appear to have been carried on more extensively here than at any point of the town's defences. On being placed in position, immediately after Leven's arrival, they had done considerable damage to the Sallyport or

¹⁶⁷ Lithgow.

¹⁶⁸ This statement is confirmed by Lithgow, Douglas in his *Diary*, Hepburn in *A Letter from Newcastle*, and *Perfect Passages*, No. 2 for October 23-29, 1644. *The Taking of Newcastle* states that the Scots entered by four breaches, but does not distinguish between those made by the artillery and mines. *A True Relation of the Taking of Newcastle by the Scots by Storm* (King's Pamphlets) says 'we made 3 Breaches in the walls with Cannon.' ¹⁶⁹ Lithgow.

Carpenter tower, and had received the fire of the Shieldfield fort.¹⁷⁰ A position which appears to satisfy these conditions is found on the high ground separating Pandon dene and the Ouseburn. The name 'Battle Field' still found near Pottery bank,¹⁷¹ on the City road, may mark the position of Callendar's battery at this quarter. Sandgate would lie about half a mile to the west, and the Sallyport and Shieldfield fort at a somewhat less distance.¹⁷² Finally, Callendar's batteries at Gateshead commanded the castle and the southern frontage of town.

Leven's strength in artillery is not definitely stated. Upon entering England in January, 1644, his forces are described as being 'weill armit with feild pieces, swaden fedderis, and all ingynis of warr necessar.'^{172a} His great guns numbered one hundred and twenty,¹⁷³ and the heavier of them reached Blyth by sea on February 6th.¹⁷⁴ As to their calibre, they appear to have carried a new kind of twelve pounder, invented by sir Alexander Hamilton, 'never before discovered, which were made purposely for this designè, 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 one of them.'¹⁷⁵ The warrant issued on September 14th,¹⁷⁶ for two hundred rounds of 24 lb., 12 lb., and 9 lb. shot, implies that twenty-four pounders were the largest cannon which the Scots had before Newcastle. The extreme effective range of the heaviest

¹⁷⁰ Lithgow. Callendar's despatch of August 21st, in Thurloe, vol. i.

¹⁷¹ In the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle, vol. i. p. 140, is an account of certain earthworks at Pottery bank, which are there ascribed to the Roman period. It is possible that these may be rather connected with the Scottish siege works at that quarter.

¹⁷² It may be noted that the disposition of the Scottish batteries enabled them to cover practically the whole extent of the walls. The south-west battery would cover the wall from Closegate to Westgate, an extent of 780 yards 10 feet, according to Brand's measurements (vol. i.). The Newgate battery would cover from Herber tower to Newgate, 414 yards 1 foot. The Pilgrim street battery would command the northern line of the wall, 552 yards 3 feet. Callendar's battery would cover from the Sallyport to Sandgate, 232 yards 1 foot. The stretch of the wall from Carliol tower to Corner tower, 495 yards, would probably escape much battering.

^{172a} *Memorialls of the Troubles in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 298.

¹⁷³ *The Scots March from Barwicke to Newcastle*.

¹⁷⁴ *A True Relation of the late Proceedings of the Scottish Army*.

¹⁷⁵ *The Scots March from Barwicke to Newcastle*.

¹⁷⁶ *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1644.

Scottish artillery can hardly therefore have exceeded one thousand yards; while the point-blank range of their heaviest guns—the 24 pounders—would not exceed four hundred yards.¹⁷⁷ The positions assigned above to the Scottish batteries would fall, therefore—at about seven or eight hundred yards average—conveniently within the effective range of the cannon they employed.

The position of the mines laid by the Scots about the walls can also be determined with some certainty. Four mines had been prepared and were fired on the 19th,¹⁷⁸ two of them at about three o'clock in the afternoon, they being in danger from the countermines of the garrison,¹⁷⁹ the other two some two hours later when the army was in readiness to storm the town.¹⁸⁰ In the course of the siege, the besieged had succeeded in destroying seven or eight others.¹⁸¹ The four mines which breached the wall in preparation for the assault were at White Friar tower,¹⁸² Westgate,¹⁸³ and two at Sandgate.¹⁸⁴ Of these, Lithgow states that two mines at White Friar tower and Sandgate, being 'the most available,' were sprung at three o'clock. Of the two which were fired about five o'clock, therefore, one was placed at Westgate, and the other, which Lithgow states to have miscarried, was the second of the two mines which Hepburn places at Sandgate.¹⁸⁵

It is not possible with any certainty to fix the precise point on the walls at which the mines did their work. The breach made at the White Friar tower was, however, observable in the wall just below it before

¹⁷⁷ See Greener, *Science of Gunnery*, p. 57; Nye, *Art of Gunnery* (1648), chap. 34; Lloyd and Hadcock, *Artillery, Its Progress and Present Position*; Article *Artillery*, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. A 24 pound shot was found in the wall between Pilgrim street gate and Carlol tower in 1802.—Richardson's Reprint of *A Letter from Newcastle*. The discovery bears out the statement in *Perfect Passages*, that the battery opposed to Pilgrim street gate had 'the great peeces of Cannon and Petars.' This statement, with the discovery of the 24 pound shot, supports the suggestion above, that 24 pounders were the heaviest guns the Scots possessed before Newcastle. The *Scottish Dove*, No. 45, for August 16-23, 1644, however, says Callendar's Gateshead batteries threw 'thirty pound Bullet.'

¹⁷⁸ This number is confirmed by Hepburn in *A Letter from Newcastle*, *A Particular Relation*, etc., *Perfect Passages*, No. 2, Lithgow, and *A True Relation*, etc. ¹⁷⁹ *A Particular Relation*, etc. ¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* ¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *A Letter*, etc.; *Perfect Passages*, No. 2; Lithgow. ¹⁸³ *Ibid.* ¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ Lithgow definitely locates only the mines at White Friar tower and Sandgate, but mentions two others. *Perfect Passages* states that mines were successfully sprung at White Friar tower and Westgate. One mine Lithgow admits to have been successfully sprung at Sandgate. The fourth, or ineffectual mine, must therefore have been at Sandgate. Hepburn in *A Letter* states that the Scots 'entred at two Mynes' at that quarter.

the wall was removed in 1840-42,¹⁸⁶ and Richardson supposes¹⁸⁷ that the Westgate mine exploded between the Durham and Herber towers.¹⁸⁸

The breaching accomplished by the artillery batteries was hardly so effective.¹⁸⁹ They opened the wall slightly to the north of Closegate,¹⁹⁰ between Andrew tower and Newgate, between Pilgrim street gate and Carloli tower, and possibly at Sandgate.¹⁹¹ Since the mines also effected breaches to the south of White Friar tower, between the Herber and Durham towers, and at Sandgate, the wall was pierced at six different points, opening the way for the troops to deliver the final assault late in the afternoon.

The four brigades of infantry had been under arms since the early morning, 'drawne up, standing to their Armes, while the breaches were in readinesse, and the Mines sprung.'¹⁹² Their officers, according to Lithgow, had already settled their positions in the assault with dice, the most coveted positions going to those who threw the fewest 'blacks.'¹⁹³

The first brigade¹⁹⁴ was drawn up in three divisions to the rear of the Scottish batteries, extending from Westgate to the river at Closegate. Its first division included the Loudoun-Glasgow and Tweeddale regiments, under their colonels, lords Loudoun and Buccleuch. It entered the town at Closegate through the breach made by the artillery. Its second division was formed from the Clydesdale¹⁹⁵ and

¹⁸⁶ Richardson's reprint of *A Letter from Newcastle*. ¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁸⁸ A mine was also discovered, some years since, between the Sallyport and Sandgate, during the construction of the City road.

¹⁸⁹ Lithgow, and *The Taking of Newcastle*, both support this statement.

¹⁹⁰ Lithgow says 'low by Clossigate.'

¹⁹¹ *A True Relation* states that the artillery only effected three breaches. The Sandgate battery probably did no more than support the mining operations at that point.

¹⁹² *A Particular Relation*, etc.

¹⁹³ *Op. cit*.

¹⁹⁴ The contemporary accounts of the assault are, for the most part, hurried despatches sent off from the field within a few hours of the fall of the town. They give in some cases, however, the names of the commanders, and the names of those who fell at the different positions. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 604, gives a full list of the several regiments under Leven's command in January, 1644. From these data the account in the text has been constructed. The authorities for it are *The Taking of Newcastle*, *A Letter from Newcastle*, Lithgow, Callendar's despatches in Thurloe, vol. i., *Perfect Passages*, No. 2, for October 23-29, 1644, Rushworth, vol. v. p. 604, and the *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i.

¹⁹⁵ Lithgow, however, gives the Clydesdale a position at Westgate. They were stationed about Closegate on August 20th, as we learn from Douglas's *Diary*.



Edinburgh regiments, under their colonels, sir Alexander Hamilton, general of the artillery, and James Rae. It was placed in position to force the breach made by the mine below the White Friar tower. The third division of this brigade consisted of the Galloway and Perthshire¹⁹⁶ regiments, under their colonels, William Stewart and lord Gask, and had the fortifications at Westgate opposed to it. The second brigade was concentrated behind the works which the Scots had thrown up against the more formidable Newgate. It consisted of the Angus regiment, under lieutenant-general Baillie,¹⁹⁷ who apparently commanded the brigade, the Strathearn regiment, under lord Cowper, the Fife regiment, under lord Dunfermline, the East-Lothian regiment, under sir Patrick Hepburn, laird of Waughton, and a fifth regiment which cannot be identified.¹⁹⁸ This brigade was the most powerful of the four,¹⁹⁹ a fact which speaks to the strength of the fortification to which it was opposed.

The third brigade was also concentrated, awaiting the result of the artillery practice of the battery engaging Pilgrim street gate and Carliol tower. It was formed of the Kyle and Carrick regiment, under lord Cassilis, the Nithsdale and Annandale regiment, under Douglas of Kilhead, the Mearns and Aberdeen regiment, under the earl marshal, the Linlithgow and Tweeddale regiment, under the master of Yester,²⁰⁰ and the Merse regiment, under sir David Home, laird of Wedderburn, one of the commissioners for the treaty on the 18th.

¹⁹⁶ *Perfect Passages* places the Galloway regiment only at Westgate, and does not mention Gask and the Perthshire.

¹⁹⁷ Lord Dudhope, who is given as colonel of this regiment in Rushworth, had died shortly after Marston Moor.—Douglas's *Diary*. That Baillie had taken the command is stated in *A Letter from Newcastle*.

¹⁹⁸ *A Letter from Newcastle* places five regiments here, but gives the names of four only of the commanders. *Perfect Passages* also speaks of five regiments, but gives no clue to the fifth. It was probably one of those mentioned below as forming the reserve which entered at Westgate.

¹⁹⁹ See p. 218 for the strength of the several brigades.

²⁰⁰ *Perfect Passages* does not mention Yester or his regiment. Lithgow states that a major Moffat and a lieutenant-colonel Henderson were killed at Weaver [Carliol] tower. The latter does not appear in Rushworth's list. The former is there (vol. v. p. 604) given as attached not to the Linlithgow and Tweeddale, but to the Tweeddale regiment, which was engaged at Closegate. *The Taking of Newcastle: or Newses from the Armie*, calls Henderson a 'Reformeir.' He was, no doubt, the lieutenant-colonel William Henderson mentioned on June 22nd, 1644, as pardoned for having joined Montrose in May.—*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i.

The fourth brigade, under Callendar's command at Sandgate, consisted of lord Sinclair's 'Levyd' regiment and the Stirlingshire regiment, under lord Livingstone, both of which had been transferred to Callendar from Leven's original command.²⁰¹ Attached to the Stirlingshire, also, were sir John Aytoun,²⁰² sir John Wauchope of Niddrie,²⁰³ and the master of Cranston,²⁰⁴ who do not appear to have furnished independent regiments.

Some information is available from which it is possible to form an approximately accurate estimate of the strength of this besieging force. The company strength of the four brigades is given in one news-letter,²⁰⁵ as 40 to brigade I., 50 to brigade II., 30 'and odd' to brigade III. and 15 to brigade IV.²⁰⁶ Adding five companies to brigade III., we obtain 140 as the total number of companies, exclusive of the reserve, which took part in the assault. The total strength of Leven's foot in January, 1644, when he entered England, was 18,000,²⁰⁷ comprising 200 companies.²⁰⁸ The average strength of a company was therefore ninety men. Taking that as the strength of a company in October, Leven's attacking force would be 12,600 men, exclusive of the reserve, distributed as follows:—1,800 men at Closegate, 900 at White Friar tower, 900 at Westgate, 4,500 at Newgate, 3,150 at Pilgrim street gate, and 1,350 at Sandgate.

²⁰¹ They are given by Rushworth, vol. v. p. 604, as part of Leven's command in January, 1644. See note 46 above.

²⁰² Appointed a member of the committee of war for Berwick sheriffdom on July 24th, 1644.—*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i.

²⁰³ Appointed July 19th, 1644, to accompany Callendar.—*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i.

²⁰⁴ Appointed on the committee of war for Edinburgh sheriffdom on July 24th, 1644.—*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i. *Perfect Passages*, No. 2, clearly indicates that Aytoun and Niddrie were attached to the Stirlingshire. The wording is ambiguous in regard to Cranston.

²⁰⁵ *Perfect Passages*, No. 2.

²⁰⁶ The three divisions of brigade I. are given as, 20 companies at Closegate, 10 companies at White Friar tower, and 10 companies at Westgate. The 15 companies assigned to brigade IV. represent the Stirlingshire (10 companies), and Sinclair's regiment (5 companies) only. Save possibly Cranston's, any regiments furnished to that position from Callendar's independent command appear to have been held in reserve.

²⁰⁷ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 603, gives him 18,000 foot, 3,000 horse, and 500 or 600 dragoons. *The Scots March from Barnwick to Newcastle* gives the same numbers for horse and foot, but only 400 or 500 dragoons.

²⁰⁸ Rushworth, *ibid.*, does not mention the company strength of Sinclair's regiment, but *Perfect Passages*, No. 2, states it at five, bringing up Rushworth's 195 to a total of 200 companies under Leven's command in January.

Whitelock,²⁰⁹ however, puts Leven's effective forces in February, 1644, at no more than 15,000, five-sixths of Rushworth's total, and it would be reasonable, allowing for inevitable shrinkage from death, desertion, and other causes, to put them at that number before Newcastle in October. On that calculation the strength of the several brigades would be 1,500 at Closegate, 750 at White Friar tower, 750 at Westgate, 3,750 at Newgate, 2,625 at Pilgrim street gate, 1,125 at Sandgate; a total, exclusive of the reserve, of 10,500.²¹⁰ Accepting Whitelock's calculation, Leven held 4,500 men in reserve. The regiments of which the reserve was formed are nowhere stated, but included probably the Midlothian regiment, colonel lord Maitland; the Teviotdale regiment, colonel the earl of Lothian; and the Ministers' regiment.²¹¹ They were drawn up on the west of the town, and upon the carrying of the town by assault they entered at Westgate.²¹²

To these regiments under Leven's command must be added Callendar's contingent. It had numbered probably no more than 6,000 foot when it entered England in July.²¹³ Since then it had suffered considerable shrinkage from the garrisons which had been placed at Hartlepool, Stockton, and possibly elsewhere. Three regiments, probably from those under his command, had been withdrawn to Scotland on September 3rd. We may, therefore, estimate Callendar's command at about 3,000 men. There is no record of any of his regiments being concerned in the direct assault upon Sandgate, and presumably they were reserved for the support of the Gateshead batteries, for the guard of the bridge of boats under lord Kenmuir, or for a general reserve force on the east at Sandgate.

The united forces of Callendar and Leven, before which Newcastle fell, may be therefore estimated at about 18,000 men, exclusive of the batteries. To those numbers the besieged could oppose a mere

²⁰⁹ Vol. ii. p. 76.

²¹⁰ Echard, *History of England* (1718), vol. ii. p. 481, gives the Scots 10,000 in the assault on October 19th.

²¹¹ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 604. The Midlothian was certainly engaged, since lieutenant-colonel Hay of that regiment is mentioned among those killed in the assault.—Douglas's *Diary*.

²¹² *Perfect Passages*, No. 2.

²¹³ Lithgow gives Callendar 6,000 foot and 800 horse. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 646, gives him 10,000. On that matter Lithgow is probably the more reliable.

handful. Lithgow,²¹⁴ who would hardly underestimate their strength, states that 'they were but eight hundred of the Traind Band, and some nine hundred besides, of Voluntiers, prest-men, Coliers, Keillmen, and poore trades-men; with some few experimented Officers to overtop them.' There is but little record of the disposition of these troops in the defence of the walls. Bourne²¹⁵ states, however, on the authority of the Milbank MSS., that Cuthbert Carr was in command at Newgate, and that captain George Errington, lieutenant William Robson, ensign Thomas Swan, and 180 men held Pilgrim street gate, where they lost not a single man, killed or wounded, though they made frequent sallies from it, and held it after the other gates had fallen to the Scots, refusing to surrender it or to believe that the town was taken, and shooting at their friends who called to them to surrender. Carr, at Newgate, also fought until surrounded by overwhelming numbers.²¹⁶

The chief fortification was naturally the castle, and to it Marley and his chief supporters retired when all was lost. Lithgow describes it as having been 'seriously enlarged, with diverse curious fortifications.' Bourne,²¹⁷ on the authority of the Milbank MSS., states that Marley made use of 'the round Tower under the Moot-Hall, towards the Sand-Hill, called the Half-Moon, which was the old Castle of Monkchester,' and that he placed heavy guns on it facing the batteries which the Scots had in position at Gateshead. The castle itself was similarly equipped, and had been repaired by Marley. In August, 1643, he had negotiated with the shipwrights for planking wherewith to strengthen it.²¹⁸

²¹⁴ *Op. cit.* In January, 1644, the 'High castle' is stated as being the only place fortified in Newcastle, and that Marley had a garrison of only 500, 'all of them townsmen.'—*Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 167.

²¹⁵ *Hist. of Newcastle*, p. 233; see also *History of the Family of Carr*, vol. ii.

²¹⁶ Mackenzie, vol. i. p. 31. Hepburn in *A Letter from Newcastle* indicates the amount of resistance offered at the several quarters. At Closegate and at the White Friar tower he states merely that the Scots 'entred'; at Westgate 'after hot dispute'; at Newgate 'great dispute was made'; at Pilgrim street gate 'not without dispute'; at Sandgate he speaks of no special resistance.

²¹⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 233. See *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Newcastle*, vol. viii. p. 134, regarding stone balls fired from the castle.

²¹⁸ *Archæologia Aeliana*, vol. iv. p. 82. The minute of August 21st, 1643, is in Brand, vol. i. p. 159. An inquisition taken in 1620 showed that £809 15s. was necessary for the repair of the castle. One-third of the keep was in ruins, and a huge dunghill rested against it, which Marley removed in the course of his renovations.—Brand, vol. i. p. 159.

Such, so far as may be learnt, was the position of the besiegers and besieged upon the morning of October 19th. Of the assault there are several short contemporary accounts, chiefly from the side of the Scots. Such as can be collected are given here. Hepburn's account,²¹⁹ dated October 19th, and signed, 'A. Humble,' is as follows:—

Winter was drawing on, and our Souldiers were earnest to have some end of the businesse; which made the Generall (after so many slighings) to begin this morning to make Breaches: (whereof we had three, and four Mynes) the Breaches were made reasonable low before three of the clock at night: All our Mynes played very well: They within the Town continued still obstinate: My Lord Chancellors Regiment,²²⁰ and Backleughs,²²¹ entred at a Breach at Close-Gate: The Generall of the Artillery his Regiment,²²² and that of Edinburgh,²²³ entered at a Myne at the White [Friar] Tower: Colonel Stewart²²⁴ and Gasks Regiment²²⁵ entered at a Myne, after hot dispute, beside West-Gate: this was one Quarter: Lieutenant-Generall Bayllie had another Quarter at New-Gate, with five Regiments, viz., his own (which was formerly Dudhops)²²⁶ Waughtons,²²⁷ Cowpers,²²⁸ Dumferlings,²²⁹ and who entred by a Breach: Great dispute was made here, and some of our officers killed, whereof one Major Robert Hepburn²³⁰ cannot be enough lamented. Cassilis,²³¹ Kelhead,²³² Wedderburne,²³³ Marshall,²³⁴ and the Master of Yesters,²³⁵ had a third Quarter,²³⁶ who entered by a Breach not without dispute. Lord Sinclair,²³⁷ Aytoun, Niddery, the Master of Cranstoun,²³⁸ and the Lord Livingston,²³⁹ had the fourth Quarter,²⁴⁰ who entered at two Mynes. They would have had more hot work, but the Resolution of the officers and Souldiers made a quick dispatch. They within the Town made all the opposition they could, on the Walls, and in the Streets. Some houses are burnt: The Maior and some others are fled to the Castle, and did presently beat a Parley, which the Generall would not hear, at that time, in respect they had been the instruments of so much bloodshed.

²¹⁹ In *A Letter from Newcastle* ²²⁰ The Loudon-Glasgow, under lord Loudoun.

²²¹ The Tweeddale, under lord Buccleuch.

²²² The Clydesdale, under sir Alex. Hamilton. ²²³ Under colonel James Rae.

²²⁴ Commanding the Galloway regiment.

²²⁵ Lord Gask, commanding the Perthshire. ²²⁶ The Angus regiment.

²²⁷ The East-Lothian, under sir Patrick Hepburn of Waughton.

²²⁸ The Strathearn, under lord Cowper.

²²⁹ The Fife, under lord Dunfermline. ²³⁰ Of the East-Lothian regiment.

²³¹ The Kyle and Carrick, under lord Cassillis.

²³² The Nithsdale and Annandale, under Douglas of Kilhead.

²³³ The Merse, under sir David Home.

²³⁴ The Mearns and Aberdeen, under the earl marshal.

²³⁵ The Linlithgow and Tweeddale. ²³⁶ At Pilgrim street gate.

²³⁷ Lord Sinclair's is described as a 'Levyed' regiment, by Rushworth.

²³⁸ Sir John Aytoun, sir John Wauchope of Niddrie, and the master of Cranston, all of whom, save possibly the last, appear to have been attached to the Stirlingshire. See above, p. 218.

²³⁹ The Stirlingshire, under lord Livingstone.

²⁴⁰ At Sandgate.

A somewhat more detailed account was drawn up and delivered to the Scottish commissioners in London on October 29th.²⁴¹

19. October, early in the morning, the Cannon began to play upon the wals from their severall Batteries, while eight a clocke, at which time the Hostages should have come out, or otherwise they were to expect the extremities of warre; but since none came, the service continued from all the Batteries, and the Regiments were drawne up, standing to their armes, while the breaches were in readinesse, and the Mines sprung. About three a clocke in the afternoon, the enemy by their countermines had very neere approached some chambers where the powder was lodged for blowing up the walls, which being signified to his Excellency, he forthwith ordered, that fire should be given to these two mines endangered,²⁴² and thereafter to maintaine the breaches carefully, while the generall assault should be made from all quarters: a little after, the day failing, and the breaches being made, though not so large and passable as was needful for so desperate service; the word was given and the signe made, to give fire to the rest of the mines,²⁴³ and for the Regiments to advance all at once towards the breaches, and those places of the wall which were opened by the mine; but they met with no small opposition, and nothing was left undone by the enemy to repell the fury of the assault: They played very notly and desperately from the Castle upon the breaches, and from the flanking-towers of the walls with scattered shot; yet the Regiments advanced without any shrinking, though the Cannon played from many places upon their full open bodies, so that the difficile-accesse to the breaches, and the mighty advantages of their walls and workes within the Towne, made a considerable losse of Souldiers and Officers of good quality; yet notwithstanding all difficulties and resistances, they acquit themselves as became a people that considered the importance of so high a cause, and minded nothing but the happinesse of both Kingdomes; and after two houres very hot dispute upon the breaches, they found their first entry²⁴⁴ at the mine sprung on the west side of the Towne, neere to Close-gate; and after their entry, were furiously charged three severall times by the horse which were in Town, but the charge was gallantly sustained and the place maintained, while the reserve of that place came to assist:²⁴⁵ thereafter they marched for the relief of the rest of the breaches, and so the Souldiers gave over and forsook the wals, and the whole body almost of the Army entring, they became masters of the Town, which tasted off no lesse mercy and favour after the Victory, then they found valour in obtaining the same; for after their entry, the Souldiers did quite vanish, sheltring themselves in houses, the Inhabitants kept close their doors, the Regiments marched thorow the streets without any insolency or disorder, never offering once to rife a house, or cut off

²⁴¹ In *A Particular Relation*, etc.

²⁴² At Sandgate and White Friar tower. See note above p. 215.

²⁴³ At Westgate and Sandgate, about five o'clock in the afternoon.

²⁴⁴ Callendar, according to Lithgow, entered first at Sandgate. Sir James Turner (*Memoirs*, p. 38) also gives the first entry at Sandgate by a party of two hundred of Sinclair's regiment, led by himself. See p. 229 of this volume. *A True Relation* states that the Scots entered the severall breaches 'all at once.'

²⁴⁵ *Perfect Passages*, No. 2, states that the reserve entered at Westgate.

either Citizen or Souldier; they were presently after their entry in peaceable possession of all the corners and streets, and on a sodaine, all tumult, feare and noyse did cease. Upon the first entry, the Governour, Lodovicke Lyndesay, sometime Earle of Crawfoord,²⁴⁶ the Lord Maxwell, Doctor Wishart,²⁴⁷ a man of dangerous temper, who had seasoned the people both before, and the time of the siege with bitter Malignancy, Master Gray, and Alway,²⁴⁸ and others of the perverse crew, authors of all the evils which might justly have fallen upon the Town, so exceedingly obstinate, according to the rule of warre, did all betake themselves to the Castle, whence they cast over a white flag, and beat a parle, but before notice could be taken thereof, all the service was neere done. The principall houses of the Towne were preserved from plundering by the Officers, the common Souldiers that night after they had long kept their armes without doing any wrong or violence, entred some houses of the meaner sort, not safe guarded, and did a little pillage, and take away the goods out of them, but lesse than ever people or Army did in the like case, which was the testimony of the most Malignants and Papists themselves, expressing in these very words, that no History can parallell where lesse cruelty and insolency, and more mercy were shewne in any Towne gained by storme, which ought to be no small matter of gloriation, when the enemies are strained to acknowledge, that the wayes and practice of those who have often declared the purity of their intentions, are now found out to be nothing different from their profession; and indeed it were to be wished that the wel-affected in the Kingdom had as great feeling of the advantage given to the cause, and the good they received since the comming in of that Army to England, as the enemies to the peace and happinesse of both nations are sensible of the hurt done to them and their designs.

An anonymous writer gives the following short account, dated on the day following the assault:—²⁴⁹

After the using of all faire meanes, for reducing the Town of New-Castle unto the obedience of King and Parliament, and their obstinate refusall, of such conditions, as better could not have been expected by people in their case: Yesterday, being Saterdag, the nineteenth of October, our Batteries began to play by the breake of day: and toward three a clocke in the afternoon, foure Breaches were made in the Wall, our Mines, one at Closegate, and three ²⁵⁰ at Sand-gate were sprung, and served exceeding well. Then did wee make an universall assault: The Breaches by the Mines gave the easiest entrie; The

²⁴⁶ He had, on July 19th, 1644, been 'forefaulted' at Edinburgh Cross.—Guthry, *Memoirs*, p. 140; *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, pt. vi. vol. i.

²⁴⁷ Lecturer at St. Nicholas's and All Saints', Newcastle. Imprisoned at Edinburgh after the siege, and obtained his release in 1645. See Welford, *Men of Mark*, vol. iii. p. 660.

²⁴⁸ Vicar of St. Nicholas's, died March 19th, 1649. See Welford, *Men of Mark*, vol. i. p. 46.

²⁴⁹ This account is in a broadside, entitled *The Taking of Newcastle: or Newes from the Armie*, printed at Edinburgh, by James Lindesay, 1644. A copy of it is in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, bound up with *A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Scottish Army*.

²⁵⁰ This does not tally with other accounts, from which it appears that two mines only were fired at Sandgate.

Breaches by the Canon abode longer dispute, being of harder accesse : Before five a clocke all the Breaches were entred. The Major, Ministers, and our Countrey-men reteired to the Castle, where they hope to make their quarter, but it is not likely they can hold out long.

In all the hote service (so farre as we know) we have not lost an hundredth men,²⁵¹ some whereof are officers, viz., Lieutenant Collonell Hume ;²⁵² and his Major Hepburne,²⁵³ and Lieveutenant Collonell Henderson a Reformeir.²⁵⁴

Our people were so mercifull, though they had received some losse, that they killed very few, after they were entred : As for the other medlings of the Souldiers, what it was, wee know not, but sure they have laid their hands about them. Lodevicke Lindesay, some-time designed Earle of Crawford, and others, are entred into the Castle also, and the Lord Rayes²⁵⁵ taken by Collonell Ray.²⁵⁶ The Castle sounded a Parlie, but it was not accepted by our Generall.

from Newcastle the twentie of October, 1644.

A tract in the British Museum²⁵⁷ contains the following letters :—

Sir,—You may with confidence impart the good newes of the taking of Newcastle, by assault, to all our friends, but little losse to us. It was stormed this day about two of the clock, in severall parts of the Town, and we were masters of it about four.

To morrow the Generall makes his entry, to give God thanks for so great a blessing : Sir Jo. Marley, and divers others have betaken themselves to the Castle, and desired to surrender upon quarter, but his Excellencie would grant them none, unlesse they did wholly submit unto his mercy.

The Plague is so hot in Tinmouth Castle, that divers of the Commanders there have left it, and we hope suddenly to be Masters of that place also, and then the ships may come freely for Coales.

L. M.²⁵⁸

Gates head, 19. Octob., 1644.

The second letter is as follows :—

Sir,—In my last of the seventeenth, I gave you notice of the Towns inclination to a Parley, which being well accepted of by his Excellency Generall Lesley, the particulars of the Propositions being propounded, were

²⁵¹ See note below, p. 234, upon the Scottish death-roll.

²⁵² Of the East-Lothian regiment, stationed at Newgate.

²⁵³ Of the East-Lothian regiment. Lithgow says that Home and Hepburn were killed at 'Black Bessies' tower, a nickname for Newgate, no doubt.

²⁵⁴ See note above, p. 217.

²⁵⁵ Donald lord Reay had in the spring of 1644 come from Denmark to Newcastle with arms for the king's service.—Wishart, *Memoirs of Montrose*, p. 154 n. *Britanes Distemper* (Spalding Club), p. 50, says 'only Newcastle stood for the King, which the lord Crawford and the lord Rea, both Scottes men, defended valiantlie, whill generall Lesley besieged it.' Crawford appears to have come to Newcastle from Carlisle in July, 1644.—Napier's *Montrose*, p. 258.

²⁵⁶ Colonel James Rae of the Edinburgh regiment, stationed at White Friar tower. ²⁵⁷ *A True Relation of the Taking of Newcastle*. London : Printed October 25th, 1644.

²⁵⁸ Probably sir Lionel Maddison, who had fled to Sunderland at the commencement of the siege.

rejected by them in the Town; whereupon it occasioned on this present Saturday a violent Assault in severall places of the Towne at once, and in two houres: viz., from two to foure;²⁵⁹ we became Masters of the Town; the storme was violent for a time, but they within suffered much.

The Scottish Souldiers entered the Breeches with much valour, whilst others of them got over the walls with scaleing Ladders, upon the sight whereof, they within threw down their Armes, and the principall of them fled into the Castle, and offer to surrender upon Quarter, which his Excellency refuses to give, unlesse they submit to his mercy: I hope now your London Wood-mongers will fall in the price of Coales. Tinmouth Castle is so visited with the Plague, that their chiefe Commanders are fled already: Now the Scottish Armie will be able to assist you in the South.

Your very loving Friend,

T. W.

Sunderland, 19. Octob., 1644.

The tract also contains a third letter signed by 'Ro. Co.,' from Benwell, October 19th. It contains no details of importance, but remarks, in regard to the effect of Newcastle's fall upon the supply of coal to the capital, 'I hope you at London will not mourne for it, especially now that winter comes on.' From Benwell there were also despatched two more letters.²⁶⁰ The first gives a touch of colour to the scene:—

This morning after our Batteries began to play, they jeared our men from the town, bidding them, *Come on you cowardly rogues, if you dare*, who before night were glad to sing another song, and crave quarter for their lives. We made 3 breaches in the walls with Cannon; and immediately after sprung four mines; all which took well:²⁶¹ and thereupon entred them all at once.

Our footmen are in the town, our horse keep guard without this night.

It is late, and we but newly come from the service, so I must hasten to make an end.

Your assured loving friend to serve you,

R. F.

Benwell, Ocob. 19. 1644.

The second letter is of greater interest coming as it does from Edward Man, one of the Puritan party in Newcastle.²⁶² We can gauge the cleavage which the war and the principles underlying it had caused throughout England, in the spirit which allowed Man to

²⁵⁹ It is noticeable that both these letters speak of the town being gained by four o'clock. Both writers would, no doubt, be in touch with Callendar's command, and their statement may support Lithgow's contention that Callendar was the first to enter the town.

²⁶⁰ In *A True Relation of the Taking of Newcastle By the Scots by Storm, on the 19. of October, 1644.*

²⁶¹ See above, p. 215, for the accuracy of this statement.

²⁶² See Welford, *Men of Mark*, vol. iii.

contemplate, and indeed take part in, the destruction of his own town. His letter is as follows:—

This day about two of the clock in the afternoone, the Lord General commanded his men to fall on, where they had made breaches, and sprung mines, which they did very resolutely and gallantly, God was with them, for they were never put to any retreat in any place, I saw them all the time, being with my L. generall, for the most part of the storm. . . .²⁶³

The Storme lasted two houres or thereabouts, it was very hott and managed bravely on both parts till the Towne was over mastered.

I am happie God made me a spectator of the fall of those wicked men who were borne to ruinate so famous a towne, the Majors house or some other adjoyning are burning, yet my Lord General hath given order for the staying off the fire if possible. The Post stayeth, I may not enlarge, so with my love to your good Wife, and Henry Dawson his Wife and mistresse Fenwick.

E. M.

From Benwell within a mile of New Castle, October 19. 1644.

A contemporary news-sheet²⁶⁴ gives the following interesting and comparatively detailed account of the strength and disposition of the Scottish forces at the several quarters.

Generall Leven drew out 20 Companies of Foot, commanded by Col. Barklew,²⁶⁵ and Lievt. Col. Robert Home,²⁶⁶ and Ser. Major John Haddon,²⁶⁷ who were placed against the Breach that was made at the Close-gate, and Col. James Rac, Lievt. Col. Melve, and Major David Logan,²⁶⁸ were commanded by Sir Alexander Hambleton²⁶⁹ with ten Companies of Foot, were to storm upon the springing of a Mine under the white Tower. Also Col. William Stewart, Lievt. Col. Gorden, and Major Agnew,²⁷⁰ were to storm upon the springing of a Mine at the West gate, where they were placed with 10 Companies of Foot. M. John Bailey, Lievt. Col. Generall of the Foot, with his one Lievt. Col. Bonar,²⁷¹ the Lord Cooper,²⁷² the Earle of Dumferlin,²⁷³ and others²⁷⁴, with 50 Companies of Foot, quartered at Newgate; the Earle of Cassilis,²⁷⁵ Lord Douglas of Kelhead,²⁷⁶ Wedderbury,²⁷⁷ and the Earle Marshall,²⁷⁸ with 30 and odd

²⁶³ Man states that Marley had sent to Leven 'to render the parsons, from the new gate to the close gate.'

²⁶⁴ *Perfect Passages*, No. 2, for October 23-29, 1644.

²⁶⁵ Lord Buccleuch of the Tweeddale.

²⁶⁶ Of the Loudoun-Glasgow.

²⁶⁷ Of the Loudoun-Glasgow.

²⁶⁸ All of the Edinburgh.

²⁶⁹ General of artillery, commanding the Clydesdale regiment.

²⁷⁰ All attached to the Galloway. The tract does not mention the Perthshire under lord Gask at this quarter.

²⁷¹ Of the Angus regiment.

²⁷² Of the Strathearn.

²⁷³ Of the Fife.

²⁷⁴ The East-Lothian regiment under sir Patrick Hepburn [Wauchton] and a fifth regiment were also at this quarter.

²⁷⁵ Of the Kyle and Carrick.

²⁷⁶ Of the Nithsdale and Annandale.

²⁷⁷ Sir David Home [Wedderburn] of the Merse.

²⁷⁸ Of the Mearns and Aberdeen.

Companies, were to endeavour with their great peeces of Canon and Petars to make breaches, and storme, and the Lord Sinclair with his leavied Regiment of 5 Companies, the 10 Companies of Sterlingshire, under the Lord Levingston Aytoun²⁷⁹ and Nidder,²⁸⁰ and the Master of Cranstoun,²⁸¹ were to fall on upon the springing of some Mines;²⁸² and accordingly at a fit time as was appointed; they all plaid their parts gallantly; the Glascowmen entred at a breach;²⁸³ and slew many marching into the town with great valour. A strong party within opposed Colonel Rae, who entred upon the springing of a Mine²⁸⁴ with some losse, and many hurt, but the Westgate being opened, upon entrance, the Scots Reare came up and drave the enemy from their Works; the Galloway men also having sprung their Mine,²⁸⁵ made entrance through with some losse, and drave one part before them in the Town one way, as the other did the other part;²⁸⁶ and the 5 Regiments at New gate made a great breach; and entred valiantly; where Major Robert Hethburne was slaine, and 3 Captains: and divers others, Lievt. Col. William Home fought bravely as also Sir Patrick Hethburne as also Angus men, and the rest, whose valour was so great as never could be more exprest by men.

Douglas's account²⁸⁷ is very terse:—

Upon the 19 day, at 6 in the morning, our cannon began to shoot, to make breaches in four parts of the town, one at Sandgate, a 2d at the east, benorth Whyte Frier Tour, a 3d at the West gate, a 4th at Pilgrim Street. They shot until 8 hours; no word came but a shifting answer.

Then they shot on till three afternoon; all the souldiers were in readiness to enter about that time. We wrought a mine at Whyte Frier Tour, another on the east side at the Key,²⁸⁸ a 3d at the East Port,²⁸⁹ all the rest, 7 or 8, were drowned or found by the industrie of those that were within. The mines were easy to enter, but the breaches were weel guarded, and hard to enter; they entered by the help of the mines, for they that entered the mines helped them that were at the breeches to come in: after two hours hard disput the town is taken. The Maior and Crawford, with Maxwel, and some ministers, as Wishart, Harvie, Scots men, Alvie, ane Englishman, fled to the castle. The Lord Ker was taken in the town.²⁹⁰

Lithgow's account need not here be quoted in full. It is interesting as giving some account of Callendar, whose share in the assault is barely mentioned by other eye-witnesses. He states that about three o'clock in the afternoon, 'the two most available Mynes' were sprung, at White Frier tower and Sandgate. Two other mines were sprung, one of which miscarried. The artillery meanwhile

²⁷⁹ Sir John Aytoun.

²⁸⁰ Sir John Wauchope of Niddrie.

²⁸¹ See note above, p. 218.

²⁸² At Sandgate.

²⁸³ At Closegate.

²⁸⁴ At White Frier tower.

²⁸⁵ At Westgate.

²⁸⁶ Callendar entering at Sandgate, says Lithgow, swept the town on that side. See note 296 below.

²⁸⁷ *Diary*.

²⁸⁸ At Sandgate.

²⁸⁹ Also at Sandgate.

²⁹⁰ Douglas probably means lord Reay.

succeeded in making four breaches serviceable for entrance, one near Weaver [Carliol] tower, where lieutenant-colonel Henderson, major Moffat,²⁹¹ and others were killed; the second near 'Black Bessies' tower [Newgate], where major Hepburn, captain Corbet, captain John Home,²⁹² and lieutenant-colonel Home²⁹³ were killed; a third at Westgate, where captain John Hamilton, captain Thomas Hamilton, and others of the Clydesdale²⁹⁴ regiment were killed; the fourth 'low by Clossegate.' At Sandgate, captain Sinclair and others were killed. He remarks that clambering up the breaches was the most deadly work, as the besieged repelled the Scots with 'hand garnads;' while entrance was most easy at the points where the mines had been sprung. Callendar—of whom Lithgow states that 'as he was the first lay downe before the Towne, so he was duely the first that entred it'—entered at Sandgate and marched along the quay and Sandhill 'with flying collours and roaring Drummes.' Upon his entrance he despatched the Stirlingshire and Nithsdale and Annandale regiments, under lord Livingstone and Douglas of Kilhead, to clear the walls on the eastern side, while the 'western and northern Brigads' were engaged in driving the enemy 'to the choaking Market place,' where 'betweene Scylla and Charibdis' they begged for quarter. Others 'sate downe by their fathers fire syde, as though they had caryed no armes.' At Closegate a house was set on fire,²⁹⁵ and Callendar's orders alone prevented a like treatment to the whole town. An attempt was also made to destroy the shipping in the river, for captain Andrew Abernethy floated 'a Ballenger Boat . . . full of flaming fire to have burned the keye-lockt ships.' Marley on reaching the castle 'pulled

²⁹¹ Thomas Moffat of the Tweeddale, is referred to in an Act in favour of his father, lieutenant-colonel Moffat, as 'vmq^{le} Thomas Moffat Major to the erle of Buccleughes Regiment Beirand that it hathe pleased God to call for the said vmq^{le} Major Thomas Moffat as he wes in actual service at the intakeinge of Newcastle where he behaved himselfe so weill as he hes obtieinit þe approbatione of all his superior officeres Hes Died with regrat of all officeres þt wes witnes to his cariage and to the great Lose and greife of his parentes especiallie of his mother who vpown þe report of his Death conceaved such heavie greife and Melancholie that shortlie þr eftir shoe depairted this Life.'—*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i. p. 351.

²⁹² Probably of the East-Lothian. ²⁹³ William Home, of the East-Lothian.

²⁹⁴ Lithgow is not supported by other accounts in placing the Clydesdale at Westgate. It was stationed at White Friar tower.

²⁹⁵ The Scots on their entrance probably fired Marley's house, or one which they took for his. Man's letter from Benwell speaks of Marley's house or one near it being on fire. See above, p. 226.

down the red flag on the Castle tope, and set up the whyte flag of peace,' while Callendar 'returned that same night to the Gatesyde.' Upon his departure the town was given up to plunder for twenty-four hours, even the officers 'investing themselves in the richest Malignants and papisted houses.' Lithgow, indeed comments severely on the behaviour of his countrymen: 'as they abused their Victorie in storming the Toune, with too much undeserved mercy, so they as unwisely and unprudently overreached themselves in plundering the towne.'²⁹⁶

²⁹⁶ The above contemporary accounts may be supplemented by the following: Rushworth, vol. v. pp. 650-52, says that the garrison had about 3 p.m. nearly come upon some of the Scottish mines. Leven ordered the firing of the mines endangered. The breaches that were made were 'not so large and passable as was needed,' and two hours later, when the light was failing, the Scots entered the first breach 'on the West-side of the Town, near to Close-gate.' Upon their entrance they were met by three determined charges from the mounted troops in the town, and were in danger of being driven back, until the reserve at that post came to their assistance. Having gained Closegate, the body that entered there proceeded to the relief of the other positions on the wall. Whitelock, vol. i. p. 318, states very shortly, 'Newcastle town, not agreeing to propositions of a Treaty, the Scots stormed and entered part of the town, and became masters of it; Sir John Merlay and others for the King, fled to the Castle, and offered to render it upon quarter; which was denied, but they should render at mercy In that little compass of the castle were five hundred men, besides women and children The town though taken by onslaught, was not much ransacked, most of them redeeming their goods from plunder upon reasonable satisfaction in moneys.' Echard, *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 482, writes, 'all the Scotch Army [which he gives on p. 481, as 10,000] furiously set upon the Town, and having made three Breaches by their Batteries and Mines, after a tedious and bloody Storm, they at last mastered it the surrendering proved of great importance to the City of London, where the poorer sort of People, for the two last years, had almost starved for want of Fuel; Coals having risen to the Price of four Pounds a Chaldron.' Sir James Turner, *Memoirs*, p. 38, gives the following account of the assault on October 19th: 'A little before harvest in this year 1644, Leven came with all his armie and besieged Newcastle on the Northumberland side; which was well enough defended eight or nine weeks by Sir Johne Morley, mayor of the toune; bot at length he havinge foolishlie refused articles, which he might have made at his pleasure, the toune was taken by storme, with no great losse on our side, and with very little bloodshed of the royalists. My lord Sinclars regiment were the first that entered the toune, the first partie of them of two hundredth being led by my selfe, being very well seconded by my Lieutenant Colonell. One of my captains, Sinclare, foolishlie running contrar to my command straight to the market place, was ther-killd. It was well for these of that side within the toune that we entered so soone, for we gave very good quarter, my Lieutenant and I cleering the wall all along till the next port [Pilgrim street gate]; there we tooke tuintie gentlemen on horseback, and 200 foot sojors, and so made easie way for my Lord Levistons, now E. of Lithgows brigade [in the various accounts of the assault given in the text, Livingstone's position and the Stirlingshire regiment commanded by him is assigned to Sandgate], and Lieutenant Generall Baillies to enter [?at Pilgrim street gate], being before pitifullie beate off; neither did we kill one man within the walls. In the approaches our regiment lost very prettie men, bot in the storm onlie three. Immediatlie after the plunder of this toune, (whereof I had not one pennie worth) the armie is put in winter quarters.'

Very few words are needed to piece together the story which the foregoing accounts tell. After eight o'clock in the morning, when it had become clear that Marley refused to surrender, the fire of all the batteries was directed upon the town, while the mines at White Friar tower, Westgate, and Sandgate were being hastily completed. Thus matters continued, the Scots regiments meanwhile being drawn up in readiness at the four quarters, until three o'clock in the afternoon. At about that hour, Leven was informed of the danger to which the mines at White Friar tower and Sandgate were exposed from the counter-mines of the besieged. He gave orders for them to be fired at once, and for the general assault, for which the troops had been patiently waiting, to follow. For two hours besieged and besiegers were engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict on the walls until, at about five o'clock, two more mines were sprung at Westgate and Sandgate, opening the walls to the Scots at those quarters. Almost simultaneously, their artillery effected a breach at Closegate, and sweeping along the narrow streets, the eastern and western sections of the army made their way to the centre of the town. Westgate was thrown open, the reserve poured in, and the town was won; save for the castle, where Marley was already displaying a flag of truce.

That night the town was carefully secured, 'and the Guards carefully appointed at the breaches, and by the water-side, to watch the escape of those who were within, and with so much losse and paines now caught in the snare.'²⁹⁷ The next day, Sunday the 20th, Leven, Callendar, Baillie, and the chief officers of the army entered the town and proceeded at once to St. Nicholas's church,²⁹⁸ to give 'thanks to God, that he was pleased, even according to the words, and wishes of their enemies, to prosper and blesse his People, according to the justness of their Cause.'²⁹⁹ Douglas preached³⁰⁰ from the text, 'He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; he breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; he burneth the chariot in the fire. Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth. The Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.'

While the Scots were thus celebrating their victory, Marley, hard by in the castle, was penning a submissive letter to Leven:—³⁰¹

²⁹⁷ *A Particular Relation*, etc.²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*³⁰⁰ Douglas's *Diary*.³⁰¹ *A Particular Relation*.

For his Excellencie, the Earl of Leven, Generall of the Scottish Army.

My Lord,

Although you have the fortune of War against me (and that I might, I confesse, have had honourable tearmes from your Excellencie). Yet I hope your Noblenes will not thinke worse of me, for doing my endeavours to keepe the Towne, and to discharge the trust reposed in me, having had strong reasons so to doe, as is known to many; And now whereas I am compelled to betake my self to this Castle, I shall desire, that I and those with me, may have our liberty, and your License, to stay, or goe out of the Towne with your safe Passe, to his Majesties next Garrison, which is not beleagured, with our Horses, Pistolls and swords; And to have 14. daies time to dispatch our Journey, so many as please to goe. And truly, my Lord, I am yet confident to receive so much favour from you, as that you will take such care of me, as that I shall receive no wrong from the ignoble spirits of the vulgar sort; for I doubt no other. I must confesse, I cannot keep it long from you, yet I am resolved, rather then to be a spectacle of misery and disgrace to any, I will bequeath my soule to him that gave it, And then referre my Body to be a spectacle to your severity; But upon these tearmes abovesaid, I will deliver it to you, And so intreating your Answer, I rest,

Your Friend and Servant,

JOHN MARLEY.

From the Castle in Newcastle, the 21. of Octob. 1614.

Marley's terms were not accepted. Proclamation was, however, made³⁰² 'That no Officer nor Souldier should presume to trouble nor plunder the house of any, under the paine of death. And that better obedience might be given thereto, and all occasions of Tumults, wrongs, and oppressions might the better be avoided, It was Ordered that no Officer, nor Souldier should stay in the Towne, without speciall order, but to returne to the Leaguer, and his former Quarters, And likewise for the further weal and ease of the Towne, the Quarters of the whole Army are enlarged, and none ordained to stay in Town, but the proper Garrison.'

The immediate fulfilment of Leven's orders was prevented, however, by a great storm, which swept away the two bridges of keel-boats, and compelled the army to come into the town for shelter from Sunday the 20th, to the following Wednesday.³⁰³ During its continuance, on Tuesday the 22nd, Marley surrendered at discretion. He was committed to his house by a strong guard, to defend him from the fury of the incensed people, for he is hated and abhorred of all, and he brought many Families to ruine. The rest that were in the Castle, have likewise in constrained humility, submitted them-

³⁰² *A Particular Relation.*

³⁰³ Lithgow.

selves, and are rendred Prisoners.’³⁰⁴ Marley, upon removal to his own house, was severely handled by the mob.³⁰⁵ On the following day, he was taken from his house and confined to ‘a Dungeon trance within the Castle,’³⁰⁶ from whence, on October 29th, he was transferred to the custody of ‘Master [Michael ?] Welden,’ sheriff of Northumberland, who ‘had much a doe to keep him from being torne in pieces, by the inhabitants in the Towne, and by those common sort of people whom hee had forced to take up Armes.’³⁰⁷

The fall of Newcastle was followed, within a few days, by the surrender of Tynemouth castle. The castle had in 1642 been repaired by three hundred men whom the earl of Newcastle had sent down for that purpose. Trenches had been dug, and six guns had been sent from Newcastle.³⁰⁸ The possession of the castle was of importance to the Scots as giving them complete command of the river, and its siege had been maintained concurrently with that of Newcastle. Its garrison had latterly been decimated by the plague.³⁰⁹ Sir William Armyne, writing to Vane, from Newcastle on the 27th,³¹⁰ describes its surrender: ‘The Governor of Tynemouth Castle hath been willing to listen to propositions for its surrender, and Lord General Leven,

³⁰⁴ *A Particular Relation*, etc. Lithgow says that seventy-two ‘officers, Ingeniers, and prime Souldiers’ surrendered in the castle. Whitelock, vol. i. p. 323, says that five hundred people were in the castle with Marley. They included Wishart, Alvey, lords Crawford and Maxwell, Harvie, and others (Douglas’s *Diary*), and Master Gray (*A Particular Relation*). Lord Reay was taken before he could escape thither.

³⁰⁵ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 652, says that Marley was given ‘a strong guard to defend him from the outrages of the People.’ Brand, vol. ii. p. 468, says that he was nearly torn in pieces by the angry mob. Brand, vol. i. p. 159, states inaccurately that Marley held the castle for eight days against Leven after October 19th. Douglas writes: ‘Upon the 22d they rendered ou mercie; the Maior is prisoner; Crauford, Reay, Maxwell, Perrie, Ogilvie were brought to Scotland.’
³⁰⁶ Lithgow.

³⁰⁷ *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer* for October 29th–November 6th, 1644.

³⁰⁸ *Arch. Ael.*, vol. xv. p. 218. See also a letter on this in Brand, vol. ii. p. 115.

³⁰⁹ *Arch. Ael.*, vol. xv. p. 219, quoting *Perfect Occurrences*, No. 11, for October 23rd, 1644, ‘The plague was very hot in Tinmouth Castle . . . eight of them have died in one week . . . one who came out of the Castle reporteth that about sixty were sick in the Castle of the plague when he left them. So that though we cannot reach them in that high hill, yet God can you see.’ ‘The infected men were put into Lodges in the Fields and the Chiefe Chirurgeon there dangerously sicke, who I hear is since dead.’—Sir W. Riddell, jun., to Glemham, *ibid.* p. 219. The plague made its way to Scotland. ‘The pest cam to Edinburgh with the victorie fra Newcastle.’—*Memorialls of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 425. Douglas (*Diary*) writes: ‘Upon the 4th [November] I came to Haddington, but got hardly lodging, because the pest was at Newcastle.’

³¹⁰ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

according to his usual manner, was not backward to make trial what might be done in a fair way before coming to extremities, and went toward the castle himself; and after it summoned; they entered into terms for rendering it up, which was performed late this evening [the 27th], and the Lord General hath soldiers in it so that our ships may come freely in at their pleasure.' The articles of surrender concluded between Leven and sir Thomas Riddell, the governor, were as follows :—³¹¹

1.—That every officer, soldier, gentleman and clergyman shall march out with bag and baggage, the officers with their arms; and that such goods as properly belong to them, but which they are unable to carry, shall be kept for them.

2.—That the National Covenant shall not be enforced upon any officer, soldier, gentleman or clergyman.

3.—That all who desire to stay in their own country shall have protection for their person and estates; and that such as wish to go to his Majesty shall have free pass with safe convoy.

4.—Oblivion for all things passed in the service shall be extended to all who shall stay at home in their own houses.

5.—That Sir Thomas Riddell shall deliver up the Castle this day [the 27th] with a complete list of the arms, ammunition, cannon, and furniture it contains.

6.—Provided always that those who stay at home and have protection of their person and estates shall be liable to all Ordinances of Parliament.³¹²

The fall of Tynemouth castle virtually concluded the Civil War in the north and, with the capture of Newcastle, gave the Scots a hold upon Northumberland and Durham which they retained until February, 1647. But in regard to the siege of Newcastle, certain questions offer themselves for consideration in order that the story of the siege and its results may be, so far as possible, exhaustive. These questions are—first, the mortality of the siege and the fortune of the town's chief defenders; secondly, the effect of the siege upon the town's commerce; thirdly, the extent of the damage caused by the long cannonade; and lastly, the measures that were taken for the government of the town and for the regulation of its coal industry.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1645–1647, under date October 26th, 1645.

³¹² Lithgow says that sir Thomas Riddell surrendered 'after a short parley,' and that the garrison 'were glad to yeeld' because of the plague. The schedule demanded by Leven showed the castle to be possessed of 29 guns, 50 barrels of powder, 500 muskets, and ball and match.—*The Weekly Account*, No. 62, for October 31st–November 6th, 1644. *Arch. Ael.*, vol. xv. p. 220, gives the number of guns at 38. After the fall of Tynemouth, certain gentlemen of the garrison came into Newcastle with 'Master Errington.'—*Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer* for October 29th–November 6th, 1644.

The losses sustained by the Scots in the course of the siege and in the final assault are very variously estimated. The author of the letter printed in *The Taking of Newcastle*³¹³ states that in the course of the attack on October 19th, the Scots 'have not lost an hundredth men.' Lithgow puts the total number at two hundred and ninety-nine, of whom thirty-eight were officers, besides seven or eight hundred wounded. Edward Man, in his letter,³¹⁴ puts the number at 'not one hundred slaine' in the assault. Douglas,³¹⁵ who states that not many died in the storming of the town, gives their number at 'about 100 souldiers, and about 31 officers, of which two Collonelis, Hay³¹⁶ and Henderson,³¹⁷ Major Hepburn,³¹⁸ and Captain Hamilton,³¹⁹ and 9 or ten more.' Newcastle was therefore won at relatively very small cost of life on the part of the besiegers.

³¹³ See above, p. 223.

³¹⁴ See above, p. 226.

³¹⁵ *Diary*.

³¹⁶ Probably John Hay, given by Rushworth as major of the Midlothian regiment, commanded by lord Maitland. As it is not mentioned in the assault on October 19th, it formed probably part of the reserve which entered at Westgate. Douglas mentions Maitland as having the guard of the works at Closegate on August 20th.

³¹⁷ See note above, p. 217.

³¹⁸ See note, p. 224.

³¹⁹ The following reference (*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i. under date January 27th, 1645), in favour of 'Anna Wilson, Relict of umq^{le} captane Johne Hamiltoun Beiring that hir husband being ane captane in the Regiment under the command of the Generall of the Artillerie was killed at the intaking of Newcastle,' shows that Hamilton was attached to the Clydesdale regiment at White Friar tower. A complete list of the Scottish officers who are mentioned as having lost their lives in the assault is as follows:—

Name.	Regiment.	Stationed at
Lt.-Col. Hay ...	Midlothian (?)	Reserve.
Lt.-Col. Henderson ...	(?)	Carloli tower.
Major Robert Hepburn	East-Lothian...	Newgate.
Captain John Hamilton	Clydesdale ...	White Friar tower (or Westgate, according to Lithgow).
Lt.-Col. William Home	East-Lothian...	Newgate.
Major Thomas Moffatt	Tweeddale (or Linlithgow and Tweeddale)	Carloli tower.
Captain Corbet ...	(?)	Newgate.
Capt. John Home	East-Lothian (?)	Newgate.
Capt. Thomas Hamilton	Clydesdale ...	White Friar tower (or Westgate, according to Lithgow).
Capt. Sinclair ...	'A Levied Regiment'	Sandgate. See p. 229 of this volume.

Among the burials in the Whickham registers is 'Captane John Cunningame a Scot 22. October, 1644.'—Surtees, *Durham*, vol. ii. p. 242. Of the Scottish prisoners taken in the town, Lord Ogilvie was on October 26th ordered to be sent from Hull to London by sea.—Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. i. Guthrie, *Memoirs*, p. 140, states that Ogilvie had fallen into Leven's hands, after having been sent into England by Montrose. He adds that Lords Crawford, Maxwell, Reay, Dr. Wishart, and also Ogilvie were sent to Edinburgh and imprisoned in the Tolbooth. Douglas's *Diary* has, 'Upon the 22d [October] . . . Crawford, Reay, Maxwell, Perrie, Ogilvie, were brought to Scotland.' Sinclair, writing from Newcastle on October 26th, says, 'Wee intend to send our Scotts prisoners from this towards Berwick to-morrow.'—Thurloe, vol. i.

On the part of the besieged, there are few materials on which to form any sound estimate of the loss of life caused by the siege. One account³²⁰ states that the Scots 'killed very few, after they were entered.' Another,³²¹ however, asserts that the Scots killed five or six hundred of the townsmen, and imprisoned three or four hundred others.³²²

The news of Newcastle's fall was the occasion of the utmost rejoicing. On October 24th, the Committee of Both Kingdoms gave order 'that the several garrisons be advertised of the taking of Newcastle,'³²³ and on the following day a circular was issued to them to that effect.³²⁴ On the 25th, the House of Commons passed the following resolution, with which the Lords concurred: 'The Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, having received certain Intelligence of God's gracious Providence, in delivering the Town of Newcastle in the Hands of our Brethren of Scotland, come in to our Assistance; do Order, That publick Thanks be given to God on our and their Behalf, by all the Ministers within the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Lines of Communication, on the Lord's Day next, for this great Blessing from the Lord of Hosts; And the Lord Mayor of London is desired to take care, that timely Notice be given to the several Ministers of the several Parishes and Places aforesaid.' On the following day [October 26th], it was further ordered that the offertory collected on the day of thanksgiving should be devoted to the relief of those who were prisoners in the

³²⁰ *The Taking of Newcastle, etc.*

³²¹ *Perfect Passages, No. 2.*

³²² Sir Alexander Davison died of his wounds. His monument in St. Nicholas's church records that he 'in hujus Novi Castri obsidione cum Scotorum rebellium exercitu irruenti magnanimiter configens, novissimum spiritum (octogenarius fere) fortiter effudit.' Joseph Davison is also there commemorated, 'Josephum centurionem cordatum (in hujus oppidi contra Scotos rebelles propugnatione strenuè ad mortem usque dimicantem) hic justa tumultum.' Lithgow mentions that when the Scots broke into the town on the 19th, some of their soldiers entered a house in which a baptism feast was being held, as the thirty guests assembled were in the act of drinking to the confusion of the Scots. The latter rifled the house and stripped its inmates even of their clothes. Another who suffered in the assault was the wife of Edward Moore, daughter of Sir William Fenwicke: 'She hersilfe for her loyalty to y^e King was forst to fle from her owne house into y^e Kings garrison of Newcastle, where after sune time a close sige it was taken by storme, where she sawe severell of her nere relations killed before her face, but by Gods providence got quarter yet lost all her pearsonall estate to a great value.'—*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 10th Report, app. pt. iv. p. 122. See also, Bateson, *Hist. of Northumberland*, vol. i. p. 145, and p. 229 of this volume.

³²³ *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1644.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

hands of the royalists.³²⁵ In addition to the thanksgiving on the 27th, the fall of Newcastle was ordered to be specially remembered on the 30th, the day of public humiliation.³²⁶ The capture of the town was celebrated with the liveliest feelings of satisfaction. Sir A. Johnstone and Mr. John Crew writing from Thatcham on October 26th,³²⁷ declare 'The News of the surrender of Newcastle came very seasonably unto us, as it much encouraged the soldiers, and so affected them that many of the regiments went presently of their own accord to solemn prayer.' The *Mercurius Britannicus*,³²⁸ discovers yet another cause for thankfulness in the fall of the town: 'Did I not tell you that the Scots meant to send us coales this winter? And now the fulfilling of this Prophecie cannot but be very comfortable this *cold* weather: Me thinkes I am warme with the very conceit of Newcastles being taken, though our London Wood-Merchants (perhaps) grow *chill* upon the busines, and begin to look *cloudy* after this *Northerne storme*.'³²⁹ Baillie sounds the same note in a letter to William Spang on October 25th,³³⁰ 'but above all, the news of Newcastle, in these two hours, has filled the city with extreme joy. The great God be blessed again and again for it. The people would have perished with cold without it.'

On those, therefore, who had for so long maintained the defence of the town hard conditions were likely to be enforced. On October 25th, a resolution passed the Commons³³¹ that sir John Marley, sir Nicholas Cole, sir Thomas Riddell, jun., 'are to expect no pardon.' On October 31st,³³² the Commons, in answer to enquiries from Newcastle as to how Marley should be dealt with, replied that he had already been excepted from hope of pardon, and would be proceeded against 'according to the Course of War.' On November 19th,³³³ twenty-eight of those who had been associated with the royalist

³²⁵ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

³²⁶ *Ibid.* under date October 29th. On November 5th, order was made that 'Sir Thomas Widdrington do give Notice to the Preacher, to take Notice of the Surrender of Tynmouth Castle: And that he give Thanks therefore in St. Margaret's Church.'—*Ibid.*

³²⁷ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

³²⁸ No. 55 for October 21-28, 1644.

³²⁹ Echard, vol. ii. p. 482, says that coal was sold in London at £4 the chaldron. On November 30th, 1646, coal was offered at Newcastle at 5s. 3d. the chaldron.—*Corporation Records*.

³³⁰ Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. p. 69.

³³¹ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii. under date.

³³² *Ibid.*

³³³ *Ibid.*

cause in Newcastle were ordered to be sent up to London in custody. Mr. John Blakiston³³⁴ was entrusted with the communication of this order to Newcastle, as also with the vote of both Houses for the trial of Marley. On December 5th,³³⁵ a further order was issued disabling eight of those already dealt with, in the order of November 19th, from holding office in the corporation of Newcastle, and on December 13th, fifteen of the original twenty-eight were ordered for committal to prison 'for levying actual War against the Parliament.'³³⁶

The effect of these regulations was to completely destroy the royalist party in Newcastle. For sixteen years those whom the eccentric John Fenwicke, in his *Christ Ruling in the Midst of His Enemies*, humorously described as 'the *Newcastilian* new dubd knights,'^{336a} pass entirely out of the town's governing body. Their place was taken by the Bonners, Dawsons, Fenwicks—those in fact whom the House of Commons, on December 5th, nominated to supervise the sequestration of the property of their enemies'. Yet, in the interval between their downfall in 1644 and the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the majority of the fallen party succeeded in escaping the severest punishment to which their sturdy upholding of the royal cause might have exposed them.

The extent to which the Newcastle royalists had been associated with the town's vigorous resistance can only be gauged by the share they had in the correspondence which passed between the Scots and the besieged during the siege. The letters addressed from the town to Leven are dated February 3rd, August 17th, September 7th, October 15th, October 16th. These are exclusive of the letters signed by Marley alone, or by the commissioners for the treaty on October 18th. The following table will indicate the extent to which those named in the various parliamentary orders had supported Marley, as also their treatment at the hands of Parliament, and their ultimate fate.

³³⁴ M.P. for Newcastle in the Long Parliament.

³³⁵ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii. On the same date the Commons appointed John Blakiston, Henry Warmouth, Henry Dawson, John Cosins, Edward Man, Edward Wood, William Dawson, Ralph Fowler, George Dawson, George Fenwick, Thomas Ledgerd, Robert Ellison, Christopher Nicholson, and Thomas Bonner, to act as a committee for the sequestration of the property of the Newcastle delinquents.

³³⁶ *Ibid*

^{336a} Richardson *Reprints*.

Name.	Signed Letters Dated					Hostages. October 18th.	Commissioners. October 18th.	Named in Orders Dated			Imprisoned at.
	February 3rd.	August 17th.	September 7th.	October 15th.	October 16th.			November 19th.	December 6th.	December 13th.	
Sir John Marley (a) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	Ely House.
Sir Nicholas Cole (b) . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	
Sir Thomas Liddell (c) . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	
Sir Thomas Riddell (d) . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	
Richard Tempest (e) . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	
Sir Alexander Davison (f) .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	
Sir Francis Bowes (g) . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	The Compter.
Ralph Cole (h) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	London House.
Henry Rowcastle . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	The Compter.
James Cole (i) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	The Compter.
Cuthbert Carr (j) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	
Thomas Blenkinsop (k) . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	Winchester House.
Ralph Cock (l) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	Lambeth House.
Sir Francis Liddell (m) . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	
Ralph Bowes (n) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	
Dr. Ambrose . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	
Yelder Alvey (o) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	
Dr. Wishart (p) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	
G. Cock (k) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	Lambeth House.
Edward Scott (k) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	Winchester House.
Henry Marley (g) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	Peter House.
William Marley (k) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	Ely House.
William Robson (r) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	London House.
Sir Thomas Riddell, jun. (s) .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	
Thomas Sharper (k) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	
Thomas Pawle (k) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	Peter House.
Metcalfe Rippon (tk) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	The Tower.
Sir W. Riddell (u) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	The Compter.
Sir George Baker (v) . . .	x	x	x	x	x	..	x	x	x	x	

(a) Escaped probably from imprisonment and compounded his delinquency in 1658. Restored to the freedom of Newcastle, August 8th, 1660.—Brand, vol. ii. p. 490. See Welford, *Men of Mark*, vol. ii. The order of November 19th speaks of a captain John Marley.

(b) Succeeded in eluding capture. The following letter from him to his wife, dated April 22nd, 1645 (*Cal. State Papers*) shows that he was at that time in hiding in London. He recovered his position and property at the Restoration (See Welford, *op. cit.*). The letter is as follows:— 'Mr. Boswell has promised me he will go to Sir Archibald Johnston. The press [here] is so hot I dare not send my man abroad. I am sorry to hear the plague is so hot at Newcastle and all about you. I will send my man Sadler by sea to bring you up with Ralph and Margaret, if you think so fit, but send up Ralph that I may put him to school here. Mr. Farniby, that famous school-master, is prisoner in Ely House, where my father Cole is, and he is very desirous to have him with him; let him come by sea, that being the safest way. I think you may live as cheap here as at home, but stay not in Newcastle if the sickness increases, as I fear it will. To-day my brother James is gone to Goldsmiths' Hall to get his liberty. He has either more wit or money than the rest of his friends. For my part I am well content in that state I am in, and trust to be delivered in time. It is plain our adversaries' aim was to get our coals and colliery.' Appended to this letter are receipts showing that on April 22nd, 1645, sir Nicholas paid over to James Thorne, on behalf of Lieut.-general Baillie, the sum of £100, in accordance with an agreement on the part of sir Nicholas to pay Bailie 3d. a chaldron of coals, provided the Scots remained for twelve months in Newcastle.

(c) Compounded his delinquency, May 3rd, 1646.—Welford, *op. cit.*

(d) Died March 30th, 1650.—Welford, *op. cit.*

(e) He had signed, with Robert Clavering and others, Glemham's answer to Argyle and Arnyne on January 22nd, 1644.—*Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 306.

(f) Died of his wounds. Buried in St. Nicholas's, October 29th, 1644. See above, note 312.

(g) Restored to freedom of Newcastle, August 8th, 1660.—Brand, vol. ii. p. 490.

(h) The Act pardoning his delinquency is dated May 22nd, 1649.

(i) Compounded his delinquency, August, 1646. Restored to freedom of Newcastle, March 8th, 1660.—Brand, vol. ii. p. 490. See Welford, *op. cit.*

(j) In command at Newgate on October 19th. Compounded his delinquency in April, 1646. See *History of the Family of Carr*, vol. ii.

(k) Is distinguished by the title 'Captain' in the order of November 19th, showing that he was in active command during the siege.

(l) Died January 27th, 1652.—Brand, vol. i. 280.

(m) In a letter of September 9th, 1645 (*Cal. State Papers* (Dom.) 1645-47), John Blakiston writes to Vane: 'I acquainted your son [Sir Henry Vane] with some information about sir Francis Liddle's escape, which he will inform you of. The Committee of Durham calls him a moderate enemy, which it is conceived might have been otherwise expressed by them.'

(n) Merchant. See Dendy's *Merchant Adventurers* (Surtees Society, vol. 93), p. 209.

(o) Vicar of St. Nicholas's; died March 19th, 1649. See Welford, *op. cit.*

(p) Lecturer in St. Nicholas's. Imprisoned at Edinburgh; released in 1645. See Welford, *op. cit.*

(q) Restored to freedom of Newcastle, March 8th, 1660.—Brand, vol. ii. p. 490.

(r) A William Robson, parish clerk of All Saints', was dismissed for his loyalty to the royal cause on November 20th, 1644, and restored in 1660.—Brand, vol. ii. p. 490.

(s) Died in banishment 1652.—Welford, *op. cit.*

(t) Merchant. See Dendy's *Merchant Adventurers* (Surtees Society, vol. 93), pp. 135, 155-191.

(u) *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1645-47, gives, under date April 8th, 1645, a minute of the Committee of Both Kingdoms to remind the Commons to give order for the release of sir William Riddell, according to the articles of capitulation of Tynemouth castle.

(v) Recorder of Newcastle. Restored to freedom of Newcastle, August 8th, 1660.—Brand, vol. ii. p. 490; died at Hull, 1667.—Welford, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 175.

NOTE.—The authorities on which the above and following list of signatures are compiled are as follows:—For the letter of January 22nd, *Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland* (Spalding Club), vol. ii. p. 307; for that of February 3rd, *A True Relation of the Late Proceedings of the Scottish Army*; for that of August 17th, *The Kingdoms Weekly Intelligence*, No. 69, for August 20-27, 1644; for that of September 6th, *The Weekly Account*, for September 18-24, 1644; for those of October 15th and 16th, *A Particular Relation*, etc.

In addition to the chief delinquents, there were others whose share in the siege was either less active, or whose convictions were not strong enough to keep them faithful to the royal cause. None of these was included in the several parliamentary orders of November 9th, December 5th, and December 13th, 1644. Their co-operation with Marley may be expressed as follows:—

Name.	Signed Letter of—					Hostages on October 18th.
	February 3rd.	August 17th.	Septem- ber 7th.	October 15th.	October 16th.	
Thomas Maddison (a) ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
Anthony Richardson ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
Thomas Clarke (b) ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
Charles Clarke (c) ..	x	..	..	x	x	..
William Cooke (d) ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
Leonard Carr (e) ..	x	x	..	x	x	..
Robert Shaftoe (f) ..	x	x	..	x	x	..
Mark Milbank (g) ..	x	..	..	x	..	..
Edward Stote (h) ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
Samuel Cock (i) ..	..	..	..	x	..	..
Gabriel Robson ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
James Harrop (j) ..	..	..	..	x	..	..
John Blackburn ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
John Robson (k) ..	..	..	..	x	..	..
James Armstrong (l) ..	..	..	..	x	..	..
Anthony Younger ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
William Archbold ..	..	..	..	x	x	..
— Matfen (m) ..	..	..	..	x	..	..
John Harrigate (n) ..	..	..	..	..	x	..
Sir Lionel Maddison (o) ..	x	..	..	..	..	..
Sir Francis Anderson (p) ..	x	..	..	..	..	..
Henry Maddison (q) ..	x	..	..	..	..	..
Ralph Gray (r) ..	x	..	..	..	..	..
John Emerson (s) ..	x	..	..	..	..	..
Charles Brandling (t) ..	..	..	..	..	..	x
Thomas Davison (u) ..	..	..	..	..	..	x
Robert Clavering (v) ..	..	..	..	..	..	..

(a) See Welford, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 129.

(b) Thomas Clarke, co-churchwarden of All Saints', with Henry Rowcastle of the previous list, in 1630.

- (c) Charles Clarke, a barber-surgeon, died August 2nd, 1667.—Brand, vol. i. p. 113.
 (d) A William Cooke was master of the Trinity House in 1620.—Brand, vol. ii. p. 337.
 (e) Deprived of his aldermanship in 1657. See Welford, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 485.
 (f) See genealogy in Surtees, *Durham*, vol. iii. p. 296.
 (g) Received a baronetcy at the Restoration. See genealogy in Surtees, *Durham*.
 (h) Son of Richard Stote, merchant. Entered in the visitation of 1666 as captain of a foot-company in the service of Charles I. Died December, 1648.
 (i) A Samuel 'Coof' signed the letter of October 16th. Possibly a misprint for 'Cock.' Probably a son of alderman Ralph Cock, mayor of Newcastle in 1634, of whose fifteen children, four (daughters) were known, from their wealth and attractions, as 'Cock's canny hinnies,' and were married to members of the great local families of Milbank, Carr, Davison, and Marley. See Welford, *Monuments of St. Nicholas's, Newcastle*, p. 78. 'Buried December 20th, 1668. Samuel Cock, Merchant.—*All Saints' Register*.' George Cock, in previous list, was probably another brother.
 (j) A 'Will Lerop' signs on October 16th.
 (k) A 'Will Robson' signs on October 16th.
 (l) A 'Will Armstrong' signs on October 16th.
 (m) Matthew Matfen, merchant adventurer, died October 11th, 1697.—Brand, vol. i. p. 298. Welford, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 156, mentions a 'Weesy Matfin' who kept 'the corner shop on the Sandhill.'
 (n) Younger warden of the Trinity House, 1644. One Alie Harrigate was a pensioner of the Trinity House in 1644, at a monthly dole of 4s.
 (o) On July 10th, 1644, a letter was read in the House of Commons, from Callendar at 'Blythesnooke,' stating that sir Lionel and alderman Clavering had come over to the Parliament.—*Commons Journals*, under date.
 (p) Compounded his delinquency, July 13th, 1647. See Welford, *op. cit.* He signed on January 22nd, 1644, the answer to Armyne and Argyle.
 (q) The *Kingdoms Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 69, for August 20-27, 1644, announces his having gone to Sunderland and deserted Newcastle. See Welford, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 129.
 (r) Two Ralph Grays were leading citizens of Newcastle at this time. One was sheriff in 1628, and died May 30th, 1666; the other, sheriff in 1667, mayor 1671, and died December, 1676.
 (s) Sheriff in 1639, mayor 1660.—Dendy, *Merchant Adventurers*, index.
 (t) Of Gateshead, who sold Nun's moor to the Corporation in 1650.—Brand, vol. i. p. 441. He signed the answer to Argyle and Armyne on January 22nd, 1644.
 (u) Mayor in 1669. Married one of Cock's 'canny hinnies.'
 (v) Signed the answer to Argyle and Armyne on January 22nd, 1644. See note o above.

The effect of the siege upon the town's commerce was, undoubtedly, for a time ruinous. The coal trade and also the shipping trade which so closely depended on it were practically at a standstill. The following letters³³⁷ from the Newcastle Trinity House, written shortly after the conclusion of the siege, very clearly indicate its effect upon their business :—

To the right worth the maister wardens and Assistants of the Trinity
House of Deptford strand theise present :

Gentlemen,

After our hearty commendations remembered, wee thought good to acquaint you, concerninge the Tees lights and boyes, w^{ch} we were late tennant to you for, and desire to be still, That we have gott sett a foote against (now since Trade begann) the duties usually paid for the same, here hath bene (not unknown to you) a longe discontinuance of Tradinge by sea; w^{ch} hath much disenabled us in what our Corporation should have done, both concerning rent payments, the maintainance of our poore and paying of other necessarrie charges and offices belonging to the Corporation : Neuertheless it shalbe our care, wherein we shall not faile (God willinge) to be accomptable, and give you real satisfacon both for what we inioyed in the tyme of your lease, granted to us, as also since, whatsoeuer we have received or shall recieve, for the said Tees lights and boyes, for w^{ch} purpose we shall addresse some convenient messenger, with what convenient speed may be, to come up to you both to pform these thinges,

³³⁷ *Trinity House MSS. Records.*

and to treat and conferr and agree (if you please) concerning a new lease for a like tearme to come as formerly we have had, wherein we hoope you will deale courtously with us both in regarde of the great pressure and sufferings we have undergonn here, by reason of the Armies, besides lacke of trading, with the Naugation this two yeares last past, w^{ch} hath bene a lett of intercourse betwene you and us; all w^{ch} we leave to your grave consideracons, comitting you to the Almightyes p^{te}ncion, rest

Your very loueing freindes

WM. PARKER.

PHINIES ALLEN.

ROBT. BLYTHMAN.

RAPH FFELL.

Trinity house in Newcastle,
this 23. November, 1644.

The second letter to the same corporation is as follows :—

Gentlemen,

After our hartie comendations remembered, we pceiue by Mr Thomas Dixon and Mr Ralph ffell who wee desired to agree with you for a new lease of the Tees lights and boyes, that you, and they in our corporacons behalfe are agreed for seauen yeares to comence at ladie daie next paying 50^l p. Ann. for the same, w^{ch} wee hartilie thanck you for, in your respect to us before others thdough we assure you there is no p^{ro}hibillitie of Trade like to what hath bene in yeares past for the collieries here are much wasted and neglected: Neuerthelesse we desire you wilbe pleased to p^{er}form [?] the lease, and send it us by this bearer, Mr Raphe ffell, and we shalbe careful (God willinge) to p^{ro}fourme what on our p^{ar}ts is to be don on that behalfe; so for present comittinge you to the Almightyes p^{te}ncion, rest

Your wor^{sh}ps loueing freindes

PHINIES ALLEN.

ROBERT BLYTHMAN.

WILLIAM PARKER.

ROBERT CARR.

JOHN HARRIGATTE.

THOMAS AUBONE.

Trinity house in Newcastle,
15th febr. 1644.

We desire your freindly acceptance by this bearer of a smale token of our loue, viz^t. a bitt of salmon,³³⁸ till further opportunitie vouchsafe to accomidate you with our wounted respect.

To y^e wor^{sh}ps Com^{tee} Gouvernors of y^e Trinity-house of Deptford strand at the Trinity-house near Ratcliff Crosse these present.

The statements made in these letters as to the stagnation of trade are fully confirmed by the record of ships cleared from the Tyne in 1644 :—³³⁹

³³⁸ The pay book for February, 1645, shows that the gift consisted of two salmon, costing 9s. 1d.

³³⁹ Brand, vol. ii. p. 25 n.

1644.		Coasters.		Foreign.		English Cross-sea.		Total.
January	...	7	...	0	...	12	...	19
February	...	0	...	2	...	7	...	9
March	...	0	...	1	...	2	...	3
April	...	0	...	5	...	0	...	5
May	...	0	...	0	...	0	...	0
June	...	0	...	1	...	0	...	1
July	...	0	...	0	...	0	...	0
August	...							
September	...							
October	...							
November	...	145	340	5	...	1	...	151
December	...							
Total	...	152	...	14	...	22	...	188

A comparison of the ships entering the Tyne in 1641 and 1644 is equally striking:—³⁴¹

		Coasters.		Foreign.		English Cross-sea.		Total.
1641	...	2,823	...	207	...	13	...	3,043
1644	...	152	...	14	...	22	...	188

The Trinity House receipt books, expressing its total monthly revenue, are equally significant.

1644.		£	s.	d.	1644.		£	s.	d.
January	...	10	17	6	July	...	2	15	2
February	...	5	18	11	August	...	2	14	0
March	...	18	9	4	September	...	3	18	3
April	...	0	11	8	October	...	6	0	0
May	...	3	0	0	November	...	4	0	0
June	...	8	5	0	December	...	40	13	11

The paucity of marriages in St. Nicholas's church may also be taken as some indication of the general stagnation of trade consequent on the siege. The register shows a total of eight marriages

³⁴⁰ The result of the order of November 13th, 1644 (*Commons Journals*, vol. iii.), rescinding the order of January 14th, 1642, by which trade with Newcastle, Blyth, and Sunderland had been forbidden. ³⁴¹ Brand, vol. ii. p. 38.

³⁴² From May to November the revenue was chiefly derived by calling in loans from individuals, or by sums borrowed from William Parker, Thomas Stobbs, and John Johnson, to pay the monthly dole to the pensioners.

³⁴³ After this month, no payments were received on behalf of primage and Trinity money until the following December. ³⁴⁴ Whole sum borrowed.

³⁴⁵ Whole sum borrowed from Thomas Stobbs and John Johnson.

³⁴⁶ This sum includes £30 from Edward Lee, representing the Sunderland account, March 13th to November 1st, 1644; £3 10s. 0d. from the Tees; and £7 3s. 1d. representing the first receipts on behalf of primage and Trinity money since June, 1644.

only for 1644, as against thirty-eight in 1642. 'No marriage' is entered against the months, February, March, June, July, August, September, and there are no entries in October, November, or December.

The material damage to the town caused by the bombardment was unquestionably considerable. Of the losses incurred in that respect by private individuals there is little record. But few of the public buildings of the town appear to have escaped. Of the four churches, St. John's is the only one which, so far as evidence is forthcoming, escaped serious damage. St. Andrew's, close to the wall, and exposed to the direct fire of the battery on the Leazes, was practically unroofed. It is probable that the garrison had mounted cannon on its tower, for that portion of the building suffered severely.³⁴⁷ The main structure of the building was so far destroyed as to be unfit for public worship. An entry in the church's register for 1645³⁴⁸ states, 'Ther was no child bapt^d in the parish for 1 years tim after the towne was taken nor sarmon in this church for 1 years tim.' In 1652 an assessment was laid on the parish for the repair of the church, and in 1672 the common council was petitioned to aid the work of restoration.³⁴⁹ So late as 1708, an assessment of sixpence in the £ proving insufficient, the corporation contributed £10 to the repair of the fabric.³⁵⁰ In regard to St. Nicholas's, there is no evidence to support the tradition that Marley saved the steeple by exposing Scottish prisoners in it. An order for the repair of it in the corporation records³⁵¹ for September 4th, 1645, seems still further to belie the tradition. All Saints' church, exposed as it would be to the fire of Callendar's batteries at Sandgate, was considerably damaged. In 1651 and 1655 it underwent extensive restoration.³⁵² When the Scots entered the town after the assault, it suffered with the other churches. At St. Nicholas's, a large image of Our Saviour upon the Cross, over George Carr's monument, was defaced by them.³⁵³ The outlying churches, also, did not escape.

³⁴⁷ *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*, p. 339.

³⁴⁸ In Brand, vol. i. p. 180.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.* ³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁵¹ 'It is ordered, etc. That the Steeple of St. Nicholas Church be presently repaired. And that Mr. Maior, Mr. Wm. Dawson, alderman, and Mr. Sheriffe, calling unto them William Gibson, be the overseers of the same.'

³⁵² Brand, vol. i. p. 360.

³⁵³ *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*, p. 339.

On June 11th, 1675, the parishioners of North and South Gosforth petitioned for contributions towards the restoration of their church.³⁵⁴

The wall, the main fortification of the town, suffered naturally considerable damage. Ambrose Barnes, a youth at the time of the siege, describes it in after years as 'an old decayed wall,'³⁵⁵ and adds that the town had been 'fortified heretofore with a castle,' thereby suggesting that the castle had been reduced to the condition from which Marley had restored it. The mine sprung at the White Friar tower destroyed fifty-six or fifty-seven yards of the wall at that point, and a committee of the council was held on March 7th, 1648, to take its repair under consideration.³⁵⁶ Yet another of the four mines³⁵⁷ sprung on October 19th made a breach fifty-five yards in length, three yards thick, and six and a half yards in height, near the Pink tower. On September 20th, 1647, urged by colonel Lilburne, the common council ordered the repair of the wall generally, and especially at that quarter.³⁵⁸ On March 22nd, 1648, the council gave further order for the repair of 'the peeres at the Close-Gate.'³⁵⁹ The suburbs of the town at Newgate suffered destruction³⁶⁰ also in the

³⁵⁴ Brand, vol. i. p. 321.

³⁵⁵ *Memoirs*, p. 90.

³⁵⁶ Under date, 'Committee about the repayringe of the towne wall att the Friars, being 56 or 57 yards.'—*Corporation Records*, quoted by Brand, vol. i. p. 4.

³⁵⁷ Probably the Westgate mine. The damage done appears to be rather the effect of a mine than of artillery.

³⁵⁸ Whereas At a Comon Counsell held the 12th day of August last It was thought fitt in regard, That the walls of this Towne were in great decay and in some places so ruinous that they were readie to fall downe and in regard That Collonell Lilburne, the Governour of this Towne, had urged the present necessity of the repairing of the said walls, And especially a breach neere a place called the Pinke Tower, That an Agreement should be made with the masons of this Towne for the repairing of the same, And whereas there was an Agreement made betweene the maior and Burgesses of this Towne of the one ptie and Thomas Tayler, William Pattison, Cuthbert Maxwell, and Cuthbert Thompson, free masons of this Towne, of the other ptie, in manner and forme followeing, vizt., That they the said Thomas Tayler, Willm Pattison, Cuthbert Maxwell, and Cuthbert Thompson, shall and will att or before the last day of October next ensueing the date of these pruts well and sufficiently take down, ridd and new build upp againe a breach in the Towne walls neere a place called the Pinck Tower, being in length 55 yards, about 3 yards thicke, and about six yards and a halfe high. In consideracon whereof the said Maior and Burgesses are to pay unto the said Thomas Tayler, Wm. Pattison, Cuthbert Maxwell, and Cuthbert Thompson the some of flower score and fiteene pounds of lawfull money of England to be paid unto them weekly and every weeke according to their weekly bills of worke, untill they shall have received the aforesaid some of ninetie five pounds. It is this prnt day ordered by us, the Maior, Aldermen, Mr. Sheriffe, and the rest of the Comon Counsell of this Towne, that the aforesaid Agreement of the Maior and Burgesses with the said Thomas Tayler, William Pattison, Cuthbert Maxwell, and Cuthbert Thompson, and all and every thing contained therein be ratified and confirmed. Hen. Dawson, Maior.

³⁵⁹ Brand, vol. i. p. 7.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 422.

course of the siege, probably at the hands of the garrison and of the Scots equally. Upon February 3rd, when the Scots first appeared, the garrison had set fire to the suburbs at Sandgate,³⁶¹ and so late as June 17th, 1667, the condition of the wall was so unsatisfactory that the council gave order for its repair, and that of its gates and drawbridges.³⁶² The Tyne bridge, situated between the castle and Callendar's batteries at Gateshead, also received considerable damage. On December 3rd, 1646, and on July 5th, 1647, mention occurs in the common council books of repairs done to it, and a later entry on March 28th, 1649, shows that timber from Chopwell woods was used for the purpose.³⁶³ Of the private houses in the town two, at least, appear to have been singled out by the Scots. Upon their entry at Closegate they set fire to a house which was probably sir John Marley's,³⁶⁴ and in the course of the pillage which followed, or

³⁶¹ *A Faithfull Relation of the late Occurrences and Proceedings of the Scottish Army before Newcastle.* In the *Memorialls of the Troubles in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 319, it is stated that at that time [February, 1644], 'The town of Newcastle brynt up the suburbis thair of, lest the enemy sould tak advantage thair of.' In February, also, *A True Relation of the late Proceedings of the Scottish Army*, states, 'they [the garrison] sacrificed 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.' In a letter of February, 1644 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 169), it is stated that 'they within set on fire and burnt down all the streets and houses lying without the walls on the north side of the town.'

³⁶² 'The Comon Counsell havinge this day taken into consideracon great and emergent dangers w^{ch} threaten the nation, and this Towne as a member, have ordered and be it hereby ordered that immediatly the Townes Walls, Gates and Drawbridges be repaired and all rubbish or w^t else thrown over the same that may be disadvantageous thereto be removed. And that Cannons and Carriages be procured from the Townes Shippes and planted thereupon. And further takeing into consideracon the great necessity and want of powder here, for defence of the Towne in this time of danger have ordered that the Constables goe forthwth about the Towne, and return a List before Twelve a clock tomorrow to M^r Maior of all such persons as have powder, ball or match, and w^t quantity there is of it. And that the Custome House officers be requested to permitt none to be transported, and the Tollers commanded suffer none to goe out of the Gates wthout License from the Maior, upon paine that if any shall endeavor secretly by stealth to convey any forth of the Towne wthout License as aforesaid to give them notice That a seizure shall be made, and the same stopt till further order. And in respect moneys will be necessary for the doeing of the same ord^r, and above w^t the Towne is able to disburse, that subscriptions be taken from such of the inhabitants as recide here w^t they are willing to lend for the comon security tow^{ds} the defraying of this charge, to be repaid them back again forth of the Towns Revenue. Will. Blackett, Maior.'

³⁶³ Brand, vol. i. p. 47. The entry for July 5th, 1647, runs: 'The worke of the Bridge, both for the stone worke and the wood worke, to be viewed and the charge computed and report to be made the next Comon Counsell that the worke may be presently undertaken.'

³⁶⁴ See *ante*, p. 226.

as the result of the previous bombardment, the vicarage was damaged to such an extent as to be practically uninhabitable. On September 24th, 1649, the common council made order to indemnify Dr. Jenison, the then vicar, for the dilapidation of his residence caused by the siege.³⁶⁵ Beyond the town wall and fortifications and the residence of the mayor and vicar, certain of the public buildings were either damaged by the bombardment or pillaged upon the entrance of the Scots. The town hutch was rifled, and many of the corporation papers and deeds were destroyed by them.³⁶⁶ The common seal of the corporation was lost at the same time.³⁶⁷ Both the grammar school and its master, Amor Oxley, had their libraries destroyed, as appears from a clause in Oxley's will, dated 1669—'the free school in Newcastle lost its library when the town was stormed and plundered by the Scottish Army, and I then also lost my own library.'³⁶⁸ Trinity House was also plundered after the assault,³⁶⁹ though fortunately its valuable records were preserved. They furnish interesting evidence of the damage done to the building by Callendar's batteries which overlooked it.³⁷⁰

April, 1645. p^d for Carpentry worke down aboute the house, 00. 03. 06.

p^d for nayles used aboute the worke, 00. 00. 08.

p^d for two deales, 00. 01. 06.

Sept., 1645. p^d the plumber for castinge the gutter betweene the Chapelle and the vestrie finding lead soder and workmanship
p^d the slater for slatinge the said rooffe and findinge all slates lyme lathes brods [?] and workmanshippe, 03. 10. 00.

p^d for nayles for that worke and for a paire of bands for the new doore in the low courtaine, 00. 05. 06.

p^d for a locke and three keyes for the ptition doore in the low courtaine, 00. 04. 04.

p^d for pullinge the Rubbish out of the Chappell vestrie, 00. 00. 08.

³⁶⁵ See note 379.

³⁶⁶ Brand (quoting Bourne), vol. ii. p. 468 n.

³⁶⁷ *Corporation Records*, April 9th, 1645: 'Whereas the Comon Seale of this Corporation is lost at the tyme of the storminge of the towne and that there is great and speciall occasion for the use of the said seale, it is therefore ordered by us, the Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffe, and the rest of the Comon Counsell, that Mr. Maior take care that forthwith a new seale to bee made in pportion and otherwise like unto the old one as near as can bee, and that same to bee done at the charge of this Corporation, and that said new Seale so made shall bee reputed and taken to bee the Comon Seale of this Corporation, and shall bee to all intents and purposes as effectuell as the aforesaid old Seale heretofore hath bene. Henry Warmouth, Maior.'

³⁶⁸ *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*, p. 342.

³⁶⁹ Brand, vol. ii. p. 329.

³⁷⁰ From the pay book.

Oct., 1645. p^d for tenn deales formerly used about the house, 00. 07. 06.
 p^d for a paire of barres for the little meeting roome w^{thin} the
 chappell cont. 25 pounds wyt, 00. 06. 03.
 p^d for six booles of lyme for the house use, 00. 03. 00.
 p^d for a corsse of haire, 00. 01. 00.
 p^d a laborer makeing up the haire and lyme a daie, 00. 00. 08.
 p^d a plaisterer and a laborer two daies $\frac{1}{2}$ plaisteringe beame
 fillinge and seltringe up the barrs, 00. 05. 00.
 p^d for these workmens drinckes, 00. 01. 00.
 p^d two women halfe a daie carringe away the rubbish w^{ch}
 came from the worke, 00. 00. 06.
 p^d for 16 foote of New glasse and seaven foote of ould glasse
 new leaded, 00. 08. 05.

So far, therefore, as there is record of the damage done by the siege to the town and its buildings, it is clear that it suffered considerably, and, further, that while the Scottish occupation lasted—until February, 1647—but little was done to repair the damage.

The fall of Newcastle was followed by the complete downfall of the party which had conducted the siege, and the triumphant installation of the Puritans.

As early as September 30th, 1644, the Commons had shown their desire to reward their adherents in the north, by the appointment of John Fenwick of Newcastle, 'a person well affected to the Parliament,' as master of Sherburn hospital in county Durham.³⁷¹ On October 9th, Henry Warmouth had been appointed deputy-lieutenant of Newcastle,³⁷² and at the same time sir John Fenwicke, sir John Delaval, sir William Selby, William Fenwicke, Ralph Delaval, sir Thomas Widdrington, sir Robert Jackson, Michael Welden, and sir Arthur Haselrig had been nominated deputy-lieutenants for Northumberland.³⁷³ Within a few days of the fall of Newcastle, however, some difficulty

³⁷¹ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

³⁷² *Ibid.*

³⁷³ In the *Corporation Records*, under June 9th, 1645, is the following entry: 'It is ordered by the Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffe, and the rest of the Comon Counsell of this Towne That the Ordinance of the Lords and Comons in this present Pliament assembled for the disablinge, disfranchisinge, and removeinge of Sir John Marley, Knt., from being Maior, Alderman, and freeman of this towne and for the restoreinge of Henry Warmouth, esq^r to his place of Alderman, and for the makeinge him present maior of this Towne. And for the disablinge, disfranchisinge, and removeinge of divers psons and settinge others in their places be fairely entered in the Blacke book and Comon Counsell books, And that the fees and charges of the said ordinance to be disbursed by John Blakiston, esq^r., Member of the house of Comons, and Burgesse for this Towne be repaid him out of the Towne Chamber uppon the receite of a noate of the fees and charges from him.'

showed itself in regard to the future government and control of the town. Writing from Newcastle on October 25th,³⁷⁴ to the Committee of Estates, the Committee of Both Houses with the Scottish army reminded the former that the instructions of the English Parliament issued on July 20th, 1644, had provided that when Newcastle and Carlisle fell, they should be given up to the 'persons and garrisons appointed by the two Houses to receive and defend them.'

On October 26th,³⁷⁵ the Committee of Estates replied to this letter, and urged that the third article of the treaty between the two kingdoms, which was posterior to the instructions of July 20th, provided that the Scottish army should, when it had accomplished its work, be subject to such conditions as should be agreed upon between the two kingdoms. So soon, therefore, as the English Parliament or its Committee was in a position to communicate its advice to the Committee of Scotland regarding the governor and garrison of Newcastle, they would 'endeavour to answer the expectations of both Houses with all brotherly love and respect.' On the 27th,³⁷⁶ sir William Armyne and the other English commissioners at Newcastle wrote to Vane to represent the urgency of the position, 'we earnestly desire the House will consider of how great concernment the settling of Newcastle is to all their affairs in these northern parts, and of what advantage the coal trade and customs are for the maintenance of their armies, if rightly managed, and whenever the Scots shall draw into the field, how this town may be preserved in peace, which is yet wholly malignant and cannot be suddenly reduced to the condition which is to be wished. Pardon our earnestness in this because the delaying of this business may prove prejudicial to you, the north is far from you, and things cannot every day be presented to you as in the south. . . . We daily expect some good ministers to be sent into these parts, of which there is a very great want.' Thus urged by their representatives in the north, the Commons, on October 31st,³⁷⁷ referred to a Committee of Lords and Commons 'to consider what is fit to be done for the Settlement of the Affairs and Civil Government of Newcastle to the best Advantage of the State.'

³⁷⁴ *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1644.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.* October 27th.

³⁷⁷ *Commons Journals.*

It was not until December 5th that the Commons were in a position to issue their orders on that matter. On that date,³⁷⁸ they passed resolutions appointing Dr. Jenison³⁷⁹ to the vicarage of Newcastle,

³⁷⁸ *Commons Journal*.

³⁷⁹ Jenison did not at once resume his duties. The Trinity House pay book for 1646 has the following minute:—'Given to Dr. Jenison for a gratuitie when he preached in Trinity House Chapel, January 5th, when he administered the covenant 01. 10. 00.' The same corporation has a minute under March 17th, 1645:—'Pd for beer which was bestowed on Mr. Thring, schoolmaster, while he was writing the covenant in parchment, 00. 01. 06., pd for a skin of parchment 00. 00. 08.'

The following entries occur in the *Corporation Records* regarding Dr. Jenison:—'At a Comon Councell holden the 21st of July, 1645. Whereas this day a lre from Dr. Robert Jennison, dated at Danske [Dantzig] the 2nd of June last, was read before the right wo^{ll} Henry Warmouth, Esq^r., Maior, the Aldermen, M^r. Sheriffe, and the rest of the Comon Councell. And whereas the said Dr. in his lre is desirous to know what place either by Ordinance of Parliament or by order of Comon Councell shall be thought fitt to be conferred uppon him, the said Dr., especially therein mentioninge that of All Hallowes and the weekly lecture as callinge it his Antient and truest right till by ioynt consent the said Dr. relinquish the same in whole or in p^t. Wee, the Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffe, and the rest of the Comon Councell takinge the said lre into o^r serious consideracon, and well weighinge the great ingagemēt of this Towne to the said Dr. for his great paines and merit amongst us and the hard measure he suffered from the Enimies of the Gospell by his suspenson and banishment. And further consideringe that the Lords and Comons of this p^{nt} Parliam^t uppon o^r humble peticon amongst other things have, by their Ordinance dated the 26th of May last, displaced and removed Yeldart Alvey, late Viccar of this Towne from the said Viccaridge for his notorious delinquency, and Ordayned the said Dr. Robert Jenison to be vicar in his place, and stead, and to have receave and enioye to his owne use all profitts and advantages to the said Vicaridge and lectureye belonginge, in as large and ample manner as the said M^r. Alvey might or ought to have enioyed. All the aforesaid premisses considered Wee, the Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffe, and the rest of the Comon Councell do hereby Order that the said Dr. Robert Jennison shall over and besides the said vicaridge be lecturer on the weeke day, and preach every Thursday in the forenoone at St. Nicholas Church. And shall have paid forth of the Revenues of the said Towne the some of One hundred pouds p. anna, over and above all the profitts and benefitts as viccar, to beginn uppon his arrivall here, and to be paid Quarterly, and the Comon Councell are further plessed to declare, that they will take into consideracon his charge in removeing hither, and recompense it. Henry Warmouth, Maior.'

'An Act of Common Councell made upon Monday the 21th day of September, Ano. dmi. 1649. That whereas in the yeere 1645, by the great importunitie of the right wo^{ll}. Maior, Henry Warmouth, Esq^r., and Common Councell of the Towne of Newcastle upon Tyne then beinge, Doctor Robert Jenison was with wife, children, and family both by their earnest lre and by order of Common Councell called home to Newcastle from Dantzigh, as also formerlie upon their humble petition p^sented in their names unto the Parliament by M^r. John Blakiston one of the Burgesses then for Newcastle by an Ordinance of both Houses dated May the 26th in the same yeere made for the regulatinge of affaires there nominated and appointed to be the Vicar thereof, in the place of M^r. Geildard Alvie then quite displaced and removed by the same ordinance, and so outed from the Vicarage. And whereas the Vicarage house was quite ruined by the Scotts soone after the takinge of the Towne in the yeere 1644 as appears by severall surveies taken thereof in wrytinge and entered amonge the memorandums or books of the Towne, so that the said Doctor neither had nor could have att anytime any place for his dwellinge in

in place of Yelderd Alvey,³⁸⁰ and, in answer to the recommendation of their commissioners on October 27th, appointed Christopher Love and William Strother to proceed as ministers to Newcastle.³⁸¹ As to the town's civil government,³⁸² the Commons appointed Henry Warmouth, mayor, and ordered 'that he shall be restored to be alderman

the said house, beinge laid open in all pts of it from end to end, and from the ground to the rooffe, yea in divers pts to the skie. And whereas the said Towne by pcuringe the vicarage to be conferred upon him as aforesaid pessed their reall and good affeccion towards him, and intended his good and benefitt by the vicarage and no preiudice to him or his. And whereas the said Doctor, his beires, adm^{rs} or executo^{rs} may be sued for dilapedacons of the said vicarage house and made to answer dammages for the same, which cannot be done but with more expence than ever the said Doctor had prffitt by it, or is like to have, he beinge now old and infirme, by which meanes his wife and children may be utterlie ruinated in their estates, especiallie after his yearely income by his death shall faile them, which is farr and ever was farr from o^r intentions att first, or desires now, he havinge for 34 yeeres now (exceptinge the 7 yeeres time of his exclusion and banishment from the p^lace) diligentlie laboured amongst us, by preachinge twice a week and for 19 yeeres and more of that time thrice a week att least.

Now upon the grounds and consideracons aforesaid, and wth respect to him the said Doctor, and his after him, Wee, Thomas Bonner, Esq^r., the now Maior, and Common Counsell of this o^r Towne and County of Newcastle in Common Councell assembled, do order and think fitt, covenant and agree for us and o^r successors, That the Maior and Commonaltie of Newcastle upon Tyne, for them and their successo^{rs} shall and will save harmles the said Dr. Robert Jennison, his heires, executo^{rs} and adm^{rs} by and under the Common Seale of the Towne, from all the aforesaid dilipidacons and from all dammage and losse that shall or may insue thereby to him or any of them, and from all incumbrance and charge, which upon any p^ltence may be brought upon him or them, other than the aforesaid ordinance of Parliament requires att his or their hands.

Tho. Bonner, Maior.'

³⁸⁰ For Alvey, see *Arch. Ael.*, new series, vol. i. p. 140, and for both Alvey and Jenison see Welford, *Men of Mark*.

³⁸¹ The following resolution occurs in the *Corporation Records* for May 30th, 1645:—'Whereas there hath byn a great defect and want of Able and Orthodox Ministers to supplie the severall charges of this Towne, both in respect of Lecturers and others to take the pastorall care and charge withⁱⁿ the severall pshes. And whereas M^r Cuthbert Sydenham and M^r Wm. Durant were recomended unto this Corporacon for their learninge and integrity of life, wch uppon good and sufficient tryall had of them, they have approved to this Corporacon. Therefore Wee, the Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffe, and the rest of the Comon Counsell, do hereby order that the said M^r Sydenham and M^r Durant be appointed and established to be Lecturers in this Towne, And to have and receive out of the Chamber of this Towne severall yearely pencons for the same, That is to saie, A pencon of One hundred pounds p. Anna to be paid unto the said M^r Sydenham and a pencon of foure score pounds p. Anna to be paid to the said M^r Durant quarterly by even and equall porcons, their severall pencons to begin from the 25th day of March, 1645, And to continue so long as they and either of them contineu their faithfull and religious discharge of their severall places in the exercisinge thereof att such tymes and places as the Comon Counsell shall think fitt to appoint. And wee do further order that a quarters payment, that is to say Midsummer Quarter next ensueing, be forthwth paid to either of them, and Tenn pounds given to each of them for their charges in cominge to this Towne. Henry Warmouth. Maior.'

³⁸² *Commons Journals*, December 5th, 1644.

of Newcastle.' John Blakiston was also appointed alderman, Edward Wright, of Gray's Inn, was made recorder in place of sir George Baker, Robert Ellison was appointed sheriff, Henry Dawson, 'customer,' in place of Richard Wynne, George Fenwick,³⁸³ 'customer,' in room of Mr. Mettam, and George Dawson, collector of customs. An application from Newcastle for the election of a new burgess in place of sir Henry Anderson was at the same time ordered to be taken into consideration 'on Monday next,'³⁸⁴ and the appointment of further aldermen was allowed to stand over. On December 9th,³⁸⁵ the controller and customers at Newcastle were empowered to make a new 'Seal for Cockets, and other things, belonging to the Custom-House of Newcastle,' and to make use of them as their predecessors had done or ought to have done. On December 11th, the Committee of Both Kingdoms³⁸⁶ made order that business relating to 'the government of Newcastle' should be taken on the following day, and as the result of apparently long deliberation, an ordinance³⁸⁷ for constituting the mayor, recorder, and other officers of the corporation was read a first and second time on March 22nd, 1645. The military command of the town was, however, left in the hands of the Scots.

On April 10th, 1645,³⁸⁸ the Committee of Both Kingdoms agreed to take 'the business of the Governor of Newcastle . . . tomorrow at 4 p.m.,' and on that day [April 11th], ordered³⁸⁹ 'That the commission to be granted to Sir James Lumsden be drawn up and presented to this Committee.' Lumsden, who acted as governor until the Scots left Newcastle in February, 1647, had his official residence at Anderson place.³⁹⁰ As the result of the triumph of the Puritan party in Newcastle, other changes were made among those who held public positions

³⁸³ 'Who hath suffered very much and been long lanished from his house in the towne of Newcastle.'—*Lords Journals*, vol. vii. p. 43.

³⁸⁴ This order does not appear to have been complied with. In *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1645-47, under date September 9th, 1645, it appears that the writs were shortly to be sent down by John Blakiston. On September 11th, 1647, a discussion was raised in the Commons on the failure of Newcastle to act on the writs.—*Perfect Occurrences*, under date. About October 24th, 1647, a deputation left Newcastle for London to indict Henry Dawson, the mayor, for his opposition to the election. See *ante*, p. 127.

³⁸⁵ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

³⁸⁶ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

³⁸⁷ *Commons Journals*, vol. iv.

³⁸⁸ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1645-47.

³⁸⁹ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1645-1647. Lumsden's appointment as governor of the 'Towne and garieson' was confirmed and ratified on March 5th and 16th, 1645.—*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i.

³⁹⁰ See p. 112 in this volume.

in the town. In May, 1645, Thomas Turner, curate of St. Nicholas's, and John Clark, curate and lecturer at St. Andrew's, were ejected,³⁹¹ and on the 30th of the same month Amor Oxley,³⁹² master of the grammar school, was displaced, together with, as appears probable, Edward Lumsden, his under-usher.³⁹³

In such manner the Puritan government of Newcastle was constituted. It signalised its accession to power by the following order, dated April 9th, 1645:—

Whereas att this p'sent tyme the p'mittinge of Papists and their Familyes to inhabite in a garrison Towne may pve of dangerous consequence, and ffor asmuch as in that regard the Papists gen'ally inhabitinge this Towne have been heretofore p'emptorily ordered to departe the said towne and Countie, and yet notwithstandinge the most of them have disobeyed the said Order, and doe still remaine amongst us. Itt is therefore ordered by us, the Maior, Aldermen and Sheriffe, and the rest of the Comon Counsell, That every of the Aldermen of this Corporation, their deputie or deputies doe therefore give it in charge to the Constable or Constables of their severall and respective Wards, that they give notice to all and every papist inhabitinge in their severall wards that he or she, them and every of them being papists, doe att or before Monday next, being the fourteenth day of this present month of Aprill, depte out of the Town and Countie. And if any papist whatsoever shall after this summons and the tyme limited for their departure bee found to stay and abide within the said libertie, he or she whosoever stayinge and abidinge is to be proceeded against accordinge to the Laws of the Land. Henry Warmouth, Maior.

On April 15th, 1645, the Puritan corporation conferred its freedom upon sir William Armyne, Richard Barwics [or Barwis], and Robert Fenwick, the English commissioners.³⁹⁴

There remain for consideration the measures that were taken for the appropriation and regulation of the coal trade, Newcastle's chief industry. If England welcomed the fall of Newcastle as the first step towards a plentiful and cheaper supply of coals, the Scots, on their part, were thoroughly aware of both the political and material advantage which the control of the collieries would place in their hands in the event of difficulties with their English allies.

On October 26th,³⁹⁵ Sinclair wrote to the Scottish Estates, 'As for the ordering of the coalls, customs, exise, sequestrations, and moneyes thereupon arising, wee intend, that it shall be done by a joynt com-

³⁹¹ *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*, p. 342.

³⁹² He was restored, April 27th, 1662, and was then paid £40 arrears due to him at the time of his ejection.—Brand, vol. i. p. 92.

³⁹³ *Memoirs of Barnes*, p. 342.

³⁹⁴ Brand, vol. ii. p. 469.

³⁹⁵ Thurloe, vol. i.

mittee, and no otherways; for the parliaments instructions to their commissioners of the 9th of March doeth expressly beare the same, howbeit they labour to putt another glosse upon them. For this purpose James Swords³⁹⁶ presence here will be very necessary, and therefor desire wee your lordships to cause hasten him hither.' On November 6th, sir Lionel Maddison, who had returned to Newcastle with the Scots, wrote to Vane³⁹⁷ the first of a series of interesting letters which throw considerable light on the critical position of the collieries and coal-owners. Regarding the intention of the Scots to lay a tax upon coals for the payment of the army, he gives interesting statistics of the coal trade.

The annual sale of coals at Newcastle, he states, was 180,000 chaldrons, or 18,000 'tens,' and at Sunderland 40,000 chaldrons, or 4,000 'tens.' The foreign trade amounted to 30,000 chaldrons, or 3,000 'tens' annually. The duties upon each chaldron of coals amounted to seven shillings and sixpence if sold to English merchants for carriage in English bottoms, including tenpence for the old custom, five shillings imposition, and one shilling and eightpence further imposition. The duty on the chaldron, if sold to or carried by foreigners, amounted to nine shillings and twopence, which included the old custom and imposition, but with an increased further imposition of three shillings and fourpence. There were, he adds, two hundred and twenty-two salt pans on the river, and in good times about one hundred and eighty or ninety of them would be working, consuming about 36,000 chaldrons of coal annually. At Sunderland also there were salt pans, consuming 3,000 chaldrons a year, which lately belonged to sir William Lambton, but were now out of repair. On the following day [November 7th], Maddison writes again to Vane:—³⁹⁸

The English Commissioners, and especially the Scotch, expect much out of the coals wrought and to be wrought, so that friends, except course be taken above, are like to suffer as well as others. I and others who conceive ourselves friends have petitioned for possession and enjoyment of our coals and collieries, submitting to all ordinances of Parliament, but can have no answer yet, but are treated withal upon some proposition put in, I know not for what good purpose, by Sir Nicholas Cole, who hath no continuing colliery, but a great stock upon

³⁹⁶ He was a burgess of St. Andrews and appears to have acted as collector of customs for the Scots after the fall of Newcastle.—Guthry, *Memoirs*, p. 133.

³⁹⁷ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

his staith, which he got cheap when others had no means to do the like. His proposition is that if he may have 10s. a chaldron for the present he will let all the rest, that can be made upon them, go to the service,³⁹⁹ knowing that these being sold he needs not care much for afterwards, thinking thereby to please the Scots and clear himself for his delinquencies, but you will shortly hear no small matters objected against him. Let him ingratiate himself now, and come off afterwards as well as he can. For the imposition on coal used for salt it will be too much to lay both upon them and the salt too, and if there be a necessity of imposition, the half methinks of what is aimed at were much, considering the value and necessary use of the commodities; and if the trade elsewhere be not well balanced, both for coals and salt that shall be sold in England, we shall be draining soon of the trade, and those that have of late felt the sweat thereof, and are still desirous of the same, would lick their lips thereat. I should think an equal imposition on all commodities, by a consideration of the values proportionally, were most equal, and that those commodities most used by the poor should be most and soonest eased. Whatsoever is thought fit for home vent will, I think, be sufficient if added to the foreign vent, for if that be overburdened fewer will be transported from hence; but elsewhere the more were vented at present, double and treble benefit would accrue for the present estate, for which I speak it, in that it matters not for us to whom we sell or where they be vented. The sale for many years cannot be like former years, because so many will hardly be wrought, and in that they cannot be afforded at so low rates as formerly, men will spend fewer as they find them dearer. Again, the troubles I doubt have made fewer householders and less housekeeping; but especially whilst the troubles last they cannot be dispersed nor carried to be sold in the country so far or so freely as they have been. Coals cannot now be afforded under 14s. or 15s., paying the old 12^d, and then consider what more shall be necessary to be added, which, whatever it will be, will be so much to be paid by the buyer and poor spender of the coal in England.

P.S.—I pray God keep us from the sickness which is in divers houses in Sandgate and some few in this town, and many places in the country. Since Sir Nicholas Cole's propositions for bettering, nothing but selling by the chaldron will be hearkened unto. The speech is, and the Scots seem to make a question for all our ships in the river and for the keels as prizes or due to them without composition, the town being taken by surprise. Their wages being taken care for and the payment thereof, I hope care will be [taken] that no such claim be made, but order to the contrary.

The difficulties of the position were felt by the Scots equally. On November 8th Sinclair writes to the Committee of Estates:—⁴⁰⁰

And because wee find daylie so many difficulties occurring concerning the managing and ordering of this busines of the coale, which can nather be so well knowne nor determined, as by those who are upon the place; we conceive it very necessar, that your lordships would desire the earle of Crawford, and such others of your number as yow shall think fitting, to repaire hither for assisting of us here, our burden being very great, and our number few.

³⁹⁹ *i.e.*, be appropriated by Parliament for its own purposes. Sir Nicholas's proposal was ultimately adopted. ⁴⁰⁰ Thurloe, vol. i.

While matters were in this unsettled condition at Newcastle, the English Parliament, on November 13th,⁴⁰¹ withdrew the prohibition of trade with the Tyne ports which had been imposed on January 14th, 1643,⁴⁰² and immediately great activity was displayed in the coal industry.⁴⁰³ At Newcastle, however, the position of the colliery owners was still under discussion.

On November 14th, sir Lionel Maddison, in a further letter to Vane,⁴⁰⁴ informed him that sir Nicholas Cole's proposal, 'that friends should lend what they would give,' found most acceptance in the town. As to the disposal of collieries belonging to delinquents, he and his partners had offered in regard to the collieries in which they were interested to 'undertake for such shares as belonged to any delinquents in partnership with us.' He corrects the statement in his former letter [November 6th] regarding the custom on each chaldron. On coals for foreign export, tenpence, to English buyers, eightpence, was the custom. He thinks that the many impositions on coals will decrease the sale by many thousand chaldrons this year, and strongly urges an excise, or some other method whereby to raise a revenue and at the same time diminish the burden on coals. He again refers to the Scots having seized the ships in the river, of one of which, the 'Sarah,' he was part owner. He wishes to know if, when Bristol was taken, prince Rupert acted as the Scots had done at Newcastle?

In spite of Maddison's objections, sir Nicholas Cole's proposal was virtually adopted. On November 17th, an agreement was signed at Newcastle on behalf of both kingdoms by William Rowe, to the following effect :—⁴⁰⁵

- 1.—Sir John Marley, sir Thomas Riddell, sir Thomas Liddell, sir Alexander Davison, sir John Minns, and sir Francis Anderson were declared to have forfeited their collieries and coals to the Parliament.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰¹ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

⁴⁰² See p. 146 in this volume.

⁴⁰³ See p. 242 in this volume.

⁴⁰⁴ *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1644.

⁴⁰⁵ Bourne, p. 234.

⁴⁰⁶ On November 26th, the earl of Northumberland, Ralph Maddison, Robert Bewicke, Thomas Lawrance, Eliz. Grey, Ralph Fowler, and Robert Young were by resolution of the House of Commons restored to the possession of their collieries and of the coal on their staithes and stands.—*Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

2.—Other colliery and coal owners than the above were to continue in possession as ‘tenants and servants to the Parliament,’ and were to be allowed to work their collieries on two conditions:—

(a) They were to receive 10s. per chaldron of coals sold; and the amount paid per chaldron in excess of that price was to be applied to the service of Parliament and the maintenance of the army. To the same object was to be applied any impost which might be put on each chaldron, as well as ‘the old Custom of 1s. upon the Chalder, formerly paid by the Owners to his Majesty.’ the 3d. per chaldron for the town dues, and 3d. per chaldron for the garrison.⁴⁰⁷ These arrangements were to hold good also for coals already wrought and lying at the staithes or at the pit head.

(b) The price of coal per chaldron was fixed at 15s., to which ‘the Asses of 4s’, and ‘the ancient 12d. to the king’ were to be added. Coals for export were to be sold at the same rate, with the custom duties added.⁴⁰⁸

On November 19th, the House of Commons resolved⁴⁰⁹ that the commissioners of customs at Newcastle should settle the collection of customs there ‘for the use of the Navy.’ But save to the Parliament, to whose necessities not only the customs and taxes but also a large portion of the colliery owners’ profits were to be diverted, these measures gave little satisfaction. On November 21st, sir Lionel Maddison writes to Vane:—⁴¹⁰

For the country to subsist and maintain the army, except some speedy relief be, for any time, is impossible; that they have done so much is hardly credible. Though the farmer discounts with the landlord for most of his rent by reason of

⁴⁰⁷ Sir Nicholas Cole’s payment to Baillie (see above, p. 238) was probably on account of the garrison dues.

⁴⁰⁸ On December 23rd, 1644, the committee at Goldsmith’s hall recommended that the regulation of the coal trade at Newcastle should be in their hands, and that for the next four months they should pay the Scottish army in and round Newcastle £700 a month out of the coal, collieries, and duties on coal.—*Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 198.

⁴⁰⁹ *Commons Journals*, vol. iii.

⁴¹⁰ *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1644.

charges lying upon the country, and some far surmounting their rents, [so] that the landlord hath little or nothing or less than nothing; yet is the tenant like to run away too from the same, though some have been desired only to stay upon the ground and but keep fire in the houses that they fall not to ruin. The Houses, I perceive, have the business now in consideration. I pray God timely remedy may be had, else both country and army will shortly be in a miserable case, for the country have advanced what they are able, and more than the country hath cannot be had.

Again, on November 27th, he writes to the same :—⁴¹¹

No money is to be had, little provision left, nothing but money will give content; driving off what is remaining where money cannot be had is not only in part executed by the officers and soldiers, but generally threatened, and what the consequences thereof will be any man may judge . . . many are ready to run away and leave all. . . . Either in time consider us, or the Lord in mercy look upon us.

Sir Lionel, however, as appears from a letter, apparently in February, 1645,⁴¹² had a careful eye upon his own interests :—

If this treaty [Uxbridge] shall procure a happy and well grounded peace, the business I would call your attention to may pass in an act of oblivion, but if otherwise, I would not for any private benefit let it pass. It may haply prove a very considerable thing. It is a colliery near Sunderland-water, just over against Lambton, called Harraden, belonging in part to Thos. Wray, of Beamish, a grand Papist and delinquent, whom I hear has gone away. . . . I would not seem to look much after it, neither yet would I now, but that I perceive either Sir Wm. Langley, Mr. Lilburne, or Mr. Gray, or all have an aim at it.

Nor in London does the fall of Newcastle appear to have produced those results which had been looked for. In November, 1644, Whitelock writes :—⁴¹³

The city by a petition remember their forwardness in their persons and purses to serve the parliament, and desire a reimbursement of their moneys lent towards reducing of Newcastle, and that they might have coals at a reasonable price; which was held fit by the commons, and put in a way to be done.

In December, ninety chaldron of Newcastle coals were shipped for distribution among the London poor.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹¹ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644.

⁴¹² *Ibid.* The letter is among the documents of doubtful date at the end of the volume. ⁴¹³ Vol. i. p. 339.

⁴¹⁴ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1644, under date December 4th. At Newcastle, in April, 1645, Whitelock says (vol. i. p. 422) 'the inhabitants were discontented at the imposition on coals.'

By the spring of 1645, therefore, the problems which arose out of the siege and capture of Newcastle may be said to have been solved. The royalist party in the town had been completely crushed; its Puritan rivals were installed in office; a Scottish governor and a Scottish garrison guarded the town, and the extensive revenue derived from its chief industry was being applied to the needs of the Parliament and its Scottish ally. Soon after the assault on October 19th, the Scottish army withdrew from Newcastle into winter quarters at Darlington, Bishop Auckland, Durham, Chester-le-Street, Morpeth, and Hexham.⁴¹⁵ Leven returned to Scotland in the course of November,⁴¹⁶ leaving behind him a town partly in ruins, evidences of heroism, which later times have known better how to appreciate than those to whom, for the moment, his victory gave the control of the town and its fortunes.

⁴¹⁵ Lithgow.

⁴¹⁶ Douglas's *Diary*, '1st of November, I came towards Scotland, the 1st day to Morpet with the General, and dined, and from that to Anick. Upon the 2d day I came to Berwick; and upon the 3d day (being the Sabbath) I taught there to the garrison upon Psalm 56, at the beginning. Upon the 4th I came to Haddington.' Sir Lionel Maddison's letter of November 27th says that Leven was returning to Scotland on November 28th, and that sir Adam Hepburn had already returned there.

ERRATA.

- On page 93 line 9, delete 'the.'
 „ 95 „ 32, page 102 line 7, and page 104 lines 4, 26, and 37, for
 'Lesley' read 'Leslie.'
 „ 105, heading, for 'Lesley' read 'Leslie.'
 „ 109 line 27, and page 112 line 9, for 'sir John Lumsden' read 'sir
 James Lumsden.'
 „ 114 note 127, for '1639' read '1640.'
 „ 125 „ 216, for 'p. 45' read 'p. 127.'
 „ 138 „ 302, for 'Calendar' read 'Callendar.'