

## BATTLE OF DUNBAR.\*

A. D. 1650.

THE battle of Dunbar, between the Scots under General Leslie and the English under Oliver Cromwell, is one of the most remarkable events in modern times of a victory gained and an army defeated under the influence of religious zeal. The Scots, repenting of their share in the murder of Charles I., and having negotiated with Charles

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\* Nicoll's Diary (Bannatyne Club); Sir James Balfour's Annals; Oliver Cromwell and his Times, by Thomas Cromwell; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth of England; Harris' Life of Oliver Cromwell; Statistical Account of Scotland; Memoirs of the Protector Oliver Cromwell, and of his Sons, Richard and Henry, by Oliver Cromwell, Esq.; Memoirs of Captain John Hodgson; Cromwelliana; Relation of the Campaign.

II., who affected to be favourable to their principles, resolved to overthrow the newly constituted Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and to attempt the re-establishment of the monarchy. This at least was the resolution of that party who were devotedly attached to the celebrated *Solemn League and Covenant*, and they were supported by the Cavaliers, men of different principles both in religion and in politics, and who earnestly longed for the restoration of the King for reasons widely opposite, but who nevertheless took an interest in the determination of the Presbyterians, in the hope that their own party would be eventually able to put down their religious rivals.

On the 1st of July 1650 information was received in England that Charles II. had landed in Scotland on the 16th of June, but in such a private manner that it was not known till the 24th of that month. It was also intimated to those at the helm of affairs in London, that the Scots, exclusive of their former army, had levied a military force of upwards of 27,000 men, horse and foot, and that they had resolved to invade England by immediately sending a large army over the Southern frontier.

Cromwell left London on the 29th of June, on his march to oppose the threatened invasion, and to subdue the Scots in their own country. A declaration was printed and published, as if emanating from the English army, the commencement of which is characteristic of the times, and of the real or affected fanaticism which prevailed. It runs—“To all that are saints, and partakers of the faith of God’s elect in Scotland.” It is abundantly interspersed with what is commonly called *cant*, accompanied by bold and explicit declarations. It sets forth the reasons for bringing the late King to *justice*, as his murder is designated, and for excluding his family from the throne, for abolishing the House of Lords, and erecting a Commonwealth. A variety of other particulars are stated, sundry charges refuted, and

the King and his adherents are represented as influenced by Popish counsels. It is supposed that this declaration of the English army upon their march into Scotland was intended as an answer to one purporting to be that of Major-General Massey, and eighty other English officers and commanders, "engaged with the kingdom of Scotland in behalf of their Presbyterian brethren in England, Ireland, and the Principality of Wales, declaring the grounds and reasons moving them to take up arms in the kingdom of Scotland, and admonishing all conscientious Presbyterians not to apostatize from their first principles, nor adhere, engage, or take up arms with the rebels at Westminster." This singular document, which shows that the divisions, created in the army as well as in the Parliament by the distinctions of Presbyterian and Independent, were attended by important consequences, was dated *Orkney Islands*, but is printed without the printer's name or place. It is irritating and abusive, and contains an odious description of the army and the Parliament.

The army of Cromwell consisted of about 18,000 men, all animated by the enthusiasm of their leader, and excited by the religious fanaticism of the times. When Cromwell arrived at Berwick he published another declaration to the people of Scotland, recapitulating the statements of the previous one, noticing and refuting the slanders cast upon his troops, and appealing to his previous conduct. He assured them that he would not offer the least injury to their persons, goods, or possessions, as they were in his opinion innocent, and he exhorted them to remain quiet in their own habitations, not suffering themselves to be deceived by any crafty and false representations, which must prove their inevitable ruin as well as a great hazard to their country. The campaign was preceded by proclamations on both sides, and that by the Scottish Parliament, in which the grounds of the quarrel are stated, was widely circulated.

A copy of this proclamation was sent by General Leslie, the commander of the Scottish army, to Cromwell, once his associate, but now his opponent. Cromwell returned it to his former friend with sundry observations, in which he inveighed against the Scots for taking up arms in favour of the King, "under pretence of the Covenant, mistaken and wrested from its intent and equity." They are accused of disowning *Malignants*—the well known appellation of the Cavaliers, though the King was at the head of the said *Malignants*—"hath a Popish party fighting for him in Ireland—hath in his service Prince Rupert, whose hands have been eep in English blood, at the head of ships stolen from us on a *malignant* account—hath French and Irish ships daily making depredations on our coasts—and hath issued commissions to raise armies in the bowels of our country."

But as the allegations and proclamations on both sides belong rather to general history than to the present work, it is necessary to hasten to the march of Cromwell and the proceedings of the Scots. The army of the latter, commanded by the celebrated General Leslie, one of the bravest veterans of his time, consisted of 21,000 men, but it is admitted that many of them were ill disciplined, and, what was worse in that age, they differed in religious principles as well as in profession. It was a farther misfortune to the Scots that several of the most zealous Presbyterian ministers thought proper to accompany the army, and sedulously propagated assurances of victory, illustrated by references to some of the events recorded in the Old Testament history, and confidently affirming that Divine Providence would fight the battle for them against their enemies. This conduct and such harangues rendered the proceedings of Leslie and his officers almost useless. The General, notwithstanding his attachment to the cause in which he was engaged, was too skilful not to foresee the

result, and he would have gladly removed the ministers from the army, in which their presence did much injury, but they were too popular with the soldiers, and their expulsion would have caused a serious defection.

Cromwell's army, it is already stated, contained in all about 18,000 men, but in Scotland it was soon reduced by disease, desertion, and other causes, to about 12,000, while the Scots increased to 27,000. The latter, who viewed his invasion as an attempt upon their national independence, took their measures so well by scouring the country of all provisions, that when he marched from Berwick into Scotland he found that he could depend on no supplies except those which he drew from his fleet. This, as the event proved, was both precarious and difficult. Cromwell soon found himself cut off from all communication with the sea both by the Scottish army and the stormy weather; he was in a hostile country, all the strongholds of which were in the hands of his enemies; and the Scots were so advantageously situated near Edinburgh that they could not be attacked. In short, Cromwell had never previously been in such a distressed condition, and there was apparently no hope of relief, for the Scots obstinately resisted all attempts in his march to induce them to offer battle.

At the approach of the English army the greatest consternation prevailed, and many of the citizens of Edinburgh, Leith, Linlithgow, Falkirk, and other towns, took the precaution to remove their most valuable effects to Fife. Certain rumours of Cromwell's alleged vindictive temper, notwithstanding his declarations and proclamations to the contrary, preceded him, and these certainly derived some degree of probability from his recent conduct in Ireland. It had been alleged that he meant to put to death every man between sixteen and sixty years of age—to cut off the right hands of those under sixteen—to

burn the women's breasts with hot iron, and to destroy all the cattle and moveable property. These monstrous and unfounded imputations were seriously believed, and hence the English officers were astonished to find all the places through which they passed after crossing the Borders completely deserted. No men capable of bearing arms were to be seen, and the streets of the small towns were full of women, "pitiful sorry creatures," says an eye-witness, "clothed in white flannel in a very homely manner. Very many of them bemoaned much their husbands, who, they said, were enforced by the lairds to go to the muster. All the men in Dunbar, as well as in other places of this day's march, were fled, and not any to be seen above seven or under seventy years old, but only some few decrepid ones."

Cromwell was allowed the range of the country between Edinburgh and Dunbar, and engaged in several skirmishes with the Scots, in all of which he was victorious, but they pertinaciously refused to fight him, and the English troops were beginning to suffer privations. Their general had been informed that Leslie had resolved to dispute his passage into the county of Mid-Lothian, and in consequence he prepared for action at Gladsmuir, but no opposition was offered, and Cromwell advanced to the town of Musselburgh, six miles distant from Edinburgh, in the neighbourhood of which he encamped. He occupied the country in a line from Musselburgh to the Pentland Hills, including Duddingstone, Colinton, Braid and Blackford Hills, and towards Leith he extended to the Figgate Burn; but he was cut off from any communication with the country on the northern side of Edinburgh, extending to the Frith of Forth, by a trench formed by the Scottish soldiers from near the foot of the Canongate to Leith.

During this time Charles II. was actually in Edinburgh. On the 2d of August 1650, while Cromwell was lying

before the city, the King, who had landed at Leith, proceeded on horseback to Edinburgh, accompanied by numbers of the Scottish nobility and a retinue of gentlemen. A procession was made to the Castle, and Cromwell heard the salutes fired on the occasion. The King then proceeded on foot to the Parliament House, where he was entertained at a banquet given by the Magistrates. He returned in the evening to Leith for safety, and took up his residence in a mansion-house still standing, which was the residence of the Lords Balmerino. Here he remained some days, during which he surveyed the hostile armies. He then returned to the county of Fife for his recreation.

It appears that Charles II. reviewed a considerable part of the Scottish army on Leith Links on the 29th of July. This probably caused Cromwell to occupy the village of Restalrig, nearly a mile in a direct line from Leith, by his cavalry, while his foot encamped on the ground now occupied by Piershill Barracks, commonly called *Jock's Lodge*. Twelve of his ships appeared in the roadstead of Leith, and three continued to cruise between Leith and Dunbar. The locality in front of Salisbury Crags, called St Leonard's Hill, was occupied by the Scots. On the 30th of July an encounter took place between a party of Scottish and English cavalry at Restalrig, which continued about three hours. The former behaved at first with great gallantry, and killed a major of the English and some troopers, but some gentlemen and volunteers from the neighbouring city imprudently interfered, and their ignorance of military affairs threw the Scottish horsemen into such confusion as forced them to retire, with the loss of some killed and others made prisoners. After this skirmish the English horse and foot were withdrawn from Restalrig to Musselburgh. A contemporary writer relates an atrocious act of cruelty committed by the English on this occasion. It

happened that an unfortunate Scottish prisoner had the words—*I am for King Charles*—written in white chalk on his back. He was stripped naked, and sent to the Scottish army with his eyes, says the writer, *holkit out of his heid*.

On the last day of July another skirmish occurred near Musselburgh. A party of eight hundred soldiers, commanded by Colonels Montgomery and Strachan, successfully attacked an English party, killed a number of their horse and foot, and took some prisoners, whom they were at last obliged to quit. Not being supported, the Scots were compelled to retire with some loss. The skirmish at Musselburgh took place at Stoneyhill, a house situated on the western banks of the Esk. The attack was made early in the morning, and the guides of the Scottish troopers were a gentleman named Hamilton, the proprietor of the mansion, and his servant, both of whom were killed. The party led by Colonel Montgomery was designated the *Kirk's Regiment of Horse*, “but,” observes a writer, “in the eyes of the English sectaries, to whom they were opposed, they ill deserved that venerable appellation, for from certain loose expressions uttered by them in the heat of the action, there could be no doubt that some reprobate Cavaliers had found a place in their ranks.”

Among the many partial conflicts which occurred, Cromwell headed a portion of his troops in person against between two and three thousand of the Scottish horse, who were drawn out on the west side of Edinburgh, in the hope of inducing them to fight, but they retreated immediately when he made his appearance. One of them fired a carbine at Cromwell as he went before his troops, when the General called to the Scottish soldier that if he had been one of his soldiers he would have cashiered him for firing at such a distance.

There was an attack which Cromwell thought of sufficient importance to be mentioned in a despatch to the President



of the Council of State, and he does it in his own peculiar manner. "The enemy came on with a great deal of resolution, beat in our guards, and put a regiment of horse in some disorder; but our men speedily taking the alarm charged the enemy, routed them, took many prisoners, killed a great many of them, and did execution within a quarter of a mile of Edinburgh. Indeed, this is a sweet beginning of your business, or rather of the Lord's, and I believe it is not very satisfactory to the enemy, especially to the Kirk party, and I trust this work, which is the Lord's, will prosper in the hands of his servants."

Various other skirmishes are recorded as having taken place in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, in which Major-General Lambert and several inferior officers of the English army particularly distinguished themselves. In those skirmishes, though the Scots were often repulsed, yet they did considerable damage to Cromwell's army. Those wounded on the side of the Scots were taken to Heriot's Hospital, then made literally an *hospital*, and some were accommodated in a tenement still inhabited in the street called Paul's Work at the foot of Leith Wynd. During all these military operations, notwithstanding the favourable positions of the Scots, the citizens of Edinburgh were suffering severely from a scarcity of provisions. We are told that *meat and drink could hardly be got for money*, and such as was procurable was *fuisted* and sold at double price. The citizens were also obliged to furnish provisions for the army, and stores, such as feather-beds, bolsters, blankets and sheets, and utensils for them in which to prepare their food. The English were in an equally destitute condition, and pillaged the neighbourhood of all the provisions and stores on which they could lay hands.

On the 5th of August, about midnight, Cromwell broke up his encampment at Musselburgh and marched to Dunbar, where he received some supplies of ammunition and

provisions from his ships. These supplies were trivial, and Cromwell saw that it was impossible for him to exist in a district from which all the corn and cattle had been removed by the Scots. After remaining two or three days at Dunbar, he resolved to make another attempt on the Scottish capital, and marched back to Musselburgh, sending parties to occupy Duddingstone, Colinton, and other places on the east and west of the city. On the 10th he made some farther movements chiefly in the direction of Braid Hill, and occupied the sloping base of the Pentlands, with the view of alarming General Leslie, by attempting to cut off his supplies from the west, and interrupt his communication with Stirling. But Leslie continued to act on the defensive, and this manœuvre produced no effect. The Scottish general evidently thought it sufficient to cover Edinburgh, and to defend the principal passes to the shores of the Frith of Forth, aware that want of provisions would soon compel Cromwell to retrace his steps to Dunbar, off which town his fleet was stationed.

Meanwhile the citizens of Edinburgh were not negligent of the defence of the metropolis. They erected scaffolding within the walls on which they placed pieces of cannon, under the protection of chosen parties. A contemporary journalist records that the *haill houssis* in St Mary's Wynd were demolished that a free passage might be obtained to the cannon mounted on the old Netherbow Gate. Several houses were also taken down in the Potterrow and West Port, that the garrison of the Castle might be able to play their ordnance effectually if an assault was attempted.

At last Cromwell was compelled to retreat. He left the vicinity of the Pentlands to "fight for his victuals," and reached Dunbar on the 1st of September, in the hope of obtaining relief from his ships, or resolving to force his way into England. He drew off his troops and reached Dunbar, followed by the whole Scottish army, consisting of

more than double the number of the English, in full chase. Cromwell relates that his opponent marched in the night between Edinburgh and Leith to place himself "between us and our victuals, but the Lord had in mercy prevented it; which we perceiving in the morning, got in time enough through the goodness of the Lord to the sea-side—the enemy being drawn up on the hill near Arthur's Seat looking upon us, but not attempting any thing."

At Musselburgh five hundred men were shipped for Berwick, and the English army was daily becoming weaker. The Scots hung on their right flank, marching over the high country in the interior, while Cromwell carefully kept near the sea, which he was indeed compelled to do. The Scots had now the English army, poor, shattered, and distressed, by disease and want of provisions, completely in their power, and it cannot be doubted, were determined that Cromwell should feel the full weight of their resentment. When the English reached Dunbar, they found themselves still in a situation as perilous as any in which they had been placed. On the 2d of September, which was very tempestuous, they discovered that Leslie had interrupted their retreat. "He had blocked up our way for England," says one of the English officers present, "and our poor army drew up among swamps and bogs not far from Dunbar, and could not pitch a tent all that day." The Scots had posted themselves so advantageously on the hill above the town that an attack would be imprudent and dangerous. Cromwell knew the military genius of Leslie, who had shown himself on this as on former occasions in England an able leader.

In the evening a council of war was called, at which, after a considerable discussion, many of the officers earnestly advised that the foot should be shipped, and that the cavalry should force a passage through the Scots; but this was vehemently opposed by Lambert, who advised them

to try the fortune of arms once more, than to expose themselves to disgrace, if not to entire destruction. He urged a variety of reasons for keeping the entire army together which evinced no little boldness and energy. He showed them that it would be dawn before they could embark the infantry, and that consequently all their waggons and ammunition must be sacrificed. Lambert made several observations respecting the ground chosen by the Scots, showing that it was not so advantageous as was supposed, for being confined between a ravine in front and a hill in the rear, they could not deploy their regiments or bring them into action, and consequently if their right wing were successfully attacked, the rest of their army would be necessarily thrown into confusion. Lambert offered several other observations, which it is said altered the views of the council of war. But it is certain that before the assembling of the council Cromwell had resolved to attack Leslie in the morning. In the afternoon he had discovered that General Leslie had brought his main strength of horse and artillery towards his right wing, and that an opportunity was afforded for bringing him to action. "Major-General Lambert and myself," says Cromwell, "coming to the Earl of Roxburgh's house, and observing this posture, I told him I thought it did give us an opportunity and advantage to attempt upon the enemy; to which he immediately replied, that he had thought to have said the same thing to me, so that it pleased the Lord to set this apprehension upon our hearts at the same moment. We called for Colonel Monk, and showed him the same thing, and coming home at night and demonstrating our apprehensions to some of our colonels, they also cheerfully concurred." At Broxmouth, the seat of the Duke of Roxburgh, there is a mound of earth which still retains the name of *Cromwell's Mount*. The Scottish army lay encamped on Down Hill, but

the battle which followed was fought on the low grounds east of Broxmouth.

It is related of Cromwell, that on the night preceding the battle he gave general instructions to his army *to seek the Lord*—a customary expression for prayer. After exercising his devotions with his officers, he assumed a serenity of manner and countenance. He said that he felt his heart enlarged, exhorted them all *to take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them.*

There is a ravine formed by the deep banks of a stream which falls into the sea at Broxmouth Park, at one point passable both for cavalry and infantry, and Cromwell had occupied that position with a strong body of troops to prevent surprise. General Leslie, who knew the importance of this pass, had nevertheless taken it during the night, and at the dawn was found ready to dispute the advance of nine regiments selected by Cromwell for the attack. The English general had ordered the attack to commence at break of day, but Lambert finding the approach seized, and having been unable to bring up the artillery as soon as expected, did not commence the action till six in the morning. Cromwell was in Broxmouth Park, watching the movements of the Scots through a glass, and perceiving an unusual motion in their camp he at once exclaimed—“God is delivering them into our hands! They are coming down to us!”

The preachers who thought proper to accompany the Scottish army are accused of this rashness. In opposition to Leslie's experienced judgment they urged him to descend from his elevated position, and attack the English, assuring him of victory, and intimating to him in significant terms, that if he did not follow their advice he was no true friend to the Covenant. They declared that they had been divinely commissioned to announce the entire discomfiture

of the Sectaries, as they designated the English—that the banner of the kirk would that day be triumphant, and summary vengeance would be inflicted on their enemies. The general had no other alternative than to yield to their fanaticism, and had put his army in motion to this effect, when Cromwell uttered the exclamation above quoted.

The word issued by Leslie was *the Covenant*, that on the side of the English was *the Lord of Hosts*. The battle, which commenced with the cavalry, was obstinately disputed at the point of the sword, and the first division of the English foot was overpowered and driven back, but Cromwell ordered up his own regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-General Goff, who made way against all opposition, “and,” says Cromwell in his own peculiar language, “they did repel the stoutest regiment the enemy had there, merely with the courage the Lord was pleased to give, which proved a great amazement to the residue of the foot.” This advantage was followed up by the cavalry, who charged the Scottish infantry already outflanked, and deprived of their usual support, carrying confusion into the whole line. It is recorded that one of the Scottish brigades of foot would not yield, though at point of pike and butt-end of musquet, until a troop of English cavalry charged them from one end to the other, and left them to the mercy of Cromwell’s foot. In reality, after the right wing of the Scots was broken they may be said to have routed one another.

It was shortly after the commencement of this attack, that the preachers induced General Leslie to alter his position in the presence of the enemy, and to order his whole army to pour down from their encampment, exclaiming—“The sword of the Lord and of Gideon.” It is already stated that this false move, which decided the fate of the battle, was at once detected by the experienced eye of Cromwell, who followed closely behind his men.—

“Never,” says a writer, who claims to be of his name and family, “did Cromwell more enthusiastically and yet more calmly exert himself—never, with his slightly silvered locks, and piercing looks of stern composure, did he appear so like the ancient genius of war, less contending for an uncertain triumph, than assuring it to every soldier of the little band in whose breast his energies expanded.” Moving up the hill, the sun, which had hitherto been concealed by fog, burst forth from its dingy veil with unusual brightness, illuminating the wide expanse of the German Ocean, which extended before the combatants as far as the eye could reach. Cromwell intensely exclaimed, in the words of the Psalmist—“Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered!” This opportune quotation had the desired effect, awakening in his enthusiastic veterans the most animating sentiments of courage. They rushed onwards, and soon found that the Scots would complete their own defeat. Cromwell had scarcely said—“I profess they run,” when both wings of the Scots, and their main body, were all in disorder. The cavalry fled, and were pursued to Haddington. Cromwell halted, and characteristically ordered the 117th Psalm to be sung; and by the time they had concluded this act of devotion the Scots had disappeared. “The commander of our army was busy in securing prisoners, and the whole bag and baggage, and afterwards we returned to bless God in our tents, like Issachar, for the great salvation afforded to us that day.”

The following statement by one of Cromwell’s officers, who was himself much addicted to devotional exercises, illustrates the extraordinary enthusiasm of that age, regardless of all military discipline, and even ordinary prudence, and especially at a moment when almost every thing depended upon each man being at his post. “Towards morning we were ordered to march down to Roxburgh (Broommouth) House, all the whole army neither regarding tents

nor baggage, and as our regiment was marching at the head of the horse, *a cornet was at prayer* on the right, and I appointed one of my officers to take my place. *I rode to hear him, and he was exceedingly carried on in the duty.* I met with so much of God in it, that I was satisfied deliverance was at hand, and coming to my command did encourage the poor weak soldiers, which did much affect them; and when it came to it, *a little one was indeed as David*, and the house of David as the angel of the Lord."

Cromwell writes in a similar strain, and declares that after the first repulse, the Scots were given by the Lord of Hosts as stubble to the swords of his men. The numbers of the slain on either side are not accurately known, for Cromwell was always disposed to overrate the loss of his own army. In a letter to a gentleman named Major, residing at Hursley, near Winchester, he says—"Upon Wednesday we fought the Scottish army. They were in number, according to all computation, above 20,000; we hardly 11,000, having great sickness in our army. After much appealing to God the fight lasted above an hour. We killed, as most think, 3000, took near 10,000 prisoners, all their train, about thirty guns, great and small, besides bullet, match, and powder, very considerable officers, about two hundred colours, above 10,000 arms; lost not thirty men. This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." In a letter to his son, who then acted as Lord-Deputy of Ireland, he writes—"We were near engagements three or four times, but they lay upon advantages. A heavy flux fell upon our army, brought it very low, from 14,000 to 11,000—3500 horse and 7500 foot. The enemy 16,000 foot and 6000 horse. The enemy prosecuted the advantage; we were necessitated; and upon September the 3d, by six in the morning, we attempted their army. After a hot dispute for about an hour we routed their whole army, killed near 3000, and took, as the marshal informs me,



10,000 prisoners; their whole train, being about thirty pieces, great and small, great store of powder, match, and bullet, near two hundred colours. I am persuaded near 15,000 arms were left upon the ground. I believe, though many of ours be wounded, we lost not above thirty men. Before the fight, our condition was made very sad, the enemy greatly insulted and menaced, but the Lord upheld us with comfort in himself beyond ordinary experience." In another letter Cromwell says—"I do not believe we have lost *twenty men*; not one commissioned officer slain that I hear of save one cornet, and Major Rooksby, since dead of his wounds."

These statements both of his own loss and the loss of the Scots are suspicious. Cromwell wrote on the day after the battle, when he could not accurately state the number killed on the side of his antagonists, more of whom were slain in the flight than in the battle. Sir James Balfour, a contemporary, states in his "Annals," that about 800 or 900 were killed, and that "the horse and cavalry received little or no hurt at all, more than they were dispersed." He admits that many of the foot were taken prisoners, and many were wounded. Several persons of rank fell on the side of the Scots. Sir Edward Walker, who was in Scotland at the time, and saw the defeated officers under Leslie, relates, that about 2000 soldiers were killed, and that from 5000 to 6000 were made prisoners. "A thousand of the wounded men," he adds, "were in a gallantry sent as a present by Cromwell to the Countess of Winton. Thus, this powerful army, of about 16,000 foot and 7000 horse, was totally routed, and though not many of them in proportion were either slain or made prisoners, yet very few of the rest have since embodied at Stirling, but have shifted for themselves, crying out that they were betrayed, and that they would never fight again under those commanders, who had so basely deserted them." Sir Edward adds—

“ Most of the horse saved themselves, and so did *the committee and ministers, who fled with the first.*”

On the following day Cromwell issued a notice proclaimed by beat of drum, granting permission to all the inhabitants to carry off in carts, or in any other conveyance, the wounded men who had not been removed, and were unable to walk. It is said that he dismissed between 4000 and 5000 prisoners, who were wounded, “ sick, and almost starved,” and he sent about 3000 into England, most of whom soon afterwards died in great misery. When they reached Morpeth, under the charge of Sir Arthur Hazlerig, they were thrust into a large walled garden, where they ate up raw cabbages, leaves, and roots—“ So many,” says Hazlerig, “ that the very seed and labour, at fourpence a-day, was valued at nine pounds, which cabbage, as I conceive, they having fasted, as they themselves said, near eight days, poisoned their bodies, for as they were coming from thence to Newcastle, some died by the way side.” At Durham they were lodged in the cathedral, and the bishop’s residence was used as an hospital, but the miserable treatment those unfortunate prisoners had experienced was such, that on the 8th of November only six hundred enjoyed any degree of health, five hundred were sick, and sixteen hundred were dead and buried.

When the official information of the battle of Dunbar reached London, the Parliament ordered a day to be set apart for a national thanksgiving, the colours taken in the action were exhibited in Westminster Hall along with those taken from the Scots in the former battle of Preston. A letter was written to Cromwell, noticing his “ eminent services, with the special acknowledgment and thanks of the House,” and referring to a committee of the army to consider what medals should be prepared for the officers and men engaged on the memorable occasion. Cromwell suggested that the medal commemorating that “ great mercy

at Dunbar," should bear on one side the Parliament, "which," he says, "I hear was intended, and will do singularly well;" and on the other side, "an army with this inscription over the head of it, *The Lord of Hosts*, which was our word on that day;" but whatever device they may adopt, he says—"Only I do think I may truly say it will be very thankfully acknowledged by me, if you will spare the having my effigies in it." The medal, nevertheless, bore an excellent likeness of Cromwell, and the device of the army and the word of the day was permitted to be as he desired.

A contemporary writer thus observes on the result of Cromwell's victory at Dunbar:—"The Scots army being thus routed and put to flight, the English were resolved to content themselves with the victory, and to return to England. But General Cromwell being informed that Edinburgh and Leith were left desolate, and the inhabitants thereof fled, and that neither the army, nor the country and kingdom, were to defend it, the English General held a council of war at Dunbar, and being thus informed of the hard condition of those *two towns*, he with his forces came into Edinburgh and Leith upon the Saturday after the fight at Dunbar, being the seventh day of September, planted his garrisons therein, and commanded and ruled at his pleasure, these towns being well fortified and provided to their hands." Cromwell issued a proclamation at Edinburgh and Leith by sound of trumpet and beat of drum, assuring all those who did not appear in arms that they would be protected, recommending the citizens to carry on their lawful occupations, and strictly enforcing on his own soldiers at their peril to abstain from acts of violence and plunder. To the honour of the English army, the soldiers rigidly obeyed the peremptory injunctions of their commander.