Relation Concerning the Passages in the Late Northern Expedition (1640)

Edward Conway, 2nd Viscount Conway

Transcript

British Library, Lansdowne MS 493, ff. 223r–248r

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The Lord Conwayes Relac[i]on Concerning The passages in the late Northerne Expedic[i]on

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That the Causes of the losses susteyned in the North may bee the better knowne, the lord Conoway thinkes it fitt to relate what the Designes were in the first Enterprizes as farr as did fall w[i]th:in his Cognizance

An Army of twenty thousand Foote and two thousand Horse was designed for the Borders of Scottland neere Barrwick, and another of ten thousand Foote Fifteene hundred Horse was to bee transported out of Ireland into the Towne of Aire in Scottland, also ten thousand Foote and five hundred Horse were to bee sent into the North of Scottland, and a Fleete of Shipps w[i]th some Souldiers in them were to goe into the Firth.

These

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These Forces were to bee readie at a certaine day by the Act[es] of Councell of warr, for which purpose there were div[er]s Sum[m]es of money levyed, and the monies incertaine were counted what they would doe, and a state accordingly made.

Why all this was done (but that some Troopes of Horse, and div[er]s Regiment[es] of Foote were not raised at all, and the rest of the Foote soe late, that there was noe tyme to exercise them) hee knowes not. Before the two thousand Horse were entirely levyed, the lord Conoway was sent to Newcastle, because it was doubted that the Scotts had a designe upon the Towne. For the defence of it six thousand of the trayne Bands of Yorkshire were appointed to march thither, and to that end monied were advanced to ev[er]y Regiment, and one of the Regiment[es] did march as farr

as

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as Durham, then Order came to send them back againe, and that the lord Conoway was ~~sent to~~ left at Newcastle onely w[i]th five hundred Horse.

Upon view of the walls, Gates, and scituac[i]on of the place, hee found the Towne to bee very weake, which im[m]ediatly after his comeing thither hee rep[re]sented to the Court, and w[i]thin two or three dayes after hee sent to the deputie lieuten[a]nt[es] of Northumb[er]land and B[isho]pprick of Durham.

Those of Northumb[er]land gave him a meeting at Morpitt where he advised w[i]th them of the Condic[i]on and strength of the Countrie, and of the best meanes to gett Intelligence of the Scott[es] p[re]parac[i]ons, and to putt the Countrie upon the Borders in the best posture of defence, which they undertooke to doe, according to the direcc[i]on then give[n], and to send

men

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men into Scottland to espie and keepe strict watch on the Borders, and to give Adu[er]tisement from tyme to tyme what should happen. Also upon some discourse w[i]th the gent{ [lemen/ry] } of the Countrie, the lord Conoway propounded to the lord Generall the fittnes of fortifieing Morpett, and two other places whither the Souldiers might retyre if they should happen to bee broken: And by some one of which any Army that comes out of Scottland must passe, they having beene heretofore fortified.

His lo[rdshi]pp also writt to the Lieuten[a]nt Gou[er]nor. of Barrwick to bee carefull in using all meanes of Enquirie how the Scotts should advance in their p[re]parac[i]ons, and to give tymely adu[er]tisement thereof, who returned assurance of little appearance yet, of any Considerable Forces they had, and

that all

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that all Care should bee taken to observe them.

His lo[rdshi]pp also by his letters to the lord Generall advised, that Armes should be gotten, especially Musketts and sent downe to those of Northumberland who were willing to pay for them if they might bee furnisht for their monies, also advising they might bee sould to them w[i]thout gaines at easie rates, for that the getting from the Countrie in that kind will much discontent them, and discourage them in his Ma[jes]t[ies] service.

Hee also propounded to the Towne of Newcastle to furnish men for their owne defence, and that the King would arme them, which they at first denyed to hearken to, fearing they should bee forced to Contynue them as trayned Bands, But upon further Considerac[i]on & apprhenc[i]on of their own danger

promised

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promised to furnish men onely to use Musketts and Pikes, and the lord Comoway by sev[er]all letters to the Lord Generall and other great Ministers, did rep[re]sent the fittnesse to haue Newcastle fortified, which w[i]th a moderate Charge hee thought might bee made of sufficient strength, at least to keepe out an Enemy, untill his Ma[jes]t[ies] Army might come to releeve it. And there was one Hill whereon a Fort might be made aswell to keepe out an Enemie, as to bridle the Towne if there should bee cause. And because hee found money was wanting, hee propounded a way to raise the Charge of it out of the businesse of the Coales, which notw[i]thstanding was not thought fitt to be done. Soe that there being noe more Forces at Newcastle but five hundred Horse, and it not being thought fitt for ^{yt} his Ma[jes]tie

should

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should bee at any Charge for fortifieing the place in due tyme, the Townesmen being unwilling to doe any thing for their owne safety, that the Towne contynued in that weake estate wherein the lord Conoway found it.

Such Intelligences as could bee gotten to Newcastle by Messengers sent into Scottland, or from the Garrisons of Barrwick and Carlile, and from the deputie lieuten[a]nt[es] and gentlemen upon the Borders, was reprsented to the Court from tyme to tyme, and when the Scotts Forces began to bee assembled and mustred in the neerer part[es] of Scottland, though their numbers were very small in those places at that tyme, which was about the latter end of June, The rest of their Horse ^{were}{ was } drawne from their Quarters about Bev[er]ley into Cleeveland, and the lord Conoway wrote for some Considerable number of Foote to bee sent to Newcastle, and also to hasten downe Armes for those of the Countrie that were willing to buy them for their owne defence and safety, And upon his

Adu[er]tisement

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Adu[er]tisement and Intelligence that came to the Court, direcc[i]on was giue[n] to the Lord Conoway, that if the Scotts should come in (as was beleeved they would before his Ma[jes]t[ies] Forces were drawne together hee should com[m]and the Shipps out of the River of Tyne, least they should bee surprized, And Sir Jacob Ashley Serjeant Major Generall of the Foote, That hee should send upp four or five thousand men from Selby, But Sir Jacob Ashley did not thinke fitt to send them for the reasons exprest in a letter dated the 10th of July 1640: from him to the lord Conoway amongst other things in these words.

My Lord, I have Order from my lord Generall to send four or five thousand men to your lo[rdshi]pp to Newcastle, but Considering there is not such a number yet come, and those that are come have neither Colours nor Halbert[es], and want drum[m]s, I forbeare {&c[es] }

Now my lord, I am to receive all ye Arch-knaves in this Kingdome, and to

Arme

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Arme them at Selby, some five hundred of them were brought by lieuten[a]nt Colonell Ballard. They beat the Officers and Boors, and breake upp the Prisons {&c[es] }.

Twoo dayes since Colonell Lunsfords Regiment came hither, who had by the way fought w[i]th all their Officers, and as they passed abused all the Countrie, and by other letters of the 13th: and 18th: of July hee intymated how impossible it would bee to keepe those men from Muteny if they should misse their seven dayes pay, that they would disband and rise against their Officers, and spoile the Countrie, and that part of his Regim[en]t raised in Daintrie was there totally disbanded, and that the lieuten[a]nt Colonell Culpepper was beastly slayne by the Devonshire men. That three hundred of the lord Marquesses Regiment refused absolutely to goe to Hull for feare of being shipt, and that hee

went

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went w[i]th an hundred Armed men, and tooke w[i]th him the Marshall Generall and twenty men to force their way.

Which gen[er]all disorder, backwardnesse, and disaffectionatenes to the service, gave the lord Conoway apprhenc[i]on that the Scotts would bee incourageed thereby to make an attempt upon us, although it was against his Judgment that they should doe soe.

Upon these Collections hee could make (of what hee heard out of Scottland) which was onely of small numbers of men that they had mustred and drawne together at Leeth, Dunce, and other places neere the Borders: But when his lo[rdshi]pp was adu[er]tised from Court where there was constant Intelligence from eu[er]y part of Scottland of their p[re]parations and intentions, to come w[i]th a powerfull Army, being assured of it by a letter from mr. Secretary Vaine dated the 13th: of August,

wherein

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wherein is exprest as followeth.

My lord, I have onely to tell you in Anser to the last, and your newes there inclosed, that I gave his Ma[jes]tie Com[m]unicac[i]on thereof, who compared it w[i]th others, and that it is my opinion, that you will shortly (if not before this come to your hands) heare, that the Scotts will march into England, I wish I may bee deceived, for as his Mat[es]: affaires are Condic[i]oned, I am one of those that desire not to heare that they should come on this side Tweed. I heard not of the Order of bringing ye Army seven dayes behind in pay, and after that 14. dayes, untill I was adu[er]tised of it out of the North, But as your lo[rdshi]pp saith in case of unavoydable necessitie it must bee borne w[i]thall, And you (I doubt not) but laying it for a ground, will p[er]swade the Officers thereunto, though I Confesse it durus sermo, and therefore I doe not wonder at all if they were sadd and melanchollie when you declared the same unto them. It will be a great service to ye

King

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King and state (if your lo[rdshi]pp by your Conduct and wisdome can soe farr p[re]vaile wth them, as to keepe them from Muteny untill monies come downe) which his Ma[jes]tie and my lords are hastening unto you w[i]th all possible diligence, for it will bee worse then eu[er] to have disorders either of Horse or Foote fall out. Now it cannot bee long expected (if at all) but that the Scotts will bee w[i]th you, and I heartily pray to God, that (they knowing soe much of o[u]r affaires) our disagreement[es] and disorders bring them not in amongst us. The same God direct you and give you successe to Act all for the best these difficult tymes, which adu[er]tisement agreeing w[i]th that the lord Conoway had heard by one whom hee had sent into Scottland who was newly returned. Also by the relac[i]on of Sir Henry Gibb who came from thence, his lo[rdshi]pp wrote to the Generall the 10th: of August as followeth.

My lord

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My lord, I am now informed by Sir Henry Gibb who having businesse w[i]th my lord Haddington, went to the Border and sent for him. Hee came and told Sir Henry, that w[i]thout all doubt the Scotts Army would come into England w[i]thin three dayes, hee is most Confident of it, and saith, that there will bee thirtie thousand; I see noe helpe for this Towne but that it will bee lost. I have written diu[er]s tymes that it might bee made defencible, but it

was not thought fitt. Now it is not possible to resist if Canon bee brought before it, Howeu[er] I will see if I can p[er]swade the Towne to make some defence if it bee possible to keepe it a day or two.

The King Com[m]ands mee to burne the suburbs, Burning of them will bee of noe use, the howses being all of stone: soe that the walls will bee of asmuch annoyance to the Towne, as if the Howses were untouched.

If I

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If I leave any number of men in the Towne, their Armes will helpe to arme ye Scotts, and they are in great danger to fall into their power. If I quitt the Towne and leave noe Souldiers, I am sure it will bee imputed to mee as a most dishonorable thing, when an Enemy is Master of the Feild that ought to bee quitt to him which cannot bee kept or in such manner as hee shall receive least benefitt by it. I have writt to Sir Jacob Ashley to send hither the Foote (if hee thinke it considerable to send them w[i]thout money) if they come, it is to bee feared they will ruine the Countrie more then the Scotts, who I verily beleeve will doe noe harme, but will pay for what they have, if I bee not misinformed. I have writt to the Vice-President to putt the trayne Bands in readines, and to know of him how the Countrie will stand affected from mr Wilmott.

I heard

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I heard yesterday that Sir Jacob Ashley had writte[n] for, and hee had sent him two Troopes of Horse, and Captaine Herbert, because hee feared a Muteny, which will undoe all if it happ.

I purpose to send for the three Troopes out of Westm[or]land, if Innovac[i]on bee not like to bee there. I will im[m]ediatly give Order that all the Shipps goe out of the River, those that cannot to bee burnt or sunck. They say there is a way to sinck them, that they may againe bee recou[er]ed. I doe hold my purpose of goeing w[i]th the Horse (and what Musketiers on Horsback I can gett) towards them, although there will bee little to bee done against soe many wth so few {&c[es] }.

And also at the same tyme the lord Conoway writt to the Earle of Strafford, and inclosed a Copie of the aforemenc[i]oned letter unto the Lord Generall, unto which the Earle

of Strafford

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of Strafford was pleased to returne an Answer to the lord Conoway the 15th: of August in these words following:

My lord, yours of the 10th: p[re]sently were deliu[er]ed unto mee as I sate at Board, and I understood that the other to my lord Gen[er]all (whereof you favored mee w[i]th a Copie) gave much discourse at Court w[i]thout advantage to yo[u]r lo[rdshi]pp It is true, it is observed to bee contrary to all that your lo[rdshi]pp hath form[er]ly writt, wherein you iudge England to bee secure of the Scotts this yeare, and to beleeve soe mightily an increase of number of what you form[er]ly menc[i]oned, in tructh cannot probably bee really soe, upon noe more ground then the bare relac[i]on of Gibbs a knowne Covenanter in heart, & that too,

not in his owne view; but onely in the Creditt & report of the Lord Haddington, is not a little wondred at. But above all, those

that

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that wish you not well seu[er]ely interprett to your priudice, that upon soe sleight an adu[er]tisement, and from a p[er]son you had soe little Cause absolutely to trust in that businesse, you should soe suddenly pronounce the Towne of Newcastle lost, and that soe early take into your thought[es] the quitting of that place. Besides wee all here beleeve it to bee a meere Northerne Crock, in regard wee doe not yet heare any thing from the Gov[er]nor of Barrwick contrary to that hee had form[er]ly written in that behalfe, which wee Conceive wee should certainly have done before this tyme, if the Scotts had beene suddainly increased twelue thousand men as Gibb report[es], as it seemes to you. Neu[er]thelesse I haave written to the Vice-President to have all the trayne Bands of Yorkshire in readines, and will to morrow move, that Colonell Goring and another

Regiment

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Regiment of Foote w[i]th all the Horse, may instantly bee directed to march upp unto you, which altogether w[i]th the trayne Bands of Durham, Northumb[er]land, and the Towne of Newcastle it selfe, I should thinke would bee sufficient to make good the place till the rest of the Army march upp to their releife. But for the love of Christ thinke not soe early of quitting the Towne, burning of suburbs, or sincking of Shipps, for beleeve mee if any such thing escape you, there are those will quickly misconster you therein to the King. And w[i]th all my heart I wish you had not writt that letter, it being most true, that Sir John Conyers makes noe menc[i]on of it which makes mee absolutely beleeve Gibbs newes either to bee out of folly or malice mistaken or misreprsented unto yor. lo[rdshi]pp By which letter it appeares, that the Earl of Strafford doth lay blame

upon the

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upon the lord Conoway, and imputes it as a Cryme to beleeve the comeing of the Scotts w[i]th soe great an Army, because hee was form[er]ly of opinion, that they could not bee ready for an Invasion this yeare.

The Cause of that opinion was that hee from tyme to tyme was assured from Court, that there would bee monies to supplie the Kings first designes, and then hee had reason to judge, that they would bee soe farr from attempting us, that they would bee hard putt to it to defend themselues. Besides the lord Conoway had noe notice giue[n] him from the Court till a few dayes before, what the Scotch Nobleme[n] and gent{ [ry/lemen] } about the King had informed, who must of necessitie have reteyned knowledge of eu[er]y thing that was done in eu[er]y part of that Kingdome, there being many of the best quallitie attending

his Ma[jes]tie

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his Ma[jes]tie who had in Scottland Fathers and Mothers, Wiues, Childre[n], Brothers, Sisters, Allyes, and Friends, who (as the lord Conoway hath heard since) give certaine notice of all the p[re]parac[i]ons, and if the said Earle would not beleeve them, yet could it bee noe better in him but a wilfull unbeleife, and it could not bee expected that the lord Conoway could have soe good Intelligence of their prparac[i]ons which were made in small seu[er]all numbers, and in seu[er]all and remote places till they were drawne upp together, for that hee was a stranger there and had noe Allowances for Intelligences, which should have required great sum[m]es to bee well done, and it was not to bee done but by imploying Scotchmen wherein they had a great advantage of us in suffering any of o[u]r Nac[i]on to goe to them, and theirs having

free

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free passage w[i]th us. And for Sir Henry Gibb hee was a man eu[er] beleeved to bee an honest man and faithfull servant to the King, neither had the lord Conoway heard any other of him at Court, or there in the Countrie where hee was well knowne to diu[er]s gent' his Neighbors. and hee had beene informed of the Lord Haddington that hee was much of the Kings part as farr as hee durst appeare, and for the second part to thinke that Newcastle would bee lost, the lord Conoway conceiveth to bee noe suddaine or rash opin[n]ion, for hee had diu[er]s tymes before propounded, that the Towne should bee forfeited, and declared that wthout fortificac[i]on it was not tenable, as by seu[er]all letters writte to him after the same was lost may wittnesse, in one of w[hi]ch from the lord Archb[isho]pp of Canterbury

bearing

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bearing date the 16th: of September amongst other things these words were Conteyned.

It is true that { ~~H~~ } yo[u]r letter that you sent and the opinion you expresse what would become of Newcastle in case the Scotts came in, was Censured and not to yo[u]r advantage, and soe much I wrote to my lord lieuten[a]nt since his goeing Northward, and all that you wrote is found too true, but that which is thought might have beene more done, is, that the Hill on this side might have had some defence putt upon it, and that as your selfe writes more might have been done then there was to hinder the passage of Newburne Foard: But if the Souldiers there and men of experience bee of opinion, that as things were then [i]oned, you could not hinder them, And that the things you did at the first advice are

now

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now doeing by the Scotts, I thinke you meane surely that you cannot bee blamed for the one, but some body else may for the other {&c[es] }. And also in another letter from mr. Secretary Windebanck dated the 23th: of September, these words amongst other things are conteyned.

My lord of Canterbury hath abundantly cleared any thing that can bee obiected against you conc[er]ning the neglecting or fortifieing of Newcastle, which is evident you did propound tymely enough to have prserved it from surprizall, neither could the lord Conoway have had much hope in Forces at Selby, because Sir Jacob Ashley had div[er]s tymes adu[er]tised

him of the want of money, the unrulinesse of the Souldiers, their want of Armes, and totall ignorance to use them, which was such that the Earle of Strafford

in the

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in the great Councell did openly declare, that hee told his Ma[jes]tie that upon the first sight of the Souldiers that it was not safe for his Ma[hes]tie to hazard any thing w[i]th that Army, by reason of their unskilfullnes of their Armes, and therefore the Lord Conoway doth thinke it Iniustice to require another to doe that, which hee that required it doth not thinke fitt to bee done. And it was imposssible it should bee otherwayes being levyed & brought together soe late in July & August when the service was to bee done, And the Scotts were exercising two yeares together, and many of them had beene in the Feild before the yeare before.

Also from the trayne Bands of Yorkshire lesse good was to bee expected, as appeares by a letter the lord Conoway received from the Vice-President of Yorke

about the

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about the 14th: of August wherein is expressed as followeth.

Yesterday im[m]ediatly after my returne to Yorke, I received not your letter till Wednesday morning. I sent forth directions to the Colonells of the Countie, or to the lieuten[a]nt Colonells whereof wee want at this p[re]sent tyme, and my lord Lieuten[a]nt having beene soe full of other businesse of great importance, hath not as yet supplyed their places w[i]th others, nor indeed can wee fynd out fitt p[er]sons for that imployment who stand rightly affected to his Ma[jes]t[ies] service, in which respect two of the four were lately discharged from their Com[m]mands. I doubt extreamly they are not now in soe suddaine a Condic[i]on as they were the last yeare many Armes being lost in that expedition, and none to bee bought eu[er] since for supplie of defence. A greaat number likewise of exercised men both for Horse and Foote are

gone

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gone from their Musters service into other Countries, or seu[er]all part[es] of this Countie, soe as wee cannot meet w[i]th them againe, but are forced to take upp new men. And although wee have from tyme to tyme called upon the Com[m]anders to exercise often, yet I fynd, that by reason of the Countries great expence both this yeare and the last, and the damage it hath susteyned by the p[re]sent Army, they have soe much forborne their dutie, But which is worst of all, it is much to bee feared by those murmurs and repynings that fall from all our Gentries mouthes in eu[er]y place & upon all occasions, that they will not stirr w[i]th their men farther then the necessitie of their owne safety will enforce them, which they thinke will sufficiently bee prserved if they march into the Confynes of their Countrie.

I p[er]ceive likewise by some of them which I doubt will prove gent{ [ry/lemen] } that

they

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they will expect advance money if they stirr, as was lately allowed, when six of our Regiment[es] should have marched to Newcastle. I beseech God worke better affecc[i]ons in us then that I fynd, for I am p[er]swaded that if Hanniball were at our Gates, some had rather opeen to them then keepe them out. It greives mee tto give yo[u]r lo[rdshi]pp this Accompt, I pray God I may bee mistaken therein. But in obedience to your Com[m]and in this p[ar]ticular, and what hope may bee expected from our Forces and the Gentrie of our Countrie, I have truly reprsented to your lo[rdshi]pp my opinion, w[i]th my app[re]henc[i]ons, and the reasons of them. The Countrie is very willing upon my lord Lieuten[a]nt[es] last letter to trust the Souldiers for 14. dayes, But I p[er]ceive his lo[rdshi]pp will have many Bills of Faire prsented to him when the Army is gone from us.

Monies

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Monies wee yet heare of none more then 8000li.: which our High Sheriff lately paid in, some of which is already issued, And I thinke the Scotts had better advance a good way into Northumb[er]land w[i]thout resistance, then to send the Army to encounter them wthout pay, for then w[i]thout question they will prove more ravenous upon the Countrie then the Scotts, who for their owne ends and to gaine a partie, will give the Countrie all ye faire Quarter that may bee, which our men neither can nor will doe, ti's tyme to forbeare {&c[es] }.

Besides all these at this tyme, the lord Conoway had adu[er]tisement from Court that the first Councells for soe many Armyes was soe farr from being pursued, as now the lord Marquesse Hamiltons expedic[i]on was wholy to bee layd aside. That the lord Strafford[es] Regiment{ [es] } was not to bee raysed, and some of the

Regiment[es]

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Regiment[es] of the North were to bee reduced, and that instead of 20000. men appointed for the Borders, there should bee onely fourteene or fifteene thousand, for the paying of which there was soe little money that it was not to bee hoped, that they should bee held together w[i]thout Muteny, soe that things standing in this State, they gave such evident proofe either of the weaknes of yt. first Councell which designed soe powerfull an Invasion, and was then forced a defensive warr, and upon all possible disadvantage, that the lord Conoway had iust reason to beleeve, that not onely Newcastle would bee lost, but God knowes how much of England more, if that an Invader would attempt and those of the Countrie would not defend, And therefore did foresee the Towne must bee

abandoned

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abandoned, quitting that which could not bee kept, and leaving it in such mann[er] as it should give the least helpe that might bee to the Invader that should take it, that w[i]th unfoyled force and good advice resistance might bee give[n] in a Convenient place, or Attempt[es] might bee made to cause them to retyre into Scottland, or whether that were best, or goe on headlong till wee fall into the ditch, hee leaves to the world to iudge. The burning of the suburbs in case of danger was an expresse Com[m]and from the King, and therefore it were the lord Conowayes duty to give a reason why hee did not thinke it necessarie to bee

done. And the proposic[i]on of sincking of Shipps did proceed from Com[m]and hee received in these words amongst others in a letter of the 23th: of June 1640:

When you

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When you heare that the Scotts are approaching, your lo[rdshi]pp must Com[m]and all the Shipping out of the Tyne, least the Scotts surprize them. And because it was not Considered in this Com[m]and, whether the wyndes and the Tydes would serve, the lord Conoway did propound the sincking of them to helpe the defect of the Com[m]and, and to shew himselfe obedient in it, in case they could not bee sent out of the River, which was a thing very reasonable and fitt to bee done, therefore much mistaken of them that thought otherwise of it.

This letter and the Order sent for keeping of the Towne of Newcastle, by fortifieing of it when it was too late, made the Lord Conoway lay aside all other thought[es] but onely to endeavor. to doe that which was Com[m]anded. Therefore hee sent for the deputie lieuten[a]nt[es] of Northumb[er]land

and

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and the B[isho]pprick, who promised to doe all that was possible for his Ma[jes]t[ies] service, and accordingly employed their best endeavors, but the Countrie would not lend any monie to pay the trayne Bands or the Kings Army, nor furnish any Horses to mount Musketiers, nor would the trayne Band move w[i]thout pay, being rather desirous to stay at their howses to looke to the safety of their owne goods and Friends, soe that the lord Conoway having noe Forces but the Horse to goe out with into Northumb[er]land, and having sent men of experience to view the Countrie and the River of Cockett (there being noe place found where it was possible for him to give the Scotts any scope) hee did not thinke it fitt to goe out to meet them, since hee was not able to hinder their passage and that hee must bee forced soe soone as hee should see them, to retyre before

them,

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them, and thinking it not Considerable to bee afrayd, or to goe and meet them whom hee could not meddle w[i]thall.

For small parties would serve to bring Intelligences of the moc[i]ons of their Army, but the letter which I received from the Earle of Strafford the 15th. of August declaring what ill Construcc[i]ons was made of the lord Conowayes adu[er]tisement of the 10th. of August, did make him doubt, that as ill interp[re]tac[i]on would bee made of this (which hee thought the best Councell) not to move against the Scotts untill hee had Forces and place fitting to encounter them. And it is most likely it would have fallen out soe, for that hee did understand by letters from Court, that they did thinke yt. the Scotts might bee stayed at Alnwick or Morpitt some dayes, two places they came not at, &

which

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which are such, as one might aswell bee Com[m]anded to keepe the wynd out of the doore w[i]th ones hand, as to stay an Army there. And the Countrie likewise although they would not Contribute any thing to their owne safety, yet did murmur that Northumb[er]land was abandoned. Therefore to avoyd the danger which hee doubted from the Court (if it were possible to keepe those people of Northumb[er]land from assisting of the Scotts, hee went out 4. dayes w[i]th 1000. Horse, and being w[i]thout Abilitie to doe any hurt to the Scotts Army, was forced to retyre before them to Newcastle, whither Sir Jacob Ashley was come during the lord Conowayes absence) and had brought w[i]th him the Souldiers from Selby that were armed, leaving 4000. behind him that wanted Armes, which 4000. was after sent to Newcastle, but

were

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were turned back being w[i]thout Armes, there being none for them, nor monies to pay them there.

Sir Jacob Ashley had used all diligence to make Quarters for the Souldiers w[i]thout the Towne for security of it, aswell as the tyme would possibly admitt, according to the Com[m]andement then sent to view the River of Tyne, which was found to have many Foards, and the higher upp the River were the Foards the larger and the shallower.

And because it was beleeved that the Enemy would passe at Newburne, hee had caused the Engeniers to cast upp some workes there, and in obedience from the Court to use all meanes possible for the defence of the River. After one night[es] stay at Newcastle, the lord Conoway went to Newburne

w[i]th all

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with all the Horse, and about 2000. Foote. That day hee came (being the 27th: of August) the Scotts came to the other side of the workes that were made upon the passage soe sleight, that the lord Conoway would not have hazarded the Troopes in any such engagement, where they should have beene sure to have beene beaten, And although Sir Jacob Ashley came the next day w[i]th 2000. men more, and increased his strength, yet the Lord Conoway not to engage the Troopes farther then hee might safely retyre, had resolued to make retreat to Newcastle (if hee had not at that instant received a letter from the Earle of Strafford) Com[m]anding him to fight, which followes in these words.

My lord, I purposed to have beene moving towards you to morrow, but I am soe sick and

weake

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weake, as the King will not admitt mee to stirr hence till Saturday at the soonest. Your lopp: will admitt mee to deale plaine w[i]th you, I fynd all men in this place extreamely ill satisfied w[i]th the guyding of the Horse, and publish it infinitely to your disadvantage, that having w[i]th you 1000. Horse, and 500. Foote you should suffer an Enemy to march away soe long w[i]thout any skirmish, nay w[i]thout once looking on them. And it import[es] you most extreamly by some noble Acc[i]on to putt your selfe from under the weight of ill tongues, Your last letter Certified us that the Enemy is intending to passe the River at Hixcombe, if soe

I shall advise, That you w[i]th all the Horse and at least 8000. Foote, and all the Can[n]on you have, march opposite unto them on this side of the River,

and bee

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and bee sure what eu[er] follow to fight w[i]th them upon their passage. Indeed you looke ill about you if you secure not the River: If there bee a Bridge at Hixcombe it would bee broken downe. Deare my lord take the advice of the best men, and doe something worthie of your selfe w[i]th a Postcript. There was sent a man to visitt the Scotts Army who hath beene there amongst them, and hee assures us upon his life, that their Horse is not at all Considerable, which still layes it heavilier upon you (their Foote at most but 20000.) and this I am confident you may rely upon. which letter although it bee said to bee but an advice, yet the lord Conoway Conceived it to bee a Com[m]and, and asmuch as was possible for a Gen[er]all to Com[m]and and Oratory enforce.

The last part p[re]scribes how hee should fight, the first part direct[es]

him how

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him how to breake his neck upon any advantage, And howsoeu[er] this is said to bee but an advice (if the lord Conoway had not obscured it) it would then have proved a Com[m]and. And it is most probable, that the miscarriageing of the businesse would have beene layd upon his not fighting, since it was endeavored to bee layd upon his fighting, disavowing that hee had order soe to doe, And before that laying great blame upon his not fighting w[i]th the Scotts comeing through Northumb[er]land and not understanding the Countrie, mayntaineing that the lord Conoway w[i]th those Horse hee had, might have gone to the Scott[es] Army and have counted eu[er]y Colour and Coronett and have come off at pleasure, w[i]thout being touched (a thing ~~up~~ unpossible to bee done) unlesse hee had found them as David did Saul and his

Army

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Army when hee tooke away the speare and pott of Water from his head. And for the good Intelligence which the Earle of Strafford assured that hee had of the Scotts Forces, the lord Conoway assureth that hee received as certaine Informac[i]on of them as it was possible to bee gotten both by for Souldiers that putt themselues ino a disguise, and marched in their Army a day or two, and by many gent{ [ry/lemen] } of the Countrie that saw their Army march, so that hee had very good reason to beleeve their Report[es] before any =thing that could bee informed to the Earle of Strafford, by any single Intelligencer to the contrary, who had not soe good meanes to know or Abilities to iudge of the strength of the Scotts Army as diu[er]s that gave these Informac[i]ons from their owne view, and taking it for granted that they were noe more then 20000.

and

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and their horse inferior. to ours. It was noe wisdome to hazard a day w[i]th them w[i]th 10000 Foote and 2000. Horse, and that not onely upon the disadvan= =tage wee had in the number, but the rawnes and untowardnes of our men.

The Scotts having made a Batterie and drawne downe their Army, our workes were provided w[i]th men to defend them, and w[i]th others to second them. Six Troopes of Horse were placed to charge the Scotts when they came over, and 6. or 7. more were placed to second them. When the Scotts Forces were in readines, their Can[n]ons played, our workes were not proofe against them, the Souldiers were unacquainted w[i]th the Can[n]on, & therefore did not endure many shott, but quitt the workes, those that were to second them followed their example.

The Horse charged the Scotts & drove them back into the River;

but the

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but the Canon beating through some of or. Troopes that were sett to second, went off. When they saw the place forsaken, they should have gone on ye. left hand, that they might have gone off w[i]th the Foote, ~~and~~ but mistaking their direcc[i]on went on the right hand which carryed them upp to the Hill where they found some Troopes. Whilst they consulted what was best to bee done, the Scotts Horse came upp in two divisions, and w[i]th them 1000. Musketiers. The first Charge was upon the Regimt. Com[m]manded by mr. Wilmott who was there taken Prisoner (his men forsaking him) and falling foule of some Troopes of the lord Conowayes Regiment and disordered them, the rest being charged, did as they saw others doe before them. The cause of the losse that was that day, was the disadvantage of the ground and the

sleight

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sleight fortificac[i]on, which the shortnes of the tyme would not afford to bee better, neither would it admitt us to make any workes upon the Hill where wee stood opposite against the Scotts, and when wee came to fight the Souldiers did not their part as they ought to have done (being most of them the meanest sort of men about London) and unacquainted w[i]th service, and forgetting to doe yt. which they had beene often Com[m]anded and taught.

After the disorder, the Horse by the lord Conowayes Com[m]and went to Durham, the Foote to Newcastle, where it was consulted by the lord Conoway, Sir Jacob Ashley, and all the Colonells what was fitt to bee done by all their Consent[es]. It was agreed the Towne should bee quitted because it was not tenable being altogether unfortified on the

B[isho]pprick[es]

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B[isho]pprick[es] side, and the Fortificac[i]ons on the other side were very inconsiderable, to stay there would but increase the losse, it would not save any thing. The gaineing of two or three dayes could not much strengthen the Towne there being not any place which could bee made defencible in that tyme, and the losse of our men would greatly lessen the Kings Army, and this was agreeable to that which was thought fitt at the Court, For w[i]th all speed Orders were dispatched by seu[er]all wayes to Com[m]and the bringing of the Army, from

Newcastle, as it appeares by the ensueing letters from the Earle of Strafford both dated the 29th: of August in these words following.

After my heartie Com[m]endac[i]ons to your lo[rdshi]pp and the rest. This sadd accident which hath befallen us upon the passing of the Scotts

ou[er] Tyne

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ou[er] Tyne, will fetch all our Councells round; There is noe remedie wee must retyre, and (as I thinke) to Hull, the Horse to Durham. I shall gather and settle the best I can, and soe march upp to ioyne w[i]th the rest of such Horse and Foote as are left us, And how to fetch yt. part of our Foote that are at Newcastle is (God knowes) our greatest Care and difficultie. I send you this by the way of Sunderland, I will before I sleepe send another to Hexcombe. In my opinion your best will bee to shipp your selues if possible you can and amount for Hull, that were best, But if that cannot bee, then if the Towne bee not to bee held any longer, to make the best Composic[i]on for your selues w[i]th Honor. But therein I must wholy submitt it to your Judgment upon the place. And soe in hast I

Com[m]itt

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Com[m]itt you to the blessed p[ro]tecc[i]on.

Postcript.

Before I had closed this letter, his Matie: came to this Towne, who approves of all before written, onely adviseth that if there bee any possibilitie of keeping the Towne, then (that shipping the rest) you leave 2000. men in the Towne to defend it.

It was very good newes here to mee, to understand that the Foote are all advanced on this side of Durham, nor is there any thing to bee done more then to loose noe more tyme in your retreat, for there is noe thought of fighting w[i]th an affrighted Army till they ioyne w[i]th the Kings Forces, which I trust will bee neere 20000. I will use all possible diligence to provide asmuch bread as possible I can in this Towne, and have giue[n] Order that 8000li. shall meet us at Topliff to furnish the Souldiers w[i]th money,

putt asmuch

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putt asmuch life in yor: men as you can, and assure them w[i]thin a few dayes there will bee 80000li: on the way from London, which will give eu[er]y man his owne really, wee shall want noe monie. I have taken the like course for baking of bread and buyeing (here and at Northallerton as also about the Countrie) And I trust from Yorke wee shall have good quantities meet us in the way. I shall thinke the tyme long till I see you and Sir Jacob Ashley, to whom I pray you shew this letter, and I pray you have some Horsmen behind you, that may bee as a watch upon the moc[i]on of our Enemy, and shall bring us tymely adu[er]tisement what they doe and soe I rest.

And although the Towne of Newcastle had beene kept some dayes yet would it not have beene w[i]th any advantage to the

Kings

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Kings service seeing hee had noe monies. And by all guesses his Cheifest strength being in Choyce men that were at Newcastle, and it would have beene much to the Kings disservice to have putt those men inevitably to have undergone base Condi-c[i]ons when they must compound w[i]th the Towne if it had pleased the Invader.

Besides these reasons, though there was a good quantitie of powder & lead in the Towne, yet there wanted Musketts & Bulletts, there being noe Moulds to make them, w[hi]ch want cannot bee imputed to a Com[m]ander any more, then if hee com[m]anded a certaine number of Musketiers, And that when they came to use their Musketts they could not doe service for want of scowring sticks; If there had beene Moulds Bulletts would not have beene

wanting

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wanting, but Bulletts would not have served to keepe a Towne that wanted fortificac[i]on.

Now upon the whole matter it may easily bee iudged, whether those two single Actions of the Retreat of Newcastle, and quitting of Newcastle, were the Causes of o[u]r losses, or the defect of ill grounded designes, to make a warr w[i]thout monies, to goe on w[i]th it, and to beginne it at Sea, thereby giving the Scott[es] a p[re]tence to attempt us by land before wee were able to resist them.:

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