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ROYALIST AND CROMWELLIAN ARMIES IN FLANDERS, 1657-1662

By C. H. FIRTH, LL.D.

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IN 1657 two small bodies of British troops stood opposed to each other in Flanders. One consisted of English, Irish, and Scottish royalists following the fortunes of Charles II., and serving with the Spanish army. The other was composed of 6,000 English soldiers raised by the Protector to assist the French against the Spaniards, and to secure England a foothold on the Continent. The object of this paper is to show how the two forces were raised, of what regiments they consisted, and by what officers they were commanded. The history of the regiments composing these two little armies will be traced up to the Restoration, and it will be shown how the remains of the Cromwellian contingent and the remains of the royalist force were amalgamated to form the garrison which held Dunkirk for England from 1660 to 1662. Finally I shall endeavour to trace the fate which befell the different regiments of that garrison after Charles II. sold Dunkirk to the French.

I.

Cromwell's treaty with France in October 1655 led to the expulsion of Charles II. and other royalist leaders from France, but Cromwell's breach with Spain, which followed a few months later, secured Charles the support of the Spaniards. Charles was eager to obtain Spanish aid for his

restoration, Spain glad to create a diversion by encouraging a royalist insurrection in England. On April $\frac{9}{12}$, 1656, a treaty was finally concluded between Charles and the king of Spain by which Philip IV. promised Charles a body of 6,000 men to assist in his restoration so soon as he should have secured a port in England where they could be landed. Charles undertook in return certain political engagements to be fulfilled when he should have regained his throne.¹

As soon as Charles was established in the Low Countries he began to think of raising an army of his own. He began by summoning all his subjects in the French service to leave it, and to march to such places as he should direct.² The Spanish government was willing enough to see the forces of France weakened in this way, but unwilling at first to permit Charles to establish depôts in Flanders or to assist him with money in supporting the soldiers he might collect.³ After much pressure, however, an agreement was arrived at permitting him to raise four regiments, and guaranteeing some contribution to their payment and maintenance. Later still the number of regiments was increased from four to six.⁴

Men came in pretty quickly. At the beginning of October 1656 the King had 400, by the end of the same month 800, and by April 1657 about 2,000.⁵ Something between 2,000

¹ For the treaty see *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 109.

² The proclamation is dated June 20, 1657. A facsimile of it is given in Mr. J. E. Hodgkin's *Rariora*, iii. 41. See also *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 307; Carte, *Life of Ormond*, iii. 653, ed. 1851.

³ *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 199, 205, 209; Guizot, *Cromwell and the English Commonwealth*, ii. 541, 547

⁴ 'The Marquis de Caracena told me the last night, that as soon as ever the general business of the quarters with the country was settled, the four regiments promised his Majesty should also be settled, and that his Majesty might give the command of them to whom he pleased, but that he must tell me freely, that they could not give winter quarters to any more new regiments at a time when they were obliged to cashier above forty of their old ones; and that whatever men should come over to the King, as well Muskerry's as others, must be aggregated to one of those four regiments, which were ground-work enough for a body of four thousand men, which was more than they could hope to see drawn together by his Majesty this winter.' (Bristol to Hyde, Nov. 26, 1656; *Clar. State Papers*, iii. pp. 311-312.)

⁵ 'The King of Scots is at a stand, for all he hath lifted a few men; hee keeps them as yett together: they are about five hundred, of Irish the most of them are,

and 3,000 was probably the highest figure the royal regiments reached, though rumour sometimes gave the King 5,000 or 6,000 men.¹

As each of the six regiments ought to have numbered 1,000 or 1,200 men apiece, it is evident that their ranks were never more than half full.² One of the first regiments to be formed was that known as the King's own regiment, which was at first commanded by Henry Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, with Sir William Throgmorton as his lieutenant-colonel.³ Rochester fell ill in October 1657, and died in the following February. His regiment seems to have formed the nucleus of that known as the King's Guards, which was established about November 1657 under the command of Colonel Blague.

A second regiment was intended to be composed entirely of Scots, and Lieutenant-General Middleton was its original commander, with Sir James Hamilton as its lieutenant-

some Scots, and some English, who rely upon him, and cannot live otherwise.' (Tho. George to Priestman, 29 October 1656. *Thurloe Papers*, v. p. 533.)

'Take it upon my word, there is not in all 700, for they mutiny every day: their pay is so small, they cannot live upon it. The soldier hath but four stivers a day, and a gentleman six.' (Letter of intelligence, Bruges, Nov. 5, 1656 (N.S.) *Thurloe*, v. p. 521.)

¹ See the extract from *Mercurius Politicus* printed on p. 72, and Bampfield's letter in *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 344.

² A letter from a spy, printed in *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 232, says that the five regiments then raising (January 1657) are to consist of 20 companies each, and each company of 60 men; each soldier has 7 stivers a day, and each officer 14. Another spy, writing in May, says they then numbered 4,000 (*ibid.* p. 283).

³ Clarendon (*Rebellion*, xvi. 68) and Sir James Turner (*Memoirs*, p. 121) both agree that Rochester's regiment was one of the first regiments raised. Clarendon erroneously states that the Guards were one of the original regiments. The King, he says, 'resolved to raise one regiment of Guards, the command whereof he gave to the Lord Wentworth, which was to do duty in the army as common men till his Majesty should be in such a posture that they might be brought about his person.' Clarendon's correspondence, however, shows that the Guards were not established till October or November 1657 (*Cal. Clarendon Papers*, iii. 364, 368, 379, 405). Two warrants to Blague as its lieutenant-colonel are printed in the *Hist. MSS. Commission's Report on the MSS. of Mr. Eliot Hodgkin*, p. 123. A list of the officers of the Guards is given in Hamilton's *History of the Grenadier Guards*, but that author gives no references to his authorities, and his account of the history of the regiment during 1657-60 contains many errors.

colonel.¹ Middleton, however, was despatched in September 1656 on a mission to Poland in order to raise money, if he could, from Scottish merchants in Dantzic and other ports, and to induce the Scots serving in the Swedish armies to desert that service and join Charles II. in Flanders.² In his absence the command of the regiment was given to James Livingstone, Earl of Newburgh, originally its lieutenant-colonel.³

The largest of all the regiments was that of which the Marquis of Ormond was titular colonel, which was formed in December 1656. It consisted of Irish soldiers who had deserted from the French service, most of whom had doubtless formed part of the army which Ormond had commanded in Ireland during the years 1649 and 1650. The real commander of the regiment was Ormond's lieutenant-colonel, Colonel Richard Grace.

Grace had been in the Spanish service before, and had transferred himself and his whole regiment to the French service because the Spanish government failed to keep its engagements to him. He now changed sides a second time, and appears to have brought a large part of his regiment with him to Flanders, though at first the Spaniards made some difficulty about receiving him again.⁴

Another strong regiment formed in a very similar fashion

¹ 'The King, by permission of Don Juan of Austria, raised three regiments, one of English under the Earl of Rochester . . . the second of Scots under General Middleton; the third of Irish under Ormond. Two more were added after. . . . All the captains were to be lords, knights, or colonels; at least 16 captains were ordered to be of the Scots, whereof I was one.' He adds that about 1658 Middleton's regiment was given to Newburgh, 'Don Juan having commanded, that none should have charge but those who attended it.' *Memoirs of Sir James Turner*, pp. 120, 130. See also, on the history of this regiment, *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, iii. 218, 283, 307. A list of its captains, dated June 4, 1657, is given in *Macray's Ruthven Correspondence*, p. 165

² On Middleton's mission, see *ibid.* iii. 204; Turner's *Memoirs*, pp. 120-130; *Scotland and the Protectorate* (Scottish History Society, 1899, pp. 336-345, 355; *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1656-7, pp. 322, 345.

³ For letters of Newburgh, see Carte, xxx. 503.

⁴ *Life of James II.* i. 268; *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, iii. 194, 201, 258, 260, 283; *Report on the MSS. of the Duke of Ormond*, ii. 17; *Carte MSS.* xxx. 400-438 inclusive, and ccxiii. 90-92.

was that of the Duke of York. Its lieutenant-colonel was Charles (or Cormac) MacCarty, eldest son of Lord Muskerry. Muskerry commanded an Irish regiment in the French service, which, with another commanded by Sir James Darcy, formed part of the garrison of Condé. In August 1656, when Condé was taken by the Spaniards, Ormond was sent by Charles II. to persuade these Irish regiments to desert the French service. Muskerry was Ormond's nephew, but he refused to listen to Ormond's appeal, and, while promising to join Charles II., protested that his honour as a soldier required him first to lay down his commission in proper form, and to obtain the dismissal of himself and his regiment to serve their own king. Cardinal Mazarin refused to let the regiment go, but gave him a pass for himself, and Muskerry joined King Charles in the Low Countries, leaving directions to his regiment to follow him. 'He no sooner gave notice to them whither they should come,' says Clarendon, 'but they so behaved themselves, that by sixes and sevens his whole regiment, to the number of very near 800, came to the place assigned to them, and brought their arms with them; which the Spaniard was amazed at, and ever after very much valued him, and took as much care for the preservation of that regiment as of any that was in their service.'¹

The fifth and sixth regiments were also Irish. The fifth was that of which the King's younger brother, Henry Duke of Gloucester, was the nominal colonel. Its actual commander appears to have been at first Theobald Lord Taaffe, and in 1659 his son Colonel William Taaffe.²

The history of the sixth regiment, which was the last to be formed, is not easy to trace, though its origin is well ascertained. In the winter of 1656-7 a small French garrison,

¹ Carte, *Life of Ormond*, iii. 654-636, ed. 1851; Clarendon, *Rebellion*, xv. 70-74; *Life of James II.* i. 274-6, 280-1, 313; *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, iii. 231, 232, 283; *Report on the Ormond MSS.* i. 18. *Carte MSS.* xxx. 398, is a copy of Muskerry's capitulation with the French government.

² *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, iii. 231, 256, 260, 283, 258. See also *Report on the MSS. of Mr. Eliot Hodgkin*, pp. 124, 125, and Lodge's *Irish Peerage*. ii. 377, ed. 1754.

under Schomberg, occupied the little fortress of St. Ghislain, about four leagues from Brussels. A large part of the garrison consisted of Irishmen. George Digby, Earl of Bristol, who had just deserted the French service for the Spanish, entered into negotiation with the officers of the Irish, and won them over by promises of money and appeals to their loyalty to Charles II. to promise to revolt. In March 1657, Don John, with the Spanish army, suddenly invested the place, and the Irish surrendered the outworks of the town to them, so that the garrison were forced to capitulate on the best terms they could get. A few hundred of these Irish troops were formed into a regiment, at first under the command of Lord Bristol, afterwards under Colonel Farrell.¹

All these six regiments of infantry were placed under the command of the Duke of York, for whom as general a small lifeguard consisting of about fifty horse was raised. 'The Duke of York,' wrote an English spy in June 1657, 'hath a company of fifty horse raised by the Spaniard in very good equipage for his guard; they allow him two hundred pounds per mensem during the campaign for his table.'² This troop of horse was commanded by Sir Charles Berkeley, who became after the Restoration Earl of Falmouth.³

Both the numbers and the composition of this little army were well known to the English government through their spies on the Continent, and the English public in general was kept informed of the facts through the pages of *Mercurius Politicus*. In the number of that journal published on April 23, 1657, the following account of the royalist forces was published :

' From Bruges in Flanders : April 20, S.N.

'We of this country were in hope we should in some reasonable time have been rid of the forces of the Scottish King, and they made us beleeve so, pretending they should

¹ *Clarendon Rebellion*, xv. 80; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. pp. lxxvi-lxxviii; *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, iii. 256, 262, 266, 276, 307; *Report on the MSS. of Mr. Eliot Hodgkin*, p. 125.

² *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 344.

³ *Life of James II.* i. 327, 349.

before now have great friends to assist them, and great opportunities to let them into some part of the British Dominions, but now we perceive they are like to lie here longer; for their forces here already are not many, and those which they expect from Middleton (who is still somewhere about Hambourgh, enticing what Scots he can out of the Swedish service) will not much augment them. The said Middleton hath a regiment of Scots which lie quartered at Bens [*sic*] in Hainault, and Sir James Hamilton was appointed to be his Lieutenant Colonel, but before Middleton went away, Sir James Levingstone, now called Lord Newburgh, procured the Lieutenant Colonel's place for a sum of money; but this regiment of Middleton's exceeds not 300 men.

'Most of their other forces (in a manner all) are Irish, as those under the Marquis of Ormond, whose regiment is bigger than any other, consisting of 700 men, and they lie quartered at Damme, a place not far from here. This regiment is committed to the care of one Colonel Grace, a man famous for his cruelties, and many bloody villainies in the Irish rebellion.

'More Irish there are, as those under the titular Duke of Gloucester, who hath a regiment likewise, which at their muster appeared to be 400. He bears the name of them, but another of the old rebels commands them, to wit, the Lord Viscount Taaffe, and these lie quartered at a place called Brice le Conté, not far from Brussels.

'They are very high in discourse about raising some other regiments, especially one of horse, and another of foot, which they say shall be as guards to their titular King. The Lord Wentworth feeds himself with hopes of commanding the foot, and the Lord Gerard the horse, when they can get them; for very few English come near them, and those fugitives of England which are abroad have not many of them appeared here, as is to be seen by the Lord Wilmot's regiment, which consists all of English, yet make not above 300 men, being quartered at Leerce, and he hath Sir William Throgmorton for his Lieutenant Colonel.

‘There is another regiment of Irish, which belongs to the titular Duke of York, but are commanded by Mac Carta, the Lord Muskirries son; another most notorious in the Irish Rebellion; and these have taken up their quarters at Louvain, being about 250 men.’¹

Other numbers of the same newspaper described in still more uncomplimentary terms the character and composition of the King’s forces.

‘Those English that are among them follow their old wont of vapping and carousing, bragging to be their own carvers of other men’s estates and fortunes, if ever they get but foot in England. And their old trade of lying they still follow, coyning many stories of tumults and broils at London. At present there is a feud betwixt them and the Irish, because these are best treated here, and with most respect, as being the white boys, and likest to be most true to the Spaniard, and the most keen instruments against the Puritan Roundhead rebels, which is the name they give to the Protestant party in England, Scotland, and Ireland.’²

According to the same authority, very prejudiced it must be freely admitted, the discipline of the royal forces was excessively bad, and there is some evidence from other sources that the charge was true.³

‘Of all the armies in Europe there is none wherein so much debauchery is to be seen as in these few forces which the said King hath gotten together, being so exceeding profane from the highest to the lowest. The Irish are trump among them, and bear away the bell for number and preferment, being such as are most gratefull to the Spaniard, and surest to the Stuarts’ interest, because they are men implacable and irreconcilable to England.’⁴

As the army was primarily intended to serve as a nucleus of a general royalist rising in England, these details

¹ *Mercurius Politicus*, April 16–23, 1657, p. 7750.

² *Ibid.* Jan. 8, 1657, p. 7508.

³ Duels were very frequent amongst the officers.

⁴ *Merc. Polit.* April 16–23, p. 7737.

had a special interest for English readers, and the fact that it consisted mainly of Irishmen would certainly have proved a serious obstacle to the popularity of the King's cause, if Charles had ever succeeded in landing in England. At present, however, the necessary preliminary of any such attempt was that the Spanish army should drive the French out of the Netherlands. Until that was done the Spaniards could scarcely spare troops or money to assist the King's intended expedition. The little army the King had collected began its career by serving as a contingent in the Spanish army under Don John and Condé, and as the fortunes of Spain sank lower and lower the prospects of the expedition to England grew more and more unfavourable.

At the opening of the campaign of 1657, that is about June 1657, the Duke of York joined the Spanish army with four regiments of foot.¹ The army numbered altogether about 15,000 men, of whom, according to Ormond, the King's men formed about 2,000. He described them as being 'as handsome fellows as ever I saw.'² The Duke of York puts the strength of his force at the same figure. If the Spaniards, says he, had kept their promises, the number would have been much greater. They had undertaken to give every man who came over a pistole apiece, and to supply him with arms, and to give the deserters good usage afterwards. But they 'had conceived such jealousy that the King's troops were too numerous that they gave them all manner of discouragement: for which reason their numbers could not be increased, and indeed it was all that could be done to keep them as strong as when I marched them into the field at first, to join the Spanish army.'³

II

About the same time that the Duke of York and his 2,000 men joined the Spanish army in the field, the contingent

¹ Thurloe, vi. 345.

² *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 347.

³ *Life of James II.* i. 297.

sent by Cromwell to assist the French joined the army under Turenne. A closer alliance with France was the natural result of Cromwell's war with Spain. By the defeat of the Spanish armies in Flanders he would gain security from the threatened royalist expedition to England, as well as the foothold on the Continent which his foreign policy demanded. Thus the treaty signed at Paris on March $\frac{2}{3}$, 1657, had a defensive as well as an aggressive side. According to the stipulations of the treaty, Dunkirk and Mardyke were to be besieged by the Anglo-French army and handed over to Cromwell. Six thousand Englishmen were to be sent over to serve with the French as a separate corps, half of whom were to be transported and armed at the expense of France, the other half at the expense of the Protector. It was specially stipulated that the 6,000 must be Englishmen, not Scots or Irish.¹

During April 1657 the Protector's contingent was raised and organised into regiments. Only a portion of it consisted of old soldiers. Fourteen hundred and seventy-five men were drafted from the various regiments in England; the rest appear to have been volunteers got together for this particular expedition.² These volunteers, however, were probably in many cases men of some military experience, not raw recruits, for the number of disbanded soldiers available in England was very large.³ The whole contingent consisted of infantry, for the French army was strong in horse, but weak in foot. The uniform of the 6,000 was the ordinary uniform of the Cromwellian army. 'They had new red coats given them for the terrible name thereof,' says Heath in his *Chronicle*. Their armament, however, differed in one important respect from that of the regiments of the standing army. In the English regiment of the period two thirds of the men were musketeers and one third pikemen, but in this contingent, if the terms of

¹ Guizot, *Cromwell and the English Commonwealth*, ii. 562.

² *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1656-7, p. 374.

³ Heath states that Cromwell had 'trained and drilled most of them as recruits to Colonel Barkstead's regiment of the Tower.' (*Chronicle*, p. 720.)

the treaty were observed, the numbers of musketeers and pikemen were equal.¹

The commander-in-chief of the contingent was Sir John Reynolds, who held, at the time when he was appointed, the rank of commissary-general in the Irish army. Next to him in rank came Major-General Thomas Morgan, who had been for some time second in command to Monck in Scotland.² Reynolds and Morgan had each the command of a regiment; the four other colonels were Alsop, Clark, Cochrane, and Lillingston. Roger Alsop was the only one of the four who already held a commission in the regular army. He had been in 1647 a captain in Colonel Pride's regiment, and became in 1650 marshal-general of the army, *i.e.* provost-marshal, and was very eager to get a chance of active service again.³ Samuel Clark seems to have been an English officer in Dutch service, who had not served hitherto either in the armies of the Parliament or the Republic.⁴ Sir Bryce Cochrane was a Scot who had actually fought against England, and had been taken prisoner in the fight at Musselburgh in July 1650. But in September 1648 Cochrane had assisted Monck, who was then commanding the English forces in

¹ Guizot, ii. 564.

² Lives of both are to be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Morgan had served in the French army before. Bordeaux writes on May 31, 1657: 'Le colonel qui doit servir de major general vint disner chez moi hier, et me tesmoigna estre fort aise de retourner en France, ou il a servy de capitaine dans le regiment de Colonel Coulon.' (*R.O. Transcripts*.)

³ Alsop gave the following account of himself in a petition which he addressed to the Protector in September 1656:

'In 1650, during the service in Scotland, you took from me my captain's place, and made me Marshal General, though I earnestly desired to be excused, preferring actual service upon the enemy, but I took it in obedience to you, and you promised me a lieutenant-colonel's pay and preferment. Yet my pay has been less than a foot captain's, and my profits small. I have to keep horses, servants, &c., and have only had the poorer sort of prisoners, who cannot pay for their quarters, nor pay fees, and I am 500*l.* poorer than when I took the employment.' (*Cal. S.P., Dom.* 1656-7, p. 94.)

⁴ A note on the character of the officers in Flanders says of Clark: 'a civil man, but never served the Parliament till now,' *i.e.* 1659. It goes on to say of his lieutenant-colonel, William Beadle: 'a civil man, but served with his colonel in Holland till late.' (*Rawlinson MS. A*, lxx. 185.)

Ulster, to surprise Carrickfergus, and in return for this service Monck now used his influence to get Cochrane this employment.¹ Henry Lillingston, the sixth colonel, is an officer whose previous career is completely unknown, and whose later life is equally difficult to trace.²

The regimental officers were drawn from various sources. A certain number of captains and lieutenants in Monck's army and in the English army obtained higher commissions, but many of the officers seem to have been men of little military experience. There were a certain number of veterans among the officers as among the men, but the bulk of them had no claim to the title, though it is frequently bestowed upon them by historians.

The English contingent landed at Boulogne about the middle of May 1657. The newspapers give a full account of their embarkation and reception by the French.

‘ Blackheath by Greenwich : May 1.

‘ This day here was a rendez-vous of the new raised forces which are to go beyond sea, and (it is said) under the command of Sir John Reynolds. They were in all six regiments, stout men, and fit for action, as was manifest at their appearance. Words of exhortation and encouragement were given them in a sermon by Mr. Hugh Peters, exhorting them that when they come abroad they be sure to avoid the vices of other places, and to remember the virtuous and victorious

¹ On Cochrane see Coxe, *Hibernia Anglicana*, ii. 203 ; Thurloe, iii. 18 ; *Cromwelliana*, p. 87.

² It is very likely that Lillingston had been in the Dutch service. At all events he seems to have been in that service later. H. Lillingston appears as lieutenant-colonel of Lord Mulgrave's regiment in the army raised by Charles II. (January 25, 1673), while Luke Lillingston, whom I take to be his son, was ensign in that regiment at the same date. (Dalton, *English Army Lists*, i. 136.) In the winter of 1674 the Prince of Orange raised two regiments of Englishmen whose colonels' names were Disney and Lillingston. (*Life of Major John Bernardi*, p. 20.) I take the latter to have been Colonel Henry Lillingston. Colonel Lillingston is said to have died next year. Luke Lillingston appears as a captain in the Dutch service in 1678-9 (Ferguson, *Scots Brigade in Holland*, pp. 513-4), and became a colonel in the English service in 1693 (Dalton, ii. 229).

military discipline of England, by which (through God's blessing) so many great actions have been performed at home. This wrought upon the hearts of the soldiers so, that they declared themselves with alacrity resolved to hold up the honor and renown of England abroad. Afterwards, five hundred being drawn out of each regiment, which made up the number of three thousand, these immediately began their march hence toward the sea-side, being to imbarque at Dover, from thence to be transported to Calais. The other three thousand are disposed up and down in quarters, waiting further orders ; which they expect some time next week, and then to follow their fellows.'¹

'Whitehall : May 12.

'We had an account of the disposing of the forces newly raised, under the command of the Right Honorable Sir John Reynolds, for the service of France. The honorable Major General Kelsey, and Capt. Hatsel, being at Dover, by the direction of his Highness and the Council, to take care of the imbarquing of the said forces, did on Friday and Saturday last week (having first given them a moneth's pay) put three thousand five hundred of them on board ; who at their imbarquing manifested a great alacrity and resolution, to stand for the honor of their nation in this undertaking. They were not long at sea before they landed at St. John's Bay, which is about seven miles from Bouloign in France, where they were met by a person of honor appointed from the King of France to receive them ; as also by the Governor of Bouloign, with many of the French gentry, to entertain and welcome them into those parts. The said person of honor gave them (in his Majesties name) very good assurance that whatever was agreed on should be faithfully performed, and nothing be wanting which might be for their encouragement.

'The remainder of the 6,000 forces are expected by the French, and when they are arrived there is three moneths'

¹ *Merc. Polit.* No. 360, p. 7769, April 30-May 7. See also pp. 7784 and 7790.

pay to be advanced to them all. In the mean time, care is taken by that honorable person for the accommodation of them in their quarters in and about Bouloign.

'Part of the forces that are behinde, which were quartered in the road towards Dover, have received orders to march thither, where the like care will be taken for their immediate transportation.

'Yesterday one thousand old soldiers were rendezvoused upon Black-Heath, by Greenwich, very gallant men, who are advanced to complete the number.

'The French expressed a great deal of joy and satisfaction upon the landing of the former, and they gave a volley of great guns, for a farewel, at the return of our ships.'¹

'May 20.

'By some persons returned this day from Dover, we had an account of the imbarquing of the remainder of the new raised forces under the command of the right honorable Sir John Reynolds; which was performed on Saturday last, and they safely arrived near Bouloign, where the officers of the King of France lay ready to receive them, and disposed them in quarters among their fellows, in and about Bouloign, they making in all 6,000 men. The French declared much joy and satisfaction upon their landing, and it was expected that on Sunday night last the King and Queen of France, with a great train of the nobility, would come down thither, in order to the viewing them on the morrow. Sir John Reynolds went from Dover, being shipped on Sunday in the evening; and M. G. Morgan, a person of much honor and merit in military affairs, and in that respect fit to serve under so valiant and worthy a General, is within a day or two to follow him in the quality of Major General: so that we doubt not but a good account will be given of this expedition, undertaken for the honor and service of this commonwealth in France.'²

¹ *Merc. Polit.* No. 361, p. 7790, May 7-14, 1657.

² *Ibid.* No. 362, p. 7796, May 14-21, 1657.

The English contingent were well satisfied with their reception by their allies. 'Our army,' says one letter from the camp, 'have been very civilly treated.' 'We are nobly treated,' says a second. Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador, reflecting upon the 'extraordinary kindness shown the English forces,' was tempted to believe that 'something may lurk at the bottom of so much caress.' The soldiers, though inclined to grumble a little at the French munition bread, brown bread to which they were not accustomed, and missing the cheese which was part of their rations in England, were consoled by the liberality with which they were provided with wine and beer.¹

In addition to this the then important question of regimental precedence was settled very much in favour of the English force. 'I have settled the business of the march of your forces thus,' writes Lockhart to Thurloe: 'they take place of all the regiments of the army, save the two old regiments of guards; and care will be had that there shall be no occasion to dispute it with them, because their infantry will always march in two wings at least; and when the army is ranged in battle, the one will have the right wing, the other the left.'²

The only cause of complaint amongst the English troops was the lowness of the pay they received, which was much less than they were accustomed to get in England, and they

¹ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 110; Thurloe, vi. 290, 291, 297. Compare the following extract from a newspaper:

'From the English head quarters at Rue in Picardie, between Abbeville and Montreul, June 1, S.N.

'We are nobly treated, after the manner of this country, in all places, and hope the kindness will hold. We are quartered in their townes, and visited by their governors and magistrates. A gentleman comes each day to perform civility to our officers, in the name of the Cardinal. The king's own troop of gentlemen were divided by his appointment, and one half of them ordered to march before us. Wine and beer is plentifully given to our soldiers in each night's quarters. Our men, if sick or lame, are lodged in the houses of burgers; and indeed the French do give many demonstrations of really affecting our nation, and an union with it. We depend upon the Lord for success.' (*Merc. Polit.* No. 363, p. 7809, May 21-28, 1657.)

² Thurloe, vi. 287.

asked that the Protector should allow them threepence a day extra to make up the difference.¹ On the French side there was, on the other hand, a complaint at the late arrival of the English forces upon the field, and a suggestion that it would retard the progress of the campaign and diminish its success.²

The history of the campaigns of 1657 and 1658, however, is not part of the subject of this paper, which concerns itself simply with the 'story of the two English armies that took part in the military operations of those years. Cromwell's 6,000 men joined Turenne's army at St. Quentin early in June, and assisted in the captures of Montmédy and St. Venant, and in the relief of Ardres. By the time they had been three months in the field, they had lost a third of their numbers, not through losses in battle, but owing to the hardships of the campaign.

On September 1, 1657, Reynolds wrote to Henry Cromwell begging to be recalled, and describing himself as 'having warred here till 6,000 men are less than foure, without fighting, which is not the custom of the country. However, if I must fight untill my dagger, which was a sword, become an oyster-knife, I am content and submit.'³ The Protector, who was dissatisfied with the employment of his forces in the interior of Flanders instead of in an attack on the Flemish seaports, now pressed the French government to turn its arms against Dunkirk and Mardyke without further delay. Turenne undertook that Mardyke should be besieged at once, and Cromwell on his part agreed to send over 2,000 recruits to fill the gaps in the English contingent.⁴

In accordance with this undertaking, Turenne, about the

¹ Thurloe, vi. 287, 290, 297; cf. *Clarke Papers*, iii. 111. Ere long the pay fell into arrears; cf. Thurloe, vi. 487; Bourelly, p. 27.

² Thurloe, vi. 288, 290. In defending the conduct of his government on this point, Lockhart doubtless pointed out that the French had not provided the arms for three thousand men which they were by treaty bound to furnish. But there was some foundation for the complaint, as the same letter shows. (*Ibid.* 290.)

³ *Lansdowne MS.* 823, f. 114; cf. Thurloe, vi. 523.

⁴ *Ibid.* vi. 522, 524; Bourelly, *Cromwell et Mazarin*, p. 34; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 119. An account of their despatch is given in *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 1648.

end of September, besieged and took the fort of Mardyke, which was immediately handed over to the English. The Spaniards made an attempt to retake it by storm on the night of October 22, and though the attack was successfully repulsed the danger of its repetition necessitated the maintenance of a considerable garrison in this new conquest. The fort was small, the situation of the place unhealthy, and the English soldiers were badly provided with necessaries of every kind. The regiments of the English contingent quartered there, and those which quartered at the neighbouring village of Bourbourg, or remained with the French army in its winter quarters on the borders of Artois, all suffered terribly from sickness and privations during the winter of 1657-8. By the end of January the English contingent was reduced from 6,000 to 3,000 men, making a total loss of about 5,000 men since its landing in Flanders.¹ Reynolds continually wrote for reinforcements and supplies for his diminishing army. As early as November he had demanded, and perhaps obtained, 500 fresh men from England.² At the same time he urged Turenne to send back to Mardyke the three regiments of English serving with the French field army, which were then stationed in winter quarters near Guisnes, where they suffered little less than their comrades at Mardyke.³ About the beginning of

¹ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 121, 123, 135. On December 5, 1657, Reynolds wrote to Turenne that there were only 1,800 serviceable men left out of all the English in France and Flanders (Thurloe, p. 659). Bourelly says in a note (p. 41), 'A la fin de l'hiver, plus de 2,000 Anglais étaient morts dans ce triste réduit de Mardick' (La Mesnardière, *Relations de guerre &c.*). See also Bourelly, p. 52. The English royalists quartered at Oudekerke, near Dunkirk, also suffered very severely during the winter. 'Few of the officers or soldiers, excepting only the natural Spaniards, escaped agues; insomuch that wee had never half our men together in a condition of doing duty. It fell the most severely on those troopes I commanded; for, excepting myself, there was scarcely an officer or volunteer of quality, or any of my servants, who was free from an ague. My brother the Duke of Gloucester went out of the army sick of that distemper; and the Prince of Condé was seiz'd with it to that degree that he was once given over by the phisicians.' (*Life James II.* 317, 322.)

² Thurloe, vi. 637, 653.

³ Thurloe, vi. 659. What remained of these regiments formed the garrison of Mardyke about January (*ibid.* vi. 709, 725).

December Reynolds became impatient at the neglect with which his demands were treated, and set out for England to represent the necessities of his forces. With him went the governor of Mardyke, Colonel Francis White, but the vessel in which they embarked was wrecked on the Goodwin Sands, and both perished.¹ Major-General Morgan now took command both of the garrison and of the English forces as a whole, but when the time for action drew near Cromwell superseded him, and made Sir William Lockhart, his ambassador at Paris, general of the English forces and colonel of the regiment lately commanded by Reynolds.

Lockhart, wisely, did not demand large reinforcements during the winter for Mardyke. 'I do not believe,' said he, 'that the cramming it with great numbers of men will signify much for its defence.'² So long as the English fleet commanded the sea the place could be reinforced whenever the Spaniards should attack it. Cromwell contented himself therefore for the moment with sending over four or five companies of old soldiers belonging to the regiment of Colonel Gibbons, and with warning the regiments quartered in Kent to be ready to embark at a moment's notice.³ In spring the time for action arrived, and on March 28, 1658, a new treaty was signed by Lockhart at Paris prolonging the league with France for another year. Between 3,000 and 4,000 men were to be sent to Flanders to raise the English contingent to its original strength, and the campaign was to open with the siege of Dunkirk.⁴ Before May ended about 3,300 men had been despatched to Lockhart's army, of whom 1,000 were old soldiers.⁵ Of these veterans five companies were drawn from the regiment of Colonel Gibbon and five from that of Colonel

¹ Thurloe, vi. 665, 676, 680, 686, 735; Bourelly, p. 58; *Life of James II.* i. 328.

² Thurloe, vi. 695.

³ *Ibid.* vi. 615, 659, 676, 677.

⁴ *Ibid.* vi. 804, 853; Bourelly, pp. 83-85.

⁵ According to Lockhart, 2,079 men, 'and most of them raw men,' landed before May $\frac{6}{18}$. Four or five days later 270 more arrived (Thurloe, vii. 116, 127).

Salmon, making a composite regiment commanded by Colonel Pepper.¹

The campaign of 1658 began in May. Turenne effected his junction with the forces at Mardyke about May $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁴, and invested Dunkirk on the following day. The Spaniards under Don Juan and Condé advanced to raise the siege, and the battle of the Dunes was fought on June $\frac{4}{14}$. In that battle the Cromwellian soldiers and the English royalists met hand to hand, so that it seems in some sort a continuation of the English Civil War, and not merely an incident in the European struggle between France and Spain. Lockhart's army left fourteen selected companies behind them to guard the trenches,² but all the seven regiments of his command were represented on the field. Of the King's six regiments, however, only five were in the battle, for the Duke of Gloucester's regiment had been captured by Turenne at Mount Cassel at the very beginning of the campaign. These five regiments, being weak in numbers, formed but three battalions. The first, consisting of Charles the Second's footguards and Lord Bristol's regiment, was commanded by Lieut-Col. Thomas Blague of the former regiment.³ The second consisted of the Duke of York's regiment under Lord Muskerry.⁴ The third was formed by Ormond's regiment of Irish under Colonel Richard Grace, and Lord Newburgh's regiment of Scots under Sir William Urry.⁵

Amongst the Cromwellian troops Lockhart's regiment of foot bore the brunt of the fighting. Its lieutenant-colonel, Fenwick, and two of its captains were killed, and nearly all the rest of its officers were wounded. Lillingston's

¹ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 151, 152; Thurloe, vii. 115. Turenne had urged that two whole regiments of old soldiers should be sent (*ibid.* vii. 52).

² It consisted of about 400 men. *Life of James II.* i. 336; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 150; Bourelly, p. 138.

³ *Life of James II.* i. 345; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 154.

⁴ *Life of James II.* i. 345, 354.

⁵ *Ibid.*; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 154. William Urry, originally major of the Scottish regiment, became its lieutenant-colonel on November 1, 1658. (Macray, *Ruthven Correspondence*, p. 166.)

lost a captain and thirty or forty killed, while the other regiments suffered only slight losses.¹ On the other side two out of the three royalist battalions were almost annihilated. The King's footguards stood their ground well, but were finally obliged to surrender. Bristol's and York's Irish regiments were routed and cut to pieces. Only the third battalion, commanded by Colonel Grace, succeeded in effecting an orderly retreat, and marched off the field intact.² The Duke of York's troop of guards, which charged several times with the Duke himself at its head, suffered severely, but also remained fit for further service. The King's forces after the battle numbered less than a thousand men, probably not more than seven or eight hundred. All prospect of the intended expedition to England came to an end, and at the same time the defeat of the Spanish army necessarily entailed the fall of Dunkirk. It surrendered ten days after the battle (June $\frac{1}{2}$), and was immediately handed over to the Protector's troops, as the treaty required.

The campaign of the English contingent in Flanders did not end with the battle of the Dunes and the capture of Dunkirk. Part of the English contingent was left to garrison Dunkirk and Mardyke under the command of Sir William Lockhart, whilst the rest, under Sir Thomas Morgan, continued to serve with Turenne's army in the field. Morgan's command consisted of four regiments, viz. his own, and those of Cochrane, Clarke, and Lillingston.³ They distinguished themselves at the siege of Bergues, where Lieut.-Col. Hughes of Cochrane's regiment was killed, and still more at the siege of Ypres, according to Morgan's own story. At the close of

¹ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 154; Thurloe, vii. 156, 160; *Cal. S. P., Dom.* 1658-9, p. 97.

² *Life of James II.* i. 353, 354, 359.

³ 'I finde the 4 regiments with mee and la Ferté, viz. my owne, Colone Lillingeston's, Sir Brice Cochron's, and Collonel Clarcke's, are much weakened by the losse of those wee have had killed and wounded both at the battaile, and seidges before Dunkerke and Bergin; though I will assure you that nothing is wanting in mee to preserve them, yet our last recruits fell sicke verie fast.' (Morgan to Thurloe, Thurloe, vii. 200; cf. *Clarke Papers*, iii. 160.) Lockhart sent 500 recruits to Morgan in August (Thurloe, vii. 305, 308).

the campaign, by which time their numbers were much diminished, they did not rejoin the rest of the English contingent, but were put into winter quarters at Amiens and in the country round.¹

In the report which Lockhart made to Cromwell immediately after the occupation of Dunkirk he gave it as his opinion that the garrison ought to consist of 4,000 foot and about 400 horse. Two thousand five hundred foot should be placed in Dunkirk, 1,000 at Mardyke, and 500 in an outwork of Dunkirk called the Fort Royal.² Cromwell sent over the remainder of the regiments of Salmon and Gibbons directly the town was taken, so that Lockhart had under his command two regiments of the Flemish contingent, namely his own and that of Colonel Alsop, and two old regiments belonging to the English establishment, viz. those of Gibbon and Salmon. A regiment of 600 horse was raised in England and sent over about the beginning of August or the end of July, but Lockhart complained that the officers of that regiment were mostly men of little experience or capacity.³ And though he had the four regiments he demanded their ranks were so thin that he had never more than 3,000 men, if so many.⁴ Some recruits were sent him, but not enough, for he had to send 500 of them to the regiments in the field, and the troops at Dunkirk were very unhealthy.⁵ Lockhart therefore felt obliged to recall one of the regiments with Turenne, but Turenne refused to permit it to leave his army,

¹ Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 292; *Merc. Polit.*

² Thurloe, vii. 170.

³ *Ibid.* vii. 175, 179. The 'state of the garrison of Dunkirk' printed in Thurloe, vii. 239, shows the cost of the garrison rather than its numbers, but there are some musters amongst the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian (A. lix. 87). Nine companies of Gibbons's regiment and eight of Salmon's were mustered at Dunkirk on ^{June 24}/_{July 4}; the place of the absent companies was filled by companies belonging to different regiments quartered in England.

⁴ Lockhart was the nominal colonel of the regiment, but from August 1659 Major Tobias Bridge was its real commander. See *Commons' Journals*, vii. 760; *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1659-60, pp. 151, 105, 143; Thurloe, vii. 170, 239, 274, 319.

⁵ Thurloe, vii. 306.

though at last, after considerable dispute, half of Lillingston's regiment was sent back to Dunkirk.¹ The continued successes of the French army prevented the Spanish forces from making any attempt against Dunkirk, so the deficiency in the numbers of the garrison was no source of danger. When Richard Cromwell succeeded his father, Lockhart proclaimed Richard at Dunkirk, and the regiments there presented a loyal address to the new Protector.² The new government once more sent Lockhart to represent it at the French Court, though the French ambassador in England declared that he could ill be spared from his post at Dunkirk. 'It is certain,' declared Bordeaux, 'that unless they send in his place some person more vigilant than the majority of English officers, the enemy will find it easy enough, when the King's army is at a distance from the coast, to gain possession of the town, either by suborning the soldiers or taking them by surprise. I have not forgotten of late to point out the necessity of guarding against such a contingency, especially as I have heard that watch is not kept with such care as in our frontier fortresses.'³ The English government had so little fear of such contingencies that, at the end of December 1659, it recalled from Dunkirk the two regiments of Salmon and Gibbons as no longer necessary. Two companies of these regiments were, however, to stay at Dunkirk, and 400 old soldiers drawn from the regiments in England were promised to reinforce the garrison. Lockhart was also instructed to call in the 'supernumerary companies of English which are now in the service of the King of France,' meaning apparently the other half of Lillingston's regiment.⁴ The five companies were accordingly sent for from Amiens, but only half their number reached Dunkirk, as the vessel containing the other

¹ Thurloe, vii. 215, 238, 319.

² The address is printed in *Merc. Polit.*, October 7-14, 1659. See also pp. 874, 893, 922.

³ Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 235.

⁴ Thurloe, vii. 579; *Clarke Papers*, iii. 171. See also Guizot, i. 285. The old soldiers would not go to Flanders, so recruits were sent instead.

half was lost at sea.¹ The net result of these changes was that the garrison was considerably reduced in numbers, and as the fortifications of both Dunkirk and Mardyke were greatly decayed, and money for the necessary work was almost entirely lacking, the responsibility of its governor was by no means light. In Lockhart's absence the duties of the post were performed by Alsop and Lillingston.

III

The war in Flanders and the rule of the house of Cromwell ended simultaneously. On ^{April 28}/_{May 8}, 1659, a suspension of arms was agreed upon between France and Spain, and in this cessation England was included as far as Dunkirk was concerned.² On May 7th, nine days later, the Long Parliament was restored and reinstalled at Westminster. It seemed probable that Lockhart's relationship to the house of Cromwell, and his devotion to the service of the two Protectors, would involve him in Richard's fall. But Lockhart, following the wishes of the soldiers of his garrison, accepted the change, and submitted to the new authority. His declaration and his account of the condition of Dunkirk and its garrison were read in Parliament on May 18, 1659.³

¹ Thurloe, iii. 179, iv. 283; Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 292.

² Chéruel, *Histoire de France sous le ministère de Mazarin*, iii. 221.

³ See Guizot, *Richard Cromwell* (translated by Scoble, 1856), i. 391, 398, 402, 409; *Commons' Journals*, vii. 657, and Lockhart's own letter of May 17, 1659; Thurloe, vii. 670. Colonel Alsop gives the following account of Lockhart's speech to the garrison:

'His excellency did then and there acquaint the officers with the transactions of things in England; and did also exhort and command the officers to a strict performance of their duty, notwithstanding the cessation made betwixt the two crowns of France and Spain, giving them good reasons to incite them thereunto; and did also acquaint them, that notwithstanding the change of government, which is now in England, that we were not to look upon particulars with the same eye, that we are bound in duty to look upon things of public concernment. And although the government were altered, the nation is still the same, and the concernment of the public also the same; for which we are immediately to act; and having through the providence of God procured this town to the use of our country, that we are to lay forth ourselves to the utmost of our power to keep and maintain it for the use aforesaid.' (Thurloe, vii. 671.)

The works both of Dunkirk and the adjacent forts were still unfinished, and the place was in no condition to stand a siege. 'It would in my opinion,' wrote Colonel Alsop, 'very highly reflect upon the honour and reputation of our nation, if we should lose this town unhandsomely, that hath been so famous in our thoughts before we had it.' Money was urgently needed not only to pay workmen, but to pay the soldiers of the garrison, who were many weeks in arrears.¹

Lockhart's first step on reassuming the government of Dunkirk was to recall the three regiments serving with the French army. It was feared, according to Ludlow, that they might either be detained by the French or obstructed in their return by the Spaniards, and in any case it was desirable to reinforce the garrison now that it was no longer protected by the operations of Turenne's army. For there was a general conviction that, if an opportunity of regaining Dunkirk offered itself, the Spaniards would not be very scrupulous about observing the truce. The three regiments with Turenne, those of Morgan, Clarke, and Cochrane, which were still at Amiens, were ordered to march thence on May $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{6}{8}$, and a month later they were encamped under canvas just outside the walls of Dunkirk.² Addresses from them and the regiments forming the garrison of Dunkirk were presented to Parliament in the course of July.³ The case of the three regiments late in French service was rather hard. 'They seem to be much troubled,' wrote Colonels Lillingston and Alsop, 'that no course is taken for them, by reason they are wholly forth of the French pay; and here is nothing to be got but for ready money, and that at a very dear rate.' No provision had yet been made for them in the English establishment, but the three regiments forming the garrison

¹ Thurloe, vii. 668. A report presented to the Parliament on April 7, 1659, showed that the forces in Flanders and the garrison of Dunkirk cost 5,951*l.* per month, and that over two months' pay was owing to them. (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 629, 631.)

² *Commons' Journals*, vii. 657; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 96, ed. 1894; Thurloe, vii. 670, 694, 721.

³ On July 19 from the three regiments late in French service; on July 27 from those at Dunkirk. (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 723, 735.)

were not much better off, for though they were on the establishment they had received no pay for some time. Early in June a plot had been formed amongst them to pay themselves by plundering the town, but the attempted mutiny was suppressed with little difficulty by their commanders.¹ Parliament contrived to scrape together some money to satisfy them for the present, and sent over three officers to examine into the state of the garrison and the fortifications, and to discover how much the town itself could be made to contribute to the support of the troops.²

When the royalist rising headed by Sir George Booth broke out, Parliament needed more troops in England, and on August 4, 1657, Sir Brice Cochrane was ordered to go to Dunkirk, and to bring over his own regiment and those of Morgan and Clarke.³ He started at once, and the following account of the embarkation of the three regiments is given in a letter from Colonels Lillingston and Alsop :

‘Sir Bryce Cockram came hither about four of the clock, and gave orders to the drums of the three field regiments to beat, for to ship the men away for England ; which was done, but in so much confusion (notwithstanding that he carried it high, laying commands upon us to serve him much alike unto servants) that this garrison has suffered much prejudice thereby, by their carrying away near 200 of our soldiers, much to the weakening of our small number. We afforded him and the rest all the assistance imaginable. We spoke to the officers, desiring them that they would be very cautious in carying away any of our soldiers ; and they promised us that they would carry away none ; but upon inquiry how many are missed out of each regiment and company we find wanting near about the number aforesaid. Indeed it could not be well prevented by us, by reason of their being shipped by night ; but by information of some of our officers we hear that many of our soldiers were disguised (in their cloaths, &c.,

¹ *Clarke Papers*, iii. 283 ; they seem to have been paid soon after the mutiny. (Thurloe, vii. 707.)

² Colonels Packer and Ashfield and Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson. For their letters and report see Thurloe, vii. 694, 699, 712-79.

³ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1659-60, pp. 58, 74.

without red coats) by some officers of those regiments, on purpose to deceive us. Our number of foot here amounteth not to above 2,500 fighting men, which is a very weak garison for this place with its forts. We made it our desires to the commissioners that there might be a recruit for these three regiments, to complete them to the number of 3,000, which will be a good ordinary garrison for this place; and with fewer we dare not promise you to keep it if we should be besieged; but with that number, and the regiment of horse, we hope, through the assistance of the Lord, we shall be able to give you such an account thereof, as may become honest men and persons fit to be intrusted with the charge of the garrison. Here are four companies (two of Colonel Salmon's and two of Colonel Gibbons's regiments) who are in a very longing condition to be relieved from hence, their regiments being in England; and the truth is, they are but weak, and daily weaker by their soldiers dropping away for England.'¹

The three regiments landed at Gravesend about August 8, and, as their numbers had been greatly diminished by the campaign, were reorganised and reduced into two under the command of Clarke and Cochrane.² After the suppression of the insurrection they were split up into detachments, and stationed in various towns in the West and the Midlands. Neither they nor their officers played any prominent part in the political struggle which marked the winter of 1659. When Monck marched into England he found Clarke's regiment quartered in Yorkshire, and ordered it to Scotland to reinforce the troops he had left behind to occupy that country. Clarke became a warm supporter of Monck's policy, and kept his regiment in good order.³ It was disbanded at Leith about December 1660.

The other regiment from Flanders, Cochrane's, came to an end sooner. During the interruption of Parliament in the autumn of 1659 part of it was quartered at Gloucester, where

¹ Thurloe, vii. 722.

² *Clarke Papers*, iv. 40; *Commons' Journals*, vii. 723, 760; *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1659-60, pp. 121, 146, 195, 197.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 307, 322, 349, 352, 368, 415, 592; *Report on the MSS. of Mr. Leyborne Popham*, p. 174.

Cochrane levied money upon the district for the support of his soldiers, and otherwise behaved in a despotic fashion. After the restoration of the authority of Parliament Cochrane was cashiered, a new colonel was appointed, and six companies of the regiment were ordered to return to Dunkirk (Jan. 14 1660).¹ Upon this both officers and men mutinied, and the new colonel narrowly escaped with his life. They 'besieged their colonel in his chamber, threatening to kill him,' and sent a deputation to Monck representing the injustice of sending them out of England unpaid. Monck succeeded in quelling the mutiny, and the regiment seems to have been disbanded in February 1660.² A certain number of the privates, however, were probably sent to Flanders, and used to recruit the regiments forming the garrison of Dunkirk.³

Meanwhile the regiments left behind at Dunkirk had been going through an unpleasant ordeal. In England the Parliament, as soon as the Revolution of May 1659 had established it in power, proceeded to appoint seven commissioners to go through the army lists, and to remove all officers suspected of hostility to the republic, immorality, or religious views of a wrong shade, and to replace them by more satisfactory men. About August 1659 the process of purgation was applied to the garrison of Dunkirk. Ashfield, Packer, and Pearson, the three parliamentary commissioners, reported very unfavourably about the character of the garrison. 'Here does want a person to command the garrison whose principle it is to encourage godliness in the power thereof. We have cause to fear that profaneness and wickedness (which do sadly abound in this place) will do more to the loss and prejudice thereof than all other enemies.'⁴ Besides this, informations were sent in to the committee for

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1659-60, pp. 300, 309, 321.

² Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, translated by Scoble, ii. 341, 343; *Publick Intelligencer*, January 30-February 6, 1660, p. 1068.

³ On February 6 the Council of State ordered that 600 men of the regiment late Sir Bryce Cochrane's should be conducted to Dunkirk, but there is no evidence that the order was carried out. (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1659 60, p. 343.)

⁴ Thurloe, vii. 695.

the nomination of officers accusing the officers of the Dunkirk regiments of all kinds of crimes. Colonel Alsop, it was asserted, was 'an active man as a soldier, but an enemy to religion and godliness, especially in the sincerity of it.' Colonel Lillingston was just as bad, 'a mere soldier, who thinketh religion altogether useless in military discipline, or else he would not cherish such a crew of wicked officers as he doth.' Their subordinates fared as badly. Summing up Alsop's regiment the informer asserted: 'There are not above six commission officers in this regiment but are guilty of whoreing, swearing, or drinking, besides false musters;' while of Lockhart's own foot he declared 'all the lieutenants and ensigns in this regiment, except three or four, are guilty of drunkenness besides other vices.' Anecdotes illustrating the character of the officers mentioned enlivened the accusations.¹

Lillingston and Alsop became aware of these charges and of the intended changes, and wrote vigorously several times to the Council of State protesting against the calumnies which were circulated about themselves and their subordinates, by 'flatterers and designers and such as put on a cloak of religion to conceal their own unworthiness.' 'We cannot conceal,' said they, 'the great regret we have to understand, that divers officers here, by some unworthy persons, have been traduced to your honours, though we know them to be men that have all along served you faithfully and cordially. We cannot believe that your honours will be ready to believe detractors, but rather to credit our testimony; for we assure you, that if we did conceive or suspect any officer of this garrison not fit for his command, either in respect of his fidelity or conversation, we should be most ready, according to our duty, to inform your honours; but truly we believe there are not in all your armies men that have demeaned themselves with more fidelity, courage, and modesty, both in England and here, wherein those that backbite them have been wanting too apparently.'²

The burden of preserving Dunkirk and keeping in order

¹ See Appendix A.

² *Thurloe Papers*, vii. 723, 729, 730.

a garrison whose pay was always behindhand fell upon Colonels Alsop and Lillingston, for during the summer and autumn of 1659 Lockhart was absent on a diplomatic mission, having been sent to watch the negotiations which resulted in the treaty of the Pyrenees. Both officers were energetic and zealous, in spite of the discouragements they received from the government in England. They had a high idea of the importance of Dunkirk, and were determined to preserve it. 'If we have not these supplies and the other necessaries,' says one of these letters to the Council of State, 'we cannot answer what you may perhaps expect of us, though we perish in the defence of this place, which our ambition and desire is to perpetuate to our nation, as a goad in the sides of their enemies, and to secure our footing in the Continent of Europe, lost since Queen Mary's days, and now regained; and doubtless we ought to preserve that carefully, which the Lord hath given us so graciously.'¹

In spite of the truce, both France and Spain had their eyes on Dunkirk, and its possession was the object of constant intrigues. Nevertheless, throughout all the changes which took place during the autumn and winter of 1659 the garrison remained faithful and its officers vigilant. Lockhart returned to his command at Dunkirk in December 1659, some three weeks before the collapse of the army's attempt to govern England. He and the regiments under his command hailed with satisfaction the second restoration of the Long Parliament, and his letter of congratulation was read in the House on January 3, 1660.² Many efforts had been made to win him over to the King's cause, and Major-General Middleton, his old comrade in arms, had been employed in the negotiation, but without success. Mazarin, according to Clarendon, had promised to make Lockhart a Marshal of France, and to give him pensions and other emoluments, if he would deliver Dunkirk into French hands.³ Lockhart

¹ Thurloe, vii. 729.

² *Commons' Journals*, viii. 803; *Merc. Polit.* p. 1002. See Appendix B.

³ Clarendon, *Rebellion*, xvi. 173, ed. Macray.

remained inaccessible to all temptations to betray his trust, and faithful to whatever government represented England for the time being. His soldiers, like most Englishmen, regarded the recall of Charles II. as the only expedient which would put an end to confusion and anarchy. Pepys notes in his *Diary*, under April 1, 1660, that he was told by an officer of the garrison that 'the soldiers at Dunkirk do drink the King's health in the streets.'¹ On May 8 following Colonel Lillingston presented an address to Monck on behalf of the garrison, in which they declared their acquiescence in the King's restoration and expressed their loyalty.² This closed Lockhart's government. As soon as the King landed he appointed Colonel Edward Harley governor in Lockhart's stead, in order, it was calumniously said, that the town might not fall into the hands of the French. Harley had been a colonel in the New Model until 1647 when he sided with the Parliament against the Army; he was now member for Herefordshire, and on May 31, 1660, the House of Commons granted him leave of absence 'in regard to his public employment in his Majesty's service as governor of Dunkirk, which he is now attending.'³ His formal commission as governor is dated July 14, 1660. About the same time he became colonel of the regiment of foot which had been Lockhart's, whilst Lockhart's regiment of horse was given to Robert Harley, the governor's brother.⁴ Alsop and Lillingston retained their commands for the present, but in both their regiments, as in the two others, a number of officers who were regarded as dangerous or disloyal were replaced by men whose principles were above suspicion.⁵ All four regiments escaped

¹ Pepys, ed. Wheatley, p. 104.

² Scott, *British Army*, iii. 113, quoting *Mercurius Publicus*, May 16-23, 1660.

³ *Commons' Journals*, viii. 52; cf. Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii. 428, 437; *Portland MSS.* iii. 222.

⁴ Collins, *History of the Noble Families of Cavendish, Holles, Harley, &c.* p. 202.

⁵ For a list of the regiments and their officers see *Mercurius Publicus*, August 23-30, 1660.

the great disbanding of the English army in the autumn of 1660, for it was necessary to retain a garrison at Dunkirk, and Parliament, which had passed an Act for annexing Dunkirk in perpetuity to the English Crown, was willing to supply money for its maintenance.¹

What the cost of the garrison at that moment was it is a little difficult to ascertain. On June 29 Sir Edward Harley petitioned the House of Commons that an establishment for Dunkirk might be fixed. On August 24 Sir Thomas Clarges reported from the committee appointed to consider the subject, that the garrison should consist of 3,600 foot, being two regiments of 1,800 apiece, and of one regiment of horse consisting of 432 men. The draft of an establishment for this purpose was brought in, and a bill for its enactment read a first time, but it may be doubted whether it was passed.² The government of King Charles had on its hands in Flanders not only the Cromwellian soldiers who garrisoned Dunkirk, but their old adversaries, the remnant of the little army raised in 1657 by the King and defeated at the battle of the Dunes. To reduce gradually the number of these Cromwellian soldiers, to replace them by these royalist soldiers, and to amalgamate the two to form a garrison for Dunkirk, was the King's policy. It is necessary, therefore, to consider the condition in which the Restoration found this second army.

IV

In spite of the disaster which befell the King's little army at the battle of the Dunes it continued to exist, and eventually he got together again a considerable number of men. 'The King's troops,' wrote Lord Bristol to Sir Edward Nicholas, about a fortnight after that battle, 'come together again better than was expected, except the King's own regiment,

¹ *Commons' Journals*, viii. 163.

² *Ibid.* viii. 77, 135. An establishment for Dunkirk is given in Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, iii. 510, but it belongs to 1661 or 1662. Monck's computation of the cost of the garrison is given in a paper printed at p. 212 of the same volume.

which is totally lost.’¹ The French officers guarded their prisoners very carelessly, and allowed them to ransom themselves, if they were able, on easy terms. The officer to whom Captain John Gwynne and four other officers of the King’s guard had surrendered, not only gave them an excellent meal, but finally let them go upon their own parole for half the usual ransom.² Others were less fortunate, and remained prisoners till the summer of 1659. Percy Church, writing to Hyde from Paris on June 20, observes that ‘the King’s poor officers’ there were to be set at liberty next day, on signing a paper to surrender in case the treaty between France and Spain should not take effect. Their condition, however, was most miserable, for they had no clothes but those they were taken prisoners in, and were threatened with imprisonment by their landlords for former debts.³ The condition of the officers and men who were at liberty was sometimes little better, especially after the truce made between France and Spain in May 1659 had rendered their possible services of no value to the Spaniards. Their pay was small if they received it, and they received it so rarely that they were often in danger of starvation. Captain Gwynne tells strange stories of the shifts to which they were put, and expatiates on the difficulty he had in keeping any men together.

‘Some of my souldiers one morning came to me grievously sharpe set, and in that hungry humour sadly complained of the hard measure they had, as to be forst to beg, steale, or starve, which was not allways to be don, nor would they do it any longer ; vowing that it was for my sake they staid there so long languishing at that rate. I could not take any thing ill that eas’d them with talking, becaus, to be sure, whatsoever they beg’d, stoale, or made a shift for, I had my share of it, or I might have gon and do as they did, or not live ; therefore I seem’d to comply with them to gaine their patience but to the next day ; and, in the mean

Clarendon MSS. ² *Military Memoirs of John Gwynne*, pp. 109–112.

³ *Clarendon MSS.*

time, I would fix upon something commendable for us all to do in so great an exigence ; and so prevail'd with them.'¹

Next day, therefore, he made a speech to them, explaining that he knew as well as they did what starving meant.

'You all know very well, that not long since I was in quarters, with Collonol Careles his lieutenant, and others, and truly we had no other choyce for our Christmas-day dinner, then a well-grown young fat dog, as cleanly drest, and as finely roasted, as any man need put into his belly. And we had no need to complaine, since we had any thing to feed upon as was man's meat ; nor need you want such novelty now and then, if you do but looke well about ye when you go abroad a preying, whilst there is a care taken for a better accommodation for us. In the mean time, let's all resolve, with a brave old saying, "What can not be cur'd, must be endur'd ;" for we come here to live and dye in the King's service without scrupling ; but, like gentlemen and souldiers,

We'l here in point of honour starve, and try
How long we'l pine with hunger ere we dye.'²

About the winter of 1658 or the spring of 1659 the King's army was reorganised.³ The death of Cromwell in September 1658, and the evident instability of Richard's authority, roused fresh hopes amongst the Royalists, and while a new plot for a general insurrection was set on foot in England an attempt was made to get together sufficient troops in Flanders to justify a landing on the English coast to assist the rising. By July 1659 the King once more had six regiments, at all events on paper : the King's own, the Duke of York's, the Duke of Gloucester's, Lord Newburgh's, Colonel Grace's, and Colonel Farrell's. The largest was the

¹ *Military Memoirs of John Gwynne*, p. 132.

² *Ibid.* p. 133. Gwynne gives no dates, but says that this took place when they were quartered at Nivelles. It may have happened just before the king's restoration or just afterwards.

³ See the correspondence quoted in Hamilton's *History of the Grenadier Guards*, i. 29-30.

Duke of York's, which consisted of nineteen companies ; the smallest that of Newburgh, which had only ten. In all there were eighty-six companies, from which it might be inferred that there were between 2,000 and 3,000 men.¹ But the lower number is much more probable.

In August 1659 the rising headed by Sir George Booth gave the opportunity the King waited for. Marshal Turenne offered to provide the Duke of York with arms, provisions and ships for an expedition to England, and to put at his disposal 2,000 French soldiers for the purpose. He urged that the King's troops in Flanders should be directed to march to Boulogne, where he would find vessels for them to embark in. James joyfully accepted, but the obstructiveness of the Spanish governor of the Netherlands frustrated the attempt. On returning to Brussels he found 'that notwithstanding the Duke of Gloucester had delivered to the Marquis of Caracena the letters which his Royal Highness had written from Boulogne for the marching of his troops to St. Omer, yet the marquis would not permit them to stir out of their quarters, though he was sufficiently pressed to it by the Duke of Gloucester. But he still answered, he did not believe Mr. de Turenne durst let them pass through any part of his King's dominions without order, which he knew he could not have. Nor would he suffer to draw down to the sea side, to which he was also urged by the Duke of Gloucester when he found he could not obtain his first point.'² Other French officers, Schomberg for instance, the governor of Calais, were equally willing to aid the projected invasion of England ; but Mazarin, whilst allowing underhand assistance to be given, would sanction no overt action likely to lead to a breach with the English republic, till the peace between

¹ *Report on the MSS. of Mr. Eliot Hodgkin*, p. 125. Grace's regiment is evidently that once called Ormond's, Farrell's probably Bristol's. According to Hamilton, who, as usual, does not give his authority, the King had at the commencement of 1660 about 2,000 men in Flanders (*Grenadier Guards*, i. 32). In May 1659 the King said he would bring 2,000 men with him (*Clarendon S.P.* iii. 472).

² *Life of James II.* i. 379 ; Lister, *Life of Clarendon*, i. 464.

France and Spain was finally completed.¹ The Spanish government, on the other hand, was lukewarm,² and ready to throw over the cause of the Stuarts for the sake of peace with England. Throughout the troubles of 1659, therefore, Charles II. could make no use of his little army, and when the Restoration took place it was scattered in different parts of Flanders, not collected into a body in any single place. As the Spanish government naturally declined to continue their pay, and referred them to their own sovereign, their case was for a few months worse than ever. Charles did not bring them back to England with him, nor did he send for them after his arrival and his installation. By degrees, however, they were drawn to Dunkirk, and were either incorporated in the garrison or otherwise provided for. The Duke of York's life guard fared best, for by vote of the House of Commons on July 1, 1660, it was added to the establishment of Dunkirk. It consisted, according to the vote, of 100 men besides officers.³ The troop did not remain there more than six or seven months. Venner's insurrection, which took place in December 1660, showed that more forces were needed in England for the security of the public peace, and Monck recommended that the Duke of York's troop should be brought over. This was accordingly done, and it was added to the establishment of the army in England as one of the three troops of the Life Guards.⁴

The next to be brought on the establishment was the King's Regiment of Guards. On August 26, 1660, Lord Wentworth was appointed its colonel.⁵ Thereupon the officers

¹ Carte, *Original Letters*, ii. 269-276; Chéruef, *Ministère de Mazarin*, iii. 289-393.

² Carte, ii. 215, 230, 253, 258, 260.

³ On June 13 the Duke of York petitioned the Privy Council that his troop, 'at present in the King of Spain's dominions, might be drawn into and provided for in his Majesty's town and garrison of Dunkirk.' (Scott, *British Army*, iii. 116.) For the vote of the Commons see *Journals* viii. 77, 78. See also *MSS. of the Duke of Portland*, iii. 242, 244, 246.

⁴ Scott, iii. 65, 80, 116; *Life of James II.* i. 391; Dalton, *Army Lists*, i. 2.

⁵ Hamilton says that the commission to Wentworth describes the regiment as being at Dunkirk, but it certainly was not there till later. (*History of the Grenadier Guards*, i. 75-77.)

of the regiment, which was then quartered at Nivelles, sent him a letter representing their hard case. 'We are scarcely left one part of four who at Dunkirk battle entirely devoted themselves to be sacrificed for our King's sake, rather than deceive his reposed confidence in the resolve of his too few (at that time) loyal subjects. But having escaped the worst, beyond our hope, as to be prisoners, three parts of us perished with a tedious imprisonment and want of bread, and the few remainder here languish as having no allowance to live.'¹ No answer came for a time, and the regiment was removed to Namur for its winter quarters. There their condition was no better. Caracena, the Spanish governor of the Netherlands, sent orders to magistrates 'that they were to give them no other accommodation than vacant houses upon the rampart and courts of guard, and that [they were] to expect their own subsistence from their own King, being restored to three kingdoms.'² The officers drew up a petition to be sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Wheeler for presentation to the King, and early in 1661 they appear to have received orders to march for Dunkirk. A series of warrants for providing arms, uniforms, and colours to the regiment, show that it was re-organised and re-equipped at Dunkirk between March and October 1661.³ It was to consist of twelve companies of 100 men apiece, and Lord Wentworth was authorised to raise 1,100 recruits to complete its complement.⁴ Throughout Lord Teviot's governorship it continued to form part of the garrison, and apparently lived on the best of terms with the officers and men of the Cromwellian regiments already occupying the place.⁵ On the sale of Dunkirk to France in November 1662, Rutherford received orders to transport the King's guards to England, and from November 19, 1662, they were mustered as part of the English establishment.⁶ Finally,

¹ *Memoirs of John Gwynne*, p. 127.

² *Ibid.* p. 129.

³ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1660-1, p. 332.

⁴ Cf. Scott, *History of the British Army*, iii. 117, 118. ⁵ See Appendix C.

⁶ *Cal. S.P., Dom.* 1661-2, p. 545; Clifford Walton, *History of the British Standing Army*, pp. 5, 843; Scott, iii. 216, 220.

on Wentworth's death in February 1665, the regiment was amalgamated with the King's Regiment of Foot Guards which Charles had raised in England in February 1661.¹ The united corps, consisting now of twenty-four companies, is represented by the First Grenadier Guards.

It remained now to provide for the Irish regiments, viz. those of the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester, Colonel Grace, and Colonel Farrell, and the Scottish regiment of Lord Newburgh, which probably numbered among them about 1,700 or 1,800 men. They all seem to have been assembled about Mardyke in the spring of 1661. A letter from Sir Edward Harley to the Duke of Albemarle, dated May $\frac{18}{8}$, described their situation, and expressed some fear of an attack upon them from the Spaniards.

He had consulted with the Irish officers at Mardyke about their removal near to Dunkirk. Their opinion was that unless the necessity were urgent, 'their troops will be much incommoded when they shall be in so narrow a room as they must be if they remove under the town walls, for although there are not in the troops above 1,600 effective men, yet there are many more women and children, who take up much room.' . . .

He considered that 'the troops will be of more service at Mardyke to countenance the new works upon Fort Lyon side, and if the Spaniards will attempt to fall upon the Irish at Mardyke, then it is much more likely that the Spaniards will possess Mardyke, and make a quarter there; besides I must freely acquaint your Grace, that I very much doubt when the Irish and English come so near together they will not agree so well as at this distance.'

His information was that the Spaniards were drawing all their strength to Nieuport, Furne, Hondsdroote, and Bergues, where several troops were expected that day.²

After Rutherford had succeeded Harley as governor these

¹ Scott, *History of the British Army*, iii. 83, 235.

² *Report on the MSS. of Mr. Leyborne Popham*, p. 189. See also *Report on the MSS. of the Duke of Portland*, iii. 255.

regiments were reorganised, and a number of superfluous officers dismissed. This took place in the winter of 1661-2.¹ The Duke of York's regiment, consisting of 1,000 men, was placed upon the establishment of Dunkirk about March 1662, or perhaps earlier, being then and later under the command of Lord Muskerry.² Yet it was not for some time actually quartered in Dunkirk. 'I was at Mardyke,' wrote an English traveller in May 1662, 'the houses whereof being burnt down I saw not above six standing. A regiment of Irish, being the Duke of York's, keep a camp there, in huts made of sods.'³ As the regiment was entirely Irish there was no thought of incorporating it in the English army. Accordingly, in November 1662, the instructions sent to Rutherford for the disposal of the garrison of Dunkirk upon the sale of the place to France declared that the duke's regiment was to enter the French service.⁴

The Duke of Gloucester's regiment was, like the Duke of York's, long quartered at Mardyke. As Gloucester died in September 1660, his regiment, which was now commanded by William Viscount Taaffe, had no influential person at court to represent its necessities, and suffered greatly during its sojourn at Mardyke.⁵ Petitions show that a number of officers were dismissed during the winter of 1661-2, and a warrant for the payment of the regiment in December 1661 shows that it nominally consisted of 500 men besides officers.⁶ Probably the real number was much smaller than this, for the regiment was of so little significance that when Dunkirk was sold to

¹ *Cal. S.P., Dom.* 1661-2, pp. 249, 287.

² *Ibid.* pp. 8, 41, 313, 409, 469, 492; Lister, *Life of Clarendon*, iii. 510. It apparently succeeded Robert Harley's on the Dunkirk establishment.

³ Kennet, *Register Ecclesiastical and Civil*, p. 717.

⁴ Scott, *British Army*, iii. 216; *Cal. S.P., Dom.* 1661-2, pp. 545, 608, 632.

⁵ On its sufferings see *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1660-1, p. 173; *ibid.* 1661-2, p. 222.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1660-1, p. 433; 1661-2, pp. 167, 194, 249, 261, 364. The officers who were reduced were granted certain sums out of the money assigned for the payment of the 500 soldiers at which the strength of the regiment was fixed. Many only 389 men were actually on the muster rolls.

France the government forgot to issue any orders about its disposal. When it was reminded of this omission it sent an order to Lord Taaffe, dated Nov. 28, 1662, ordering him to disband the regiment at once. It was accordingly disbanded at Mardyke.¹

The rest of the old royalist regiments in Flanders were utilised to garrison Tangiers, which had just come into English hands. In November 1661 two small Irish regiments were shipped from Dunkirk to Tangiers. One was that of Colonel Farrell, which, as was before stated, probably represented that originally known as Lord Bristol's. When it was mustered at Tangiers on January 30, 1662, just after its arrival, it numbered only 381 men, and it was finally incorporated in the old Tangiers regiment, afterwards the Second Queen's, and now known as the West Surrey.²

With it at the same time sailed Colonel John Fitzgerald's regiment, whose earlier history I have not succeeded in tracing. It arrived at Mardyke, coming from Beauvais, in March 1661, and was ordered on June 17 following to be reduced into ten companies. It numbered 395 men on arriving at Tangiers, and, like Farrell's, was finally incorporated in the old Tangiers regiment.³ John Fitzgerald, its colonel, became deputy-governor (January 1663) and lieutenant-governor (1664-6) of Tangiers, played an important part in its early history, and was granted in 1664 an annuity of 500*l.* for his faithful services there.⁴

A third regiment, that of Colonel Richard Grace, once Ormond's, disappears altogether about this time, and was probably either disbanded or reduced into one of the other Irish regiments. In November 1661 a warrant issued for two months' pay for the regiment describes it as consisting

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1661-2, pp. 553, 573, 607.

² *Ibid.* pp. 129, 287, 288; Davis, *History of the Second Queen's Regiment*, i. 27, 31, 41, 49.

³ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1661-2, pp. 10, 129, 136, 161, 288-9; Davis, i. 27, 31, 41, 49, 65, 69, 71.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1661-2, p. 588; Davis, pp. 43, 54, 72, 82; *Pebys's Diary*, ed. Wheatley, iii. 102, iv. 271, 306, viii. 746.

only of 80 men, and after this it is no more heard of.¹ Grace himself, whose services were not unrewarded, died fighting for James II. at the siege of Athlone in 1691.²

To complete the history of the six royalist regiments it only remains to narrate what befell Lord Newburgh's regiment of Scots. In December 1660 it was quartered at Douai, and its officers, having sold or pawned all they had, were in a starving condition. According to their petition to Charles, they had received no rations of bread for the last six months, and no pay for the last six months except 5 florins apiece which the King sent them, and were all in the greatest distress.³ They were moved to Mardyke in the spring of 1661, and in the following December the regiment was reduced to two companies and incorporated in one of the Irish regiments. His Majesty, complained Rutherford, the unwilling agent in effecting this reduction, having so many English regiments, and four Irish ones, might have kept 'one poor Scots regiment.' Newburgh himself had his reward, being made commander of a troop of horse which was established in Scotland, but the rank and file got nothing but the opportunity of leaving their bones in Africa.⁴

Leaving the royalist regiments, let us turn to the history of the Cromwellian regiments which shared with them the duty of holding Dunkirk. It has been shown that in August 1660 these regiments were four in number, viz. :—the regiment of foot commanded by the governor, Sir Edward Harley, which had been Lockhart's regiment, those of Colonel Alsop and Colonel Lillingston, and Colonel Robert Harley's regiment of horse, formerly Lockhart's. When Rutherford succeeded Sir Edward Harley as governor, which took place

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1661-2, pp. 161, 287, 288.

² Grace was rewarded by being granted the sale of a baronetcy (*ibid.* p. 270). He survived to take part in the Irish wars which followed the Revolution and to defend Athlone against the troops of William III. (Dalton, *Army List of King James II.* ii. 567.)

³ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1660-1, p. 415; 1661-2, pp. 287, 288.

⁴ *Camden Miscellany*, vol. viii., 'Letters addressed to the Earl of Lauderdale,' p. 22.

in May 1661, Harley's regiment of foot passed under his command.¹ Eighteen months later, when Dunkirk was sold to the French, the regiment was disbanded.² Some of its officers subsequently became part of the garrison of Tangiers. Rutherford, or, to give him his higher title, the Earl of Teviot, to which rank he succeeded in February 1663, was appointed governor of Tangiers on April 9, 1663, and was killed in an ambushade by the Moors on May 4, 1664.³ With him perished also Major Knightley, major of his old regiment, who had accompanied him from Dunkirk. Another officer of the same regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Norwood, became on February 21, 1666, Lieutenant-Governor of Tangiers, and continued to hold that post till 1669.⁴

The history of Lillingston's regiment is less easy to trace, because the changes which took place during 1660 and 1661 are not properly recorded. Lillingston lost his commission about the beginning of 1661, and was succeeded by Sir Robert Harley, the governor's brother. In a muster dated February 11, Lillingston appears as colonel of one of the three regiments of foot, and Robert Harley as colonel of the only regiment of horse. In another dated April 8, Sir Robert Harley appears as colonel of a foot regiment, and the six troops of horse are mustered without a colonel, while Lillingston's name has disappeared.⁵ In December 1661 Harley's regiment of foot was sent to Tangiers, and landed there in January 1662 with a strength of 947 men.⁶ The Earl of Peterborough, then governor of Tangiers, wrote to Harley, whom illness prevented from accompanying his men: 'You have here come under my inspection, a regiment of the most estimable I have

¹ This is proved by comparing the list of officers in Harley's regiment in 1660 with the list of Rutherford's in 1662, and noting the changes made in 1661. (Dalton, *Army Lists* i. 18, 19, 24.)

² *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1661-2, p. 545.

³ Davis, *History of the Second Queen's Regiment*, pp. 36, 63.

⁴ Davis, i. 82, 99; Dalton, . 18.

⁵ *Report on the MSS. of the Duke of Portland*, iii. 247, 250.

⁶ Davis, *History of the Second Queen's Regiment*, pp. 27, 31, 42; *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1661-2, 194, 312, 376.

known, and that is governed by sober, able, and discreet officers.¹ It bore the brunt of the fighting there for the next twelve months, losing nearly 400 men in the year, including, it seems, both Maurice Kingwell, its lieutenant-colonel, and Major George Fiennes. Finally it was about October 1663 reduced into the governor's regiment, and so helped to form the Second Queen's.²

Alsop's regiment had a less eventful career than that of Lillingston, though its colonel achieved greater fame. About April 1661 he lost the nominal command of it, which passed first to Lord Ossory, and about three months later to Lord Falkland.³ Alsop became lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, and continued to act in that capacity as long as it existed. Many other officers of the regiment were either superseded by royalists, and degraded a step in order to make room for them, or dismissed altogether.⁴ The regiment

¹ *Portland MSS.* iii. 259.

² Davis, i. 33, 41, 49.

³ The last mention of Alsop's regiment amongst the *Harley Papers* is dated February 11, 1661; the first mention of Ossory's is in April. *Report on the Duke of Portland's MSS.* iii. 247, 250, 251. Notes of commissions in which officers lately belonging to Alsop's regiment are replaced by others commissioned as of Lord Falkland's prove the connection between the two regiments. (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1660-1, 443; 1661-2, 1. 124, 195, 325; *Mercurius Publicus*, August 23-30, 1660.)

⁴ A petition to Monck from the officers at Dunkirk shows that they expected disbanding, and only desired to be paid their arrears first. Probably they obtained them.

'THE OFFICERS AT DUNKIRK TO THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE

'1661, May.—You having been a father to your country, and more particularly to us of this garrison, God having raised you up to accomplish those things in the restoration of our Lord and master, his most sacred Majesty, to his rights, which we all constantly and passionately desired, but had not the possibility to effect but by your conduct, we implore you to mediate with the King that no officer or soldier of the troops or companies of this garrison may be cashiered or put out of their employment without first having their arrears paid.

'Signed by Colonel Roger Alsop, Lieutenant-Colonels Maurice Kingwell and William Fleetwood, and 47 others.'

(*Report on the MSS. of Mr. Leyborne Popham*, p. 189.) Kingwell, who was Alsop's lieutenant-colonel, seems to have been removed to make room for his former colonel when Ossory took the command. He was, apparently, made lieutenant-colonel of Sir Robert Harley's foot, while Fleetwood was dismissed altogether.

itself came to an end in November 1662, being disbanded on the sale of Dunkirk to the French.¹

The later history of its old colonel is worth recording. On October 23, 1662, Charles II. wrote to Alsop personally, telling him that he was parting with Dunkirk, but lest he should think his services forgotten the King assured him of his esteem, and promised to give evidence of it when opportunity should offer.² Alsop accompanied Teviot to Tangiers in 1663, and became town major of the garrison. When Teviot was killed by the Moors in May 1664, a meeting of officers offered the command to Alsop, but he declined on account of sickness. 'My own ability,' he says, 'caused me to decline the command of the place, though of due it fell to me.' He accepted, however, a little later the post of lieutenant-colonel to Colonel Henry Norwood. 'I have solely devoted myself,' he wrote to Sir Richard Fanshaw, 'to do his Majesty the best service that lieth in the power of my declining age. I do duly consider all that I can do will be too little to redeem the time that I have lost when I was more able to serve his Majesty.'³ A medal was given him from the King in 1665 as a mark of distinction. Alsop continued many years in Tangiers. In May 1676 he was joint governor with Sir Palmes Fairborne during Lord Inchiquin's absence in England, but on the ground of ill-health deputed the sole command to his colleague. He died about November 1676, having shown to a later generation the worth of the soldiers bred by Cromwell.⁴

Last of all comes the question, What became of the six troops of horse raised in 1658 as Lockhart's regiment, and becoming in August 1660 Sir Robert Harley's regiment? As has been shown already Harley ceased to be their colonel about April 1661. Many other changes took place amongst the officers, and all the Cromwellian troop commanders lost

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1661-2, pp. 525, 544-5.

² *Ibid.* p. 525.

³ *Report on the MSS. of Mr. J. M. Heathcote*, pp. 157, 164.

Davis, *History of the Second Queen's*, i. 44, 71, 74, 111, 115.

their commissions except Major Tobias Bridge. In April 1662 three troops of the regiment, commanded by Captain Michael Dungan, Captain Littleton, and Major Sir William Salkeld, were sent to Portugal, as part of the English contingent which was helping to win the independence of that country from Spain.¹ The three remaining troops remained at Dunkirk, and were disbanded in November 1662 when the place was sold to France.² Bridge, who was knighted about 1663, was at Tangiers in command of a troop of horse in the same year, and when Lord Teviot was killed the surviving officers of the garrison elected Bridge acting governor (May 1664). In that capacity he did his duty most admirably. Sir Richard Fanshaw, the English ambassador in Portugal, praised his 'unshakeness in mind' in this disaster, and the King sent him a medal and chain. Bridge returned to England in 1666, and was appointed in February 1667 colonel of a regiment of foot raised to serve in Barbados and the West Indies.³

In conclusion, to sum up this history of the two English armies which fought in Flanders, both are still represented in the British Army of to-day. One of the troops of the Life Guards is descended from the Duke of York's Life Guard, while the Grenadier Guards represent the regiment of Charles the Second's foot guards which fought at the battle of the Dunes. On the other hand, the Second Queen's or West Surrey, representing as it does the old Tangiers regiment, represents also the regiment raised by Colonel Lillingston in 1657, which fought in the same battle upon the other side. Like the Coldstream Guards, it can trace its descent to the Cromwellian army.

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1661-2, p. 344.

² *Ibid.* p. 545.

³ Davis, *History of the Second Queen's*, pp. 44, 64, 74, 83; Dalton, *Army Lists*, p. 75.

APPENDIX A.

A TRUE ACCOUNTE OF THE OFFICERS OF DUNKIRKE.¹*The Lord Lockhart's Regiment of Foote.*

[f. 85]

MAJOR HINTON walking upon the mainguard with Lieut. Coll. Hayns, the said Lieut. Coll. putt his cane betweene his leggs, and caused him to stumble. And hee called Lieut. Coll. Haynes Foole, to which hee replyed, you peevisch old fellow : whereby Major Hinton was soe provoked thatt hee swore, God dam mee I'le runn you thourough. To which the other answer'd with an oath as greate ; if you draw I'le cleave you asunder. Furthermore 'tis very well knowne the said Major is an enemy to godly men : and a favourer of wicked and prophane persons ; and being in the least crost, hee will swears horribly.

Capt. Coates, a greate gamester ; one thatt was formerly a Cavaleer, and 'tis evident doth still retaine the old principles, for his companions were those persons thatt were the dispersers of false money in this place ; and there is greate reason to beleeve thatt hee is nott inocent of thatt crime, although some have indeavoured his vindication, butt time will make itt more manifest.

Capt. Willoughby, and towne major, a gamester, a drunkard, and a whoremunger, with whom itt is common to hazard a hundred poundes in one night : Likewise an associate of the false money-merchants, and if nott a confederate, yett a favourer of them. And further an enemie to the present power, for upon the change hee declared openly for the Protector, and spake evilly of the army and their proceedings, calling them rogues, hee is a hater of godlynesse, and an enemie to the proffessors of religion.

Capt. Devoe, a prophane, proud, and fantastickall man, and a notorious coward.

Capt. Gargrave, a notorious drunkard, whoremunger, and swearer, who (although his wife is present with him) keepeth a whore within few dores of his present quarters.

Capt. Muse, a meere sott, making itt the greatest parte of his bussines to bee drunke.

¹ *Rawlinson MS. A.*, lxxv. ff. 85, 69.

Davenport, Ensigne to Capt. Riton, a horrible swearer, and as greate a whoremunger and drunkard, besides formerly a Cavaleer, and one thatt boasteth of his wicked practises.

Bromich, Ensigne to Capt. Coates, a very wicked, loose, and prophane person.

All the Leutenants and Ensignes in this Regiment except three or foure are guilty of drunkenesse besides other vices.

[f. 86]

Coll. Lillinston's Regiment.

Coll. Lillington, a meere souldier, who thinketh religion altogether uselesse in millitary discipline ; or else hee would nott cherish such a crue of wicked officers as he doth, and support them in their wickednesse.

Leit. Coll. Haynes, morehead then witt, who I doe beleeve was never preferred for his owne worth ; a notorious lyar and a drunkard, a greate Protectorian ; and was much dissatisfied att the late change. An envious person against all profession of godlynesse, who said his souldiers should nott goe to heare Mr. Gardiner preach, and did very much revile him.

Capt. Fitzwilliams, Governour of Mardike, a constant drunkard, one that was drunke twelve weekes together : a prophane wretch and malitious, for hee wished thatt hee had those Anabaptist rogues thatt turned out the Protector in his custody thatt he might dipp them in the Splinter.

Capt. Pogson, a notorious whoremunger, drunkard, and swearer, who kept a whore att Mardike untill he ketched the pox, and was forced to goe for England to bee cured, where he staid seven mounths ; who when one of his souldiers was nott able to march, hee beeing desired to provide a cart for him, bid one returne and stripp of his clothes, and take his money, and leave him ; furthurmored itt can bee proved thatt hee never made true muster since hee had this command. Richard Towsey, his Gentleman att Armes, having received severall wrongs from him did threaten him to article against him, who knowing his owne guilt durst nott venter upon a tryall, but complained of the said Gentleman att armes to the Collonell, who understanding the premises, persuaded Capt. Pogson to smother the bussines, for otherwise itt would bee his ruine ; whereupon Collonell Lillinston sent for the Gentleman at Armes, and by threatening thatt hee would punish him if hee did exhibitt any articles, and promising him thatt hee desired should bee satisfied if hee did forbear, he did therby divert his resolution, by this you may see how they fuggle together.

Capt. Brookes and Quartermaster South, formerly Cavaleers.

Leut. Sherwood, formerly Ensigne to Capt. Fitzwilliams, a gamester, who being intrusted with Capt. Pogson's company Leut. Scarfe being drowned, and to be lieutenant to thatt company, hee mustered sixteene men false at one muster, which was made appeare before my Lord Lockhart, which caused him to bee dismissed thatt employment, and with threats of casheering, butt upon submission hee did retire to his former command; yett notwithstanding hee is since preferred to bee Lieutenant to Major Fines his company by Coll. Lillingston. [f. 87]

Good men are as scarce in this regiment as in any of the other.

The Regiment of Horse.

Capt. Nicols and Capt. Mills, two eminent drunkards, and only favourers of such who are their brethren in evill (viz.) pott companions; but extreme haters and persecutors of all honest, godly, and conscientious men.

Capt. Flower and Capt. Brett doe to the utmost of their power detain the souldiers due from them: And if they act any justice or equity 'tis contrary to their wills: butt time will make their knavery more appeare.

The officers of horse are such for the greater number as dispise religion and the professors of itt; and give very evill examples to those under their command.

Dellavoll, Master of the Customs, a merchant and a privateer, by which meanes hee may more easily cheate the publick, and 'tis very well knowne he hath nott his trade to learne. And he is fitted with principles for the purpose, one of which is thatt he accounteth itt noe sinne to cosen the state. And thatt he may doe itt with more facility hee hath made his Brother Dyer a Clarke in the Customes: as very a knave as any in the Commonwealth, who I do beleive have acted their parts since their comming to Dunkirke: for Delavoll spends after the rate of 1000^{li} sterling a yeare, and Dyer after 2 or 300^{li} a yeare. And neither of these men before they came hither could bee trusted for triviall matters. They are both of them whoremungers, drunkards, and Cavalleers.

Coll. Alsop's Regiment.

[f. 69]

Coll. Alsop, an active man as a souldier; butt an eniemie to religion and godliness, especially in the sincerity of itt: holding itt a thing altogether unnecessary for a souldier to minde, and therefore

doth discountenance the appearance of religion in all persons under his command, itt is nott long since thatt Mr. Gardiner ¹ beeing by Providence in this place, hee was appointed by the Lord Lockhart to bee Chaplain to Coll. Alsop's regiment : but they refused to entertaine him : saying thatt hee was an Anabaptist, and deserved to bee turned out of towne : and had they nott beene prevented they would have beene as good as their words : Butt his Excellency the Lord Lockhart, beeing sufficiently satisfied of his ability and honesty, tooke him to bee his owne chaplin. Itt is and hath been a greife to the spirits of godly men to see prophanesse and ungodlynesse soe much encouraged in this place : butt especially the abuse of the Lord's day : for [the] inhabitants did make a markt day of itt in crying and selling their fish : whereupon an honest godly man did make complaint of itt to Coll. Alsop : intreating him to make use of his power in remediing these things, and for the better observance of the Lord's day. To which hee replied thatt the trade of the towne must nott bee spoyled. And if hee or any man else in this place were soe strait laced that they could nott endure such things, they might depart the towne. This was done in the Generall's absence.

Leiut. Coll. Kingwell a greate courtier, and a Protectorian ; who being requested to speake in the behalfe of an honest man, denied itt ; saying thatt hee was an Anabaptist, and therefore should nott have his good worde : he sufficiently manefested his enmity against Mr. Gardiner by indeavouring to render him odious to all persons. Hee is a proud imperious spirited man, who commonly calleth his souldiers doggs. A bitter and an inveterate enimie to religion and the professors of itt, who with Coll. Alsop and many other great officers in this place did declare themselves dissatisfied with the late change in England, using very opprobrious language of this present power, and were itt nott for advantage would not have complied with them.

[f. 70] Capt. Withers and Capt. Cobham, two famous drunkards, all times being alike to them : wether upon duty or nott, for itt is very well knowne they have beene often drunke upon the guard, and being captain of the watch could scarsly goe the round. These are likewise enimies to religion because itt did condemne their evill courses.

Bassett, Leiutenant to Capt. Adderton, a Cavaleer, a gamester, and a drunkard.

There are nott above six commission officers in this regiment butt whatt are guilty of whoreing, swearing, or drinking. Besides false musters.

¹ I suspect Mr. Gardiner of being the author of this denunciation.

Butt if Mr. Browne the muster-master were upright and just in his place these abominable false musters would bee prevented. Butt hee for a little private gaine doth greatly prejudice the publick.

APPENDIX B

LOCKHART'S LETTER TO THE PARLIAMENT

A letter from Col. William Lockhart, Governor of Dunkirk, of December 31 was read.

'May it please your Honour,—This day by private letters I have received the joyful and acceptable news of the Parliaments re-entering upon the exercise of their authority; which I thought it my duty to communicate immediately to the officers and souldiers of your garrison in this place; and accordingly began with those of my own regiment, proceeding afterwards to the rest, and endeavouring to set it upon all their hearts, how extraordinary and almost miraculous the workings of God have been, in bringing to pass this your last return; and how happily advantageous it is likely to prove to all the three nations, and to each particular concerned therein. I can give testimony of the general acclamations, and all outward signs that could be rendered of absolute satisfaction in every man here; neither do I in the least wise question the consent of their hearts, with the sensible demonstrations of their tongues, and countenances, especially when I declared to them the many and singular encouragements they have formerly received from the Parliament; and that they cannot expect the like from any authority whatsoever; besides the consideration of their respective membership and incorporation with the bodies both civil and military under your command.

'We have (God be praised) during the late interval, continued faithful servants to the honor and interest of our country, and are at present in such a posture, as to fear nothing from abroad, being so well fortified at home.

'I was recalled from the prosecution of your commands at St. Jean de Luz, by the same power that ordered me thither; but finding the face of things changed at my return, and my self at a loss what to do, I was at last advised by some persons to discharge my self to those who took upon them the management of affairs at

that time, and did accordingly give them the best lights I could, whereby to discern the interest of the commonwealth in relation both to France and Spain ; after which I forthwith betook myself to this place, to act here according to that trust which you had formerly reposed in me ; and I hope my presence hath not been unserviceable. But if it shall be thought requisite, that I come over again to render you a more full account of my late negotiations abroad, I shall most willingly and cheerfully do it : in the meantime, till your farther directions, I shall proceed to use all care and diligence here, both for the orderly disposing of the garrison, and the vigorous opposing of the enemy, if occasion require ; hoping that in a short time I shall receive the honour of your commands, which shall always find a ready and exact obedience in me, and all that are under my charge.

‘ I thought the great importance of this happy day would have its effects upon the spirits of our enemies round about us, as well as upon our own, though in a different manner : and therefore to express our joy, and to intimate unto them the just cause of their sadness, I have this night ordered all our great guns, both by sea and land, to proclaim our exaltation, and their disappointment.

‘ I shall daily pray that God would crown your counsels and endeavors with success, answerable to the honest and peaceable expectations of the nations under you ; and do for my own part give my self up entirely to be disposed by you, as becomes him who is so really and without reserve,

‘ May it please your Honour,
Your Honor’s most humble,
Faithful, and obedient Servant,
WILLIAM LOCKHART.

‘ Dunkirk : Decemb. 31, 1659.’

The House ordered thanks to the colonel and the rest of the officers in Dunkirk, and a letter of thanks is to be sent accordingly. (*Mercur. Polit.* No. 601, p. 1001, December 29 to January 5, 1659.)

APPENDIX C

NOTICES OF THE FORTIFICATIONS OF DUNKIRK, 1661

'That great and famous souldier the noble Lord Rutherford (who was ever to his Majesty most affectionately loyal) hath now took possession of the garrison of Dunkirk, hath viewed and examined all the stores, tried the granadoes &c., and upon a strict survey of the officers and souldiers, finds them twixt 6 and 7,000 men effective; all stout and experienced souldiers, as their neighbours can testifie.' (*Mercurius Publicus*, No. 23, June 13-20, 1661.)

'*Dunkirk*. The souldiery here are highly satisfied with the Lord Retorfort their new governor, as being a person of such known experience in military affairs, and one that hath ever had a loyal affection to his Majesties service. His Majesties regiment here is almost fully compleated, consisting of twelve companies, and in each company one hundred men. The Governor hath used great care and diligence in setting the garrison; he hath lately taken a view of all the houses in the town, to know perfectly of what capacity it is, and is now about parting the town into several cantons, to lodge the souldiery proportionably.' (*Mercurius Publicus*, No. 24, p. 384, June 20-27, 1661.)

'*Dunkirk*, September 7. The new fortifications are, by the vigilance and care of the Lord Retorfort our governor, effectually prosecuted, 300 being at work constantly; the turf work is already begun, and the foundation of the great fort (which is raised to secure the haven) laid. The neighbouring parts did for a while refuse to pay contribution; but since they found that his Lordship sent out parties, and fetch'd in such as refused it, they come in willingly, and pay their obedience to this garison.' (*Mercurius Publicus*, No. 34, p. 575, August 22-29, 1661.)

'*Dunkirk*, May 9 [1662]. The late storms at North-East have proved so averse to our best enterprises, that the officers and souldiers of this garrison, in a deep sense of their loyalty to his Majesty, and their noble desires to bare some share of that unspeakable care and toyle which day and night they behold in the person of the right honourable Lord Rutherford, his Majesties governor of this place, have voluntarily and unanimously resolv'd (and that without expectation of any other reward than the satisfaction of so

generous an action) to overpower those tempests by their united force and industry ; and resist even those storms which for so many months past have put his Majesty to so great an expence. It was this consideration only that moved his Majesties Regiment of Guards to assent to the deputation of their vigilant commander, Colonel Wise, with all the rest of the officers, to the noble Lord Governour, desiring they might have some work to do for his Majesties service, which employment they would willingly undertake *gratis*, to express their thankfulness for his Majesties special care of that garrison. They were quickly seconded by a noble emulation of Col. John Legge, Lieut. Col. to H.R., who most chearfully desired the like. The Lord Governors own Regiment lost no time in their sollicitation to follow so noble an example of their fellow souldiers, which was as chearfully prosecuted by the Regiment of the right honourable Lord Viscount Falkland. The Troops of Horse, though last mentioned, went first to the work, with the train, and all other his Majesties subjects residing within the garrison. The Lord Governor (over-joyed to see this generous resentment in the officers and souldiers) sent Sir Bernard de Gomme, Engineer General, sufficiently known for his singular skill and practice in fortification, with Mr. Jessin, engineer of this place, a most laborious and ingenious person, to mark out work for them. Twas a pleasant prospect to see the commanders and officers march at the head of their companies, with drums beating, and every one of them a shovel on his shoulder, and their souldiers expressing great chearfulness in their expression, by dancing to the work. Here cannot be omitted the singular case of Col. Alsop (Lieut. Col. to the Lord Falkland's Regiment) who all his life having been bred a souldier, doth not only give orders for the works, but also over sees our brickery, where four millions of bricks are making. With him is Col. Heylin, Major to that Regiment, and a most assiduous person. Captain Langton hath the intendance of the Lord Governor's Regiment. On the other side of the harbour at Fort Lyon we have 500 men daily at work, where our store work is a noble sight. Col. Bridge and Lieutenant Col. Knightley are voluntarily overseers in that quarter, who spend the whole day in quickning the labourers in so deserving a work. Never subjects gave more demonstration of their zeal and affection for their master's service : and this hath made so great an impression on the spirits of the burghers, that tis expected they also will undertake some piece of work to express their fidelity and affection unto that Majesty, whose favour and protection to them they hope will

ever continue. His Majesty observing with great satisfaction this generous unexpected expedition of his works at Dunkirk (where all is *gratis* and nothing mercenary) hath graciously pleased to declare a more than common concern for the promoters and actors in so noble a design.' (*Mercurius Publicus*, No. 20, May 15 to May 22, 1662, pp. 307-309.)

Marmaduke Rawdon, who visited Dunkirk in July 1662, shortly before its sale to France, gives a lengthy description of his entertainment by Lord Rutherford and the officers of the garrison, adding incidentally the following description of the fortifications of the place :

'The next morninge they went to vizitt the Governour, my Lord Rutterford, who was very glad to see them, and went with them to shew them a cittadell he was makinge of sand heapes, which he had allmost brought to perfection, and was capable of lodginge a thousand soldiers ; a place of much importance both to command the towne, to keepe itt in obedience, and likewise to defend itt against an enemie ; a worke carried on with much industry, 500 men being att worke every day ; my lord being the chiefe overseer, being al summer longe up att five of the clocke in the morninge amongst them.'¹

A description of the fortifications of Dunkirk, as they were a year later (just after its sale to France), is given in the travels of Philip Skippon, who visited the town in April 1663 :²

'We went in a boat to a fort lately built by the English ; but it is on the sand, which by some winds is so driven that you may walk over the walls. The English made two firm bulwarks which command the sea, and under them is a broad platform, and then a thick wall (not yet finished), and within the wall is a passage for the soldiers to stand in and shoot through ; a trench round besides ; beyond the fort towards the sea is another sand.

¹ *Life of Marmaduke Rawdon* (Camden Soc.), p. 93.

² Reprinted in *Churchill's Voyages*, vi. 363.