

The Original Officer List of the New Model Army

THE CREATION of the New Model Army in 1645 was of more than military significance. It was an event of the greatest political importance, and it led to an end of the Civil War with victory for the parliament over the king. Parliament's earlier commanders, the earls of Essex and Manchester, were given armies not because they were excellent soldiers but because they held titles and positions of social prominence. Essex and Manchester looked upon battles as occasions for rebuke of an intemperate sovereign, not as opportunities for victory over him. Essex and Manchester represented a mentality which seems to have been typical of that group of parliamentary supporters whom for convenience we may call 'moderates'. Some of these men were Presbyterians, and their Scottish allies certainly were. But much progress occurred when historians abandoned the imprecise and misleading name of 'Presbyterians' for that of 'moderates'. Similarly, the name 'Independents' has been jettisoned as a descriptive term for those better called 'radicals', despite the fact that many of them were indeed religious Independents.

The attitude of a radical during the Civil War might be described as a desire to see an actual victory over the king, as opposed to a mere prevention of defeats and administering of rebukes. As the Civil War dragged on, with parliament's position in the jeopardy inevitably created by commanders such as Essex and Manchester who were actually fearful of the consequences of outright victory and refused to act in such a way as to obtain it, a New Model Army was proposed by the radicals, with the ingenious Self-Denying Ordinance as a step towards this end.

Many M.P.s who were 'floating voters' in parliamentary divisions sided with the radicals' proposals for the obvious reason that they thought things could not go on any longer as they were. The country was ravaged by warfare and parliament's position threatened. Many M.P.s who might previously have been timid at the prospect of actually defeating the sovereign evidently decided that a victory by parliament was the best way to end the nation's misery. On 21 January 1645 the moderate leaders Denzil Holles and Sir Philip Stapleton (acting as tellers) marshalled all their strength in parliament to prevent the radical Sir Thomas Fairfax being named commander-in-chief of a New Model Army. They failed by 101 votes to 69, with Oliver Cromwell and Sir Henry Vane the Younger as tellers for the majority.¹

Subsequent events were dominated by the radical leader, John Lisle (later vice president of the high court of justice to try the king), who by 21 January at the latest was chairman of the committee for the New Model of the Army. Other names for this committee are revealing, to say the least. A letter to Lisle of 21 January is addressed to him 'in the chaire for the Lord Generalls list' and the envelope is addressed 'for the honorable Mr Lyle chayreman at the committee

¹ *Commons Journals*, iv. 26a.

for reforming My Lord Generalls army'.² Reforming the army of the earl of Essex was thus seen as the main thrust of Lisle's duties from the beginning. After Fairfax was named on this date as the new commander, the committee was sometimes styled Committee for Establishment of the Army and even 'the Committee for Sir Thomas Fairefax's army'.³ It is remarkable and unfortunate that a book published in recent years about the formation of the New Model Army does not even mention Lisle's role.⁴ Not only was Lisle chairman of the relevant committee determining events, but he was frequently reporting to the House or otherwise mentioned in the *Commons Journals* as handling the business of the New Model.⁵ Lisle had been involved in the investigation of Cromwell's complaints against Manchester, was a close ally of Cromwell and later was to be one of the chief supporters of the Protectorate.

A separate committee, the Committee for Regulating the Army, under the chairmanship of Zouch Tate, was entrusted with finding commands for officers excluded from the New Model.⁶ A recent historian has mistaken this committee for the Committee for the New Model under Lisle, and thereby gone seriously astray in interpretation.⁷

Discussion of the New Model Army has been much hampered by lack of the original officer list and hence ignorance of which officers were named, which objected against and which offered as replacements by the house of lords. This crucial list was unknown to Sir Charles Firth and Godfrey Davies, authors of the fundamental book on the subject, *The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army*.⁸ This meant that the orders and identities of the New Model regiments were undefined. Firth and Davies were reduced to referring to regiments in their chapter headings by such cumbersome means as the following: 'The Regiment of Fairfax, Cromwell, Goffe, Cromwell, Goffe, Ludlow, Morley, and the Earl of Peterborough'. Clearly, referring to regiments in this way by their lengthy successions of commanders is hopeless. But how else can one identify them? They have never been numbered. No one has ever spoken of a 'First Regiment' or a 'Ninth Regiment'.

There is now a solution to this problem, since the original officer list, drawn up by Fairfax, was discovered independently by the author and Professor Mark Kishlansky several years ago in the House of Lords Record Office, and is now printed here for the first time.⁹ The list was read on the floor of the house of commons on 28 February 1645.¹⁰ The house of lords then drastically amended it, with the earls of Essex and Manchester as the chief amenders. The Commons refused to accept these amendments, and the Lords backed down and agreed to accept the unamended list on 18 March.¹¹

The discovery of the original officer list means that from now on historians can

² Public Record Office, SP 16/506/43. All documents cited are in the P.R.O. at Chancery Lane, unless otherwise stated.

³ *C.J.*, iv. 28b, 79b.

⁴ M. A. Kishlansky, *The Rise of the New Model Army* (Cambridge, 1979).

⁵ *C.J.*, iv. 27a, 28b, 43b, 44b, 69b, 70a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 26b, 73a-b.

⁷ See n. 4.

⁸ Sir C. Firth and G. Davies, *The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army* (1 vol. in 2, Oxford, 1940), hereafter referred to as F. & D.

⁹ The theft by car thieves of the author's notes on the New Model Army has delayed publication by two years.

¹⁰ *C.J.*, iv. 64b, 65a.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 83a.

and should adopt Fairfax's own numbering. In his list for the Horse, Fairfax himself numbered the regiments as 1 to 11, with the Dragoons unnumbered (since dragoons were anomalous, being mounted infantry). And in his list for the Foot, he numbered the initial regiment (his own) as 1, neglecting, however, to do so for the subsequent ones. Thus at last there is a convenient way of referring to the New Model regiments which avoids the hopeless confusion of the past.

There are, however, further benefits. All lists of New Model officers in 1645 previously available have been incomplete or unreliable. The colonels have been printed in the *Commons Journals*¹² and in John Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, although Rushworth's list is a later one.¹³ An unreliable version of the original officers' list was printed in the *Lords Journals* for 13 March,¹⁴ containing such errors as Owen for Bowen, Bisser for Butler and Tubbs for Jubbs; it also adds the name of Captain Fulke Muskett to fill the gap in the 1st Regiment of Foot and that of Captain John Bampffield as an additional officer of the 6th Regiment of Foot. This list gives no indication whatever of the Lords' amendments to Fairfax's original list. Firth and Davies, who knew only this printed list, wrote as if in complete ignorance of many of the original officers, not mentioning their existence at all, which leads to the supposition that their book was largely completed before even the printed list was brought to their attention. The original officers' list is the only source for names of officers whom the Lords wished to purge as well as the officers whom the Lords wished to insert, and it makes possible a political analysis of the struggle over the formation of the New Model Army.

The original list in the House of Lords Record Office is annotated with the Lords' proposed changes. For convenience, it is here given in three sections: the basic list of officers, the Lords' amendments, and a list of the officers whom the Lords wished to insert. Both lists are given in an expanded format, with Christian names added when known.

In the footnotes, whenever possible, the locations of the personal accounts of the officers are given.¹⁵ These documents range from scraps of paper giving barely any information at all to documentation so full that it is practically the outline of an autobiography, complete with personal correspondence. Some indication is also given of dates of death and, if possible, the names of widows and other relatives, for the benefit of future researchers.

Since the Lords' amendments were rejected, why concern ourselves with them? The reason is that by studying them, the true political situation may be ascertained. The Lords wished to purge the New Model of its leading radicals and to substitute moderates for them. This can no longer be open to question. An analysis of the officers whom the Lords wished to insert into the New Model Army may be gleaned from the footnotes to the list of them. Only one officer, Thomas Pride of the 9th Regiment of Foot, can be viewed as a radical. And yet we have no evidence whatever that Pride was known to be a radical in 1645: our view of him as a radical is retrospective from 1647. Pride's insertion was an intended reinstatement into a regiment in which he had continuously served

¹² *C.J.*, iv. 26a-b. See also *ibid.*, p. 15a; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Portland MSS.*, i. 201.

¹³ *Historical Collections*, ed. J. Rushworth (2nd edn., 8 vols., 1721-2), vi. 13. In this list, Col. Thomas Aylofffe has been replaced by Col. Thomas Rainsborough, and Col. Nathaniel Rich by Col. Sir Robert Pye (see *C.J.*, iv. 65b).

¹⁴ *Lords Journals*, viii. 278-9. By this time, the blank captaincy on the original list in Fairfax's own regiment of foot had been filled.

¹⁵ From the uncatalogued SP papers.

since 1642. Furthermore, Pride had at least one, and possibly as many as four, peers to sponsor him.¹⁶

Apart from the anomaly of Thomas Pride, all the evidence available concerning the political persuasions of the officers whom the Lords wished to insert is that they were keen moderates. Of the forty-five officers other than Pride, thirteen are known to have been moderates¹⁷ and fourteen are strongly suspected of having been moderates.¹⁸ That leaves only seventeen of whom we have no knowledge regarding their political persuasions at present.

In some cases, the men suggested as replacements by the Lords were violent partisans of the moderate cause who had actually been cashiered for mutiny. The earl of Manchester wished to reinstate two such officers, Papley and Taylor, who were his supporters. Manchester also wished to purge his enemies who had testified against him when Cromwell challenged his capacities for command and impugned his loyalty to parliament. There can be no doubt that Essex, Manchester and the earl of Denbigh had all suffered blows to their pride (which by all accounts was considerable), and that personal spite on their part intensified their shared political objective, which was to strip the New Model of its radicals and fill it with moderates. Since the New Model officers were by no means exclusively radical, the Lords sought to destroy any semblance of balance by making the New Model a predominantly moderate force despite its radical general. We may thus view the suggestions of the Lords as the extremist position, which was to create an army which would be partisan to their particular faction. The radicals, on the other hand, had shown themselves willing to tolerate the moderates as colleagues in the joint task (as they viewed it) of achieving victory over the king. It was consequently the moderates who were the more intolerant of the two factions, which somewhat belies the name adopted for them: their moderation was towards their enemies the royalists, whereas they were immoderate towards their allies the radicals. The radicals in the army put up with them until 1647, when the strains became too great, and one faction or the other had to go: it was the moderates who went.

The selection of the New Model Army's original officers was thus a crucial political struggle. Victory by the radicals in this struggle meant not that moderates were purged from the New Model, but that *radicals were not purged*. By preventing the efforts of Holles and Stapleton to remove Fairfax, and of the Lords to purge the other radical officers, the radicals retained the right to exist as a force, and they enjoyed the crucial advantage over their rivals that the New Model Army's commander was himself a radical. Positive benefits from that were felt very soon in the appointments to colonelcies of Henry Ireton and Nathaniel Rich, by a Fairfax free to appoint whom he wished. The first was done as an extraordinary promotion from captain to colonel, and the second was done in express defiance of earlier votes by both the Commons and the Lords. Furthermore, in June Oliver Cromwell himself was appointed to command a regiment, in complete disdain of the inhibitions supposedly incumbent upon all by the spirit of the Self-Denying Ordinance. The radicals had every reason to feel

¹⁶ See n. 204; two of them, Lords Pembroke and Dacre, were active in the house of lords at the time (*L.J.*, vii, *passim*).

¹⁷ Colonels William Herbert and William Ogleby, Lt.-Col. Henry Grey, Majors Jonathan Newcomen, Robert Papley and Robert Sterling and Captains Jeremiah Abercrombie, Lord Caulfield, Thomas Cooper, Hayles, Charles Holcroft, Denys Taylor and Edward Wogan.

¹⁸ Col. Mill (definitely a moderate if correctly identified as Col. Sir John Mill), Lt.-Col. William Hunter, Majors Gilbert Carr, Alexander Urry, Archibald Urry, William Urry (all 4 Scots), Captains Thomas Evans, William Frampton, William Hender (see n. 220), John and Samuel Moody, John Penn, Mathew Short and Henry Wansley.

satisfied for the moment. The formation of the New Model Army was thus ultimately a disaster for the moderate faction, compounded by the fact that other moderates, such as Colonel Aldrich and several Scottish officers, declined to take up their commands.

As for the officers whom the Lords had wished to exclude or demote, they included men who were to be among the most important radical leaders in coming years: Henry Ireton, Thomas Harrison, John Hewson, John Okey, Isaac Ewer, Thomas Horton (all later regicides), Thomas and William Rainsborough (both Levellers) and Nathaniel Rich (a Fifth Monarchy man, as was Harrison); Daniel Axtell and Matthew Thomlinson were to be associated also with the act of regicide. Others were related or closely associated with leading radicals: Philip Cromwell, John Blagrove, Thomas Ireton, William Bough and probably Captain Francis Allen. Another fourteen were or became radicals,¹⁹ and a further eight are strongly presumed to have been radicals.²⁰ Such a long list amounting to thirty definite radicals and eight presumed radicals represents an attempt at a very considerable radical purge for the New Model Army. Some men not listed to be purged were later well-known radicals, but one such, Colonel Edward Whalley (a later regicide), was universally regarded in 1645 as a 'Presbyterian', as his chaplain, Richard Baxter, explicitly states.²¹ Nor can we assume that Whalley's son-in-law, the future radical William Goffe (not listed to be purged), was seen in 1645 as a radical; not only was he very young, but his brother was Queen Henrietta Maria's private chaplain and a Jesuit, while another brother was a Laudian clergyman.

For some of the officers listed to be purged, we have no evidence of their political persuasions. In many cases they were killed too early to have taken sides in 1647, and we know nothing but their bare names. Undoubtedly, further research into the New Model officers will yield more information about their political positions, religious opinions, family backgrounds and careers. But already we can clearly draw the conclusion that the house of lords attempted to purge the New Model of most of its leading radicals and in their places to substitute moderates. The factional struggles between radicals and moderates were thus already intense by this time in the parliamentary camp. They were to intensify and become more bitter, as with the defeat of the king, the struggle for control of the country and its destinies lay essentially between those groups.

ROBERT K. G. TEMPLE

I. *The Original Officers of the New Model Army, based on House of Lords Record Office, Main Papers, 10 March 1645*

The Foot

First Regiment of Foot

Colonel: General Sir Thomas Fairefax [*recte* Fairfax]

Lieutenant-Colonel [Thomas] Jackson²²

¹⁹ Colonels Edward Montagu and John Pickering, Lt.-Col. Mark Gryme, Majors Christopher Bethell, William Cowell, John Jubbes and Thomas Reade, Captains William Coleman, Edward Dendy, Thomas Disney, Samuel Gardiner, John Jennings, William Packer and William Wilkes.

²⁰ Maj. Thomas Kelsey and Captains John Carter, Reynold Gale, (Martin?) Husbands, George Jenkins, Thomas Price, Thomas Selby and John Silverwood.

²¹ See n. 137.

²² Accounts: SP 28/267 part 1/83. Jackson was one of the most prominent anti-radicals in the army, as was Samuel Gooday of this regiment, who later became major. They, Boyce and Muskett, were the only ones of these officers still in place in 1647, and all opposed the radicals. The regiment eventually mutinied against them (F. & D., pp. 317-25).

Major [Gabriel?] Cooke, senior²³
 Captain [Thomas?] Cooke, junior
 Captain [Richard] Beaumont [*recte* Beaumont]
 Captain — [*later filled by Fulke Muskett*²⁴]
 Captain — Maneste [*recte* Manesty]²⁵
 Captain [Vincent] Boyce²⁶
 Captain [Samuel] Gooday
 Captain [Thomas] Johnston²⁷

Second Regiment of Foot

Colonel: Major-General [Philip] Skippon
 Lieutenant-Colonel [John?] Frances [*recte* Francis]²⁸
 Major [Richard] Ashfield [*recte* Ashfield]
 Captain Samuel Clarke²⁹
 Captain [Edward] Streaton [*recte* Streater]³⁰
 Captain [James] Harrison³¹
 Captain John Clarke
 Captain [Moris] Bower [*recte* Bowen]³²
 Captain [Devereux] Gibbon [*or* Guybon³³]
 Captain [John] Cobbett³⁴

Third Regiment of Foot

Colonel: Major-General [James] Holborne³⁵

²³ Cooke was formerly a captain from the army of Essex and a signatory of the 1644 petition of the infantry (House of Lords Record Office, Main Papers, 21 Dec. 1644). He was killed at Bristol.

²⁴ Muskett had been a lieutenant in the regiment of the earl of Essex as early as 1642 and by 1645 was a captain. The Commons wished him and Lt.-Col. John Bamfield (or Bampfield) to be captains in the New Model but, for reasons which are entirely obscure, the Lords objected. The Commons put them both forward on two separate occasions (*C.J.*, iv. 76b, 79b). Muskett was eventually a captain but Bamfield never served in the New Model.

²⁵ Dead by 1646 (*F. & D.*, p. 317).

²⁶ To be distinguished from Capt. John Boyce of the 4th Regiment of Foot.

²⁷ To be distinguished from Capt. Robert Johnston who had served in the earl of Manchester's regiment of foot and was a different person whose accounts are in SP 28/265 part 2/115, 126, 163-4, 191, 204.

²⁸ Accounts: SP 28/265 part 3/303-9. Killed at Naseby. Francis had served with Skippon since at least May 1643 (*F. & D.*, p. 430).

²⁹ Accounts: SP 28/266 part 2/11-15. He had been Skippon's lieutenant from 22 Nov. 1642, and a captain from 18 June 1643. By Oct. 1648 he and John Cobbett of this regiment were radicals (*F. & D.*, p. 459).

³⁰ Accounts: SP 28/266 part 3/121-6. This officer was entirely unknown to Firth and Davies.

³¹ Accounts: SP 28/266 part 3/99-103. To be distinguished from Maj. Thomas Harrison of the 4th Regiment of Horse, the future regicide.

³² To be distinguished from Capt. Henry Bowen of the 7th Regiment of Foot. This officer was unknown to Firth and Davies. He, Ashfield, Francis, Streater, Harrison and both Clarkes were all in the regiment of Skippon in Dec. 1644, when they signed the 1644 petition of the infantry.

³³ He may eventually have been succeeded in his captaincy by a relative named Robert Gibbon: Firth and Davies thought they were the same man and did not know of this man's separate existence. His identity was revealed by a letter from Fairfax dated 11 Apr. 1645, which bears overleaf a receipt of 18 Apr. signed by Gibbon, who is also named in the letter (SP 16/539 part 3/278). Since he signed 'Deverx: Guybon', it is quite likely that he was French, and Gibbon was an Anglicized form of his surname.

³⁴ Accounts: SP 28/266 part 3/127-32. He was unusual for a New Model officer in having been a pre-1643 reformado (*ibid.* fo. 127). By 1647 he was an extreme radical, and by 1648 was praised in print by John Lilburne as a Leveller. He seems to have come from Snowhill, near Broadway, Glos. (*F. & D.*, pp. 432-3), or possibly from a place of that name in Surrey or in East Sussex.

³⁵ Holborne declined to serve; his command was given to Sir Hardress Waller, a future regicide. Holborne was a Scottish officer; the petitions of him, Col. Barclay, Barclay's lieutenant-colonel Innes, and 'Col. Mills' (Col. Sir John Mill) were all reported to the house of commons on 22 Apr.

Lieutenant-Colonel [Ralph] Cottesworth [*recte* Coatesworth]³⁶
 Major [Thomas] Smith
 Captain [Peter?] Cannon³⁷
 Captain [John] Gorges³⁸
 Captain [Richard] Holden [*recte* Hodden]
 Captain [John? Laurence?] Wade
 Captain [Thomas] Gorges³⁹
 Captain [Richard] Hill⁴⁰
 Captain [John?] Blackmore

Fourth Regiment of Foot

Colonel: Major-General [Lawrence] Crawford⁴¹
 Lieutenant-Colonel [Isaac] Ewer [*recte* Ewer]⁴²
 Major [Robert] Saunders⁴³
 Captain — Eaton [Eyton?]
 Captain [Israel] Smith⁴⁴
 Captain [Charles] O'Hara
 Captain [Richard] Harvey [*recte* Harby]

1645 by the Committee of Both Kingdoms, as requested by the Scottish Commissioners of the 16th (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1644-5*, p. 425). The Scottish offers were estranged from the concept of the New Model Army and declined *en bloc* to take up the commissions offered to them. The regiment of Holborne up until this date had been in the army under Sir William Waller, and his lieutenant-colonel and major were respectively George Mackenzie and Archibald Waddell (both evidently also Scots), who both signed the 1644 petition.

³⁶ Killed at the siege of Oxford 1646 (F. & D., p. 443).

³⁷ To be distinguished from Capt. Henry Cannon of the 9th Regiment of Horse. The name Peter is suggested only as a possibility, since there was a Capt. Peter Cannon concerning whom much documentation survives. However, this Peter invented a new breech-loading gun and seems to have been concerned exclusively with the engineers and artillery, so that it is difficult to imagine him in the infantry.

³⁸ Accounts: SP 28/267 part 3/63-71. John Gorges was the older brother of Capt. Thomas Gorges named to this regiment. Firth and Davies were unaware that either had been named to the New Model. They rose to prominence during the Protectorate, both becoming M.P.s for Taunton in 1654 and John was one of the M.P.s for Somerset in 1656. They came from a well-known Somerset family (see also n. 39).

³⁹ Younger brother of above. Became M.P. for Taunton in 1654 and again (with Admiral Blake) in 1656. He had apparently assisted Sir Ferdinando Gorges of Ashton Phillips, Som., in governing the province of Maine in New England, returning to England in the autumn of 1643 (*Coll. Massachusetts Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., vii (1865), 329-36, where two letters of his to John Winthrop are printed). He and his brother John were sons of Henry Gorges of Batcombe, Som. (R. Gorges, *The Story of a Family... a History of the Family of Gorges* (Boston, Mass., 1944), pp. 207-15). Thomas appears never to have served in the New Model, for he served instead in the Massey Brigade in the West where he was a captain in the regiment of Col. Edward Cooke until the disbandment of the brigade in 1647 (see R. Temple, 'The Massey Brigade in the West', *Som. and Dorset Notes and Queries*, xxxi (1985), 437-45).

⁴⁰ Accounts: SP 28/267 part 3/140-7; dead by 5 Oct. 1646; widow Eleanor. Had served under Sir Arthur Hazlerigg and then Holborne.

⁴¹ His regiment had served in the army of the Eastern Association, where apparently only Eaton, O'Hara and Smith served under him, of these men listed. Crawford, like other Scots, declined to take up this command, and his regiment was given to Col. Robert Hammond. This was despite the fact that he had been sweetened by being paid £200 'forthwith, this Afternoon', by the house of commons on 14 March, just as the New Model was being formed (*C.J.*, iv. 78b).

⁴² The future regicide, of Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex; brother-in-law of John Thurloe. See entry by R.K.G. Temple in *Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the 17th Century*, ed. R. L. Greaves and R. Zaller (3 vols., Brighton, 1982-4), i. 261-2, which corrects errors in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁴³ To be distinguished from Capt. Sanders (or Saunders) of the 10th Regiment of Foot.

⁴⁴ Apparently a particular friend of Ewer. They were granted arms at same time by the Heralds, 22 Feb. 1648, with Smith described then as 'eldest captain' of what was by then Ewer's regiment (British Library, Additional MS. 26758 fo. 14v). Died on service in Ireland; children Benjamin and Elizabeth (*C.J.*, vii. 39a).

Captain [Henry] Disney⁴⁵
 Captain John Boyce⁴⁶
 Captain John Brickle [*recte* Puckle]

Fifth Regiment of Foot

Colonel [Richard] Fortescue⁴⁷
 Lieutenant-Colonel [Thomas] Bolstrode [*recte* Bulstrode]⁴⁸
 Major [Jeffrey] Richbell⁴⁹
 Captain [Severinus] Durfey⁵⁰
 Captain [Edward] Gettings [*also* Gittings]⁵¹
 Captain [John] Fownes [*or* Foanes]⁵²
 Captain [John] Gimmings [*recte* Jennings]⁵³
 Captain [Arthur] Young⁵⁴
 Captain [Thomas] Yolledge [*recte* Gollidge]⁵⁵
 Captain [Ralph] Cobbett

Sixth Regiment of Foot

Colonel [Richard] Ingoldsby⁵⁶

⁴⁵ To be distinguished from Capt. Thomas Disney of the 10th Regiment of Foot. Died in 1655 in the West Indies (F. & D., p. 701).

⁴⁶ To be distinguished from Capt. Vincent Boyce of the 1st Regiment of Foot. Appointed lieutenant of Dover castle, and called major, 10 May 1645 (Hist. MSS. Comm., 6th Rept., p. 58b). Succeeded by Capt. Edward Humphrey (F. & D., p. 351).

⁴⁷ Accounts: SP 28/266 part 1/54-63. A moderate, who lost his command in 1647. Died in Jamaica in Oct. 1655 (F. & D., pp. 336-8).

⁴⁸ Like all the Bulstrode family, a moderate. Firth and Davies believed that the Lords must have excepted against his appointment, since he was omitted from the serving officers (F. & D., p. 336). However, the truth is that—probably through the efforts of Bulstrode Whitelocke, his relation—he accepted instead the position of governor of Henley-on-Thames, a cosy arrangement where he could enjoy the rank of full colonel and protect Whitelocke's properties there, Phyllis Court (of which Whitelocke was governor under Bulstrode) and Fawley Court (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1644-5*, p. 386; R. Spalding, *The Improbable Puritan: a Life of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-75* (1975), p. 100, and *passim*). Bulstrode thus found himself better employment than the rigours of the New Model, and declined to serve for personal and family reasons. On the original list it should be noted that the Lords had *not* objected against him. As a prominent moderate, it would have been curious if they had.

⁴⁹ Richbell therefore took Bulstrode's place as lieutenant-colonel. Fortescue, Bulstrode, Richbell and Durfey had all served together under Essex, and all signed the 1644 petition together. 'A stout, honest man', Richbell was killed in 1645 at Taunton (F. & D., p. 337).

⁵⁰ When Richbell moved up to lieutenant-colonel, Durfey, as senior captain, moved up to major. When Richbell was killed, Durfey succeeded him as lieutenant-colonel, but was killed in the difficult storming of the south side of Bristol (F. & D., p. 337). Accounts: SP 28/265 part 2/154; widow Magdalen.

⁵¹ To be distinguished from Capt. Philip Gettings or Gittings of the 11th Regiment of Foot. Edward's accounts are: SP 28/265 part 3/418-26. A prosperous merchant of London, he signed his name Gittings, as may be seen in Fortescue's accounts, SP 28/266 part 1/55, which is a statement by him on behalf of his colonel, for accounts purposes.

⁵² Accounts: SP 28/266 part 3/64-6; widow Anne. Died of wounds received at Tiverton, 30 Nov. 1645. He signed the 1644 petition.

⁵³ He was probably a radical, as Monck had him replaced by someone more congenial on 25 Feb. 1660 (F. & D., p. 346).

⁵⁴ Had served under Sir William Constable at Edgehill and as an ensign captured the king's standard. He was not only brave, he was popular with his troops, for he was apparently the only representative of the regiment in the elected Council of the Army. He seems to have lacked well-defined political ideas, for in 1647 he at first acted as a moderate and marched away for service in Ireland, but later he and his troops returned disenchanted before leaving England. He served in Scotland under the Protectorate and resisted Monck in 1660, siding with Lambert (F. & D., pp. 160, 336-9, 473).

⁵⁵ Killed with Richbell at Taunton (*ibid.*, p. 337).

⁵⁶ The future regicide, born 1617 (see *D.N.B.*). At the Restoration, he was knighted for capturing Lambert. He was second son of Sir Richard Ingoldsby of Lethenborough, Bucks. The Ingoldsbys

Lieutenant-Colonel [Robert] Farrington
 Major [Philip] Cromwell⁵⁷
 Captain [Charles] Duckett
 Captain [Henry] Ingoldsby⁵⁸
 Captain [Job] Gibson
 Captain [Francis] Allen
 Captain [Andrew] Ward⁵⁹
 Captain [John] Milles [*recte* Mill]

Seventh Regiment of Foot

Colonel [Thomas] Rainsborough [*also* Rainborowe]⁶⁰
 Lieutenant-Colonel [Henry] Bowen⁶¹
 Major [John] Done⁶²
 Captain [John] Horsey⁶³

could trace their descent from Sir Roger Ingoldsby, Lord of Ingoldsby (Ingleby), Lincs., in 1230. Richard's own home of Waldrige Manor near Aylesbury, Bucks., still stands. Oliver Cromwell was first cousin of Ingoldsby's mother; Ingoldsby's sister Mary (born 1629) married Maj. Thomas Read (or Reade) of the 11th Regiment of Foot. Ingoldsby's older brother Francis (born 1614) was not a soldier, though M.P. in Protectorate parliaments. But Ingoldsby had five younger brothers who were army officers: Oliver (born 1619), major who was reduced in May 1645, but later served in the New Model as lieutenant-colonel and in 1647 was killed at Pendennis castle, Cornw.; John (born 1621) a parliamentary officer who died at sea and did not serve in the New Model (not to be confused with a cousin, Maj. John Ingoldsby, though it is unclear which was the Col. John Ingoldsby present at the siege of Drogheda in Ireland); Henry (born 1622), captain in this regiment (see n. 58); George, later major in parliamentary forces in Ireland, was knighted 1671 and died in Dutch Wars; Thomas, later captain in this regiment (apparently promoted at siege of Bristol, where he was wounded, in succession to two captains successively killed there—Ward and Williams) so that at time of this list he was probably a lieutenant under one of his brothers.

⁵⁷ Son of Sir Philip Cromwell and first cousin of the Ingoldsbys. Died of wounds received at Bristol; succeeded by the first captain, Charles Duckett.

⁵⁸ Five years younger than brother Richard (see n. 56). At outbreak of Civil War took the side of the royalists and served in king's army. Date when he switched sides unknown. Married Anne, daughter of the regicide Sir Hardress Waller, who became colonel of the 11th Regiment of Foot when Aldrich declined to serve. Henry was a colonel in Ireland by Aug. 1652, M.P. for Limerick, Clare and Kerry in Protectorate parliaments of 1654, 1656 and 1658 along with his father-in-law and brother-in-law, made baronet by Cromwell on 31 March 1658, governor of Limerick in 1659, besieged and took Windsor castle for the king and was re-created baronet by Charles II at Restoration, dying in Ireland in 1701. Neither Richard nor Henry Ingoldsby can be considered a radical, despite the fact that Richard signed the king's death warrant (possibly under intense personal pressure from Cromwell and Waller).

⁵⁹ Accounts: SP 28/266 part 2/62-6; administration granted to brother John Warde. He signed the 1644 petition. Killed at Bristol.

⁶⁰ His signature occurs at SP 28/266 part 2/115, 120, 130. See his entry in *D.N.B.* under spelling of Rainborow. He was a prominent arch-radical and Leveller. A letter from him to Manchester (1648) survives (see Hist. MSS. Comm., 7th Rept., p. 13b).

⁶¹ To be distinguished from Capt. Moris Bowen of the 2nd Regiment of Foot. An extraordinarily brave soldier, he spent two hours 'at push of pike' attempting to storm Prior's Hill fort at Bristol (two hours being almost more than is conceivable for such strenuous hand-to-hand combat). He was no religious zealot, apparently, for he was actually tried for atheism in 1652 and cashiered (F. & D., pp. 419, 625).

⁶² Killed at the siege of Sherborne (see R. Temple and A. Moon, 'The siege of Sherborne', *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Archaeol. Soc.*, forthcoming). His sister and executrix was Jane Done to whom was paid the remainder of his arrears from service in Manchester's army two years after his death (H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 7 Oct. 1647; see also Hist. MSS. Comm., 6th Rept., p. 199b). An interesting undated petition of John Done survives among the State Papers, concerning a large inheritance from a cousin, John Done of London, baker (SP 16/475/10; *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1640-1*, p. 361, classed as 'Undated 1640?'). Done had served in Crawford's regiment.

⁶³ Also killed at siege of Sherborne, where by bizarre coincidence his ancestors were all buried; he was given a military funeral and buried with honour, Rushworth tells us, 'in the tombe there, where his ancestours were formerlie buried' (Hist. MSS. Comm., *Portland MSS.*, i. 242). He was of a

Captain — Westome [Westom? Westham?]
 Captain — Barber
 Captain [Thomas] Crosse [or Cross]⁶⁴
 Captain [John] Edwards⁶⁵
 Captain — Lingwood⁶⁵
 Captain — Snelling⁶⁵

Eighth Regiment of Foot

Colonel [Ralph] Weldon⁶⁶
 [Blanks were left for all of his officers; however, they were the following:]
 Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholas Kempson [or Kempston]⁶⁷
 Major William Master [or Masters]
 Captain Christopher Peckham
 Captain James Fenton
 Captain John Francklin⁶⁸
 Captain Francis Dormer [or Dorman]
 Captain Jeremiah Tolhurst⁶⁹
 Captain — Munday⁷⁰
 Captain Stephen Kaine

Ninth Regiment of Foot

Colonel [Henry—'Harry'] Barkley [recte Barclay]⁷¹

well-known Dorset family, third son of Sir George Horsey who died shortly before his son. Their pedigree may be found in Somerset Record Office, DD/SAS, C/1193, 5/3 (Rev. Frederick Brown's MS. Genealogical Collections, vol. iii) fos. 73-4. Horsey's great-uncle, through his first wife Anne Horsey, was the father of Col. Edward Whalley of the New Model 9th Regiment of Horse. The Horseys had been seated at Clifton Maubank, Dors., since at least the time of Henry VI, but the estate was lost in the 1630s when Capt. Horsey's father went bankrupt as a result of failing in a vast and ambitious, but crackbrained, scheme to drain a region along the Dorset coast called the Fleet (J. Hutchins, *History and Antiquities of Dorset* (4 vols., 1861-70), iv, 425-30; J. H. Bettey, *Rural Life in Wessex, 1500-1900* (Bradford-on-Avon, 1977), p. 25; E. H. Tindal Atkinson, 'Some Abbotsbury records', *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Archaeol. Soc.*, xlviii (1927), 75-6; all these references courtesy of Adrian Moon). Horsey had previously served in the army of Essex.

⁶⁴ Also killed at siege of Sherborne. He, Edwards, Lingwood and Snelling, all served in the foot regiment of Col. Francis Russell in the army of the Eastern Association.

⁶⁵ See n. 64.

⁶⁶ Son of Sir Anthony Weldon of Swanscombe, Kent. To be distinguished from his mentally unbalanced brother, Col. Anthony Weldon, and also from Col. Michael Weldon, neither of whom served in the New Model. Weldon's regiment was a Kentish regiment, and nothing whatever was known in London about his officers, which is why they do not appear on the list. Early in 1646, Weldon was succeeded by Robert Lilburne.

⁶⁷ Married Elizabeth Ludlow, sister of Edmund Ludlow, the future regicide (see *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, 1625-72*, ed. C. H. Firth (2 vols., Oxford, 1894), *passim*). A remarkable petition of March 1647 in support of Kempston (and against the appointment by Fairfax of the radical Robert Lilburne as colonel), signed by 13 officers of this regiment indicates that Master, Peckham and Dormer were moderates, and that in 1647 the 8th Regiment of Foot was split practically in half (SP 16/539 part 4/439).

⁶⁸ Francklin died at the siege of Exeter (F. & D., p. 453).

⁶⁹ Tolhurst later served at Newcastle under Hazlerigg and after the battle of Worcester became effectively governor of Carlisle (F. & D., p. 461).

⁷⁰ Died on campaign in the West in 1645 or 1646 (*ibid.*, p. 453).

⁷¹ Barclay had been a colonel in the army of the earl of Essex and had been present at the ignominious surrender in Cornwall (Hist. MSS. Comm., *6th Rept.*, p. 37a), concerning which he was examined and agreed with Richard Deane that Col. Butler had not held his ground properly. Barclay, Cowell, Goffe, Gregson and Leete (with Thomas Pride and Captains John Mason and Waldine Lagoe) had all served together in the same regiment since 7 Nov. 1642 (see references to their accounts, below). A document relating to Barclay is SP 28/265 part 1/77. He declined to serve and his command was given to Sir Edward Harley. A letter from him to Capt. John Andrews, 23 Aug. 1643, is SP 28/287 part 3/30.

Lieutenant-Colonel [John] Emins [*recte* Innes]⁷²
 Major [William] Cowell⁷³
 Captain [William] Goffe⁷⁴
 Captain [George] Gregson⁷⁵
 Captain [George] Ramsey
 Captain [George] Jamson [*recte* Sampson]⁷⁶
 Captain [William] Leete⁷⁷
 Captain — Goddard
 Captain [John] Blagrove

Tenth Regiment of Foot

Colonel [Edward] Mountague [*recte* Montagu]⁷⁸
 Lieutenant-Colonel [Mark] Grimes [*recte* Gryme]⁷⁹
 Major [Thomas] Kelsey

⁷² Documents relating to him: SP 28/267 part 1/85; SP 28/267 part 2/8. His lieutenant was John Dorington (SP 28/266 part 1/25). He is not mentioned by Firth and Davies. He signed the 1644 petition as Barclay's lieutenant-colonel, and had been Barclay's major shortly before that (G. Davies, 'The parliamentary army under the earl of Essex, 1642-5', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlix (1934), 47). He was evidently a Scot, and like the other Scottish officers, declined to serve. The vacancy thus created meant that his major under Essex, Thomas Pride, took his place as the regiment's lieutenant-colonel.

⁷³ Accounts: SP 28/267 part 3/154-61 (which includes testimonials by Thomas Pride, George Gregson and Waldine Lagoe). See also n. 71. Cowell was a radical, and he, Pride and Goffe organized opposition to their colonel (Harley was a leader of the moderates) in 1647. After the moderates lost their national power struggle to the radicals in that year, Harley lost his command. At that point, Pride became the regiment's colonel, and Cowell was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in Fairfax's own regiment (F. & D., pp. 359-65).

⁷⁴ The future regicide, born at Haverfordwest, Pemb., c. 1615, son of an itinerant preacher then at St. Mary's Haverfordwest, the Rev. Stephen Goffe, D.D. The Goffes were originally of Welsh descent and appear to have borne arms. William was the third son and had four brothers: Rev. Stephen, Rev. John, James and Timothy (thought to have died young), none of whom was a soldier. He was married to Frances Whalley, daughter of Edward Whalley, colonel of the 9th Regiment of Horse (see *D.N.B.* and other standard sources). Although a leading radical in 1647, Goffe as son-in-law of Whalley at this time would have appeared connected with moderation, since in 1645 Whalley was still a Presbyterian in his religion. Goffe's signature occurs on SP 28/266 part 1/24 (relating to Pride).

⁷⁵ See n. 71. Wounded at Berkeley castle in 1645. In 1647 became major, with Pride as colonel and Goffe as lieutenant-colonel (F. & D., pp. 359, 365). Forced to leave regiment from wounds received at Chepstow in May 1648 (*ibid.*, p. 367).

⁷⁶ Unknown to Firth and Davies, who thought he was Capt. Latimer Sampson. This latter man appears to have taken George's place and was presumably a brother. One of them was wounded at the siege of Bridgwater in 1645, probably George. By 1647 neither was in the regiment, and Latimer Sampson was governor of Bristol (*ibid.*, pp. 359-60).

⁷⁷ Accounts: SP 28/265 part 2/206-16 (of which fo. 214 is a petition). See also n. 71. On 2 May 1645, Leete was forced to retire from the regiment due to wounds. His existence was unknown to Firth and Davies. His vacant captaincy was then filled either by William Hender (called Hinder by Firth and Davies) or John Mason (who had been Thomas Pride's lieutenant); Hender then being wounded at Bristol and apparently forced to retire as well (F. & D., pp. 359-60). Leete was a very wealthy citizen and tradesman of London, like his colleague, Thomas Pride.

⁷⁸ Montagu, probably related to the earl of Manchester (whose surname was Montagu), was prominent as one of Manchester's most vociferous critics. There can be no doubt whatever that the vote of the house of lords that he should be removed from this command was at the instigation of his bitter enemy, Manchester himself. (For a deposition of Montagu's testifying to Manchester's incompetence as a commander, see *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1644-5*, pp. 160-1).

⁷⁹ Gryme was to be left out by the Lords because he was an overt ally of Montagu. A lengthy letter of 1645 from Gryme to Montagu is preserved in the State Papers (SP 16/506/109-10). He signed his surname 'Gryme'. Gryme and all the other officers of this regiment sided with the radicals in 1647, and in 1648 Gryme's name headed a petition against the Treaty of Newport (F. & D., pp. 399-400). By Apr. 1649, Gryme was deputy-governor of Gloucester and held in high esteem by the local dignitaries (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Leyborne-Popham MSS.*, p. 16) and credited with keeping his soldiers well behaved, though some dissident officers tried to arrest him for 'divers foul crimes', an incident which remains unclear (F. & D., p. 400). See also nn. 182-3.

Captain [Wroth] Rogers
 Captain — Butler
 Captain [Francis] Blethen [*recte* Blethin]⁸⁰
 Captain [Lawrence] Nunny [*recte* Nonney]⁸¹
 Captain [William] Wilks [*recte* Wilkes]⁸²
 Captain [Giles?] Saunders [*or* Sanders]⁸³
 Captain Thomas Disney⁸⁴

Eleventh Regiment of Foot

Colonel [Edward] Aldrich⁸⁵
 Lieutenant-Colonel [Walter] Floyd [*also* Lloyd]⁸⁶
 Major [Thomas] Reade [*or* Read]⁸⁷
 Captain [Timothy] Wilks [*recte* Wilkes]⁸⁸
 Captain [John] Melvin
 Captain [John] Spooner⁸⁹
 Captain — Smith
 Captain [Benjamin] Wigfall⁹⁰
 Captain [Philip] Gettings [*also* Gitting and Gittings]⁹¹
 Captain [Richard] Lunds [*recte* Lundy *or* Lundie]

⁸⁰ He signed his surname 'Blethin'. A deposition by him is SP 16/506/32-3 (18 Jan. 1645).

⁸¹ He signed his surname 'Nonney'. A deposition by him is SP 16/506/31 (18 Jan. 1645).

⁸² To be distinguished from Capt. Timothy Wilkes of the 11th Regiment of Foot. He was killed at Basing and succeeded by Capt. Matthew Cadwell (F. & D., p. 398). The Lords wished to leave out Wilkes because of his deposition against the earl of Manchester (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1644-5*, p. 254). His deposition of 18 Jan. 1645 is SP 16/506/27. He signed his surname 'Wilkes'.

⁸³ To be distinguished from Maj. Robert Saunders (Sanders) of the 4th Regiment of Foot. Firth and Davies suggested this man's Christian name might have been Giles (F. & D., p. 398).

⁸⁴ To be distinguished from Capt. Henry Disney of the 4th Regiment of Foot and also from Capt. William Disney, who was probably Thomas's brother and who seems to have commanded this same foot company as recently as Jan. 1645, before it was incorporated in the New Model. It would appear that Thomas was omitted by the Lords because William had made a deposition against the earl of Manchester (SP 16/506/29-30, 18 Jan. 1645).

⁸⁵ Aldrich was evidently a moderate and ally of the earl of Essex, under whom he had served. He signed the 1644 petition, along with his then lieutenant-colonel, Walter Floyd and Maj. Jonathan Newcomen. Aldrich wrote a letter to Fairfax, which survives (Bodleian Library, Tanner MS., vol. 60 fo. 30) expressing dissatisfaction with the choice of officers (apart from Floyd) for his regiment, saying that he would 'desist rather than engage with dishonor, which of necessitie must followe'. Fairfax, who cannot have liked Aldrich, was all too delighted to accept this offer of a resignation which Aldrich conveniently handed him, and gave the command of the regiment to Floyd. There can be no doubt that the officers of this regiment whom the Lords wished to replace were the ones against whom Aldrich had objections, and it is reasonable to assume that Aldrich's views were being implemented in the Lords by Essex himself. Officer lists were sent by Aldrich to Fairfax, and doubtless to Essex as well.

⁸⁶ Accounts: SP 28/266 part 1/49-53. Killed at Taunton in 1645 (F. & D., p. 385). He had entered service as early as 30 July 1642, as captain under Col. John Meldrum.

⁸⁷ Married Mary Ingoldsby (born 1629), sister of Col. Richard Ingoldsby of the 6th Regiment of Foot (see n. 56). Wounded at Taunton in 1645, played important role in victory at St. Fagan's in 1648, and Capt. Robert Reade who entered this regiment in 1647 was probably his brother (F. & D., pp. 385-7). He was one of the officers of this regiment who did not leave in 1647, indicating that he was a radical (F. & D., p. 386).

⁸⁸ To be distinguished from Capt. William Wilkes of the 10th Regiment of Foot. Killed at Taunton (F. & D., p. 385).

⁸⁹ A testimonial for him by Essex is SP 28/265 part 3/255 (8 July 1646). In 1647, Spooner, Melvin and Lundy all left the regiment, and hence were moderates. In the list, none of these was to be removed from the army; Spooner and Melvin were to be transferred to Col. Hunter's regiment.

⁹⁰ Killed at storming of Berkeley castle (F. & D., p. 385).

⁹¹ To be distinguished from Capt. Edward Gettings of the 5th Regiment of Foot. Philip had a son Henry, who seems to have been the army agitator of that name. Accounts: SP 28/266 part 1/132-6. He died in Glos. of wounds received at Bristol in 1645 (F. & D., p. 385).

Twelfth Regiment of Foot

Colonel [John] Pickering⁹²
 Lieutenant-Colonel [John] Hewson [*also* Huson, Hughson, etc.]⁹³
 Major [John] Jubbs [*recte* Jubbes]⁹⁴
 Captain [Daniel] Axtell⁹⁵
 Captain [Martin?] Husbands⁹⁶
 Captain [George] Jenkins⁹⁷
 Captain [John] Silverwood⁹⁸
 Captain [John] Carter
 Captain [Reynold] Gayle [*also* Gaile, Gale]⁹⁹
 Captain [Thomas] Price [*or* Prize]¹⁰⁰

The Horse

First Regiment of Horse

Colonel: General Sir Thomas Fairefax [*recte* Fairfax]
 [*The Colonel's troop was commanded by Captain John Gladman*]
 Major [John] Disborough [*recte* Disbrowe or Desborough]¹⁰¹
 Captain [Robert] Swallowe [*recte* Swallow]¹⁰²
 Captain [John] Browne
 Captain [Adam] Lawrence¹⁰³
 Captain [James] Berrey [*recte* Berry]¹⁰⁴

Second Regiment of Horse

Colonel: Lieutenant-General [John] Middleton¹⁰⁵

⁹² See *D.N.B.* Second son of Sir John Pickering of Northants and brother of Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bt., M.P. (for whom also see *D.N.B.*). This regiment was perhaps the most radical in the entire army (F. & D., p. 405). Pickering died of fever at the siege of Exeter and was succeeded by John Hewson.

⁹³ The future regicide (see *D.N.B.*), Hewson was an arch-radical and religious zealot. He did not approve of Cromwell's 'usurpation' and opposed Cromwell from within the Protectorate at some risk to himself.

⁹⁴ He signed his surname 'Jubbes', as may be seen from SP 28/267 part 2/127. He was if anything even more radical than most in his regiment, since in a 1647 statement he called for political reforms extending beyond mere army grievances (F. & D., p. 406).

⁹⁵ Accounts: SP 28/267 part 2/87-101. Axtell signed the radical statement with Jubbes mentioned above (F. & D., p. 406). He commanded the guard at the king's execution and was himself executed at the Restoration for regicide (see *D.N.B.*).

⁹⁶ Probably Capt. Martin Husbands (widow Diana); see *C.J.*, vii. 39b.

⁹⁷ To be distinguished from Capt. John Jenkins of the 6th Regiment of Horse. George Jenkins was *not* killed in Apr. 1645 at Farringdon (F. & D., p. 405), but at Drogheda years later; widow, Susan (*C.J.*, vii. 38b).

⁹⁸ Accounts: SP 28/267 part 2/124-34. He was unknown to Firth and Davies.

⁹⁹ Killed at Bristol (*C.J.*, vii. 39b; F. & D., p. 405). (Christian name courtesy of Prof. Ian Gentles, who gives his date of birth as 1609.)

¹⁰⁰ He was the captain-lieutenant to Col. Hewson in 1648, 'a gallant honest man', who was killed at the battle of Maidstone (see R. K. G. Temple, 'Discovery of a manuscript eye-witness account of the battle of Maidstone', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xcvi (1981), 209-20).

¹⁰¹ See *D.N.B.* under spelling of Desborough. One of the most prominent figures in the Protectorate.

¹⁰² Swallow exchanged places with Capt. William Packer of the 9th Regiment of Horse, becoming its senior captain, at the formation of the New Model. In 1659 he became colonel of his regiment in the place of Whalley; he sided with Lambert (F. & D., pp. 228-9).

¹⁰³ Lawrence was a Presbyterian and friend of Richard Baxter, and was killed in 1648 at the siege of Colchester (*ibid.*, p. 67).

¹⁰⁴ See *D.N.B.* Berry was a major-general under the Protectorate.

¹⁰⁵ Middleton had commanded the horse of Waller's army in 1644, but like other Scots, he declined to serve in the New Model. His command was given to John Butler, originally designated as a captain in this same regiment.

Major [Thomas] Horton¹⁰⁶
 Captain [Edward] Foley¹⁰⁷
 Captain [Samuel] Gardner [*recte* Gardiner]¹⁰⁸
 Captain [John] Butler¹⁰⁹
 Captain [James] Perry¹¹⁰

Third Regiment of Horse

Colonel [James] Sheffielde [*recte* Sheffield]¹¹¹
 Major [Thomas] Sheffielde [*recte* Sheffield]¹¹²
 Captain [Arthur] Eveling [*recte* Evelyn]¹¹³
 Captain [William] Rainsborough [*also* Rainborowe]¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁶ The future regicide (see *D.N.B.* and n. 109). Born 1602, second son of William Horton of Gumley, Leics., yeoman, and Isabell Freeman. He became a captain in Hazlerigg's regiment of horse ('the Lobsters') as early as Oct. 1642. Horton named his horse Hazlerigg after him. The *D.N.B.* is in error in maintaining that Horton was Hazlerigg's servant. He was of an independent and ancient yeoman family which could trace its descent back to the mid 13th century. However, Horton was something of a protégé of Hazlerigg as well as a close friend; in his will, Horton left £10 apiece to Sir Arthur and Lady Hazlerigg for gold rings to remember him.

¹⁰⁷ Foley's signature occurs on SP 28/267 part 2/27. He had served with Horton under Hazlerigg (*F. & D.*, p. 82).

¹⁰⁸ Accounts: SP 28/266 part 1/64-5. He had served with Horton under Hazlerigg (*F. & D.*, p. 82). Gardiner, like Horton, was very much a radical (*ibid.*, p. 83). He apparently died in the latter half of 1647.

¹⁰⁹ Accounts: SP 28/266 part 1/81-9. He had been a captain under Hazlerigg from 29 Aug. 1643, and then from 13 Apr. 1644 to 29 Apr. 1645, he was adjutant-general of horse in Waller's army with the rank of captain (i.e. a staff officer with his own command of a troop in addition). This previous position of great responsibility, which he presumably carried out with distinction, provided the qualification for what would otherwise be a mysterious leapfrogging over the heads of his fellow officers to become their colonel in the New Model. It will be noted that Butler was the only officer apart from Middleton whom the Lords did not wish to remove from this regiment. He was, in fact, a leading moderate and enemy of the radicals against whom his own major Thomas Horton presented public charges; Butler lost his command by June 1647, and was succeeded by Horton (*F. & D.*, pp. 83-4). His captaincy was filled by Thomas Pennyfather of the 11th Regiment (see n. 153). Butler was a royalist by 1648, killed at St. Fagan's (SP 19/A21/154).

¹¹⁰ Perry's petition for indemnity over confiscation of food supplies for his troops is in H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 8 Oct. 1646 (see *Hist MSS. Comm.*, 6th Rept., p. 136a-b and *L.J.*, viii. 514). He seems to have died at the end of 1646 and was succeeded by Walter Bethell (*F. & D.*, p. 83).

¹¹¹ Older brother of Maj. Thomas. They were younger sons of Edmund, 1st earl of Mulgrave, who died Oct. 1646, and had no less than 20 children. James was colonel of a regiment of horse under Essex by Nov. 1643, with Thomas then a captain under him. Essex thought highly of them both and was friendly with their father (*F. & D.*, p. 175). It was therefore inconceivable that either should be objected against by the Lords, and they were not. James was killed at Tiverton in Oct. 1645, and was succeeded by Thomas as colonel.

¹¹² Younger brother of above, succeeded him as colonel in Oct. 1645. In 1647, Sheffield was one of the leaders of the moderates, in which he was strongly supported by his captains, Gabriel Martin and Robert Robotham, both also moderates. All of them had to leave the regiment after the moderates lost their power struggle. It was in Sheffield's own troop that Henry Gettings (believed to be the son of that name of Capt. Philip Gettings of the 11th Regiment of Foot) was elected an agitator in opposition to his colonel (*F. & D.*, pp. 175-9). When Thomas succeeded as colonel, his place as major was filled by a captain from another regiment: Richard Fincher, of the 4th Regiment of Horse. He was also a leading moderate who left the regiment in 1647; see n. 117.

¹¹³ Evelyn was not so doctrinaire a moderate as to side unquestionably with Sheffield in 1647, but neither does he appear to have been a radical. Before going to Ireland he wanted 'satisfaction for our arrears here in England'. However, whereas the radical Capt. William Rainsborough led opposition to Sheffield personally, it was really Evelyn's lieutenant and his men rather than Evelyn himself who were in opposition, and Evelyn seems to have put loyalty to his men over loyalty to his colonel or to partisanship in politics. Presumably unhappy at being caught in the middle, he also left the regiment in 1647 and took up the post of governor of Wallingford castle, which he still held in July 1648 (*F. & D.*, pp. 178-9).

¹¹⁴ A radical, and son of the leading radical, Col. Thomas Rainsborough of the 7th Regiment of Foot. The Lords wished to put both of them out. William led radical sentiment in his regiment in 1647 (*ibid.*, p. 178).

Captain [Gabriel] Martine [*recte* Martin]
 Captain [Robert] Robotham

Fourth Regiment of Horse

Colonel [Charles] Fleetwood [*recte* Fleetwood]¹¹⁵
 Major [Thomas] Harrison¹¹⁶
 Captain [Richard] Flincher [*recte* Fincher]¹¹⁷
 Captain [Richard] le Hunt [Le Hunt or Lehunt]
 Captain [William] Coleman¹¹⁸
 Captain [Thomas] Selby¹¹⁹

Fifth Regiment of Horse

Colonel [Edward] Rossiter¹²⁰
 Major [Philip] Twistleton¹²¹
 Captain [Anthony] Markham¹²²
 Captain [John] Nelthrop [*recte* Nelthorp or Nelthrop]
 Captain — Busbey [Bushey?]
 Captain [Original] Pearte [*recte* Peart]

Sixth Regiment of Horse

Colonel [Bartholomew] Vermuden [*recte* Vermuyden]¹²³
 Major [Robert] Huntington [*or* Huntingdon]
 Captain [John] Jenkins [*or* Jenkyn]¹²⁴

¹¹⁵ Fleetwood became lieutenant-general; married widow of Henry Ireton (see *D.N.B.*)

¹¹⁶ The future regicide (see *D.N.B.*). He was a Fifth Monarchy man and one of the leading radicals of the army.

¹¹⁷ Fincher succeeded Thomas Sheffield as major of the 3rd Regiment of Horse in Oct. or Nov. 1645. A moderate, he sided with Sheffield in 1647 (*F. & D.*, p. 177). He actually acted as a moderate or 'Presbyterian' spy (*Clarke Papers*, ed. C. H. Firth (Camden new ser., xlix, liv, lxi, lxii, 1891-1901), i. 2).

¹¹⁸ Coleman had been an officer in Cromwell's Ironsides Regiment. In 1647 he was a supporter of the radicals, and succeeded Thomas Harrison as major when Harrison became colonel in June 1647 (*F. & D.*, pp. 93-4).

¹¹⁹ Selby had been a lieutenant in Cromwell's Ironsides Regiment. He was killed at Naseby (*ibid.*, p. 92).

¹²⁰ Accounts (partial): SP 28/267 part 2/147. Born c. 1617, son of Richard Rossiter of Somerby, Lincs., Rossiter and his regiment were local to Lincolnshire and originally intended to be detached from the main body of the New Model for specific service in that county and parts adjacent (H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 22 May 1645 and 15 Aug. 1645), though they did see service at Naseby. Rossiter was a Presbyterian and leading moderate who lost his command in 1647 and was succeeded as colonel by his major, Philip Twistleton (*F. & D.*, pp. 163-5). Rossiter saw service again in 1648, and a lengthy letter of his describing his military actions then is calendared in Hist. MSS. Comm., *Portland MSS.*, i. 466-7. See also Hist. MSS. Comm., *6th Rept.*, p. 60b.

¹²¹ Twistleton was a supporter of the radicals in 1647, for which Fairfax made him colonel in Rossiter's place (*F. & D.*, p. 165). However, he cannot properly be described as a radical of deep convictions himself, as may be seen from his behaviour in 1659 when he adopted a curious neutral stance, being described in print as someone who 'hath disserted the Army, but is engaged not to meddle on either side' (*ibid.*, p. 172).

¹²² Markham was a moderate, who left the army in 1647 after his troop deserted his command, half of them going off with Cornet Joyce who had seized the king for the radicals (*ibid.*, pp. 164-5).

¹²³ A foreign mercenary, Vermuyden served briefly, but returned home to the Netherlands soon after taking his command. Pass granted for him to go out of England, 4 July 1645 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1645-7, p. 4). He appears to have been a brother or other relation of Sir Cornelius Vermuyden (knighted 6 Jan. 1629, and then of Hadfield, Yorks.), who was prominent in draining the fens and later King's Sedgemoor, Som. Vermuyden's command was given in June to Oliver Cromwell.

¹²⁴ To be distinguished from Capt. George Jenkins of the 12th Regiment of Foot. Jenkins had served under Vermuyden in the Eastern Association (as had his major, Robert Huntington). Firth and Davies believed he was the same man who was major of Col. Alexander Popham's militia regiment in Somerset, and M.P. for Wells in the 1656 Protectorate parliament, where he voted for Cromwell to be king (*F. & D.*, p. 205). Be this as it may, John Jenkins remained a captain in this regiment until 1660 (*ibid.*, p. 209). His signature occurs on SP 28/142/7 (regimental letter of attorney, Feb. 1650).

Captain — Bush¹²⁵

Captain John Reynolds¹²⁶

Captain [Henry] Middleton [*recte* Middleton]¹²⁷

Seventh Regiment of Horse

Colonel [Algernon] Sidney¹²⁸

Major [John] Alford¹²⁹

Captain [Edward] Dendy¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Bush was killed at Naseby (F. & D., pp. 200–1).

¹²⁶ Third son of Sir James Reynolds of Castle Camps, Cambs., Reynolds had a strange career (*ibid.*, pp. 605–16). His appointment to the New Model had been personally requested of the Commons by Fairfax (*C.J.*, iv. 65b). Although previously he had acted as a rather eccentric type of radical, in 1649 his troops mutinied and declared for the Levellers, and he ruthlessly suppressed them with the help of only three men. (This was *not* a New Model body; he had left the New Model in 1648.) He was knighted by Cromwell in 1655 and was colonel of troops sent to Flanders in 1657.

¹²⁷ He may have been a brother or son of Lt.-Gen. John Middleton of the 2nd Regiment of Horse. He appears to have been a moderate who went too far; Cromwell was insisting to Fairfax on Middleton's trial by court martial on 13 Oct. 1647 (*Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, ed. T. Carlyle (2 vols., 1845), Letter xlviii), and he left the army after that.

¹²⁸ Younger son of the earl of Leicester (see *D.N.B.*). His commission was signed by Fairfax, 2 Apr. 1645, and Firth and Davies believed that he had declined to serve because he preferred to go to Ireland (F. & D., p. 143). But Sidney never fully recovered from the terrible wounds he had received at the battle of Marston Moor, and he wrote to Fairfax to say: 'I have not left the army without extreme unwillingness and could not persuade myself to it by any other reason then that, by reason of my lameness, I am not able to doe the parliament and you the service that would be expected' (Brit. Libr., Sloane MS. 1519 fos. 112–13, 14 May 1645). Sidney took up therefore the sedentary post of governor of Chichester in May 1645, and his command of the 7th Regiment of Horse passed to Nathaniel Rich. Rich was an arch-radical and religious zealot who had given evidence against Manchester along with Cromwell. Fairfax had wanted him to be one of his colonels all along, and as early as 21 Jan. 1645 the house of commons had approved Fairfax's request that Rich be a colonel (*C.J.*, iv. 26b). However, objections against Rich from both the Lords and the moderates in the Commons intensified considerably. The Lords first demoted him to major in the 8th Regiment of Horse, of which Fairfax had wanted him to be colonel. But then upon reflection they demoted him even further to be a captain in the same regiment; this series of alterations may be clearly seen on the original list. However, this was not the end of Rich's troubles. On 28 Feb., after the amended list had been read on the floor of the house of commons earlier that morning, the moderates called for the non-approbation of Rich. The moderate leader John Glyn and Sir Christopher Wray were tellers for a slender majority of 31 to 28, with the radical leader Sir Arthur Hazlerigg as a teller for the losing side (*ibid.*, iv. 64b). This total of only 59 M.P.s present in the House contrasts starkly with the 170 who voted on 21 Jan. on the issue of Fairfax's command (*ibid.*, iv. 26a), and is even 10 less than a previous vote held only minutes earlier (*ibid.*, iv. 64b). It would seem that some M.P.s were 'pulling a fast one' by springing an unexpected lunchtime division. The matter was again put the next day, 1 March, when at the urging of the moderate Sir Simonds D'Ewes, the Commons voted against Rich as a colonel (*ibid.*, iv. 65b; Kishlansky, pp. 42–4). On 3 March the Commons voted for Rich to be a major under Pye (*C.J.*, iv. 66b). However, the 'unamended' list accepted by the Lords on 13 March omitted Rich's name entirely (*L.J.*, vii. 278b). The Lords, in cancelling their amendments, voided their second-stage amendment naming Rich as a captain, but they neglected to reinstate him as major; Pye was named as colonel, according to the wishes of the Commons. Rich was thus deviously omitted from the New Model altogether. Fairfax must have been furious at this sleight of hand, and it is no wonder that he named Rich as colonel in Sidney's place two months later. See n. 191.

¹²⁹ Accounts: SP 28/267 part 1/53–70. Alford had been Manchester's own major, and Manchester must therefore have known as well as anyone that, although a Presbyterian, Alford had radical tendencies as well. Alford took the radicals' side in 1647 and was later one of the chief witnesses against Christopher Love, and later supported the Protectorate (F. & D., pp. 144–5).

¹³⁰ He had commanded a troop in Manchester's regiment; by 1646 he had been replaced by Capt. Azariah Husbands (F. & D., pp. 143–4). Dendy was a radical who became serjeant-at-arms to the house of commons some time before 8 Jan. 1649. A letter to him is calendared in Hist. MSS. Comm., 6th Rept., p. 430a (dated 1650). When ordered to secure Edmund Ludlow under the Protectorate, Dendy on his own initiative agreed with Ludlow that he might remain at large on good behaviour, thus sticking his neck out considerably. Dendy's friendship with Ludlow and other republicans led to his sharing their exile in Switzerland after the Restoration (see *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, *passim*.)

Captain [Jonas] Nevill [*recte* Neville]

Captain [Thomas] Ireton¹⁵¹

Captain [William] Bough¹⁵²

Eighth Regiment of Horse

Colonel Sir Robert Pye¹⁵³

Major [Matthew] Tomlinson [*recte* Thomlinson]¹⁵⁴

Captain [Ralph] Knight¹⁵⁵

Captain [Henry] Ireton¹⁵⁶

Captain [Ralph] Margery

Ninth Regiment of Horse

Colonel [Edward] Whalley¹⁵⁷

¹⁵¹ Younger brother of Capt. Henry Ireton of the 8th Regiment of Horse (who soon transferred to be colonel of the 11th Regiment of Horse). Thomas was baptized 4 May 1619, and was thus seven and a half years younger than Henry. They were sons of German Ireton of Attenborough, Notts.; the Iretons could reliably trace their ancestry back to the time of William the Conqueror, and were descended from the Barons Zouch. Thomas was a fiery radical officer who signed the letter of 18 June 1647 drafted by Lewis Audley at St. Albans (*Memorials of the Great Civil War in England, 1646-52*, ed. H. Cary (2 vols., 1842), i. 237-40). He became a major and died in 1652. He left a long and interesting will (PROB 11/224, pp. 2-3). See n. 136.

¹⁵² He had served in the Warwickshire militia as lieutenant to the future regicide, Vincent Potter (then captain). Bough was a captain in the militia by Apr. 1643 (SP 28/145/83-104). Bough, as a radical in Warwickshire, was probably caught up in the running dispute between the moderate leader, the earl of Denbigh, and the radical leader, William Purefoy (a future regicide). Denbigh may have personally objected to Bough in the Lords, which would explain why Bough had such a particularly rough passage, requiring a special vote of the house of commons to confirm him individually on 3 March (*C.J.*, iv. 66b). Even so, the Lords again struck him from the list.

¹⁵³ Pye was brought in latterly to replace Nathaniel Rich on the list as colonel of this regiment (see n. 128). As late as 3 March, the Commons voted specially both to approve Pye as colonel and to approve Rich as major under him (*C.J.*, iv. 66b). Rich's name appears, deleted, on the list as major, and the Lords further demoted Rich to captain. Pye has an entry in *D.N.B.*, as does his uncle, Sir Walter Pye. Pye was son of another Sir Robert Pye, who was remembrancer of the exchequer and an M.P. The younger Pye was married to Anne, daughter of John Hampden, and had raised a troop of horse in 1642 under Essex. He became colonel of horse under Essex and was one of those who escaped with the cavalry from the surrender in Cornwall. Pye was such a strenuous leader of the moderates in 1647 that when his regiment mutinied against him he had to draw his sword on his own soldiers. Indeed, by Aug. Pye left the country altogether (F. & D., pp. 127-30). Documents relating to Pye's military history are calendared in Hist. MSS. Comm., *6th Rept.*, pp. 62a, 63b, 182a (several). Pye and his family are discussed at some length in M. Noble, *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell* (2 vols., 1787), ii. 99-111). At the Restoration, Pye was appointed equerry to Charles II.

¹⁵⁴ He is listed twice, quite separately, in the Index to Firth and Davies under spellings of Thomlinson and Tomlinson as if the compiler of the Index did not realize they were the same man. Thomlinson was a man of ambivalent political position; he tried to prevent the removal of the king from Holdenby, but he did side with the radicals and marched into London with Fairfax in 1647 (F. & D., pp. 130-1).

¹⁵⁵ Knight evidently had friends in the Lords; not only was he selected to replace the hated Capt. William Bough in the 7th Regiment by them, but shortly after formation of the New Model, the Lords ordered his troop to have 15 per day apiece more than ordinary troopers (H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 10 May 1645; see Hist. MSS. Comm., *6th Rept.*, p. 58b). In 1660, Knight sided with Monck and so zealous was he for the restoration of the king, that his regiment actually stood at the head of all those welcoming Charles II back at Blackheath on 29 May 1660 (F. & D., p. 290).

¹⁵⁶ The future regicide (see *D.N.B.* and all standard sources). He was the son-in-law of Oliver Cromwell and older brother of Capt. Thomas Ireton of the 7th Regiment of Horse (see n. 131). Ireton was a leading radical, and the Lords wanted both him and his even more radical brother out of the New Model. Quite soon after the formation of the New Model, Ireton was named colonel of the 11th Regiment of Horse in succession to Sir Michael Livesey (see n. 149). Ireton was succeeded in the 8th Regiment by Capt. Samuel Barry.

¹⁵⁷ Accounts: SP 28/267 part 1/95-108. The future regicide (see *D.N.B.*). He was father-in-law of Capt. William Goffe of the 9th Regiment of Foot (see n. 74) and first cousin twice removed (by

Major [Christopher] Bethell¹³⁸

Captain [Samuel] Porter¹³⁹

Captain [John] Grove¹⁴⁰

Captain [Robert] Horseman¹⁴¹

Captain [William] Packer¹⁴²

Tenth Regiment of Horse

Colonel [Richard] Graves [also Greaves]¹⁴³

Major [Adrian] Scroope [recte Scrope]¹⁴⁴

marriage only) of Capt. John Horsey of the 7th Regiment of Foot (see n. 63); he was also related to Oliver Cromwell. Although Whalley became a leading radical later, in the mid 1640s he was described by Baxter as a Presbyterian and moderate, which would explain why the Lords made no objections to him. Indeed, Baxter accepted the position as chaplain to Whalley's regiment in June 1645, after the formation of the New Model, at which point Whalley was still 'orthodox in religion', and for some time after (F. & D., p. 212). As time went on, Whalley's support of Baxter became notorious. Baxter says Whalley 'grew odious among the Sectarian Commanders at the Headquarters for my sake; and he was called a Presbyterian, though neither he nor I were of that Judgment in several Points' (R. Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, ed. M. Sylvester (1696), p. 55). However, not only did Whalley become a radical in 1647, by 1649 he was an enthusiastic Independent in religion as well and his favourite divines were then John Goodwin, John Canne, etc. and his fellows-in-religion were Hugh Peter, John Okey, William Goffe and Thomas Pride (SP 46/95/0155-6).

¹³⁸ To be distinguished from Maj. Walter Bethell, who later served in the 2nd Regiment of Horse (though not at the formation of the New Model), and Col. Hugh Bethell (who never served in the New Model, but only in the Northern Association). Christopher had been a captain in the Ironsides Regiment under Cromwell (F. & D., p. 12). He was certainly a strong Independent in religion, and may be presumed to have been a radical as well, for he was eulogized by Hugh Peter after his death, who said: 'I wish he may not go unlamented to his grave, who was so full of God, and the fairest flower of the city amongst us ... he lived without pride, he died full of faith'. Bethell was killed at the siege of Bristol in 1645 (*ibid.*, pp. 210-11). He was succeeded as major by Robert Swallow.

¹³⁹ Porter had also been a captain in the Ironsides Regiment under Cromwell (*ibid.*, p. 10). But he did not take up his commission in the New Model, and Firth and Davies were unaware that he had ever been named. Porter's place was taken by Capt. Robert Swallow, who had been a captain of the Ironsides Regiment (*ibid.*, pp. 11-12; see n. 102).

¹⁴⁰ He had also been a captain in the Ironsides Regiment under Cromwell (F. & D., p. 10). Grove seems to have been mildly radical; in 1647 this regiment was more moderate than most (*ibid.*, p. 218).

¹⁴¹ Horseman was a leading moderate engaged for years in a running conflict with the radical Thomas Waite in Rutland. Firth and Davies were unaware that Horseman had been named to the New Model; they believed he had acted as a captain latterly in the Ironsides Regiment under Cromwell (*ibid.*, pp. 9-10, 16n.). But it is questionable whether he actually ever turned up to exercise this command, nor did he serve in the New Model, apparently. Horseman's place was taken by Capt. Henry Cannon to be distinguished from the other Capt. Cannon of the 3rd Regiment of Foot (see n. 37).

¹⁴² He has an entry in *D.N.B. Accounts*: SP 28/267 part 2/11-16. He was a captain in the Ironsides Regiment under Cromwell, 29 July 1644-29 Apr. 1645 (*ibid.* fo. 13, signed by Cromwell). He was a notorious Anabaptist and religious zealot; in July 1653 he was actually specially licensed by the council of state to preach to the troops, and in 1654 he visited the Quaker George Fox in prison for a discussion of religion. Packer was one of the leading supporters of Lambert in 1659 (F. & D., pp. 70-5). Apart from his extreme religious ideas, Packer seems to have been very much a political radical, and the Lords wanted him put out. Firth and Davies were unaware that Packer was originally named to this regiment or that Robert Swallow was named captain in the 1st Regiment of Horse (see n. 102). Packer and Swallow exchanged places (see also n. 139), so that Packer became captain in Fairfax's own 1st Regiment of Horse.

¹⁴³ Youngest son of Sir Richard Greves of Moseley (now part of Birmingham). He was one of the chief moderates and Presbyterians in the whole army and was so hated by the radicals that Cornet Joyce claimed he had 'an authority from the soldiery to seize Col. Greaves that he might be tried by a council of war'. Greaves was suspected of conspiring with the Scots. In 1647 he lost his command to his lieutenant-colonel, Adrian Scrope (F. & D., pp. 102-7).

¹⁴⁴ The future regicide (see *D.N.B.*). Baptized 12 Jan. 1601 at Lewknor, Oxon., eldest son of Robert Scrope of Wormsley Manor. Scrope was from an illustrious family of greater gentry whose positions

Captain of troop: Major-General [Philip] Skippon¹⁴⁵

Captain — Chute¹⁴⁶

Captain [Edward] Doyley¹⁴⁷

Captain [Christopher] Fleming [recte Fleming]¹⁴⁸

Eleventh Regiment of Horse

Colonel Sir Michael [Michael] Livesey¹⁴⁹

Major [George] Sedascue [*real name* Johannes Georgius Sadowski]¹⁵⁰

of prominence extended back to the mid 14th century (a lord treasurer in 1367, for instance). Scrope also had a reputation for being mild mannered. The prominence of his family and the quietness of his nature may have concealed the fact that he was a radical. Indeed, there seems to be no evidence of his being a radical prior to 1647, or possibly even 1649. The evidence presented by Underdown (D. Underdown, *Pride's Purge: Politics in the Puritan Revolution* (Oxford, 1971), p. 221) that Scrope had been a rebellious youth who led a student riot at Lincoln's Inn in 1635 is spurious, since this refers to his distant cousin and namesake, Sir Adrian Scrope, who was a passionate royalist. Col. Scrope attended the Middle Temple 15 years earlier.

¹⁴⁵ This troop was nominally Skippon's (giving him an additional income), but his captain-lieutenant who really commanded it was Nicholas Bragge, who had been a life guardsman to Essex 1642-3 (F. & D., p. 103).

¹⁴⁶ When Graves was a lieutenant-colonel in Stapleton's regiment under Essex, Chute had served under him. He may have been Capt. Nathaniel Chute (*ibid.*, p. 444), but this is not certain. Chute was no longer serving by 1647 (*ibid.*, p. 103).

¹⁴⁷ To be distinguished from Charles Doyley, who became a colonel, but was not of the New Model. F. & D. believed this captain was Charles (*ibid.*, p. 45); Charles became affiliated with the New Model in a way, as colonel of the Life Guard for a time (*ibid.*, pp. 45-7).

¹⁴⁸ Fleming had been a captain in the regiment of the foreign mercenary, Col. Hans Behre. He took on a staff job and was one of the two adjutants general of horse for the New Model. He sided with Graves and the moderates in 1647, and ended by having to leave the regiment (*ibid.*, pp. 103-4, 107).

¹⁴⁹ The future regicide (see *D.N.B.*). Accounts: SP 28/267 part 4/1-11, of which fo. 9 is a testimonial from Sir Arthur Hazlerigg that Livesey had been colonel of about 400 horse plus a troop of dragoons under Waller 2 Feb.-30 Apr. 1645, 'dureinge all which time he behaved himselfe valiantly, like a souldier of such charge'. This is a testimonial of extreme importance, since the month of Apr. 1645 included a supposed 'mutiny' by Livesey and his regiment in Kent and their refusal to join up with the New Model. The episode of the 'mutiny' remains puzzling, but charges made against Livesey by Anthony Weldon of cowardice, mutiny, etc., and which have been accepted by all subsequent historians, are groundless. They were thrown out by the house of commons at the time, and Weldon was imprisoned. The command not taken up by Livesey was given to Henry Ireton, captain of the 8th Regiment of Horse (see n. 136). A document relating to the 'mutiny' is Brit. Libr., Sloane MS. 1519 fo. 106 (it should be noted that it accuses Livesey of nothing). Livesey served parliament with considerable distinction in 1648. The accounts of his Kentish regiment (of which he remained colonel, while staying out of the New Model) 1643-8 are in SP 28/130, pp. 4, 25, 29, 44, 101, 118-19, 122, 167-72. Livesey may have remained out of the New Model in order to go into politics, for he was elected recruiter M.P. for Queenborough on 15 Sept. 1645, on a writ moved 1 Sept. (*C.J.*, iv. 259b-260a). In order to plan this, he must already have decided on entering parliament by the spring, and realizing that the Self-Denying Ordinance would mean his resigning his commission in the middle of the campaign in the West, it was an obvious thing not to accept the command.

¹⁵⁰ A Pole, Jan Georg Sadowski (Latinized, Johannes Georgius Sadowski), who was known in England as George Sedascue. According to Barry Denton, he was actually born in 1612 in Germany 'the son of a lord'. (B. Denton, 'George Sedascue 1612-88', *English Civil War Notes and Queries*, i (1984), 5-6). The suffix '-ski' in any case indicates a noble family, and his father was evidently titled; perhaps George himself was. The Sadowskis were Protestants, and as such would have supported the king of Sweden's occupation of Poland. They would inevitably have experienced persecution by the Catholic majority in Poland and were forced into exile. It was in 1656, the year the Polish Catholics rose violently against the Swedes and Protestants, massacring them and destroying their estates, that Sadowski's last remaining Polish property or relations would have been lost. This would explain why it was in that year that he finally sought and obtained naturalization as an Englishman (*C.J.*, vii. 435a, 453a). Since Cromwell had personally espoused the cause of the Polish Protestants, Sadowski's naturalization was facilitated; equally, Sadowski may to some degree have been personally responsible for the attitude of Cromwell on this question. Accounts relating to Sadowski are: SP 28/130/44, 168-9. Sadowski's testimony was crucial in exposing Anthony Weldon as mentally ill, and

Captain [Robert] Gibbons [*or* Gibbon]¹⁵¹

Captain [John] Hoskins¹⁵²

Captain [Thomas] Pennyfather¹⁵³

Captain [Samuel] Barry [*or* Bury]¹⁵⁴

The Regiment of Dragoons

Colonel [John] Okey¹⁵⁵

Major [Robert? Ralph?] Guilliams [*or* Williams]¹⁵⁶

Captain [John] Farmer¹⁵⁷

Captain [William] Butler [*or* Boteler]¹⁵⁸

Captain [Christopher] Mercer¹⁵⁹

Captain [Daniel] Abbotts [*recte* Abbott]¹⁶⁰

Captain [Lawrence] Larken [*also* Larkan]¹⁶¹

Captain [Ralph] Farre [*recte* Farr]¹⁶²

in vindicating Livesey (see n. 149). See also note on Sadowski by R. Temple in *Civil War Notes and Queries*, ii (1984), 14. Sadowski temporarily lost his commission in 1647 (F. & D., p. 119).

¹⁵¹ Accounts: SP 28/130/169-70. He was a Kentish captain under Livesey in Waller's army. In 1647 he became major in place of Sedascue when Sedascue temporarily lost his commission (F. & D., p. 119).

¹⁵² He was a Kentish captain under Livesey in Waller's army. Accounts SP 28/130/172. He was killed at Naseby (F. & D., p. 116).

¹⁵³ Firth and Davies were unaware that Pennyfather had originally been named to this regiment. He was transferred at the beginning of the New Model to take the captaincy of John Butler in the 2nd Regiment of Horse, upon Butler taking the command of that regiment (see n. 109). In this regiment, Pennyfather's place was taken by a Capt. Guilliams (Williams), who was killed at Bristol (F. & D., p. 116) in 1645 (see n. 156). In 1647, Pennyfather proved himself a radical in company with his comrade Thomas Horton; he died in Ireland in 1649 or 1650 (F. & D., pp. 82-7). His widow Lucretia petitioned parliament in 1651 (*C.J.*, vii. 38b).

¹⁵⁴ He is listed separately under the spellings of Bury and Barry in the Index to F. & D.; they were unaware of his transfer in 1645 to the other Kentish regiment, the 18th Regiment of Horse, to take the vacated captaincy of Henry Ireton, when Ireton became colonel of this regiment (F. & D., pp. 116-17, 128, 131-2). Barry later became a colonel of foot in the West Indies (*ibid.*, pp. 721-2). His captaincy was taken by Anthony Morgan.

¹⁵⁵ The future regicide (see *D.N.B.*; H. G. Tibbutt, *Colonel John Okey, 1606-1662* (Bedfordshire Hist. Record Soc., xxxv, 1955)). He was an arch-radical and religious zealot of great prominence and as a republican was later opposed to the Protectorate. His military service commenced as a captain under Lord Brooke in 1642. Accounts: SP 28/267 part 2/22-42. He was major of horse under Hazlerigg in Waller's army, when his captain-lieutenant was Thomas Horton (of the 2nd Regiment of Horse; see n. 106). A regimental letter of attorney of 16 Feb. 1650 is SP 28/142/6, bearing signatures of the entire officers and soldiers of the regiment at that date.

¹⁵⁶ He apparently transferred to the 11th Regiment of Horse not long after the formation of the New Model, to take the place of Capt. Thomas Pennyfather, who had himself transferred to the 2nd Regiment of Horse (see n. 153). This was a demotion for him, for which we have at present no explanation. He was succeeded by Maj. Nicholas Moore.

¹⁵⁷ He sided with the moderates in 1647 (F. & D., p. 293).

¹⁵⁸ He did not serve in the regiment; by May 1649, he was a captain in the 4th Regiment of Horse. He took part in the Whitehall Debates in Jan. 1649 (*Puritanism and Liberty... the Army Debates, 1647-9*, ed. A. S. P. Woodhouse (2nd edn., 1974), p. 170). He became a major-general under the Protectorate and was knighted both by Cromwell and, after the Restoration, by Charles II. He was M.P. for Bedfordshire in 1654 and for both Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire in 1656.

¹⁵⁹ Because he signed his name 'Ch. Mercer', he has often been thought to have been Charles, but he was actually Christopher. F. & D. list two different men of each name: these should be considered as the same man. Mercer sided with the radicals in 1647 (F. & D., p. 294).

¹⁶⁰ We have no evidence of his position in 1647, but he was major of this regiment by 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 296).

¹⁶¹ Not mentioned by F. & D. Apparently an Irishman, he seems to have preferred to be in Ireland than to serve in England. He was made lieutenant-colonel to Sir Adam Loftus 7 Feb. 1645 (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1644-5*, p. 272, 291). Perhaps the reduction in salary and title were not appealing to him either.

¹⁶² Farr sided with the moderates in 1647 (F. & D., p. 293), and had to leave the regiment.

Captain — Bulkham [Henry Fulcher?]¹⁶⁵

Captain [Tobias] Bridge¹⁶⁴

[*Note: as Bulkham, Butler and Larken did not serve in this regiment, the original serving captains who took their places were Harold Scrimshaw, — Turpin and Edward Wogan.*¹⁶⁵]

II. *Annotations to the Officer List in House of Lords Record Office, Main Papers, 10 March 1645*¹⁶⁶

First Regiment of Foot

Sir Thomas Fairfax regiment wholly approved of excepting the blancke.¹⁶⁷

Second Regiment of Foot

Major Gennrall Skippons regiment wholly approved of.

Third Regiment of Foot

Collonel Holbornes regiment wholly approved of.

Fourth Regiment of Foot

It is desired that his regiment being in present service may wholly stand as it is now under his comand. And not as thus lysted.¹⁶⁸

Fifth Regiment of Foot

[*Opposite Captain Gimmings, recte Jennings:*] Instead of Captain Gimmings, Captain Jenner.

[*Opposite Captain Yolledge, recte Gollidge:*] Captain Curtes being in the regiment to be recomended in his place.

[*Opposite Captain Cobbett:*] Captain Buckerfeild to be recomended in his place being now in the regiment.

Sixth Regiment of Foot

[*Opposite Lieutenant-Colonel Farrington:*] Major Farrington to stand major as hee was in this regiment.

[*Opposite Major Philip Cromwell:*] To be put out and Liuetenant Collonel Thomas Browne to be recomended to be liuetenant collonel of this regiment being now of it.

[*Opposite Captain Allen:*] To be left out, and Captain Gabriel Cooke to be recomended in his place being now in the service.

[*Opposite Captain Milles recte Mill:*] Captain Milles being in Collonel Hunters regiment to be left out here, and Captain Blyth to be recomended in his place, being now in the same.

There being but 9 captains in this regiment, Captain Edward Devereux to be recomended to be a captain.¹⁶⁹

Seventh Regiment of Foot

[*Opposite Colonel Rainsborough:*] Voted out by the house of peeres. Collonel Ogleby to be recomended to be collonel.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ No one of the name of Bulkham served in this regiment or is mentioned by F. & D., and it is possible that this is a scribal error for 'Fulcher'. Henry Fulcher, a moderate, was a captain in this regiment soon after the formation of the New Model.

¹⁶⁴ Bridge sided with the radicals in 1647 and became major in 1649 when Daniel Abbot went for service in Ireland (F. & D., pp. 294, 296).

¹⁶⁵ See n. 231.

¹⁶⁶ Standard abbreviations have been extended, capitalization modernized and the use of 'i' and 'j' standardized, but spelling is as in the original.

¹⁶⁷ The captaincy left blank was filled by Capt. Fulke Muskett.

¹⁶⁸ This would have eliminated all but three of the officers, since only Captains Eaton, O'Hara and Smith seem to have served in the Eastern Association regiment under Crawford.

¹⁶⁹ This sentence was added in another hand.

Eighth Regiment of Foot

This regiment fully passed as it came up.¹⁷⁰

Ninth Regiment of Foot

Major Pride to be major, and Cowell to be a captain, and Captain Blaggrave to be left out.¹⁷¹

Tenth Regiment of Foot

[*Opposite Colonel Montagu:*] To be put out by vote of the house of peers and Collonel William Herbert to be put in his place.¹⁷²

[*Opposite Lieutenant-Colonel Grimes recte Gryme:*] To be left out and to be made a captain¹⁷³ and Lieutenant Collonel Henry Grey to be recommended in his place.¹⁷⁴

[*Opposite Major Kelsey:*] To be left out and Major Papley being major of the regiment recommended in his place.

[*Opposite Captain Wilks recte Wilkes:*] To be left out and Captain Grymes to be put in his place.¹⁷⁵

[*Opposite Captain Thomas Disney:*] To be put out and Captain Denys Taylor¹⁷⁶ to be recommended in his place.

Eleventh Regiment of Foot

[*Opposite Major Read recte Reade:*] To be put out, and Major Newcomen to be recommended into his place, who was formerly major of that regiment.

[*Opposite Captain Melvin:*] To be put¹⁷⁷ into Collonel Hunters regiment and Captain William Fowlis to be put into his place.

[*Opposite Captain Spooner:*] To be put into Collonel Hunters regiment and Captain Symon Grey to be recommended in his place.

[*Opposite Captain Smith:*] To be put out and Captain Cooper to be recommended in his place.

*Twelfth Regiment of Foot*¹⁷⁸

Collonel Pickeringe to be left out by vote of the house of peers and the Lord Roberts [*recte* Robartes] regiment to be put into the list in its place, and

1. Lieutenant Collonel Hunter to be collonel over the said regiment
2. Lieutenant Collonel [*left blank*]
3. Alexander Urey to be major.¹⁷⁹
4. Captain John Mills¹⁸⁰
5. Captain Henry Wansey
6. Captain John Penn

¹⁷⁰ Apart from Col. Weldon, no officer names were given on the list. Presumably Weldon's Kentish officers, being unknown to anyone in the house of lords, were passed in ignorance of their names or sympathies.

¹⁷¹ This remark was added in a later hand, for in the original hand a bracket is drawn for the whole regiment, with the annotation 'que', presumably meaning that there was a query. Capt. John Blaggrave was related to the future regicide, Daniel Blaggrave. He was probably Daniel's older brother John (born 1588); the same officer was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Berks. militia 30 Oct. 1650 (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1650*, p. 512). It should be pointed out that the future regicide, Thomas Pride, was here being reinstated, for he had already served with this regiment. His reinstatement went through, and presumably as a consequence, Blaggrave did not in the end serve with this regiment.

¹⁷² The last ten words were added in another hand.

¹⁷³ The last six words were added in another hand.

¹⁷⁴ However, Gryme was also transferred to the new 12th Regiment.

¹⁷⁵ This sentence was added in another hand. Gryme was thus re-transferred from the 12th Regiment.

¹⁷⁶ The last two words were deleted but then restored by a later hand.

¹⁷⁷ *out* deleted.

¹⁷⁸ This entire regiment was considered unacceptable, as may be seen.

¹⁷⁹ *still* deleted.

¹⁸⁰ Transferred from the 6th Regiment.

7. Captain John Melvin¹⁸¹
8. Captain [John] Spooner¹⁸¹
9. Captain Marke Grimes¹⁸²
10. Captain Matthew Shorte
11. Captain William Hender captain lieutenant¹⁸³

First Regiment of Horse

Sir Thomas Fairefax his regiment wholly passed.

Second Regiment of Horse

[*Opposite Major Horton:*] To bee putt out and Major Carre to be recomended into his place.

[*Opposite Captain Foley:*] To bee putt out and Captain Abercromey to bee recomended into his place.

[*Opposite Captain Gardner recte Gardiner:*] To be put oute and Captain Holcroft¹⁸⁴ to be recomended in his place.¹⁸⁵

[*Opposite Captain Perry:*] To bee putt out and Captain Buller¹⁸⁶ to bee recomended into his place.

Third Regiment of Horse

[*Opposite Captain Rainsborough:*] To bee putt out and Captain Hayles to bee recomended into his place.

Fourth Regiment of Horse

[*Opposite Major Harrison:*] Captain Le Hunt recomended to bee major in the place of Major Thomas Harrison, whoe is only to be a captaine.¹⁸⁷

[*Opposite Captain Coleman:*] Captain Cooleman to bee putt out and Captain Samuell Moodey to bee recomended in his place.

[*Opposite Captain Selby:*] To bee putt out, Captain Oliver Nicholas¹⁸⁸ to bee recomended into his place.

Fifth Regiment of Horse

[*Opposite Captain Busbey:*] Captain Busbey to bee putt out and Captain William Frampton to be recomended into his place.

¹⁸¹ Transferred from the 11th Regiment.

¹⁸² Transferred from the 10th Regiment; see nn. 79, 183.

¹⁸³ By an annotation in a later hand, Mark Gryme, originally named as lieutenant-colonel of the 10th Regiment, but then demoted to captain, was re-transferred to the 10th Regiment from this new 12th Regiment, to replace Capt. William Wilkes. He is thus unique in the Foot for having been recommended for transfer twice. See n. 79.

¹⁸⁴ *Gardner* deleted, an obvious slip.

¹⁸⁵ This sentence was added in a later hand.

¹⁸⁶ *Middleton* deleted, and *Buller* added in a later hand.

¹⁸⁷ Le Hunt was a captain in this same regiment. The Lords and moderates in the Commons wished him to be major, with Harrison as captain under him, rather than the other way around. The two officers were at odds with one another to such an extent that it became a 'case' referred by the Commons to Fairfax to settle the 'dispute' according to the 'rule of war', on 28 Feb. (*C.J.*, iv. 64b). Fairfax wrote to the Commons the next day insisting that Harrison be major and Le Hunt captain, and the Commons accordingly agreed (*ibid.*, iv. 65a-b). When the Lords withdrew their amendments, the bad blood between Harrison and Le Hunt evidently made it impossible for Le Hunt to serve under Harrison. Whether Le Hunt served in the New Model from its inception is unknown; probably he was transferred to the 3rd Regiment of Horse from the beginning. But in Oct. 1645, apparently, he was senior captain of that regiment when Richard Fincher became its major upon Thomas Sheffield's succession to his brother's post as colonel (see nn. 111-12). By 28 Feb. 1646, Le Hunt was a major (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 6th Rept., p. 102a), though of militia rather than the New Model (*F. & D.*, p. 91). It is possible that Le Hunt never served in the New Model at all, but more likely that he left in disgust after being passed over for promotion twice and obviously disliked by Fairfax.

¹⁸⁸ The last two words were written in a later hand over a deletion.

Sixth Regiment of Horse

[*Opposite Captain Bush:*] To bee putt out and Captain Wogan to bee recomended into his place.

Seventh Regiment of Horse

[*Opposite Major Alford:*] To bee putt out and Major Sterline to be recomended major in his place. And Major Alford to bee removed from this regiment to Sir Robert Pyes regiment to bee his major.

[*Opposite Captain Dendy:*] To be lefte out and the Lord Cawfeilde to be recomended into his place.

[*Opposite Captain Thomas Ireton:*] To bee putt out and Captain John Moodey to be recomended into his place.

[*Opposite Captain Bough:*] To bee put out¹⁸⁹ and Captain Knight to be removed into this regiment in his place.¹⁹⁰

*Eighth Regiment of Horse*¹⁹¹

[*Opposite Major Tomlinson recte Thomlinson:*] Major Alford recomended to bee major in the roome of Major Tomlinson, and Major Tomlinson to stand but as a captaine.¹⁹²

[*Opposite Captain Knight:*] To bee transmitted as aforesaid and Captain Rich to be recomended¹⁹³ in to his place.¹⁹⁴

[*Opposite Captain Henry Ireton:*] To bee put out, and Captaine Sawkine to bee recomended into his place.

Ninth Regiment of Horse

[*Opposite Major Bethell:*] To bee put out, and Major Urry to be recomended into his place.

[*Opposite Captain Packer:*] To bee put out and Captain Evans to bee recomended in his place.

Tenth Regiment of Horse

Colonel Graves his regiment is wholly approved of.

Eleventh Regiment of Horse

Sir Michall Lindseyes [*recte* Livesey] regiment wholly approved of.

The Regiment of Dragoons

[*Opposite Colonel John Okey:*] To bee put out and Collonel Mill to bee recomended into his place.

¹⁸⁹ The last two words were written in a later hand over this deletion: *recomended to Sir Robert Pyes regiment in the place of Captain Knight.*

¹⁹⁰ Pye's was the 8th Regiment of Horse.

¹⁹¹ 'Major Rich' was deleted in the original list and his name replaced by that of Maj. Tomlinson, *recte* Thomlinson. This was Nathaniel Rich, who was to become a New Model colonel in May, by taking the command of the 7th Regiment of Horse when Algernon Sidney declined to serve due to ill health (see n. 128). Rich had been lieutenant-colonel of horse under Col. Edward Whalley in the Eastern Association army in 1644. The New Model horse regiments had no officers of this rank, so after being rejected as colonel by the Commons (see n. 128), Rich was named to the rank equivalent to lieutenant-colonel for a New Model horse regiment, that of major. But in deleting him as major, the Lords demoted him to a captain in the 8th Regiment of Horse; this was cancelled when the Lords abandoned their amendments on 13 March, but they cleverly neglected to reinstate Rich as major, so that he was for two months left out of the New Model Army entirely (see n. 128).

¹⁹² This sentence was written in a later hand.

¹⁹³ *put* deleted.

¹⁹⁴ The last ten words were written in a later hand.

III. *Officers whom the Lords tried to insert, based on House of Lords Record Office, Main Papers, 10 March 1645*

*Fourth Regiment of Foot*¹⁹⁵

Lieutenant-Colonel William Hamilton
Major Daniel Crawford
Captain William Johnstone
Captain Walter Stirling
Captain William Meredith

*Fifth Regiment of Foot*¹⁹⁶

Captain — Jenner
Captain — Curtes¹⁹⁷
Captain [John] Buckerfeild¹⁹⁸

*Sixth Regiment of Foot*¹⁹⁹

Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Browne²⁰⁰
Captain Gabriel Cooke²⁰¹
Captain — Blyth
Captain Edward Devereux

*Seventh Regiment of Foot*²⁰²

Colonel [William] Ogleby²⁰³

Ninth Regiment of Foot

Major [Thomas] Pride²⁰⁴

*Tenth Regiment of Foot*²⁰⁵

Colonel William Herbert²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁵ Since this regiment was to stand as it was under Crawford, only Captains Eaton, Israel Smith and Charles O'Hara would seem to remain unchanged by that criterion. This was an Eastern Association regiment of foot (G. Davis, 'The army of the Eastern Association, 1644-5', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlv (1931), 94).

¹⁹⁶ This was a regiment from the army of Essex (*idem*, 'Parliamentary army under Essex', pp. 43, 47). Fortescue and four of his officers signed the 1644 petition of Essex's infantry.

¹⁹⁷ Curtes was already serving under Fortescue.

¹⁹⁸ Buckerfeild's accounts are in SP 28/265 part 2/129-33; he had died under Fortescue at Cullom Bridge 4 Feb. 1645; widow Hester. He was thus already dead by the time the Lords (presumably Essex himself) wished to insert him into the New Model!

¹⁹⁹ This regiment had served under Ingoldsby in the army of Essex.

²⁰⁰ Browne had been Ingoldsby's lieutenant-colonel under Essex.

²⁰¹ For Cooke see n. 23.

²⁰² This regiment consisted primarily of Eastern Association officers (see nn. 60-5).

²⁰³ Ogleby was a protégé of Essex, who had written a letter of recommendation for him 19 Sept. 1644 (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1644*, p. 518).

²⁰⁴ Pride's accounts are in SP 28/266 part 1/22-7. Letter of attorney for this regiment under his command 10 Aug. 1649 is in SP 28/142/5. Pride is the only identifiable radical actually recommended by the Lords for insertion into the New Model; however, we have no evidence that he was known to be radical at this early date. Pride had special associations with at least two lords: his son, Capt. Thomas Pride, married Rebecca Brydges, daughter of the 7th Lord Chandos (date unknown), and the earl of Pembroke had evidently extended his patronage to Pride, whom he had known as a youth (*The Last Words of Thomas Lord Pride* (1659)). It is also possible that Pride was related by marriage to Lords Zouch and Dacre. He had been major of this regiment previously.

²⁰⁵ This was the Eastern Association regiment of Col. Edward Montagu, the great enemy of the earl of Manchester (see nn. 78-9, 82, 84). There can be no question whatever that with this regiment, Manchester was attempting to have his enemies purged and his friends put in.

²⁰⁶ Herbert had been major under Col. Sir John Merrick, M.P., who was a friend of Essex and a 'Presbyterian'.

Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Grey²⁰⁷
 Major [Robert] Papley²⁰⁸
 Captain Denys Taylor²⁰⁹

*Eleventh Regiment of Foot*²¹⁰

Major [Jonathan] Newcomen²¹¹
 Captain William Fowlis²¹²
 Captain Symon Grey²¹³
 Captain [Thomas] Cooper²¹⁴

*Twelfth Regiment of Foot*²¹⁵

Colonel [William] Hunter²¹⁶
 Lieutenant-Colonel — ²¹⁷
 Major Alexander Urey [*recte* Urry]²¹⁸
 Captain Henry Wansey
 Captain John Penn²¹⁹
 Captain Matthew Short
 Captain-Lieutenant William Hender²²⁰

*Second Regiment of Horse*²²¹

Major [Gilbert] Carre [*recte* Carr]²²²

²⁰⁷ Grey was an overt ally of the earl of Denbigh (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1644*, pp. 110, 162). He was related to and had served under Lord Grey of Groby as lieutenant-colonel 9 Feb.–22 Sept. 1644, part of that time having been through Grey of Groby made governor of Leicester; but Grey did not share Grey of Groby's radical political views, since Denbigh was Grey of Groby's bitter and implacable political enemy. When Col. Edward Rossiter left Lincolnshire to take up a New Model command, he appointed Henry Grey to be colonel of foot for the Lincolnshire militia in his own place, and Grey served as such 4 Apr. 1645–25 Aug. 1646. Grey's accounts are in SP 28/266 part 1/186–90 and part 2/1–6.

²⁰⁸ A violent partisan of the earl of Manchester. Papley had been this regiment's major but had recently mutinied against Col. Montagu. Manchester so hated Montagu that he reinstated Papley in the regiment, overruling Montagu who had cashiered him (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1644–5*, pp. 314, 318–19, 325).

²⁰⁹ Taylor had also mutinied, along with Papley, against Montagu (*ibid.*; cf. *C.J.*, iv. 60a, 61a, 94b, 484b). For these two mutinous officers to be inserted by the Lords can only be explained by Manchester's insisting personally on it, in an attempt to force Montagu to resign his command.

²¹⁰ Aldrich having resigned, the command was taken by Walter Lloyd or Floyd (see n. 86). This was a regiment of the Essex army.

²¹¹ Newcomen's accounts are in SP 28/265 part 2/193–4, which show that on 12 Jan. 1646 he was on good terms with Aldrich, whose major he had been under Essex. This suggests that Newcomen was probably a sympathizer with the moderate political factions, and not a radical; this belief is fortified by the fact that the Lords ordered him to be protected from arrest in 1646 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 6th *Rept.*, pp. 115a, 217b).

²¹² Fowlis was an Essex army captain who signed the 21 Dec. 1644 petition.

²¹³ Grey's accounts are in SP 28/267 part 2/163–8, which show that he had been major of foot under Lord Grey of Warke in the army of Essex.

²¹⁴ Cooper was an Essex army captain who signed the 21 Dec. 1644 petition. His accounts are in SP 28/265 part 2/157–60, which show that in March 1646 he was on good terms with Aldrich.

²¹⁵ The radical Pickering's entire Eastern Association regiment was to be thrown out and replaced by the Essex army's regiment of the 'Presbyterian', Lord Robartes.

²¹⁶ Hunter had been Lord Robartes's lieutenant-colonel in the Essex army.

²¹⁷ The lieutenant-colonel having been promoted to colonel, no decision had yet been made on filling this vacancy.

²¹⁸ Urry had been major under Robartes and Hunter in the Essex army.

²¹⁹ Penn and Hender (below) consecutively signed the 21 Dec. 1644 petition of the Essex foot officers.

²²⁰ See n. 219. Hender had acted as Robartes's own captain-lieutenant under Essex.

²²¹ Since Middleton declined to serve, the command of this regiment was entrusted to John Butler, who was first named a captain in this regiment (see nn. 105, 109).

²²² Carr was a Scot with a violent history (see *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 6th *Rept.*, p. 53a, and his petition of May 1645, *ibid.*, p. 60b). He returned to Scotland to serve in the Scottish army. See also *L.J.*, vii.

Captain [Jeremiah] Abercromey [*recte* Abercrombie]²²³

Captain [Charles] Holcroft²²⁴

Captain — Buller²²⁵

*Third Regiment of Horse*²²⁶

Captain — Hayles²²⁷

Fourth Regiment of Horse

Captain Samuel Moodey [*recte* Moody]²²⁸

Captain Oliver Nicholas²²⁹

Fifth Regiment of Horse

Captain William Frampton²³⁰

Sixth Regiment of Horse

Captain [Edward] Wogan²³¹

*Seventh Regiment of Horse*²³²

Major [Robert] Sterline [*recte* Sterling]²³³

Captain Lord Cawfeilde [*recte* Caulfield]²³⁴

Captain John Moodey [*recte* Moody]²³⁵

388. The Commons ordered him to be paid £200 on 15 March 1645, during the disputes over the formation of the New Model (*C.J.*, iv. 79a).

²²³ Abercrombie was a dragoon officer who had served under the leading 'Presbyterian', Stapleton (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1644-5*, pp. 341, 348, 360, 386, 415, 418). There is a hint that he enjoyed the favour of the earl of Essex (*ibid.*, p. 386). He was dead by 1647 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *6th Rept.*, p. 215b).

²²⁴ Holcroft had been a dragoon captain in the Eastern Association (Davies, 'Army of Eastern Association', p. 91). He was to find service as captain-lieutenant to Col. Richard Graves of the 10th Regiment of Horse.

²²⁵ Thought to be Anthony. He had served under Behre and Bosa in the army of Essex.

²²⁶ The colonel and major of this regiment were sons of the earl of Mulgrave (see nn. 111-12).

²²⁷ Hayles had served under Sheffield in the army of Essex, and must have been inserted at Sheffield's request by either Essex or Mulgrave, or both.

²²⁸ Moody had been a captain under Vermuyden in the Eastern Association, but was pointedly omitted by Fairfax from Vermuyden's regiment as proposed for the New Model, as 6th Regiment of Horse (see n. 235).

²²⁹ Nicholas later served under Sir William Lockhart and the Harleys (leading 'Presbyterians') in Flanders in 1658 (*F. & D.*, pp. 672-3, 675).

²³⁰ Frampton's accounts are in SP 28/267 part 2/50-8. He was captain of horse 5 Apr. 1645 under the leading 'Presbyterian', Edward Massey, having also served under the foreign mercenary, Col. Dalbier.

²³¹ Wogan had served under Sheffield in the army of Essex. He became known as the 'renegadoe Wogan' and later defected to the royalists. He was a strong opponent of the radicals. See *D.N.B.*; Sir F. Maurice, *The Adventures of Edward Wogan* (1945).

²³² The colonel originally appointed by Fairfax was son of the earl of Leicester, and was not objected against, but only one of his officers was tolerable to the Lords (see nn. 128-32).

²³³ The examination of Sterling (or Stirling) is in SP 16/506/58 (and see also 132-3), dated 1645. He was a close associate of the earl of Manchester and tried to prevent Manchester losing his command by the Self-Denying Ordinance (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1644-5*, pp. 254, 325-6). He was apparently a colonel (though not New Model) by 1 Dec. 1647, when he was proceeded against by both houses of parliament (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *6th Rept.*, p. 213a). In 1647 he was a fanatical Presbyterian, resolved to oppose Fairfax and the army (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *Portland MSS.*, i. 433-4).

²³⁴ 5th Baron Caulfield, made viscount in 1665, died 1671. Clearly a case of the Lords helping one of their own. Caulfield did find service as a captain under Col. Richard Graves in the 10th Regiment of Horse (cf. n. 224). He was a close friend of Essex (cf. *C.J.*, iv. 68b).

²³⁵ Not to be confused with Capt. Samuel Moody (see n. 228). John Moody had been a captain under Fleetwood in the Eastern Association but was pointedly omitted by Fairfax from the New Model 4th Regiment of Horse. Since Fairfax thus omitted both Moodys, and both were favoured by the Lords, they were probably related closely, and probably were supporters of Manchester.

*Eighth Regiment of Horse*Captain — Sawkine²³⁶*Ninth Regiment of Horse*Major [William] Urry²³⁷Captain — Evans²³⁸*Dragoons*Colonel — Mill²³⁹Major [Archibald] Strahan [*recte* Strachan]²⁴⁰

²³⁶ Possibly Capt. Joseph Salkeld who served under Col. Dalbier in the army of Essex.

²³⁷ To be distinguished from Maj. Alexander Urry, an officer of foot (cf. n. 218). He signed the 1644 petition. See also Hist. MSS. Comm., *6th Rept.*, p. 61b.

²³⁸ This may be Capt. Thomas Evans, who later entered the Massey Brigade (Temple, 'Massey Brigade', pp. 441, 443).

²³⁹ Possibly Col. Sir John Mill(s). If so, he was very friendly with Holborne, Barclay and Innes, all of whom declined service in the New Model.

²⁴⁰ Obviously this man was a Scot, and presumably therefore of the 'Presbyterian' persuasion. Documents referring to him are in SP 28/267 part 3/109, 138 (letter as executor of deceased brother Maj. James Strachan, who died 14 May 1644). A Capt. John Strachan served under Popham and Massey and may have been another brother; accounts in SP 28/267 part 1/116-18.