







## LETTER

FROM

## SIR JOHN SETON,

Manchester ye 25 M'ch, 1643.

EDITED BY

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

The following letter, written by Sir John Seton or Seaton, for the spelling of the name varies, may be inserted between numbers 28 and 29 of the Civil War Tracts, forming the second volume of the Society's publications. Such a letter as the one now before us, by its natural and truthful expression, is most refreshing in the midst of tracts and intelligences conveying almost a delirious outpouring of party feeling, and written either to conceal or distort facts.

We are at the epoch in which Seton visited Lancashire, and during the war there, made acquainted with several names of European reputation borne by soldiers of fortune. The most important of these, Seton, Rosworm and Morgan, were of houses hereditarily accustomed to make a market of their swords. An old

1 Rosworm took part in Seton's Lancashire campaign. He was the German engineer provided for Manchester, and was there ill used. In Von Raumer's Historisches Taschenbuch (9 b. 1 s), there is an account of the Rosswurms, who it seems were content to bear their strange name (horse-worm) without any corresponding charge in their arms. This family had for three centuries been seated at Hellungen in Coburg, were Protestants, and never abandoned "das uralte Recht eines deutschen Edelmannes dem Auslande sein Schwert zu weihen."

Morgan was one of the earliest Low Country adventurers in Queen Elizabeth's days. Our Lancashire officer of that name first appears as colonel of dragoons (Memorials of Lord Fairfax, Somers' Tracts, vol. v. p. 387). He was detached to conduct the siege of Lathom House, and is described as "a little man, short and peremptory" (Civil War Tracts, p. 166). His last service as major-general (1657-8) in Flanders, under Turenne, was most brilliant (Somers' Tracts, vol. vii. p. 36).

Sir John Seton in 1642 had been nearly forty years in the French-Scottish Guard, but we cannot suspect him of joining the Manchester Parliamentarians. Neither can we seek the writer of this letter in the family of Lord Seton, who were loyalists. The service of Gustavus Adolphus was that most congenial to the taste of the Puritans, and in the list of his officers annexed to Hepburn's *Memoirs*, we find two colonels, "James Seaton of Gargannock, and John his brother." Sir John Seton is denominated colonel by the Parliament, and Monteth designates him as such without the knightly addition (p. 143).

That the writer of this letter had Teutonic recollections admits of no doubt. "Postees" for posts is the dissyllable *pfoste*. Garstang is made *Gerstein*; for as *als* is used, and *sch* for sh is echtes Deutsch, as is also *beil* for bill. Then his Scotch origin is not lost sight of. The past tense and participle of seek is *socht*. "The Lord knows

<sup>2</sup> Although Seton's abrupt transformation of Garstang into Gerstein, and the fraternization thus achieved between the Amounderness Garstang and its West Derby congener Garston, might invite criticism, yet the amount of puzzled etymology resting upon gar, ger, car, carr, carse, cur, ker, &c., forbids all curiosity. If Jacob Grimm could find no satisfactory derivation for the ger of his own beloved and native Germany (Gesch. der Deut. Spr. p. 545), although Camden in his Remains had freely bequeathed him one; and if Kemble held garsecg, oceanus, a "difficult word" (Glossary to Beowulf), it would ill become us to express an opinion. Carstang Jamieson says, means cart shafts in Roxburghshire. Cherestanc is the name of Garstang in Domboc. Baines (vol. iv. p. 454) calls it Church-pool, and Dr. Whitaker Gar's or Garre's pool. If the prefix here be a proper name, by a reference to an Index Villaris it will be seen that Gar was a large proprietor. Those who doubt this solution will find more on the subject in Trench's English Past and Present, p. 80, note; Richardson, gar and gerfalcon; Grimm's Deutsche Sprache, p. 36; Diefenbach, vol. i. p. 123, vol. ii. pp. 393, 396; Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik, vol. ii. pp. 57, 455, 494, vol. iii. p. 442; Halliwell, gore; also Minsheu the same word. Gaarce, (Prompt. Par.); Estang, Cotgrave, &c. For different ways of spelling Garstang, see Baines ut supra. It is Garstrang in Speed's Map; vide Jamieson, gar, ger, gore, &c.

what shall become of me" is a pure Scotticism. "Shall," says Sir Edmund Head, "is the proper auxiliary for prophecy when predicting events predetermined and foreknown" (p. 19).

Whitlock says of Alexander Leslie (Mem. p. 64): "He was not so good a clerk as a souldier;" if there is an imputation lurking in this criticism, we hesitate in admitting its extension to Leslie's subaltern, the writer of the letter before us. To be sure the scout who "ryds bake" (rides back) supplies a strong illustration of the phonetic mode of writing, but the entente cordiale and the strange conventionalism between orthogony and orthography were then but imperfeetly established, and for the period the letter is respectably written and spelt. "Lake" for leak we regard as a souvenir of old comrades, the Swedish word being laeck. The vigour imparted to the English style by changing in narration from the past to the present tense is often resorted to. "The Sergent Major takes three companies and marched;" "Lord Darbie aproches the schip and puts fire in her and burnt all, and so retired." This is foreign to the German idiom. In "threw" the northern guttural is abandoned. The enemy are said to have taken Preston "malureuslie" (malheurislie), Seton thus expressing his sense of the disaster by a composite word which gives us a glimpse of the variety of tongues in the Swedish camp, almost as complete as that which Schiller has at greater length afforded of the Babel in Wallenstein's Lager. "Worser" might be classed as

<sup>\*\*</sup> Wirser in modern German is, as Grimm says, disused (Deutsche Grammatik, vol. iii. pp. 589, 606); and worser is not open to his objection against worse, that it wants all the marks of comparison (ibid. vol. v. p. 90). The positive of this comparative perplexes Grimm. Bosworth gives yfel, evil, for it. Wer is a man, and wyrse the devil in Saxon; and our South Lancashire wurrand the comparison strengthened by the reduplication wurr and wurr, as in Scotch, is worthy of notice, as indicating that worse had once perhaps a congenial positive. Worser is in the Craven Glossary. Johnson and Shakespeare (the Taming of a Shrew, act. i. sc. 2, and Othello, act. iv.

a Germanism (Old High German wirsira and Middle High German wirser, Grimm's Deuts. Gram. vol. iii. p. 606); or it may have been gathered between the Ribble and the Lune, where the Craven dialect obtains, or, as Shakespere and Dryden used the word, it was then no vulgarism, and passed current at any rate in Paul's Walk, which we may suppose Seton frequented as a reformado colonel.

This letter of Seton's was formerly in the possession of Mr. B. H. Bright, who, during a residence in Lancashire, accumulated his extensive collection of books and MSS.; and at his death this letter passed into the Chetham Library, where it now remains. It was printed in May 1821 in the Liverpool Kaleidoscope. The envelope and the address are lost, nor is there any thing that enables us to supply their place. Seton is evidently writing to one under whom he had served, and who had provoked a letter by previously addressing him. Mr. Bright conjectured Fairfax to be the correspondent. This could not be, for Ferdinando, then Lord Fairfax, so far from having had men under his command when Seton in September began to raise his force, was at that time reproved by Parliament for endeavouring to establish a neutrality for Yorkshire; his commission as General of the North was given him December 1642 (Rushworth, vol. ii. pp. 3, 91), and Seton had then been nearly three months in Lancashire.

Essex had Scotch officers of Gustavus under him, as Ramsey, Balfour, &c., and from his army Seton's soldiers were originally in-

sc. 1) are quoted for its use, also Tusser; but the Rev. Mr. Carr calls it "a barbarous word." Halliwell states it to be common. Worser is not found in the three dialects which supply the Hallamshire Glossary, and that of Halifax has strong affinities to our South Lancashire tongue. It is neither in Tim Bobbin nor in the Cheshire and the Westmorland dialects. In truth, "worser" has very narrowly missed being received into our language (Pegge's Anecdotes, p. 76; King Lear, act iv. sc. 6; Henry VI., part i. act v. sc. 4). Lesser stands much on the same footing.

tended to have been taken, but Edgehill loomed in the distance, and he was sent to recruit elsewhere (Civil War Tracts, pp. 57, 70). Still he came from Essex's district and command. We must imagine the intimacy with and reliance upon the person addressed, which the letter expresses, bestowed on Essex and decide whether such was probable.

Now there was a third person under whom Seton had certainly served, and who was in the field against Charles. Alexander Leslie had returned in 1637 from the German wars, and by his rebellion in 1641 had wrung from his sovereign the earldom of Leven, and was again gratifying his instincts in waging a fresh war on that monarch. Seton's joining his old general was most natural. In returning to his native country we lose sight of Seton, which could hardly have been the case had he joined either Fairfax or Essex.

The circumstances under which Sir John Seton came into Lancashire are so minutely given in the Civil War Tracts that we shall merely refer the reader to them for information. Perhaps, looking to dates, Lord Derby's attack on Manchester, September 24th 1642, rather than the allowance of the Roman Catholics to arm, September 27th (as conjectured by Mr. Ormerod), was the origin of the resolution of Parliament, September 29th, to employ Seton and raise his regiment.

The criticisms on Seton by his own party were severe, and required the correction which this letter bestows upon them. John Tilsley insinuates that Seton's stern deportment caused mischief and omits the provocations under which he acted: "Truly, Sir, we owe, (subordinate to God), a great deal to Sir John Seaton: things are artificially and methodically done, past what they were before; he is a man of wonderfull care and unwearied industry, onely rather too harsh for our northern knotty riggid dispositions; had he the meek

spirit and smooth tongue of S. M. Sparrow he were peerlesse" (Civil War Tracts, p. 73). The quitting Lancaster Castle, (the effect of which was not then known but is speculated on in this letter), subjected Seton and those who followed him to the remark, "they thought the safest way for themselves was to march towards Manchester and quit the Castle" (ibid. pp. 90, 132). John Angier, (for the Puritan divines, believing that the "blast of the silver trumpet" as blown by themselves inspired "the souldiering spirit," ibid. p. 120, are severe military commentators,) thus deals with Seton, borne down as he was by a rabble soldiery: "2000 of our forces marched out for the timely relief of Lancaster, but how they were divided and diverted, walked and breathed to and fro, whilst the Earle fires Lancaster, recovered Preston, and rifled Blackburne, I have no minde to inquire, but doe sadly remember; and cannot easily forget how these tydings affrighted our Commanders out of Lancaster Castle, and exposed the Castle so well appointed to the will of the enemy, had not the mighty God, by the assistance of a minister, doubled the spirit of the heartie, (though headlesse), souldiers to maintaine with utmost hazard so great a trust" (ibid. p. 132). The main incident of the campaign, the arrival of the Dunkirk ship, is held to be accidental (*ibid.* pp. 89, 130), and that by those who, had it been otherwise, would have denounced such assistance for their enemies; in this instance they also wanted the excuse to justify their plundering the ship, which they accomplished without any misgivings, thanking God for having placed such a booty within their reach.

Seton left the county, as he proposed, shortly after the date of this letter, but not before he had secured it almost entirely to the energetic but turbulent party who so strangely accepted his services. If left to itself Lancashire would have been for the cause of Charles;

but Lord Derby, straining every nerve to assist the King, sent men and arms procured in his Lieutenancies to the Royal head quarters, and thus left his own district at the mercy of opponents (Peck's *Desid. Cur.* vol. ii. p. 433). We read, May 4th 1643: "Since Sir John Seaton's coming out of the county there hath been little action on either side" (*Civil War Tracts*, p. 100). We are not aware he ever revisited us, and certainly he had little encouragement to do so.

Of the names mentioned in this letter the reader will find an account in Mr. Ormerod's admirable contribution to the Chetham Society's volumes, the Civil War Tracts. Dukinfield was now beginning his stormy life, and could not have been more than nineteen years of age. The silver-tongued Sergeant-major Sparrow "Mr. Toulnson" was either Thomas or evades our inquiries. George Toulson of Lancaster, who were lay members of the Classical Presbytery of 1646. The rest of the principal actors with Seton were Presbyterians, and gradually waned in importance after 1647; and at no period of their lives do they appear adequately to have estimated the value of discipline and obedience in achieving great ends. In confusion and riot the rebellion in Lancashire began, and so, as Seton experienced, it proceeded; and its success is referable altogether to extraneous causes, which diminished the power of the Loyalists and acted less disastrously on their opponents. The readiness of the peasantry to adopt either party was repeatedly shown, and Lord Derby perhaps could most easily gather together the billmen, of which Seton's letter contains a proof. The soldiery on the Presbyterian side, looking to Seton's testimony and to that Martindale gives of Moore's followers, were very licentious. This under Cromwell was restrained, but by means which, interfering with the enjoyments of the people, ultimately produced the Restoration.

The arming of the combatants for this war appears to have been

a work of much difficulty, as might be expected after a cessation of all general bellicose excitement, (with the brief exception of the Armada,) since Bosworth and Stoke. We thus read of a peasantry armed with bills and a soldiery opposed to them with poleaxes. Germany poured her discarded weapons on to our shores. The leathern cannon which Gustavus adopted for their extreme lightness, (90 lbs. weight), in his Polish wars, and subsequently disused, found their way here, and a sort of caltrops at the end of long poles, which, reproduced in rude wooden engravings by the *Intelligencers* of the day, were supposed to typify the abounding malignancy of the party using them. Even such cannon as the Dunkirk ship brought were little regarded by one who had experienced their worth. "All these disasters only to get these cannon," writes Seton.

The dates necessary to the right understanding of Seton's letter are these: September 29th 1642, the Commons order "1000 dragoniers to be raised under the command of Sir John Seaton," and 16,000% is directed to be raised to pay for the same, with "some troopes of horse for the suppressing of the malignant party in Lancashire." October 3rd, the House resolves that none of Essex's army should be sent to Lancashire, but "agreed that 1000 dragoniers should be designed for the service under Sir Edward Ceton" (Civil War

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Poll axe, Todd's Johnson; as two substantives apparently rejected by Richardson. Polax, bipennis (Prompt. Par.), furnished with a double axe? It is in Wright and Halliwell "(Anglo-Saxon) a heavy halberd." Minsheu is imaginative in deriving pole axe "fortè à pull, trahere, detrahere. Genus est armorum quo hostem ab equo detrahere possumus vel potius Polonica ascia a Polonian axe." Bill an axe is not in Cotgrave as French; it is given as English, and translated "hallebarde." Bill is old Saxon for securis, and is in Beowulf. As to its derivation from a bird's bill, see Diefenbach, pp. 81, 82. We are told (1642) that "the naylers of Chowbent instead of making nayles have busied themselves in making bills and battle axes" (Civil War Tracts, p. 651).

Tracts, pp. 40, 57). October 28th, the 1000 dragoniers are on their march to Manchester under Sir John Seaton "a brave and valiant Scottish commander; these dragoniers are part of those men that came out of Holland in the ship that was forced by a leake to put into Yarmouth" (ibid. p. 60). February 9th 1642-3, Seton took Preston; before February 14th he had won Lancaster. March 13th, Lord Derby issued from Wigan, having heard of the arrival of the Spanish ship; between the 15th and the 18th he burnt the vessel and retired; on the 18th he summoned Lancaster and took the town. About March 17th Ashton was sent from Preston to relieve Lancaster, Seton being in bed from a fall from his horse, but the expedition failed; and hearing of this about March 20th, Seton set forth with fresh troops, and Lord Derby passing him took Preston. About March 22nd the desertion of Lancaster Castle by Seton, as stated in the letter, occurred (ibid. pp. 71, 84, 85, 130). There is much difficulty in giving precise dates from the carelessness of the news-writers, but Seton's letter, written March 25th, places the events he describes earlier than the printed accounts fix them.

## LETTER, &c.

My verie honble good Lord

I have received ye honor of yor kynd letter wch was both seasonable and comfortable. I am now in a worser condition wth these people then ever. For Preston is lost again to us & that by the couardlines of the sogiors & by the malignants wthin the towne who declared themselves enemies so soone as the enemies forces assaulted, & shot upon or gards wthin the towne from the windowes, weh was a cheef cause they were beat from there postees. I enjoed Preston & Lancaster a month peaceablie, & so after I had geven order for makeng of some workes for defence of the Towne, I had layd a plott for the takeng of Warinton & came to Manchester for that purpose to make preparation, The next morning Srgent Major Sparrow sends me a letter by a post sheweng me that there wes a Spanish schip blowne in wth a storme to Weyre waters and had a lake there pylot being dead desired help, The Sergent Major takes three companies with him & I sent him other 3 & thus marched towards the schip, where the Captens were come a schoare at Rosehale, the next day the Spanyards came a schoare to the nomber of 400. Upon the 3d day my Lord comes over the ford at Hiskebank wth 300 horse, Our foote wold not advance to the schip fearing that my Lord had had foote as well as horse, so they marched over to the oth<sup>r</sup> syde of the water to preserve the amunition w<sup>ch</sup> they had gotten out of the schip, there were but 12 musquetirs left in the schip & these fled away, so my Lord of Darbie aproches the schip & puts fire in her & burnt all, and so retired home again att the ford of Hiskebank, Then Colonell Doddin & Mr. Toulnson were taken prisoners, for they wold not belive but yt the enemie were our people, they were so drunk wth Joy of the schip, web tho it was burned we recovered all the ordinance to the nom-

ber of 22, wherof 8 were of brass, 2 demi cannons, one minion, 5 sacres wherof 3 were broke & made useles. In this interim yt we got up the Canons to the Castle of Lancaster, Sir John Girlinton & Mr. Teilslie & others had sent for forces from some parts of Yorkscheare & got a quantitie of armes, & so invited my Lord to come again they wold joyn wth his Lo: wch my Lord did, returned presentlie wth 7 Companies of foote, 5 troops of horse, 3 peeces of cannons & beeing in the Fyld Countrey where all are papists, they resorted all to him win the best armes they had, some musquets many horse & infinit nombers of beilmen, Just about this time the sogiors of Preston rose up in a mutine, about a 100 mad men wth polaxes & they socht to have my heart blood, why forsuth. I had geven a sogior a knok or 2 for shooteng off his peece between 6 & 7 at nicht after the watch was sett, by Gode mercie I had past threw a howse neere to the gard & so went threw barns & stables to see some feeld to make a work upon, presentlie these furious sogiors followed me & socht me in that howse but found me not, watched my lodgeng with a gard all night to catch me if I should go home, Comanded the gards at every avenu not to let me out of Towne, so yt I wes forced to ly out of my howse that nicht, and the next morneng was faine to leepe ditches & hedges to get to Lancaster for they had beset all passages to kill me. when I came to Lancaster there wes 8 copanies of sogiors, ye canons were carieng up to the Castle, Manchester Bolton Preston were stryyeng who should have the best peeces, but haveng intelligence yt Tilslie was to joyne with my Lord & to assault Lancaster I removed from yt place and retorned to Preston for then the sogiors were a litle apeased by pswasion of Collonell Schutleworth, I sent for all the troopes I could have from Blakborne & Bolton, & had comanded Colonell Holland wth his regement from Manchester to set upon Warinton, I got 12 Companies of foote togither, but haveng received a great falle from my horse yt nicht I came from Lanc I could not stur out of my bed & am not well as yet: but I sent Coll. Asshton wth 9 Companies & keept but 3 in Towne, & so I comanded him to march foreward & assalt the enemie in the reare, The 8 comps in Lancr in the van wold be a means to

relive them of Lanc<sup>r</sup> who were beseeged by these Troopes. Coll being halfe way at Gerstein had no Corage to go on, sheweng that the enemie wes strong and if they should be beatten the Countie were lost, I wrot to him to stay there yt wold amuse the enemie, he called the councell of warre we's were all of his mynd to returne again the next day, They were not so soone out of yt place but 2 scouts of the enemies ryds bake & advertises them Imediatelie they assault Lancr & were beatten of again, had not a sogior cryed we have no powder, so they made a fresch assault, & came & burnt the Towne for the most pt. our sogiors retired to the Church & the Castle, I heireng of this, knew yt in case I relived them not presentlie they must render men, armes & Canons to the enemie The next day I got upon my horse sore as I wes wth eleven Comp. of foote some few ill monted horse who durst not looke the enemie in the face, & wth these I marched to Lance haveng left in garison in Preston 4 comps of foote a troope of horse of Capt Dukinfield wth 500 clubmen Coll. Holland beng in towne & Sergent Major Chantrell I marched in a closse way haveng no horse nor Canons yet in vew of the enemie So soon as I was past, they knew I wold relive Lance. The enemie marched foreward to attempt against Preston weh they carried malureuslie. I wes to march from Lancr wth the troupes about 2 of the clok again but no sogior wold stur in regard they were weried, having marched 20 myls, The next morning being reddie to march, none wold stay in Lance. Coll. Stanlies 3 Comps who were into it caused beat there drums in spyt of my teeth, & when I caused schut the gates, they swore they wold fyre the Canons & the castle & be gon, so yt I was faine to cause set open the gates, none of Coll. Schutleworth regemt wold stay, so yt I was in a greater pplexitie then ever, At last 2 of Coll. Hollands regem<sup>t</sup> sayd, Sir we will stay if yow will stay, but not els I wes forced to stay in the castle, and send the other awy to Preston, but about midway news came to them yt Preston wes taken by my Lord, Sergent Major writs this to me by a post & desires me to retire my selfe by the way of Clethro & by nicht othrwys I could not escape I Mayd this known to the 2 Captens wth me, They seyd this was no place for me to be in, nether wold they stay after me, so I parted out of the castle & wrot to the liftenents, how things stood, desired them If the sogiors wold not stay to defend the castle to retire the same way to Clethro. It seems the Comps has gotte salt beef & porke for a month or 2 & ther is water in the Castle, so yt If we can relive them against yt tyme it is well, but I dispare of yt seeing it is to fare for us above 40 myls. This schip has bin the cause of all or sorrow haveng or troopes devyded onely to gett these Canons. But it is Gods pleas thus to deale wth vaine men, who puts there Confidence in Canons & men more then in God. And now I am att Manchester scarslie dare I come to the streets for feare of killing of me, Wee are presentlie to go to the feelds to seeke the enemie & ether feeht wth them or attempt some Towne, But yet I am in als bad a Case as before the sogiors say they will kill me because I gave them not the plundrage, & Papists goods of Preston weh I never medled with. The Lord knows what shall become of me, I wish I were transported safe to yor Lo: for I can not live in securitie hier, nether have I gott a sexpence to mentean my selfe & people, haveng 8 horses & 6 servants weh I brocht from London. I was interteined by the gentilme of Lance for 3 months onelie, now the last of March my tyme is expired, & then I will stay no longer, But If I can gett away wth my lyfe I intend to come & see yor Lop wheresoever yow be, The Lord be wth you & gyd you in all yor honble & Christian deseins as for me I think my selfe much yor servand & at all occasions shalbe reddie to express it as he who shall ever remain

> My Lord Yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>ps</sup> most hūble & faithfull Servant, Јонан Ѕетон.

Manchester ye 25 of M'ch 1642.5

If I had bin w<sup>th</sup> the troops when they went from Lanc<sup>r</sup> I had assalted Preston again or died in y<sup>e</sup> place, but o<sup>r</sup> men retired to Ribchester.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The year 1642 O.S. expiring 24th March, this letter, written on old New-Year's Day, should have borne the date of 1643, as confirmed by internal evidence. It has been docketed on the margin of the second page in a contemporary handwriting, "Sr John Seaton, March 25, 1643."





