

**“ANGLIA REDIVIVA;
ENGLAND’S RECOVERY:**

BEING
THE HISTORY
OF THE MOTIONS, ACTIONS, AND SUCCESSES OF THE ARMY
UNDER THE IMMEDIATE CONDUCT OF HIS EXCELLENCY

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, KT.
CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF ALL THE PARLIAMENT'S FORCES IN
ENGLAND.

COMPILED FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD
BY JOSHUA SPRIGG, M.A.”

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Joshua Sprigge was born At Banbury, Oxfordshire in 1618. He was educated at New Hall College, Oxford University and at Edinburgh University but returned to England at the beginning of the 1640s where he became rector of the church of St. Pancras, Soper Lane in London. In the complex religious debates of the time Sprigge was an Independent, that is he opposed the formation of a Presbyterian state church in England – advocating instead the self-government of individual congregations. When the English Civil War broke out in 1642 Sprigge became a retainer of Sir Thomas Fairfax, general of the parliamentary army, although he was not officially listed as one of the chaplains of the New Model Army. After the war Sprigge was made a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford and appears to have opposed the execution of King Charles I. In 1656 he also led a delegation to petition parliament for the release of James Naylor who was then facing severe punishment for the notorious act of riding into Bristol on a donkey on Palm Sunday that year. With the restoration of monarchy in 1660 Sprigge went to live in Kent where he remained for many years before moving to Highgate near London where he died in 1684.

CHAPTER IV

The siege of Bristol, the taking of it, with the actions that intervened, viz. the taking of Nunny-castle, &c.

SHERBORNE being now, by God's blessing, reduced, a council of war was called, where the subject of the debate was, what should be the next design of the army, the west or Bristol, The reasons upon which it was endeavoured to persuade the west, were, the pursuing of our victory at Langport, the hindering of Goring from reinforcing his shattered army in Devon and Cornwall (whereunto he might probably find the Cornish, being generally disaffected to the parliament, easily drawn, the prince [Prince Rupert] being in person with them, and acting to that purpose), the miseries of the people in the west, and the necessities of Plymouth crying for present relief; besides, it was urged on the negative of Bristol, that to go thither was to hazard the whole army, the plague being sore in the city, an hundred dying weekly, and that it was in most of the villages about the town. But on the other side it was considered, that Prince Rupert being in Bristol, and able to draw into the field three thousand horse and foot (leaving also sufficient to defend that garrison), might, with the assistance of the ill-affected Clubmen (of whose disaffection to the parliament there was sufficient proof), and having the advantage of sending forces and recruits out of Wales (which were easily to be transported over Severn), raise a considerable army in the midland parts, which might interrupt the proceedings of our army, by marching on their rear, when they were far advanced west, whereby, Goring being in the front, they might come to be enclosed between two armies, and so all intercourse with London and the eastern parts would be thereby cut off; besides, the great importance of the place, as to the enemy, Bristol being the only considerable port the King had in the whole kingdom, for shipping and trade and riches, being withal his magazine for all sort of ammunition; which should it please God to make us masters of, must needs prove sadly fatal to his affairs, and would so be judged in this and foreign kingdoms. What advantage it would be to the parliament, both in reputation and real improvements (it being justly reckoned in the first rank of populous and rich cities in this kingdom), was very clearly evident.

These and other like considerations being offered for the present reducing of Bristol, after long consultation and debate, it was resolved to march thither in order to the reducing of that place. After once this resolution was taken, it was said by the General, "Seeing our judgements lead us to make Bristol our next design, as the greatest service we can do for the public; as for the sickness, let us trust God with the army, who will be as ready to protect us in the siege from infection, as in the field from the bullet."

Hereupon orders were given for the army to march towards Bristol. The General resting all the next day at Sherborne, to settle the business of the county. And on Monday (after Sir Lewis Dives and the prisoners, together with the club-leaders before mentioned, who were had in hold, were sent away with a guard to London) the army marched to Castle-Carew (save that Colonel Rainsborough with his own and Colonel Hammond's regiments, and two pieces of ordnance, was sent to Nunney-castle, for the reducing thereof), the rest of the army marched that night to Castle-Carew: the next day the General himself went to view Nunney-castle, and found it to be a very strong piece. The headquarter was that night at Shepton-Mallet, but five miles from Carew, far enough for the train, which was four miles behind from the quarters the night before: but to expedite what might be this design against Bristol, and the relief of the country thereabouts, in the mean time two thousand horse and dragoons were sent under the command of Commissary-General Ireton, to preserve the towns adjacent to Bristol from plunder and firing, for the better accommodation of our quarters. The next day the army marched to Chue, nine miles, and ill way; and in relation to the straiter siege, messengers were sent to the vice-admiral, captain Moulton, riding about Milford-Haven, to send ships into Kingsroad to block up Bristol by sea, as this army intended to do by land. Some prisoners were taken by our horse near Bristol, others came in voluntarily unto us; all agreeing, said the enemy did not imagine our forces to be so near, or that we had any design upon Bristol. And by a trumpeter that came with a message from thence, they seemed to be so far from a belief thereof, that he said he did not expect to find us on that side Sherborne; and when he met our horse, he took them to be the King's (not offering to sound his trumpet, as he ought to have done). That night there was a strong party of horse and one regiment of foot disposed at Hanham, within three miles of Bristol, on Gloucestershire side, by whom the enemy was alarmed. Upon this approach of ours, the enemy fired Bedminster on Somersetshire side, and burnt it down to the ground, as also divers houses on Gloucestershire side. It was but the day before, when Prince Rupert was sending out a party to relieve Berkeley-castle, which was much straitened by the Gloucester forces; but the approach of our horse under commissary Ireton diverted that design.

Thursday 21st, in the morning, to encourage us in our engagements, we received intelligence of the surrender of Nunney-castle to Colonel Rainsborough, upon condition to have liberty to go to their own houses. By reason of the train coming in so late, the army rested that day at Chue, save that another party of horse and foot advanced towards Bedminster, upon intelligence that the Prince intended to break through with his horse, and join with Goring; with which party the General and Lieutenant-General went, viewed the town, and appointed guards and quarters on the west side the river, and quartered himself at Keinsome that night where divers lords sent for passes to come out of the city and go beyond sea; but upon good reason were denied, it being a received opinion, that persons of quality and great estate, in a besieged town, would rather incline to a timely yielding than hazardous defending thereof, when no relief is at hand.

Friday the 22nd, there was a general rendezvous of horse, and all that day was spent in settling of guards on Somersetshire side, where the countrymen maintained a passage at Clifton, the headquarter that night being removed to Hanham.

Saturday 23rd, the General and Lieutenant-General employed the whole day in the settling of quarters and guards on the other side of Bristol. This day the enemy's cannon played from the great fort [The Royal Fort] and Prior's fort, but hurt none but one dragoon, who had his thigh shot off.

The enemy sallied out also with a party of horse, but were beaten in again, where Sir Richard Crane was mortally wounded, who presently after died of his wounds. The headquarter this night was removed to Stapleton.

Lord's day, August 24, the enemy about noon sallied out again at the sallyport near Prior-hill fort, in a full career, and were upon our dragoons on the sudden, yet, by our horse coming on, were beaten back again, as also their foot were, by the foot of Colonel Rainsborough's brigade, made to retreat in disorder, and worse than they came forth, by the loss of a major and some others.

Monday 25th, warrants were issued out by the General to Sir John Horner, high-sheriff of the county of Somerset, to raise, the power of the county, which was much promoted by the interest and endeavours of Mr. Ash and Mr. Moore, two worthy members of the House of Commons. This day the army had intelligence that Goring, then about Collumpton in Devon, did seem to draw to a rendezvous, as if he intended a march to interrupt our siege. But Major-General Massey's brigade of horse were quartered not far from Taunton in such an advantageous posture, that the enemy could not move but he might flank them and interrupt their motion, whilst our horse might draw off to meet them, in case they should attempt the forementioned design.

Tuesday 26th, four in the morning, the enemy made a third sally on Somersetshire side on a post of Colonel Welden's brigade at Bedminster; and, through the negligence of the officer that had then the command there, they took ten and killed as many: towards a recompense of which affront, the same day, Captain Molleneux, a very valiant man (Captain-Lieutenant to Colonel Butler), and with him another stout soldier, perceiving three gallant cavaliers under their works (whom afterwards they found to be Sir Bernard Ashley, Colonel Daniel, and a third man), rode up to them, asked them who they were for; they swore, "God damn them, for the King," and shot at ours; whereupon our men discharged their pistols at them, wounded them, and after some bickering took Sir Bernard Ashley, who died within few days of his wounds; but Colonel Daniel, though dangerously wounded, escaped from them.

Wednesday 27th, the enemy drew out the fourth time about the close of the evening, with intention to fall on our guards; which ours perceiving (and they understanding that they were privy to their intention), they drew back to their works. All this night the General and Lieutenant-General were abroad upon the field, to be in readiness if any alarm should happen.

Thursday 28th, Rupert sent out those foot of ours, which were taken prisoners on Somersetshire side, being in number ten, with a trumpet, propounding also an exchange for Sir Bernard Ashley; but the exchange was not hearkened to. This day we had intelligence of the King's plundering of Huntingdon, and the cruel usage of the people by his forces in those parts, having unhappily escaped the Scotch and northern horse out of Nottinghamshire. Meanwhile, as an earnest of the whole, the fort at Portshead point, that had been four days besieged by Lieutenant-Colonel Kempson, of Colonel Welden's regiment, with a party of foot, was with six pieces of ordnance this day surrendered unto him, who managed that business with much judgement and resolution; by the taking whereof the passage into Kingsroad with our ships was made open.

Friday 29th, a fast was kept through the army, to seek God for a blessing upon the designs against Bristol: Mr. Del and Mr. Peters kept the day at the headquarter. The enemy endeavoured to interrupt us by a sally about noon-time upon our quarters near Lawford's-gate, where he took three or four soldiers. After the public exercises, a council of war was called, and it being agreed, in the first place, to punish the vices of the army, it was propounded whether to storm Bristol or not. The debate was long, opinions various; however it was

agreed that all things should be prepared in order to a storm, and afterwards to take into further consideration whether to storm or to intrench the leaguer. In the midst of these thoughts and resolutions, tidings were brought the army of the defeat given by Montrose to our brethren the Scots, and that he was marched to Edinburgh in pursuit thereof, and that the King was now advanced to Bedford unfollowed, and was expected speedily to raise the siege at Bristol; and this day towards evening the intelligence was confirmed by letters from the committee of both kingdoms of the King's speedy march towards Oxford, and probably to these parts. At the same time his excellency had intelligence that Goring in the west advanced his quarters nearer Chard, and, as it was verily thought, intended a conjunction with the King.

And now was the army in a great strait, the whole strength thereof being but sufficient, and scarce that, for its present undertaking before Bristol, utterly unable to check the enemy's conjunction, or attend their motions at any distance from the leaguer: and though the further proceeding with the siege of Bristol in this conjuncture of affairs seemed very hazardous, yet resolving to abide the utmost, and not to give it over upon great looks, we put ourselves into the best condition we could to receive them, in case either or both should attempt us.

Lord's day, August 31, Captain Moulton, admiral for the Irish coasts (who was now come into Severn), came from aboard his ship to the General; expressed much readiness to assist in the storming of the city (if it were so determined) with his seamen. A debate was then had concerning the storming of Bristol, and what might be done by water with the assistance of the seamen. Goring's letters from Exeter to secretary Nicholas bearing date August 25, were this day intercepted; wherein he writes, that in three weeks' time he will be ready to interrupt Fairfax in his siege before Bristol.

Monday, September 1, the weather wet and misty (about twelve at noon, Prince Rupert, with one thousand horse and six hundred foot, sallied out the sixth time in a full career, and came upon our horseguards with much fierceness; but the horse instantly came up, and, with the assistance of the foot of Colonel Rainsborough's brigade, forced them to as hasty a retreat. We lost in that skirmish Captain Guiliams, a captain of horse, a valiant, faithful, and religious man; besides that, Colonel Okey, colonel of dragoons (it being in the mist), fell amongst the enemy unawares, and by that accident was taken prisoner. At that time further advertisements confirmed our former hints of the King's advance from Oxford towards Bristol. Orders were given for all the colonels to view the line and works, and for our soldiers to make fagots, and all fitting preparations for a storm.

Tuesday, September 2, a council of war being called, and all the colonels present, after a long debate whether to storm Bristol or no, it was put to the question, and resolved in the affirmative; and for the manner of the storm it was referred to a committee of the colonels of the army, to present in writing to the General the next morning, to be debated at a general council of war. Accordingly, Wednesday September 3, the manner of the storm was presented in writing to the General, which was to be after this manner: Colonel Welden with his brigade, consisting of the four regiments that were at Taunton (viz. his own, Colonel Inglesby's, Colonel Fortescue's, and Colonel Herbert's regiments, whose posts were to make good Somersetshire side), was ordered to storm in three places, viz. two hundred men in the middle, two hundred on each side, as forlorn hopes, to begin the storm; twenty ladders to each place, two men to carry each ladder, and to have 5s. apiece; two sergeants, that attended the service of the ladder, to have 20s. a man; each musketeer that followed the ladder to carry a fagot, a sergeant to command them, and to have the same reward; twelve files of men with firearms and pikes to follow the ladders, to each place where the storm was to be; those to be commanded each by a captain and a lieutenant; the lieutenant to go before with five files, the captain to second him with the other seven files; the two hundred men that were appointed to second the storm to furnish each party of them twenty pioneers, who were to march in their rear; the two hundred men, each to be commanded by a field-officer, and the pioneers each by a sergeant; (those pioneers were to throw down the line, and make way for the horse;) the party that was to make good the line, to possess the guns and turn them; a gentleman of the ordnance, gunners and matrosses, to enter with the parties; the drawbridge to be let down; two regiments and a half to storm in after the foot, if way were made. Much after this manner was the General's brigade under Colonel Montague's command, consisting of the General's, Colonel Montague's, Colonel Pickering's, and Sir Hardress Waller's regiments, to storm on both sides of Lawford's-gate, both to the river Avon and the lesser river Froom; the bridge over Froom to be made good against horse with pikes, or to break it down. Colonel Rainsborough's brigade, consisting of his own, Major-General Skippon's, Colonel Hammond's, Colonel Birch's, and Lieutenant-Colonel Pride's regiments, to storm on this side the river Froom, beginning on the right hand of the sallyport up to Prior-hill fort, and to storm the fort itself as the main business: two hundred of this brigade to go up in boats with the seamen so Waterfort (if it were to be attempted). On of horse and a regiment of foot to be moving up and down in the closes before the royal fort, and to ply hard upon it to alarm

it, with a field-officer to command them. The regiment of dragoons, with two regiments of horse, to carry ladders with them, and to attempt the line and works by Clifton and Washington's breach.

The manner of the storm being thus agreed on (though it is probable some more certain information might change the attempts from one place to another), the soldiers were drawn out to try their inclination, than in whom more courage, joy, and resolution could not appear in men. The General, to make good his promise to reward them for the service of Bridgwater, ordered them immediately to receive 6s. a man, which by the care of the commissioners of parliament was forthwith paid unto them; which put a great obligation upon the soldiers.

At this council of war it was also agreed that a letter should be written, and subscribed by the General and all the officers, to General Leven, to express how sensible they were of the losses their forces had received in Scotland by Montrose; and their willingness to serve if need were, for the settling of their nation in peace, so soon as the condition of this kingdom could spare them. The copy of which letter followeth in these words:

May it please your excellency, and the rest, honoured friends, and beloved brethren;

We have, not without much grief, received the sad report of your affairs in Scotland: how far God, for his best and secret ends, hath been pleased to suffer the enemy to prevail there: and are (we speak unfeignedly) not less sensible of your evils than you have been and are of ours, nor than we are of our own. And the greater cause of sympathy have we with you, and the more do our bowels yearn towards you, because whatever you now suffer yourselves in your own kingdom are chiefly occasioned by your assisting us in ours against the power that was risen up against the Lord himself and his anointed ones. Wherefore we cannot forget your labour of love, but thought good at this season, even amongst our many occasions, to let you know, that when the affairs of this kingdom will possibly dispense with us, the parliament allowing, and you accepting of our assistance; we shall be most willing, if need so require, to help and serve you faithfully in your own kingdom, and to engage ourselves to suppress the enemy there, and to establish you again in peace. In the mean time we shall endeavour to help you by our prayers, and to wrestle with God for one blessing of God upon both nations; between whom, besides many other strong relations and engagements, we hope the *unity of spirit* shall be the surest *bond of peace*. And this, whatever suggestions or jealousies may have been to the contrary, we desire you would believe, as you shall ever really find to proceed from integrity of heart, a sense of your sufferings, and a full purpose to answer any call of God to your assistance; as become

Your Christian friends and servants in the Lord,

Thomas Fairfax	Robert Pye.
Oliver Cromwell	Thomas Rainsborough
Thomas Hammond	Thomas Sheffield.
Henry Ireton	Charles Fleetwood
Edward Montague	Ralph Welden
Richard Fortescue	John Raymond
Richard Inglesby	Leon Wattson
John Pickering	Arthur Evelin
Hardress Waller	Richard Dean
William Herbert	Thomas Jackson
Robert Hammond	John Desborough
James Gray	Christopher Bethel
Thomas Pride	

The report concerning the storm being made unto the council of war, and fully agreed unto, the cannon baskets were ordered to be filled, seamen and boats sent for.

Thursday, September 4, the weather that had been so extreme wet before, that many soldiers and horses died thereby (and with extreme hard duty) in that wet season, began to alter, to the great reviving of the drooping soldier. Our great guns played this day from off the new battery against Prior's fort. Summons was also prepared to be sent to Prince Rupert; and being agreed unto, was sent in accordingly, which runs in these words:

For his highness Prince Rupert.

Sir; for the service of the parliament, I have brought their army before the city of Bristol, and do summon you in their names to render it, with all the forts belonging to the same, into my hands, for their use.

Having used this plain language, as the business requires, I wish it may be as effectual unto you as it is satisfactory to myself, that I do a little expostulate with you about the surrender of the same, which I confess is a way not common, and which I should not have used, but in respect to such a person and to such a place. I take into consideration your royal birth and relation to the crown of England, your honour, courage, the virtues of your person, and the strength of that place which you may think yourself bound and able to maintain.

Sir, the crown of England is and will be where it ought to be; we fight to maintain it there. But the King, misled by evil councillors, or through a seduced heart, hath left his parliament, under God the best assurance of his crown and family: the maintaining of this schism is the ground of this unhappy war on your part: and what sad effects it hath produced in the three kingdoms is visible to all men. To maintain the rights of the crown and kingdom jointly, a principal part whereof is, that the King in supreme acts is not to be advised by men of whom the law takes no notice, but by his parliament, the great council of the kingdom, in whom (as much as man is capable of) he hears all his people, as it were, at once advising him, and in which multitude of councillors lies his safety and his people's interest, and to see him right in this, hath been the constant and faithful endeavour of the parliament; and to bring these wicked instruments to justice that have misled him, is a principal ground of our fighting.

Sir, if God makes this clear to you, as he hath to us, I doubt not but he will give you a heart to deliver this place, notwithstanding all the other considerations of honour, courage, fidelity, &c., because of their constancy and use in the present business depends upon the right or wrongfulness of this that hath been said. And if upon such conviction you shall surrender it, and save the loss of blood, or hazard the spoiling of such a city; it would be an occasion glorious in itself and joyful to us, for restoring of you to the endeared affection to the parliament and people of England, the truest friend to your family it hath in this world.

But if this be hid from your eyes, and, through your wilfulness, this so great, so famous, and ancient a city, and so full of people, be, by your putting us to force the same, exposed to ruin and the extremities of war (which we yet shall in that case, as much as possible, endeavour to prevent), then I appeal to the righteous God to be judge between you and us, and to require [sic] the wrong. And let all England judge whether the burning of its towns, ruining its cities, and destroying its people, be a good requital from a person of your family, which hath had the prayers, tears, purses, and blood of its parliament and people. And (if you look on either as now divided) hath ever had that same party, both in parliaments and amongst the people, most zealous for their assistance and restitution, which you now oppose and seek to destroy, and whose constant grief hath been, their desires to serve your family have been ever hindered or made fruitless by that same party about his majesty, whose counsel you act, and whose interest you pursue in this unnatural war.

I expect your speedy answer to this summons, with the return of the bearer this evening, and remain

Your highness's humble servant,
THOMAS FAIRFAX.

This day, about two thousand well-affected countrymen, who with many more, upon treaty with the Lieutenant-General at the beginning of the siege, had engaged their assistance to make good the same, marched with some thirty-six colours in the face of Bristol, had quarters assigned them, and kept guards. Two pieces of ordnance also were sent unto them for their encouragement; it not a little grieving the enemy within to see the forwardness of the country to come to our assistance; for which reason (and to lay an effectual caution against their revolt) it was held fit to make use of those forces from the country, rather than for any considerable service could be expected from them.

The trumpeter that went in with the summons was detained all night, during which space no sally was made by the enemy, nor no alarm given by us. Only the seamen and their boats coming up the river to St. Vincent's rock, was all the motion this day produced. Neither upon Friday, September 5, was there any sallying out, but all was quiet on both sides; and the trumpeter returned from Prince Rupert with an answer to the General's summons, in these words:

Sir, I received yours by your trumpeter. I desire to know whether you will give me leave to send a messenger to the King, to know his pleasure in it. I rest,
Your servant,
RUPERT.

Saturday, September 6, a trumpeter was sent in with a reply to Prince Rupert's answer, in these words:
Sir, your overture of sending to the King, to know his pleasure, I cannot give way to, because of delay. I confess your answer doth intimate your intention not to surrender without his majesty's consent: yet because it is but implicit, I send again to know a more positive answer from yourself, which I desire may be such as may render me capable of approving myself
Your highness' humble servant,
THO. FAIRFAX.

This day came twelve colours more of the well-affected countrymen, as an addition to the former forces. The trumpeter was detained all that day and night: every thing was prepared for a storm; the General was in the field to that end; the soldiers had their fagots on their backs, and leaped for joy they might go on; yet about ten at night, for several reasons, it was held fit to give orders to put off the business till Monday morning two of the clock; and only to alarm the enemy for that time, as we did often, to amuse them, and keep them waking.

Lord's day, Septemb. 7, in the forenoon, the trumpet returned with these propositions from Prince Rupert:

Sir, whereas I received your letter for the delivery of the city, forts, and castle of Bristol; and being willing to join with you for the sparing of blood, and the preserving of his majesty's subjects, I have, upon those grounds, and none other, sent you these following propositions:

First, that myself, all noblemen, commanders and soldiers of horse and foot, that have served either his majesty or parliament in England or elsewhere; as likewise all persons whatsoever, men or women, now resident in this city of Bristol, castle and forts thereof, shall have free liberty to march away out of the said city, castle, and forts, with their arms, flying colours, drums beating, trumpets sounding, pistols cocked, swords drawn, matches lighted at both ends, and as much powder and match as they can carry about them, with all their bag and baggage, horses, arms, and other furniture, ten pieces of cannon, fifty barrels of powder, match and bullet proportionable.

2. That neither mine own person, nor the person of any nobleman, commander, officer, gentleman, or soldier, or any other of mine or their retainers, be searched, molested, or troubled upon what pretence soever, but left to their liberties to depart or stay, as it shall be most convenient for them.

3. That none of your army whatsoever shall entice or persuade any officer or soldier of mine from their regiments or colours, with any promise of preferment or reward.

4. That all such officers and soldiers that are hurt and sick, and cannot now march out of this city, castle, and fort, shall have liberty to stay till they be recovered, and then have safe conducts to go wheresoever they please, either to any of his majesty's armies or garrisons, or their own houses, where they may live quiet; and that in the interim, those being sick and hurt, may be protected by you, and have civil usage.

5. All prisoners taken on both sides since the beginning of this siege be forthwith set at liberty.

6. That myself, and all those above mentioned, may not be required to march further in a day than what conveniently we may; and that a day or two of rest be allowed upon our march, if we shall find it requisite; and that we be accommodated with free quarter during our march, and a sufficient convoy to any of the King's armies or garrisons which I shall name, to secure us in our march from all injury or incivility that shall any ways be offered to us. And likewise that there be one hundred and fifty carriage-horses, and forty wains, with sufficient teams provided for carriages of all sorts.

7. That no person here in these articles mentioned shall be in their march, rendezvous, or quarters, searched or plundered upon any pretence whatsoever: and that two officers be appointed by you, the one for accommodation for free-quarters for officers, soldiers, and others, and the other for providing of horses and carriages for our baggage and train.

8. All noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, citizens, residents, or any other person within this city, suburbs, and liberties thereof, shall at any time, when they please, have free liberty to remove themselves, their goods and families, and to dispose of them at their pleasures, according to the

known and enacted laws of the land, either to live at their own houses or elsewhere; and to enjoy their houses, lands, goods, and estates, without any molestation, and to have protection for that purpose; and this article to extend to all those whose estates are sequestered or not sequestered, and that they may rest quiet at their abodes, and travel freely and safely upon their occasions. And for their better removal, they may have letters of safe-conduct, with horses and carriages at reasonable rates, upon demand.

9. That all persons above mentioned may have free liberty to pass to any part beyond the seas, any time within three months, as their occasions shall require.

10. That the lines, forts, castle, and other fortifications about or in the city of Bristol, be forthwith slighted, and the city stated in the same condition it was before the beginning of this unnatural war: and that hereafter the parliament during this war place no garrison in it.

11. That no churches be defaced: that the several members of the foundation of this cathedral shall quietly enjoy their houses and revenues belonging to their places, and that the ministers of this city may likewise enjoy their benefices without trouble.

12. That no oaths be imposed upon any person now in this city, suburbs, and liberties, other than are required by the ancient and enacted laws of the land.

13. That the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, and citizens within this corporation of the city of Bristol shall be free in their persons and estates, and enjoy all their privileges, liberties, and immunities in as full and ample manner as formerly at any time they did before the beginning of this war, and that they shall have freedom of trade both by land and sea, paying such duties and customs as formerly they have done to his majesty: and that no mulct of fine be imposed upon any person mentioned in this article, upon any pretence whatsoever, or questioned for any act or thing done or committed before the day of our marching forth. That no free-quarters shall be put upon them without their own consents.

14. That all other persons, whose dwellings are in this city, and how absent, may have the full benefit of these articles, as if they were present.

15. That all noblemen, gentlemen, and others, that have goods in this city, and are now present or absent, may have liberty at any time within three months to dispose of their goods as they please.

16. That there be no plundering or taking away of any man's person, or any part of his estate, under what pretence soever; and that justice, according to the known laws of the land, be administered to all persons within this city by the civil magistrate.

And for the performance of these articles, I expect such hostages to be given as I shall accept of; and hereunto I desire your speedy answer.

Sir, by this you may evidently perceive my inclination to peace, and you may be assured that I shall never desire any thing more than the honour of the King and safety of the kingdom, and that I may become, sir,

Your servant,
RUPERT.

To which propositions the General returned this answer:

Sir, I have perused your propositions, wherein some things are doubtfully expressed; other things inconsistent with the duty I owe to them I serve. Notwithstanding, to the end I may give assurance that I earnestly desire to save effusion of blood, and the ruin of a city and people that may in time be so serviceable to the crown and kingdom; if it please your highness that commissioners may treat between us, concerning the accommodating of things; I hope to make it evident to the world, that what shall respect the honour of a soldier, due civility to all men, the good and welfare of the people of that city, both in passing by what is past, and restoring them to the privileges of all other subjects, and to the immunities of their city, will readily be condescended unto by me: and to the end no time may be lost, I have here enclosed sent you the names of commissioners, who, upon the return of hostages, of equal condition, unto me, shall attend your highness, sufficiently instructed to conclude on my part; provided the said treaty be ended by nine of the clock this night. And to this I desire your answer within the space of an hour, and remain

Your highness's humble servant,
THO. FAIRFAX.

This answer being returned presently after dinner by the same trumpeter, he was detained till eight at night; and then he brought this answer from the Prince, or to this effect, in writing:

That he hoped his propositions had been such as needed no explanation; yet because some doubts were made, he was willing to have the exceptions set down in writing, and his highness would return answer.

Monday, September 8, the General returned a particular answer to every article; which as to the soldiery was very honourable, and could not but be very acceptable to the citizens; for the offer was most fair to the citizens to oblige them to us, in case the conditions offered them were but known to them as we hoped they would. However, we had used means by our spies to convey the same to them.

In the interim all things were prepared for the storm, every commander viewing his posts: the trumpet was detained beyond the time appointed, yet afterwards returned with a denial, but not positive. That night was appointed for the army to fall on, but upon better consideration it was held fit to put it off to another day and only to alarm the enemy.

Tuesday, September 9, the trumpet was sent in again to let the Prince know, that if he did not immediately accept what was offered, all that had passed should be as no treaty, requiring the trumpet to return by twelve of the clock, but, notwithstanding, he was detained till ten at night, and then returned with an unsatisfactory answer. Whereupon all things on our part were put in readiness for a storm. At twelve of the clock in the night the General went into the field to give order about the drawing out of our men, and managing the storm for the next morning.

The enemy being left inexcusable for refusing such honourable conditions as were offered, the whole army, horse and foot, being set in a posture round the city, to fall on about two in the morning, September 10, the signal was given to fall on at one instant round the city and works, which was by setting on fire a great heap of straw and fagots, on the top of an hill, and the shooting off four great guns against Priors-fort, from the place where the General was to reside all the time I of the storm, which being accordingly given, immediately the storm began around the city, and was terrible to the beholders. Colonel Montague and Colonel Pickering with their regiments at Lawford's-gate entered speedily, and recovered twenty-two great guns, and took many prisoners in the works, Major Desborough advancing with the horse after them, having the command of the General's regiment, and part of Colonel Graves's. Sir Hardress Waller's and the General's regiments, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Jackson, entered between Lawford's-gate and the river Froom; Colonel Rainsborough and Colonel Hammond's regiments entered near Priors-fort; Major-General Skippon's, and Colonel Birch's entered nearer to the river Froom; and the regiment commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Pride was divided; part assigned to the service of Priors-fort, and the rest to alarm the great fort, and afterwards they took a little fort of Welchmen. The seamen, that were at first, designed to storm by water (the tide failing), assisted in storming, the line and works. The horse that entered here (besides the forlorn hope), so valiantly led on by Captain Ireton, were in several parties, commanded by Major Bethel, Major Alford, and Adjutant-General Flemming, being of Colonel Whaley's, Colonel Rich's, and part of Colonel Graves's regiments. And after the line was broke down with the pioneers and a gap made in the same, our horse with undaunted courage entered, and within the line met with a party of the enemy's horse, put them to a retreat, mortally wounded Colonel Taylor (formerly a member of the House of Commons), of which wounds he died, and took divers prisoners. This so disheartened their horse (perceiving withal our foot to be master of the line, and their men beaten off), that they never came on again to give one charge; but retreated, and stood in a body, under the favour of the great fort and Coulston's-fort. In the mean while Priors-hill-fort very obstinately held out, playing fiercely with great and small shot upon our men for two hours after the line was entered; our men all that time in like manner plying them hard with musket-shot in at the portholes, until they brought up ladders to the fort; but it being an high work, many of the ladders proved too short, through which fault some that got up were beaten down again. Notwithstanding, this disheartened them not, but up they went again upon greatest danger and disadvantage; some at last creeping in at the portholes, and others got on the top of the works; Captain Lagoe, of lieutenant-colonel Pride's regiment, being the first man that laid hold on the colours; and in the end we forced the enemy within to run below into the inner rooms of the work, hoping to receive quarter; but our soldiers were so little prepared for to show mercy, by the opposition that they met withal in the storm, and the refusal of quarter when it was offered, that they put to the sword the commander (one Major Price, a Welchman), and almost all the officers, soldiers, and others in the fort, except a very few, which, at the entreaty of some of our officers, had their lives spared. By that time the fort was gained the day began to break. And most happy it was that the storm began so timely, for otherwise had the enemy had daylight when we first entered, we could not have stood upon any ground to have attempted Priors-hill-fort, in regard the great fort, and Coulston's-fort on the one side, and the castle on the other side, might have cut off

our men as fast as they had been drawn up, but, being in the dark, they durst not shoot, for fear of killing their own men; their horse (during the storm) being drawn in a body between the great fort and Coulston's-fort. But in the mean time the success on Somersetshire side was not answerable unto this on this side, our forces there being put to a retreat, though they went on with much courage. The works on that side were so high that the ladders could not near reach them, and the approach unto the line of great disadvantage. The horse designed to enter the line, in case it had pleased God to give us here also success, here Lieutenant-General Cromwell's regiment, commanded by Major Huntington, Colonel Sir Robert Pye's, and Colonel Sheffield's, both which colonels in person attended the storm, being impatient, they had not fair opportunity of entering the line, such was their zeal to the service. And lest, during the storm, the Prince (in case he see the town like to be lost) should endeavour to escape with his horse; to prevent the same, Commissary-General Ireton's, Colonel Butler's, and Colonel Fleetwood's regiments of horse were appointed to be in a moving body upon Durdam Down; that place being the most open way, and most likely for the Prince to escape by: besides part of those horse did alarm that side of the line and great fort towards Durdam Down and Clifton during the storm, as likewise to secure the foot. Colonel Okey's dragoons alarming Brandon-hill-fort and the line towards Clifton. About four hours after the taking Priors-hill-fort, a trumpeter came from the Prince to desire a parley, which there was reason enough to refuse: but considering the enemy had fired the city in several places, insomuch as it was probable the whole city would have been consumed if the fire had gone on, the General sent the Prince word that he would embrace a parley, provided he caused the fire to be quenched immediately; which was done accordingly; and so the treaty proceeded on, and by seven at night it was concluded of according to these articles:

That his highness Prince Rupert, and all noblemen, officers, gentlemen, and soldiers, and all other persons whatsoever, now residing in the city or Bristol and castle and forts thereof, shall march out of the said city, castle, and forts thereof, with colours, pikes, and drums, bag and baggage. The Prince his highness, all noblemen, gentlemen, and officers in commission, with their horse and arms, and their servants with their horses and swords, and common soldiers with their swords; the prince's lifeguard of horse, with their horse and arms, and two hundred and fifty horse besides; to be disposed by the Prince, and his lifeguard of firelocks with their arms, and each of them one pound of powder, and a proportion of bullet; and that none of the persons who are to march out on this article shall be plundered, searched, or molested.

That such officers and soldiers as shall be left sick or wounded in the city, castle, or forts, shall have liberty to stay till their recovery, and then have safe-conducts to go to his majesty, and in the interim to be protected.

That the persons above mentioned, who are to march away, shall have a sufficient convoy provided for them to any such garrison of the King's as the prince shall name, not exceeding fifty miles from Bristol; and shall have eight days allowed for their march thither, and shall have free quarter by the way, and shall have two officers to attend them for their accommodation, and twenty wagons for their baggage, if they shall have occasion to use the same.

That all the citizens of Bristol, and all noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, and all other persons residing in the said city and suburbs of the same, shall be saved from all plunder and violence, and be secured in their persons and estates from the violence of the soldier and shall enjoy those rights and privileges which other subjects enjoy under protection and obedience to the parliament.

That in consideration thereof, the city of Bristol, with the castle, and all other forts and fortifications thereof, and all the ordnance, arms, ammunition, and all other furniture and provisions of war, excepting what is before allowed, shall be delivered up to Sir Thomas Fairfax to morrow, being Thursday the 11th day of this instant September, by one of the clock in the afternoon, without any diminution or embezzlement. His highness Prince Rupert then naming to what army or garrison of the King's he will march.

That none of the persons who are to march out on this agreement shall plunder, hurt, or spoil the town, or any person in it, or carry any thing but what is properly their own.

That upon signing these articles Colonel Okey, and all persons now in prison in the city of Bristol, the castle or forts of the same, shall immediately be set at liberty.

That sufficient hostages be given to Sir Thomas Fairfax, such as he shall approve, this night, who are to remain with him until the city be delivered.

That neither the convoy nor officers sent with the Prince shall receive any injury in their going or coming back, and shall have seven days' allowance for their return.

That upon the delivering of the town, sufficient hostages be given for the performance of the articles on both parts:

Signed by us the commissioners on the behalf of his highness Prince Rupert;
JOHN MYNNE., W. TILLYER., W. VALVASOUR.

Signed by us the Commissioners appointed on the behalf of his excellency Sir Tho. Fairfax,
EDW. MONTAGUE., THO. RAINSBOROUGH., JOHN PICKERING.

That which moved the General to give such favourable conditions was, merely the preservation of the city, which otherwise would have been consumed by fire, if the enemy had been driven to a desperate condition.

God, to show the watchfulness of his providence over the General and Lieutenant-General, brought them into some danger and delivered them out of the same graciously, during the time of the parley. For while they were both sitting on the top of Priors-hill-fort a piece of ordnance was shot thither from the castle, and the bullet grazed upon the fort within two hands' breadth of them, but did them no hurt at all.

This day, the well-affected countrymen of Gloucestershire, to the number of about three thousand with some thirty colours, appeared, expressing great forwardness to serve the parliament; but the service being over, they returned to their own homes.

In this storm we lost several officers, both of horse and foot, and had many wounded. Major Bethel was shot at entering the line, whom I have never occasion to mention but greatly to his honour: of this wound he shortly after died. Captain Ireton, who led on the forlorn hope at the storm, was shot with a brace of bullets in the arm (and it broken thereby), but after enduring great torture and pain for many months, he is, through God's blessing, happily recovered. Major Cromwell, a valiant and discreet gentleman, major to Colonel Inglesby, was wounded in the storm, whereof he afterwards died. Lieutenant-colonel Purefoy, of Colonel Fortescue's regiment, a very stout man, was slain upon the place. Captain Hill, of Sir Hardress Waller's regiment, slain at the storm. Major Reade, Colonel Inglesby's brother, and divers other others, wounded.

Thursday, September 11, the Prince, according to the articles, marched out of the great fort, as also many ladies and persons of quality, who had convoys appointed them according to agreement. In the Prince's marching out, the General himself attended him about two miles. The prince, after he was out of the fort, declared which way he intended to go, and propounded Oxford; whither, accordingly, he and all his company were safely, convoyed. And because he feared the rising of the clubmen upon him, and not being secure enough in his convoy as he conceived, he desired the General to let him have one thousand arms for his foot, engaging himself upon his honour they should injure no man therewith, only to make use of them (if need were), to keep themselves from the violence of the people, and to return them back again; which accordingly was allowed him, and so many as kept their arms restored them again. But the greatest part of them in their march running away, many of the arms were lost. Divers persons of quality that were in the town desired liberty to stay a while longer, till they could provide themselves with horses and necessaries to march away; which civility the General did not deny them.

A great appearance there was of the country to see the marching away of the Prince, and extremely cried they out against the Prince "Give him no quarter, give him no quarter".

The goodness of God to the army during this siege, in preserving them from the sickness, was very remarkable. For when the army was resolved to march from Sherborne to Bristol, one main objection there against it at that time was, lest the plague should be thereby brought into the army; but, every man's conscience and judgement being satisfied that the design was good, and most for the advantage of the public, and feasible in their opinion, they resolved to trust God what he would do with them, as to the sickness that was much spread in those parts. And whereas, when the army came before Bristol, as likewise for many weeks before, there died within the city above an hundred a week of the sickness, nor could we quarter our forces in any town or village but the sickness was in it; yet during all this time not one officer or soldier in our army died of the plague, that we could hear of, but one.

What ordnance, arms, ammunition, and provisions we found in the forts, city, and castle, I shall give you in the words of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's letter to the speaker of the House of Commons; wherein also the reader may find, not only a confirmation, but an amplification of this story, by some other particulars not yet mentioned; which letter followeth:

It hath pleased the General to give me in charge to represent unto you a particular account of the taking of Bristol, the which I gladly undertake.

After the finishing of that service at Sherborne, it was disputed at a council of war, whether we should march into the west or to Bristol. Amongst other arguments, the leaving so considerable an enemy at our backs, to march into the heart of the kingdom; the undoing of the country about Bristol, which was exceedingly harassed by the Prince, his being but a fortnight thereabouts; the correspondency he might hold in Wales; the possibility of uniting the enemy's forces where they pleased; and especially the drawing to an head the disaffected clubmen of Somerset, Wilts, and Dorset, when once our backs were towards them:

These considerations, together with the taking of so important a place, so advantageous for the opening of trade to London, did sway the balance, and beget that conclusion. When we came within four miles of the city, we had a new debate, whether we should endeavour to block it up, or make a regular siege. The latter being overruled, Colonel Welden with his brigade marched to Pile-hill, on the south side of the city, being within musket shot thereof, where in a few days they made a good quarter, overlooking the city. Upon our advance, the enemy fired Bedminster, Clifton, and some other villages lying near to the city,^a and would have fired more, if our unexpected coming had not hindered. The General caused some horse and dragoons, under Commissary-General Ireton, to advance over Avon, to keep in the enemy on the north side of the town, until the foot could come up. And after a day, the General, with Colonel Montague's and Colonel Rainsborough's brigades, marched over at Kensham to Stapleton, where he quartered that night. The next day Colonel Montague (having his post assigned with his brigade), was to secure all between the rivers Frome and Avon: he came up to Lawford's-gate within musket shot thereof. Colonel Rainsborough's post was near to Durdam Down, where the dragoons and three regiments of horse made good a post upon the Down, between him and the river Avon, on his right hand, and from Colonel Rainsborough's quarters to Frome river on his left. Apart of Colonel Birch and Major-General Skippon's regiment were to maintain that post. These posts thus settled, our horse were forced to be upon exceeding great duty, to stand by the foot, lest the foot, being so weak in all their posts, might receive an affront. And truly herein we were very happy, that we should receive so little loss by sallies, considering the paucity of our men to make good the posts, and the strength of the enemy within. By sallies (which were three or four), I know not that we lost thirty men in all the time of our siege. Of officers of quality, only Colonel Okey was taken, by mistake, going to the enemy, thinking they had been friends; and Captain Guilliams slain in a charge. We took Sir Bernard Astley, and killed Sir Richard Crane (one very considerable with the Prince). We had a council of war, concerning the storming of the town, about eight days before we took it; and in that there appeared great unwillingness to the work, through the unseasonableness of the weather, and other apparent difficulties. Some inducements to bring us thither was the report of the good affection of the townsmen to us, but that did not answer expectation. Upon a second consideration, it was overruled for a storm; which no sooner concluded, but difficulties were removed and all things seemed to favour the design. And truly, there hath been seldom the like cheerfulness to any work like to this, after it was once resolved on. The day and hour of our storm was appointed to be Wednesday morning the 10th, about one of the clock. We chose to act it so early, because we hoped thereby to surprise the enemy; with this resolution also to avoid confusion, and falling; foul one upon another, that when we had recovered the line and forts upon it, we could not advance further until day. The General's signal unto storm was, the firing of straw, and discharging four pieces of cannon at Priors-hill-fort: the signal was very well perceived of all, and truly the men went on with great resolution, and very presently recovered the line, making way for the horse to enter. Colonel Montague and Colonel Pickering who stormed at Lawford's-gate where was a double work, well filled with men and cannon, presently entered, and with great resolution beat the enemy from their works, and possessed their cannon: the expedition was such, that they forced the enemy from their advantages without any considerable loss to themselves. They laid down the bridges for the horse to enter, Major Desborough commanding the horse, who very gallantly seconded the foot: then, our foot advanced to the city walls, where they possessed the gate against the castle-street, whereinto were put an hundred men, who made it good. Sir Hardress Waller, with his and the General's regiment, with no less resolution, entered on the other side of Lawford's-gate, towards Avon river, and put themselves into an immediate

^a Which they did purposely to disaccommodate the army in point of quarter.

conjunction with that of the brigade. During this Colonel Rainsborough and Colonel Hammond attempted Priors-hill-fort, and the line downward towards Froom; and the Major-General's regiment being to storm towards Froom river, Colonel Hammond possessed the line immediately, and beating the enemy from it, made way for the horse to enter. Colonel Rainsborough, who had the hardest task of all at Priors-hill-fort, attempted it, and fought near three hours for it, and indeed there was great despair of carrying the place, it being exceeding high, a ladder of thirty rounds, scarce reaching the top thereof; but his resolution was such, that notwithstanding, the inaccessibleness and difficulty, he would not give it over. The enemy had four pieces, of cannon upon it, which they plied with round and case shot upon our men: his Lieutenant-colonel Bowen and others were two hours at push of pike, standing upon the palisados, but could not enter. Colonel Hammond being entered the line, and Captain Ireton, with a forlorn of Colonel Rich's regiment, interposing with his horse between the enemy's horse and Colonel Hammond, received a shot with two pistol bullets, which broke his arm: by which means the entrance of Colonel Hammond did storm the fort on that part which was inward; by which means, Colonel Rainsborough and Colonel Hammond's men entered the fort, and immediately put almost all the men in it to the sword. And as this was the place of most difficulty, so of most loss to us on that side, and of very great honour to the undertaker. The horse did second them with great resolution. Both these colonels do acknowledge, that their interposition between the enemy's horse and their foot was a great means of obtaining of this strong fort, without which all the rest of the line to Froom river would have done us little good. And indeed neither horse nor foot would have stood in all that way in any manner of security had not the fort been taken.

Major Bethell's were the first horse that entered the line, who did behave himself gallantly, and was shot in the thigh, had one or two shot more, and had his horse shot under him. Colonel Birch with his men, and the Major-General's regiment, entered with very good resolution where their post was; possessing the enemy's guns, and turning them upon them.

By this, all the line from Priors-hill-fort to Avon (which was a full mile), with all the forts, ordnance, and bulwarks, were possessed by us, but one, wherein there were about an hundred and twenty men of the enemy, which the General summoned, and all the men submitted.

The success on Colonel Welden's side did not answer with this. And although the colonels, and other the officers and soldiers, both horse and foot, testified much resolution as could be expected, Colonel Welden, Colonel Inglesby, Colonel Herbert, and the rest of the colonels and officers, both of horse and foot, doing what could be well looked for from men of honour, yet, what by reason of the height of the works, which proved higher than report made them, and the shortness of the ladders, they were repulsed with the loss of about an hundred men. Colonel Fortescue's Lieutenant-colonel was killed, Major Cromwell dangerously shot, and two of Colonel Inglesby's brothers hurt, with some officers.

Being possessed of thus much as hath been related, the town was fired in three places by the enemy, which we could not put out; which begat a great trouble in the General and us all, fearing to see so famous a city burnt to ashes before our faces. Whilst we were viewing so sad a spectacle, and consulting which way to make further advantage of our success, the Prince sent a trumpet to the General, to desire a treaty for the surrender of the town; to which the General agreed, and deputed Colonel Montague, Colonel Rainsborough, and Colonel Pickering for that service, authorizing them with instructions to treat and conclude the articles, which are these enclosed; for performance whereof, hostages were mutually given. On Thursday, about two of the clock in the afternoon, the prince marched out, having a convoy of two regiments of horse from us, and making election of Oxford for the place he would go to, which he had liberty to do by his articles.

The cannon which we have taken are about one hundred and forty mounted about one hundred barrels of powder already come to our hands, with a good quantity of shot, ammunition, and arms; we have found already between two and three thousand muskets. The royal fort had victuals in it for one hundred and fifty men for three hundred and twenty days, the castle victualled for near half so long. The Prince had foot of the garrison, as the mayor of the city informed me, two thousand five hundred, and about one thousand horse, besides the trained bands of the town, and auxiliaries, one thousand, some say one thousand five hundred. I hear but of one man that hath died of the plague in all our army, although we have quartered amongst and in the midst of

infected persons and places. We had not killed of ours in this storm, nor all this siege, two hundred men.

Thus I have given you a true, but not a full account of this great business; wherein he that runs may read, that all this is none other than the work of God; he must be a very atheist that doth not acknowledge it.

It maybe thought that some praises are due to these gallant men, of whose valour so much mention is made. Their humble suit to you, and all that have an interest in this blessing is that in the remembrance of God's praises they may be forgotten. It is their joy that they are instruments of God's glory and their country's good; it is their honour, that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they that have been employed in this, service know that faith and prayer obtained this city for you: I do not say ours only, but of the people of God with you, and all England over, who have wrestled with God, for a blessing in this very thing. Our desires are, that God may be glorified by the same spirit of faith by which we ask all our sufficiency, and have received it; it is meet that He have all the praise. Presbyterians, Independents, all have here, the same spirit" of faith and prayer, the same presence and answer; they agree here, have no names of difference; pity it is it should be otherwise any where. All that believe have the real unity, which is most glorious, because inward and spiritual in the body, and to the head. For being united in forms, commonly called *uniformity*, every Christian will, for peace' sake study and do as far as conscience will permit. And for brethren, in things of the mind, we look for no compulsion, but that of light and reason; in other things God hath put the sword in the parliament's hands, for the *terror of evil doers*, and *the praise of them that do well*. If any plead exemption from it, he knows not the gospel. If any would wring it out of your hands, or steal it from you under what pretence soever, I hope they shall do it without effect. That God will maintain it in your hands, and direct you in the use thereof; is the prayer of --

Your humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

Bristol, Sept. 4, 1645.

This night the General removed from his quarter at the farm-house, where he had been all the time of the siege extremely ill accommodated by reason of the littleness of the house, which yet he contented-himself withal, in regard it lay so conveniently upon any alarm. But this night he and the Lieutenant-General removed, and went to Bristol; which they found so unlike what it had been formerly in its flourishing condition, that it looked now more like a prison than a city, and the people more like prisoners than citizens; being brought so low with taxations, so poor in habit, and so dejected in countenance; the streets so noisome, and the houses so nasty, as that they were unfit to receive friends or freemen till they were cleansed.

Besides the public mercy to the kingdom, in the recovery of Bristol, the vindication of Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes (once governor thereof) seems to have been also particularly designed by Providence. The General, with the Lieutenant-General (sitting upon Priors-hill-fort after the storm), and most of the chief officers of the army, upon a view of the place, comparing the present strength of it with what it was when he delivered it, and other circumstances, freely expressed themselves, as men abundantly satisfied concerning the hard misfortune that befell that noble gentleman. And indeed, whosoever shall compare both the defences together, according to this ensuing parallel, must needs confess, that if prince Rupert deserved to be acquitted (as he was by the King and a council of war at Newark), the former defence deserves to be commended:

For, Prince Rupert, in this latter, had the advantage of the former, 1, in the line, which was so much stronger (than the former) by the addition of a fort-royal, and many other works; 2, in the numbers of men for defence, which were more than double,^b and twelve hundred of them horse (which number of horse was a thing of great consideration in so large a line); 3, in a place of great strength for retreat;^c and, lastly (which is as considerable as any thing), in a probability of relief, the King having promised it,^d and being resolved to have

^b Prince Rupert had between four and five thousand horse and foot; Colonel Fiennes but seventeen hundred of all sorts.

^c Viz. the fort-royal: which though it be twice reckoned in this parallel, yet it is in a different respect; viz. here, as a place of retreat; but above, as it did flanker the line, and so strengthen it much.

^d This appeareth in Prince Rupert's apology; and that the design of his relief was laid very probably to have succeeded.

performed it in his own person, with all the force he could have drawn together. Yet he, in the defence, slew not two hundred (in all) of our men; embraced a parley so soon as ever the line was entered; and concluded the surrender upon no better articles than the former governor had. On the other hand, Colonel Fiennes (in the former), though he had a line^e (full as large) less strong and tenable, and in that part where the enemy entered his works not finished, nor half so many to defend them; though the royal fort was not then built, nor any thing but a weak and rotten castle to retreat unto, which by the judgement of the officers^f of this army could not hold out forty-eight hours against a strong battery, much less till relief could reach it, whereof there was no likelihood; nay, the governor^g having sent several times, received no answer; but by intelligence which he had, he understood he could expect no relief. Yet (to the utmost improving the means he had), 1, he slew twelve hundred of the enemy (among whom divers prime officers and commanders); 2, disputed the suburbs a long while after the line was entered; 3, entertained no parley, till all endeavours that could be used (by promise of money or otherwise) were not able to get one hundred and twenty men together: and at length purchased as good conditions as the latter, and (in some substantial points^h) better.

However, all wise men would have saved me this pains; (the sense of the honourable House of Commons, immediately upon the reduction of Bristol, calling Colonel Fiennes to his former state of honour and employment, being beyond all that can be said.) Yet these considerations are not in vain; for that they serve as well to the commendation of the goodness of God, in the assisting and bearing forth this army through this undertaking, which, by how much the odds between the means and preparations for this latter defence were beyond the former, carried so much the greater demonstration of the more immediate presence of God and his power with our army (in this reduction of Bristol), than the enemy could boast of when he took it.

^e Prince Rupert, in his printed declaration and apology, allegeth, that the line he had to defend (being about four miles in compass) was generally but three foot thick, and five foot high; the graft commonly but six foot broad, and where it was widest but seven. But four foot deep, and where it was deepest but five. And that in the opinion of all his colonels and officers, it was not tenable upon a brisk and vigorous assault.

^f The officers expressed themselves so.

^g Colonel Fiennes sending to the earl of Essex for his relief, his excellency wrote to the Lord Say [sic], that the army was not in case to relieve him, nor (he thought) ever would.

^h As may appear by comparing the articles together.

If you would like this information in a different format, for example Braille, audiotape, large print or computer disc, or community languages, please contact:

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