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A RE-EVALUATION OF THE DESTROYED CHURCH OF ST GILES,
NORMANTON-BY-DERBY - ADDENDUM



In the article in the Spring 1997 *Derbyshire Miscellany* on the destroyed church of St Giles, Normanton-by-Derby, the water colour of the interior of the church by Mrs Mundy was inadvertently omitted. We now correct that omission. The water colour is reproduced by kind permission of Derby Local Studies Library.

CIVIL WAR DERBYSHIRE

SIR JOHN GELL's "TRUE RELATION" RECONSIDERED

(by Andrew Polkey)

INTRODUCTION

In attempting to unravel the complex story of military events in Civil War Derbyshire, the local historian is greatly dependent upon two important primary sources - the Gell manuscript narrative¹ and the Gresley Letter Book.² Both are unfortunately little known but merit closer scrutiny as first-hand accounts of a violent conflict in which Derbyshire played a not inconsiderable but sadly neglected role.

Primary Source

The Gresley Letter Book was kept by Sir George Gresley of Drakelow (1580-1651), an early ally of Gell's and a key member of the Derby Committee which ran the town under Gell's leadership. Though no formal records of business were maintained, this volume is the next best thing, \as it does, a varied collection of copy letters, Parliamentary instructions and memoranda covering the war years 1642-46. It also contains the valuable "*True Account*" penned in February 1644 at the height of the war by Sir George and containing a wealth of local military detail. However, the Gell Mss is the more useful of the two, and though there are indications that the two documents may to some degree have been written in collusion, it is the longer and more comprehensive Gell Mss that concerns us here.

History of the Sources

Both were first published by Stephen Glover in the Appendix to his *History of Derbyshire*, 1829, though Gresley's "*True Account*" had earlier received publication in Stebbing Shaw's *History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, 1798. Both accounts were more recently printed in the Appendix to Brian Stone's *Derbyshire in the Civil War*, 1992, but, as with earlier publications, this was essentially another uncritical transcription without comment. The present writer has sought to modify the spelling and paragraphing of Gell's "*True Relation*" and also attempted additionally to provide further information to identify and elucidate persons and events referred to in the text.

Sir John Gell's Life

What do we know of Sir John Gell, the author of "*True Relation*"? Gell's biography has unfortunately yet to be written; as Stone fittingly remarks:

*"A full-length biography is probably long overdue... [for one whose] activities bulked so large in the County's affairs... For Gell stands head and shoulders above the rest as the dynamo of Parliamentary activity and his departure leaves one with a sense of anti-climax, so vigorous and pervasive was his presence."*³

Yet none of his contemporaries would have predicted such unexpected predominance. Born in 1593 at Hopton Hall near Wirksworth, into a family of fairly minor *arriviste* gentry, Gell died in 1671 aged 78, having lived a long life of unenviable controversy.⁴ His political career began as a Royal servant as High Sheriff in 1635; however, with the onset of war, he caused general consternation and surprise by throwing in his lot with Parliament and turning Derby into a Parliamentary military stronghold. As Colonel of his own regiment of foot and Governor of the town, he terrorised friend and foe alike by his undisguised and arbitrary misuse of power. Though the civil authority was vested in the Derby Committee, it was largely controlled by his creatures in order to provide a veneer of spurious legality to the Governor's rapacious exactions. Gresley at this time was an active subordinate, but became less so once the Royalists were defeated.

Gell's Military Career

Gell's "*True Relation*" sheds much valuable light on the activities of the Derby Parliamentary forces, as they ambushed, skirmished and campaigned against their local Royalist rivals. No engagements of national importance took place within the County, but the local forces that Gell raised in Derbyshire served in a variety of theatres. In May 1645 he was presented with the possibility of winning national recognition. The Committee of Both Kingdoms (CBK) ordered a rendezvous of local Midlands forces under Sir John Gell's command, to assemble at Nottingham in order to trap the King's Oxford Army between Gell and the New Model. But Gell lamentably failed to intercept the beaten King after the decisive battle of Naseby, and aroused much suspicion amongst his enemies. The truth seems to be that by 1645 Gell was tired of the war and believed like Essex and the *grandees* that enough had been won to come to an accommodation with the Crown.

He thereafter increasingly defied the orders of Parliament and tried to thwart the efforts of those of his subordinates, like Major Sanders, who sought an outright victory. His disreputable - indeed - almost comic attempts to bring about the surrender of Royalist Tutbury castle in April 1646, led to a reprimand from the CBK and the commencement of political moves by the Committee of Examination to secure his overthrow and removal. For his part, Gell was affronted by the refusal of Parliament to re-imburse him outright for his alleged expenditure and arrears in the service of Parliament; he manifested open hostility to what he perceived as Parliament's meddling in his own area of operations.

The Post-War Years

Following his inevitable fall, removal from office and failure to recover his arrears, he tried to accommodate himself with his former Royalist enemies and in 1650 was implicated in a Royalist plot. For this he suffered two years incarceration in the Tower. His political career finally came full circle when in 1660 he sued for a pardon at the Restoration and was rewarded by appointment as a Gentleman of the Bedchamber Extraordinary!

The Purpose of Gell's Mss

It should now be apparent why he troubled to draw up a record of his activities in the "*True Relation*". Using a diary or other papers that have not survived, he produced a highly biased depiction of his role in the events of 1642-46. Gresley's "*True Account*" ends in the spring of 1644, whereas the "*True Relation*" concludes in January 1646, terminating with a laudable account of his foot regiment's performance at the siege of Newark. Five months later he was summoned to appear before the Committee of Privileges to answer a battery of charges in the long-maturing case against him, culminating in the revocation of his Governorship in October 1646. It would seem therefore, that he composed the "*True Relation*" as exonerating evidence to place before the enquiry. A careful perusal of the text however, shows it to be rife with omissions of a tendentious nature - its whole *raison d'être* being to put Gell's career in the best possible light. Though it is true that it contains a wealth of accurate detail which can be corroborated by reference to other less partisan sources, it must be viewed suspiciously and cannot be accepted as factual throughout.

The Need for Caution

The question of deliberate falsehood and misleading bias is crucial to an understanding of the merits of the document and the reader must be constantly aware of the nature and purpose of the "*True Relation*". Evidence of such attempts at self-validation are legion and only a few can be cited here. At the Battle of Hopton Heath (March 1643) for instance, Gell makes reference to casualties amongst his own side that are scarcely credible and his account of the battle itself is very much at variance with that of Brereton, with whom he shared command.⁵ His description of the fighting at Nottingham in the same year credits the Derby forces with laurels that Lucy Hutchinson transparently rejects.⁶ The despicable sack of Elvaston and the barbarities that Gell visited upon the tombs of the hated Stanhopes in February 1643 are omitted entirely from his narrative; the cavalry melee at Egginton Heath in March 1644 unjustly ascribes success to one of Gell's cronies - a Captain Rhodes - and the same is true of fights at Tutbury, Ashbourne and at King's Mills. It is fortunate therefore that a corrective can be applied in the form of reports submitted to Parliament by Major Thomas Sanders.⁷ From these, one is able to see who were the officers who performed the real service for Parliament in the field.

Gell was wont to puff up his own successes and those of his hangers-on in the Parliamentary press, thanks allegedly to bribes and to the efforts of his half brother, John Curzon of Kedleston, who served as an MP. As Sanders put it:

*So we poor lambs bear on our backs
Wool to clothe other idle jacks.*

Sanders and his officers got no publicity from Gell but as the day of reckoning approached, they sent reports to London exposing Gell's bragging:

This is the first vizard (ie mask) that we pulled off from Sir John Gell's face, who the pamphleteers cry up for Active, who never but once at Saltheath (ie Hopton Heath) looked one enemy in the face. This is the truth from the hands of those who will justify it.⁸

In this, Sanders was at one with the testimony of Lucy Hutchinson.

Textual Omissions

Though Gell does mention the fact that he twice sent several troops of the Derby horse regiment to serve with Brereton at the siege of Chester on Parliament's orders, he neglects to record how on the first occasion in February 1645 he obstructed them in every way possible by denying them their pay and demanding constantly that they return to his command at Derby.⁹

Particularly damning is Gell's failure to mention his farcical attempts to buy off the Royalist garrison at Tutbury in the spring of 1646, the terms of which were castigated by Brereton as:

The strangest and most dishonourable articles that I have ever seen.¹⁰

Finally there is a complete avoidance of the bizarre events surrounding the Recruiter election held at Derby in November 1645, when Gell used corruption and the threat of force to secure the election of his brother Thomas as the town's MP in the face of equally determined opposition.¹¹

Historical Value of the Mss

But despite these flaws, the "*True Relation*" is still of great value as a primary source, not only for its revelations concerning the character of Derby's tyrant Governor, but for the detailed narrative it provides - if used with caution - illustrative of the key local personalities of the period. It also provides an accurate chronology of the movements and operations undertaken by Derbyshire's own regiments of horse and foot, in an area that the Royalists had every right to claim as predominantly their own in sympathy.¹² The fact that in spite of this, Derby remained a Parliamentary island in a Royalist sea, is due to the cantankerous leadership of one man - the author of the "*True Relation*" - Sir John Gell.

AN ASSESSMENT OF GELL'S ACHIEVEMENTS

In the end the question remains; what was the nature of Gell's overall contribution to Parliament's cause?

In the matter of character, he was harsh, dictatorial and energetically selfish but such attributes were arguably necessary in a leader when fighting against tough odds, as Gell certainly was from October 1642 to August 1644. "*He was a very bad man, to sum up all in that word, yet an instrument of service to the parliament in those parts*".¹³ He was very largely on his own during this period, with his power-base constantly threatened by the Royalist troops of Lords Newcastle and Loughborough. Furthermore, he also faced the threat of possible incursions by firstly, the Queen's army, then Rupert and finally by the field army of the King. A commander less resolutely sure of his own worth, would have shifted elsewhere and left Derby to its fate.

This then is perhaps Sir John Gell's principal achievement - the garrisoning and consistent maintenance of Derby as a centre for Parliamentary military and administrative activity.

Whilst the Royalists at the outset of the war were obsessed with what has been widely termed, a "field army mentality", Gell was able to exploit the resulting vacuum, raise forces and overrun territory in what was in essence a predominantly Royalist area.

Principal Successes

He took Lichfield Close in Staffordshire, he powerfully aided neighbouring Parliamentarians in Nottingham to take the town and castle and thereafter rendered valuable and timely assistance on a number of occasions. He held Hastings (Lord Loughborough) in check when the latter returned from Oxford to threaten southern Derbyshire at the start of 1643; he fought the battle of Hopton Heath - a Midlands echo of Edgehill - and thereafter maintained the strategically important river line of the Trent by repeatedly thwarting Hastings at Swarkestone (January 1643), Burton on Trent (April 1643 and January 1644), Kings Mills (February 1644), Wilne Ferry (July 1644) and Trent Bridge (September 1643) culminating in the major fight at Egginton Heath (March 1644). He took the war into Royalist territory by repeatedly harassing Royalist strongpoints at Tutbury and Ashby and his garrison outposts at Barton and Coleorton did much to neutralise the latter as effective jumping-off points for Royalist forays into Derbyshire. Sir John's horse and foot regiments served frequently as valuable component parts of larger Parliamentary forces acting against Newark and Chester, where they earned the praise of both Brereton and Poyntz. Even Mrs Hutchinson calls them "*good, stout, fighting men,*" but adds - characteristically - that she thought them also "*the most licentious, ungovernable wretches that belonged to the Parliament*"¹⁴

Analysis of Failings

However, in spite of these military successes, it must be conceded that Gell's prominence was also achieved in large measure by his unscrupulous domination of the Derby Committee and by his refusal to tolerate the emergence of any independent-minded comrades in arms who were neither his creatures nor tamely prepared to submit to his authority. (*Vide* the election of November 1645 called to fill the gaps in the Long Parliament - the Recruiter Election - as an example of Gell's predilection for intimidation and trickery.)

Though he was prepared to countenance co-operation with neighbouring Roundhead "bigwigs" - men like Brereton, Lord Grey, Hutchinson and even Fairfax - he did so only when it suited his instincts for survival and as long as he remained master within his own sphere of operations. He behaved as a big fish in a little pond and resented interference within the boundaries of what he regarded as his own fief. This attitude to some extent explains his almost treacherous behaviour in respect of Bolsover in December 1644 and Tutbury in March-April 1646.

Militarily he was not strong enough to withstand Newcastle's invasion of Derbyshire in the Autumn of 1643 when his several garrisons collapsed and the weakness of the loose Parliamentary associations, as instruments for mutual support, was starkly exposed.

Royalist Mistakes

Both Sir John and Sir George Gresley in their parallel accounts of the war spend much ink attempting to explain the impotence of the Derby forces in resisting Newcastle's autumn invasion of the county in 1643. Both accounts unconvincingly - and at some length - seek to blame Fairfax for promising assistance that he had no means (or intention) of supplying. Whatever the cause, Newcastle overran Derbyshire and, thereafter, Gell was reduced to the status of a guerrilla leader in a hostile environment; he was exceedingly fortunate in that the various Royalist commanders, both local and national, never organized a serious attempt to wrest Derby from Gell's grasp. That he was allowed to flourish and maintain a kind of frontier garrison-town in the midst of the largely Royalist North Midlands was due not only to his own self-publicised exertions but to the remarkable inability of the Royalist command to formulate an effective and coherent military strategy to deal with Derby and snuff out this constantly irritating ember. The blame for this lies solely with the Royalists themselves, for neither the Derby garrison nor its improvised defences could have long withstood a serious and determined assault.

In this respect, Gell was simply lucky and luck (as Napoleon remarked) was a much prized quality, to be admired and respected in a military commander. More prosaically, Gell was spared by the impact of outside events - the invasion of northern England by the Scottish army in January 1644 and the withdrawal of the

Marquis of Newcastle to counter this threat and by the interference of Oxford in Lord Loughborough's affairs, preventing a sustained concentration of local Cavalier resources against Derby.

Sir John's best weapon, the Derby regiment of horse, was from the first, a focus for discontent under Major Sanders - his most capable critic and rival - a courageous and determined officer who Gell failed either to crush or to bend to his purposes. But for all their achievements, the Derby forces - both horse and foot - were powerless to recover Derbyshire from the King's forces, until the Marston Moor campaign finally shattered the Marquis of Newcastle and exhausted Loughborough's capacity for resistance. Thereafter it was Major-General Crawford of Manchester's army who in August 1644 broke the Royalist garrisons in the north of the county and took Wingfield Manor, Derbyshire's most powerful place of military fortification.

Gell's remarkable inability to intervene decisively in the Naseby campaign was perhaps his greatest failing but is possibly explicable in view of his growing distrust of the "mercenary" New Model Army and by his increasingly political dislike of the concept of a war to the finish. Gell was no admirer of the New Model Army nor a Republican Independent and despised these kind of tendencies in Major Thomas Sanders and his captains of horse.

Conclusion

By September 1646 Gell had served his purpose. The opportunist niche that he had successfully exploited was no more; the political and military complexion of the war had radically changed and Gell's Parliamentary enemies, both in Parliament and the Derby Committee, finally got the better of him and got rid of him.

Since then Sir John's Civil War career has long remained neglected; his name known chiefly in connection with Hopton Heath - but, for the rest, he figures in little more than the footnotes of works dealing with adjoining counties and their more prominently known personalities. Yet however unseemly his fall from grace in 1646 and his disreputable manoeuvrings thereafter, he had played a significant role during the first Civil War and his achievements surely merit a more widespread recognition than that which historians have hitherto accorded.

Notes to Introduction

1. Derbyshire Record Office (DRO) Gell Mss Collection, D258
2. DRO, Gresley Letter Book, 803M/Z9
3. Brian Stone, *Derbyshire in the Civil War*, 1992. See also my assessment of Gell in, Andrew Polkey, *Civil War in the Trent Valley*, 1992.
4. Major sources for a biography can be found in Trevor Brighton's *Royalists and Roundheads in Derbyshire*, 1981. See also his essays in the *Journals of the Bakewell & District Historical Society*, No VII January 1980; No VIII January 1981; No IX January 1982.
5. See John Sutton, *Staffordshire History*, Vol. 6, 1987, for an analysis of sources.
6. Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoires of the Life of Col. Hutchinson*, Ed. James Sutherland, 1973.
7. Sanders Papers, DRO, 1232M, various.
8. Sanders; op. cit. 1232M, ff.28-29.
9. R.N. Dore, *William Brereton's Letter Books*, 1984, pp522-528.
10. Brereton's *Letter Books*, Birmingham Library, 595611 f.16.
11. Brighton; op. cit; JBDHS IX, pp29-35.
12. Martyn Bennett, *The Royalist War Effort in the North Midlands 1642-46*, unpublished PhD. thesis, Loughborough University, 1986.
13. Lucy Hutchinson, op. cit., p68.
14. Lucy Hutchinson, op. cit., p67.

INTRODUCTION TO SOURCES

Unpublished typescript material generously supplied to the author by Dr. Brighton in 1982. Anyone with an interest in the Civil War period of Derbyshire history owes Trevor Brighton an enormous debt. His work - published and unpublished - still remains unique as the only major scholarly venture into this field.

- DN *Memoirs of the Duke of Newcastle* - Ed. C.H. Firth, 1906.
- DRO Derbyshire Record Office at Matlock - contains the large Gell Mss collection (D258) in 67 boxes; the Gresley Letter Book (803M/Z9) of some 140 relevant folios and which includes the Mss "True Account" (folios v-xvii) and the Sanders Mss collection (1232M).
- Dore (1) (2) R.N. Dore - *The Letter Books of Sir William Brereton*, Volume One, 1984 (1) and Volume Two, 1990 (2).
- Glover Stephen Glover - *The History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Derby*, 1829. The Appendix contains the first and only publication of the Gell's "True Relation". Also Gresley's "True Account" - though Gresley's original Mss first appeared in Stebbing-Shaw's *History of the Antiquities of Staffordshire* in 1798.
- GLB *Gresley Letter Book* - referenced by folio number (See DRO above) - maintained by Sir George Gresley whilst serving on the Derby Committee.
- JBDHS *Journal of the Bakewell and District Historical Society*. Co-edited by Trevor Brighton - the Journal contains almost the entirety of Brighton's published output on Civil War Derbyshire:-
1. *The Gell Family in the C16 & C17. A Case of the Rising Gentry* - Jan 1980, No VII, pp4-33.
 2. *Sir John Gell and the Civil War in Derbyshire* - (Sept. 1642 to March 1643) - Jan 1981, No VIII, pp37-63.
 3. *Sir John Gell Governor of Derby (1642-46)*, Jan 1982, No IX, pp1-54.
- LH *Memoires of the Life of Colonel John Hutchinson* by Lucy Hutchinson. Edition published by OUP 1973 and edited by James Sutherland.
- NCWS *Newark on Trent, The Civil War Siegeworks*, HMSO, 1964.
- RO *Royalist Officers in England & Wales 1642-1660*, P.R. Newman, Garland, 1981.
- RR *Royalists and Roundheads* by Trevor Brighton - Bakewell and District Historical Society, 1981. Appendix 1 is an A to Z of Derbyshire families and their allegiances; it is essential reading for any student - in conjunction with the other 3 JBDHS volumes mentioned above.
- RWE *The Royalist War Effort in the North Midlands 1642-46*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Martyn Bennett, Loughborough University, 1986.
- Sanders. Mss collection of the papers of Thomas Sanders. DRO (1232M).
- TA "True Account" - "A true account of the raising and employing of one foot regiment under Sir John Gell from the beginning of October 1642 until the middle of February 1644" by Sir George Gresley.
- Wood A.C. Wood, *Nottinghamshire in the Civil War*, 1937.

"A true relation of what service has been done by Colonel Sir John Gell, Bart. for the King and the Parliament, in Defence of the Town and County of Derby, and how aiding and assisting he has been to the adjacent Counties, viz. Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, from October, 1642, till October 1646."

The 11th of October, 1642, the above named Colonel Sir John Gell had a company of foot from Hull, containing one hundred and forty. The 16th of the said month he marched with his said company to Wheatfield¹, where the soldiers there mutinied, but, by the entreaty of Capt. Bright, and the minister of the town, many of them were disarmed, and the remainder set in good posture. The 17th he marched to Chesterfield, and there remained eight or nine days, where he raised, by the beat of a drum, two hundred men, some with arms and some without.

The 26th he marched to Wirksworth where Sir Francis Wortley,² with his rebel rout, hearing of his approach, fled away, but there Colonel Gell remained three or four days and increased his forces to three hundred and above. And so on the 31st October he marched to Derby town, and there he began to give out commissions for his officers.

Some five days after, Captain White³ came to him out of Nottinghamshire with a company of dragoons, consisting of about twenty seven, but before he departed, he made them up to one hundred and forty, all well armed, under the command of the said Sir John Gell. About the 10th of November 1642, the aforesaid Sir Francis Wortley returned again to the town of Dale in Derbyshire, whither Sir John Gell mounted his musketeers and forced him out of the country. The 25th of November, having his regiment complete, he horsed about three hundred musketeers with Captain White's dragoons, and sent them by Major Molanus⁴ to Coventry for two sakers and some ammunition; when they came hither, they kept them five days there, because they had intelligence that the enemy were approaching towards the city.

As soon as they returned to Derby, Colonel Gell, having intelligence that the Earl of Chesterfield⁵ had fortified his house with forty musketeers, horse and seven drakes, whereupon he commanded forth of Derby some four hundred foot and Captain White's dragoons and two sakers to the said Earl's house, called Bretby, Major Molanus being commander in chief.

Upon the approach of our men, the enemy shot their drakes and muskets at them; but after half a dozen shots of our sakers and musketeers and our men beginning to fall upon their works, the said Earl with all his forces fled away through his park and so to Lichfield.

We, forcibly entering the house, found his Countess⁶, her gentlewoman and two or three servants therein, seized presently upon the arms and found seven drakes, thirty steel pikes, twenty or thirty muskets, five double barrels of powder and good store of match and bullets. Major Molanus, Captain White, Captain Sanders⁷ and divers other officers entreated the Countess that she would give every soldier half a crown, for to have her house saved from plundering, because it was a free booty. She answered, it was too much and that she had not so much moneys; they asked her again if she would give amongst them forty marks: she made the same answer, that she had not moneys. Then they offered to deposit the money for her, if she would promise to repay it them: she still refractorily and wilfully said that she would not give them one penny; and then indeed the soldiers plundered the house. But the said officers saved her own chamber, with all the goods therein.

Then Derbyshire being cleared, Captain White went to Nottingham Castle, seized upon all the arms and sent to Sir John Gell immediately to assist him with some foot, whereupon he [Gell] sent his Major Molanus with three hundred foot, when he began to fortify Nottingham and set them in a posture of defence and assisted Colonel Pierrepont⁸ to make up his regiment of foot, and we continued there some nine or ten days: in the interval, Sir John Gell having intelligence that Colonel Hastings⁹ was come to Ashby de la Zouch with three hundred horse and four hundred foot, and still raising as many as he could, sent for the said Major Molanus with his three hundred foot back again to Derby, and by that time Hastings was fortifying Sir John Harpur's house¹⁰ and Swarkestone bridge, whereupon he prepared his whole regiment with Sir George Gresley's¹¹ troop of horse, which he had raised since Captain White went from Derby to Nottinghamshire, and so having two sakers along with him, he marched thither, stormed their works, drove the enemy away and dismantled the same,

killed seven or eight of them and wounded many, and but one man of his wounded, so that the enemy never had a mind to fortify the same again.

He was no sooner returned to Derby, but the Moorlanders in Staffordshire came to him, entreating him for assistance, because the enemy had possessed themselves in Stafford town. Sir John asked them what assistance they would have; they said two hundred musketeers and one saker, not doubting but that they had men enough, with that assistance, to regain the town and to save themselves. He commanded his said Major Molanus immediately with two hundred foot and one saker to march towards their appointed rendezvous at Uttoxeter. His Major being there two or three days and nobody coming to assist him, and hearing that the enemy increased, was forced to retreat in the night to Derby, being vi [six] long miles: in the mean time Colonel Hastings strongly fortified Ashby de la Zouch, which was, and would be, a great hinderance to Leicestershire, Staffordshire and Derbyshire. My Lord Grey¹² sent to him [Gell] that he should make ready with all the forces he could make, and that Sir William Brereton¹³ was likewise to meet him with some forty horse, to go against the said Ashby, within two days after he met my Lord Grey with all the strength he had, and joining their forces together, they marched to the said Ashby, where they found the town fortified, assaulted it, and beat the enemy into the mansion-house, with the loss of four or five men of our side, and one lieutenant of foot of ours wounded; and having gotten the town, we planted our ordinance against the mansion- house, but before they could do any execution, there was a letter brought to my Lord Grey from the Committee of Northampton, how that Prince Rupert was marched from Banbury to come to relieve the said Ashby, whereupon my Lord called a council of war, and by the said council it was agreed, that they should draw off, finding themselves too weak.¹⁴

February 24th 1643, by an order from his excellency, the late Earl of Essex¹⁵, he was commanded to send what strength he could well spare under the command of Major-General Ballard¹⁶ against Newark, whereupon he sent Major Molanus with five hundred foot, because one foot company of his regiment, under Captain Mundy¹⁷, was commanded to Yorkshire, Captain Stafford¹⁸ with his foot company at Whaleybridge upon the borders of Lancashire and Cheshire, and his said Major's own foot company at Burton upon Trent, and left in Derby only Captain Mellor's¹⁹ foot company, and Sir George Gresley's troop to defend the town.

Whilst these his forces were so abroad, and himself at Derby, there came news to him, how my Lord Brooke²⁰ had entered Lichfield and besieged the Close, who, by reviewing the works, was there unfortunately slain, and presently after his death, my said Lord's officers made choice of Colonel Gell to be their commander in chief for the present service. He went immediately with Sir George Gresley's troops to Lichfield, and approached to the Close with our mortar-piece as near as possibly he could, and after he had shot three grenadoes, they fell to parley and surrendered the Close and themselves prisoners unto him.

In the meantime the said Major Molanus returned with his foot from Newark, and came to him at Lichfield, and so Colonel Gell, asking him how they had prospered before Newark, he [Molanus] answered that he readily thought they were betrayed by the commander in chief, which was Major-General Ballard, for that they had entered the town and mastered the works, and then [been] commanded back, by the said Ballard, without doing anything at all, and so returned with the loss of some men, and one drake, and had not [the] Nottingham men and his stood against the said Ballard's will, closely one to another, they had lost all their ordinance, which they fetched off, whether he would or not.²¹

And when he had gained Lichfield Close and set all in good order, Sir William Brereton sent him a letter to meet him at Hopton Heath near Stafford, with all the strength he could make, to go against Stafford town, and so they marched together towards Hopton Heath, where Colonel Gell commanded all the foot and Sir William Brereton the horse; presently they descried the enemy, whereupon he set his foot in order of battle, and Sir William his horse, the enemy advancing in a full body with above one thousand two hundred horse, whereof the Earl of Northampton was general, and so setting upon their horse, Sir William's horse presently ran away and left Sir John Gell alone with the foot. The enemy drew his horse into a body again and charged his foot, but he gave them such a salute, that the enemy, in a disordered manner, drew off and marched away towards Stafford, but left many dead bodies behind them, whereof my Lord of Northampton was one, Captain Middleton²² and many other brave commanders of horse, and at least one hundred dragoons; and of our side three carters and two soldiers were slain. We lost two casks of drakes, which the dragoons had drawn a great distance from the foot, under the hedges to save themselves, and so Colonel Gell retreated with my Lord's dead body towards Uttoxeter with his forces, and Sir William Brereton with his forces towards Cheshire.²³

And at Uttoxeter Colonel Gell remained three days and set Staffordshire in as good posture as he could; within the said three days there came a trumpeter to him from my young Lord of Northampton, for his father's dead body, whereupon he answered, if he would send him the drakes which they had gotten from their dragoons and pay the surgeons for embalming it, he should have it: but he returned him an answer, that he would do neither the one nor the other, and so Colonel Gell caused him to be carried in his company to Derby and buried him in the Earl of Devonshire's sepulchre in All Hallows church.²⁴

April 8th 1643, Colonel Chadwick²⁵ having gotten some three hundred of Yorkshire and Scarsdales horse together, sent word to Colonel Gell that my Lord of Deincourt²⁶ did usually send assistance to Bolsover and was fortifying his own house - he, in all the haste he could - sent his Lieutenant Colonel, Thomas Gell,²⁷ and his Major with five hundred men and three pieces of ordinance to the said Lord Deincourt's house; and at their coming my Lord stood upon his defence, but in the conclusion Lieutenant Colonel Gell took the house, and my Lord and all his forces with the loss of two or three men of our side. My Lord promised faithfully upon his honour to come within eight days next after, to Derby and submit himself to the Parliament's censure, but Lieutenant Colonel Gell demolished the works which were about the house and so retreated to Derby. But he was no sooner marched away but my Lord went to Newark and never came to Derby, for all his honour, promises and protestations.

Presently after Colonel Gell sent to my Lord Grey, desiring his assistance for the taking of Burton, by reason it was the only passage over the Trent and Dove into the North. My Lord within two days came and met Colonel Gell at the rendezvous on Egginton Heath and so marched together to the said Burton, drove the enemy away and Colonel Gell left one of his biggest foot companies there, consisting of two hundred, under Captain Sanders and one piece of ordinance and presently after made sixty dragoons and so kept the passage.

About the beginning of May 1643, there came a command from my said Lord Grey, that Colonel Gell should march with all his forces and artillery and meet at the rendezvous at Nottingham, and so upon my Lord's command Colonel Gell marched thither with all his forces and artillery, excepting one foot company, and there we were put under the command of Young Hotham, where then were present my said Lord Grey with his forces, Colonel Cromwell with his forces, and all the Nottingham forces, so that in all we were about five or six thousand horse and foot but the greatest part of horse, and marched up and down in the vale of Belvoir for the space of one month till the Queen came to Newark with great strength, and then my Lord Grey retreated towards Leicester, Cromwell towards Peterborough, Colonel Hubbard²⁸ with his regiment tarried at Nottingham under the command of Sir John Meldrum, and Colonel Gell to Derby, because they considered they were not able to encounter with the enemy for want of foot.

In the meantime that we left Captain Sanders at Burton, one Mr. Houghton,²⁹ a Lancashire man, was made Colonel, and he made the said Sanders his Lieutenant Colonel, so that Colonel Gell lost that great company and above sixty dragoons, horse and arms, which was a great loss to Derbyshire when the enemy were so about us. The Queen being at Newark, and understanding that we were all so dispersed, marched with her forces towards Ashby de la Zouch: Colonel Gell having true intelligence that she was marching westwards, and that she would fall upon Burton, because it was the chief passage from South to North, sent presently to Staffordshire for all the forces to meet him, and likewise to Nottingham, where were about three thousand horse and foot, and he himself would draw out with all his forces to Egginton Heath, and so to Burton, to assist them till the Queen were past, but nobody would come, so that within three days after she marched towards Burton, took the town by storm, killed many of them, took the Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, and most of the officers prisoners, and so most miserably plundered and destroyed the town.³⁰

The Queen was no sooner departed out of Staffordshire but the countrymen sent to Colonel Gell, how that Sir Richard Fleetwood³¹ had fortified his house, and increased very strong both in horse and foot, and did great hurt in plundering the traffic betwixt Lancashire, Cheshire and Derby, by robbing and stopping of carriers, which went weekly from Manchester to London, he sent presently his Lieutenant Colonel with about four hundred foot and one troop of horse to the said Fleetwood's house, and took it by storm, and brought Sir Richard prisoner to Derby, with all his men, being betwixt seventy and eighty.

Within five weeks after, Colonel Gell, having intelligence how that Hastings was fallen out with one Raggard,³² governor of Lichfield, and departed from thence with such forces as he had to Tutbury, and there devoured all the provision they had; and that if Colonel Gell would come and besiege it for four days, with considerable

strength, they must needs surrender it for want of victualls and ammunition, and by that means he might release most of the prisoners taken at Burton, whereof Colonel Houghton was one. Upon this intelligence Colonel Gell sent to Sir John Meldrum³³ at Nottingham, for assistance: Sir John Meldrum came presently to Derby, with Major Ireton,³⁴ and Captain White, with some two hundred horse and dragoons and so Sir John Gell marched along with them with all his forces, horses and foot, and artillery to Tutbury town, and surrounded the castle; there we remained two days and one night. Sir John Meldrum calling a council of war, told them how he had intelligence that the Earl of Newcastle was sending forces to relieve it out of Yorkshire and Bridgenorth, whereupon it was resolved that we should retreat to several garrisons.

As soon as Sir John Meldrum came to Nottingham, he drew all the forces then in [the] town, excepting some four hundred, which he left in the castle with Colonel Hutchinson, and marched southwards towards Peterborough; but Nottingham townsmen sent for aid to Colonel Gell to assist them, while they were removing their goods into the castle, for they were left in a most miserable condition: he presently made ready three hundred dragoons and sent thither his said Major Molanus to continue there till they had removed their goods into the castle, and left the town desolate, but for some few of the townsmen within; awhile after, news came that the enemy had entered the town, and had besieged the castle. The Governor with the Committee did most earnestly send unto Colonel Gell, that he should with all speed send them assistance, otherwise the castle would be taken, because most of their soldiers were in the town, and so many an honest man would so be starved, who had privily hid themselves. Sir John presently made ready all the strength he could, and got together all the horses in the country, and horsed some five hundred musketeers, with the assistance of two or three troops of Leicester and so with all that strength marched to Nottingham, Major Molanus being commander in chief. The enemy was then at least five or six hundred in Nottingham town, horse and foot, and all stood in battalio³⁵ in the market place and all our forces were not five hundred. The said Major Molanus with Captain Hacker, now Colonel Hacker,³⁶ entered the town with their horse, were presently beaten back, lost four or five horses. Instantly after, the said Major broke through the enemy and brought in the dragoons, and entered the town again, and drove the enemy before them, many of them slain, and one hundred and sixty taken prisoners, but one man of our side slain, which was namely one Captain Lieutenant Lenerick, who led Colonel Gell's own troop, three men wounded, and some five or six horses killed. We relieved at the same time at least four hundred townsmen and soldiers of the castle, who were almost famished. The remainder of the enemy fled to Nottingham bridge, which they were then fortifying.³⁷

Within ten days after, the Committee of Nottingham sent again unto Colonel Gell, that he might needs send them present aid and assistance to beat the enemy from the bridge, otherwise they would be so restrained that they would not be able to keep the castle; the enemy possessing the bridge, [so] the castle was to no effect; Colonel Gell presently commanded between three and four hundred horse and dragoons to march to Nottingham and assist them, whereof Major Molanus was chief commander; and thither went, and drove the enemy away, so that it will be adjudged by any council of war, that Nottingham town and castle had been long since in the enemy's possession, had they not had the assistance of Sir John Gell in driving the enemy from them at every time of need, as the Colonels and Committee of Nottinghamshire did ever acknowledge.

Within a while after, Colonel Gell had intelligence that Sir Thomas Fairfax was come to Nottingham with two thousand horse; he sent thither to see him, and so Sir Thomas Fairfax told him that he must go to Wingfield Manor to communicate with some Derbyshire gentlemen, whereof one was Mr. Milward,³⁸ which had been a Captain of the trained band, to persuade him to take up arms for the parliament: but it was too late, because he had before taken Commission of the King for a regiment of foot, as since it most apparently appeared. And this was told Sir Thomas before, but he would not believe it, but since he found it to be true. Soon after, Sir Thomas repaired to Derby with all his horse, and there continued for two or three days, and desired of Colonel Gell that he would let him have four or five hundred musketeers to march with him towards Chesterfield, and from thence to Yorkshire; whereupon he [Gell] answered that he had not above five hundred men in Derby to defend the town, and that Hastings had at that time at least two thousand at Lichfield, Ashby de la Zouch and Tutbury, still looking for an opportunity to surprise Derby, if his horses had marched out of it; because it was well known that if Derby were taken, Nottingham could not long hold out, and then all the north side of Trent was lost.

Nevertheless, Colonel Gell told him that he had one hundred men at Wingfield Manor, whereof he should have sixty; and Captain Taylor's³⁹ company, which was at Wingerworth, much about the same number; and of Captain Stafford's company, who were at Chatsworth, forty; and Captain Hadfield's⁴⁰ company, to make them

up four hundred, wherewith he was well pleased, and so marched towards Chesterfield, whereat came to him one hundred and twenty musketeers of the number aforesaid.

Sir John Gell and the Committee ordered that [the] Lieutenant Colonel and Mr. Hallows,⁴¹ two of the said Committee, should repair to Chesterfield for to provide such things as were necessary for Sir Thomas Fairfax and his horses. As soon as they came thither, they had an alarm that the Earl of Newcastle, with all his forces, were marching towards Derbyshire; whereupon Sir Thomas gave orders, that his horse should retreat to Nottingham and willed the two Committees to shift for themselves; and that this was no country he could defend with his forces; and so he left us and went clear away towards Leicestershire, whither Colonel Gell and the Committees did often write unto him; yea, and sent two of the Committee to entreat him to come and assist them, and that the Earl of Newcastle's forces were not above two thousand at that instant in Derbyshire, with whom Colonel Gell could well deal, if he [Fairfax] had come in any time. Upon this he made many promises, not only by word of mouth, but also under his hand-writing to the said Committees, who were with him at Melton Mowbray and entreated Colonel Gell that he would send some forces to Lancashire and Cheshire, and so to make a rendezvous, whither he would come with all speed.

Upon this, Colonel Gell sent Major Molanus with his horse and dragoons, which were about three hundred and fifty, towards Leek. As they were marching towards Staffordshire, they had intelligence that the Earl of Newcastle's forces were fallen upon the Moorlanders in Hartington; they then hastened towards them as fast as they could, but before they could attain thither, they [Newcastle's men] had taken all the foot, being about two hundred and forty and the horse all ran away; which prisoners Colonel Gell afterwards released. And Newcastle's horse marching towards Leek, Molanus fell upon them, routed them and took about thirty-five, and slew some five officers and so went on to Leek: where the inhabitants, before their coming, were ready to leave their houses and outrun the town; and there they were drawing altogether; and Major Molanus continued there with his forces fourteen days. All that while no aid came to him till the enemy pillaged to the very gates of Derby; and hearing that Sir Thomas Fairfax was clean retreated towards Peterborough, and no hopes of his coming to them, Major Molanus was forced to retreat to Derby with his forces, without expectation of any aid at all. And in his retreat, he took at Ashbourne twenty-six prisoners of the Earl of Newcastle's forces.

In the interim, the Earl of Newcastle's forces sets upon Wingfield Manor on Dec. 7 1643,⁴² and took it within some four days, because they [the garrison] could have no assistance of any; but yet Colonel Gell's horses and dragoons hardly rested; and in one day they took two troops of horse with their colours in Wingfield town, two captains and forty prisoners. Within ten days after, they fell upon the guard of Newcastle at Kilburn and took one Major Wheeler,⁴³ with ninety prisoners, all horsed, and their colours - a man painted and standing with a gold axe under a green tree, with this motto: "root and branch" - which colours were afterwards sent to his excellency, with many other colours of horse and foot and so by him presented to the parliament.

As soon as the body of Newcastle's forces were gone,⁴⁴ Colonel Milward, with his regiment, saddled themselves on this side [of] Bakewell; Colonel Eyre⁴⁵ at Chatsworth, and at his own house in the Peak; Colonel Fitzherbert⁴⁶ at South Wingfield and Tissington; Colonel Frescheville⁴⁷ at his own house and Scarsdale: Colonel Harpur⁴⁸ of Littleover, fortified Burton Bridge, whither Colonel Gell sent his Major Molanus on the 6th January, 1643, with some of his forces and took the town and bridge, with all his [Harpur's] whole regiment, horse and foot, except [the] Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel, who ran away in the night; he took withall, the major, six captains and eight other officers, with five hundred common soldiers, without any loss of our side but five of the enemy slain at the entrance of the bridge.⁴⁹

And this day being the 5th of February, 1644, Colonel Gell and his forces are before King's Mills, which Hastings fortified while the Earl of Newcastle's forces were in the country; which King's Mills Colonel Gell took by storm,⁵⁰ with about two hundred prisoners and so many arms. Within six or seven days after, Colonel Gell, having intelligence how the enemy at Bakewell and Tissington hall met every day at Ashbourne, hindered the passage and kept off the country people from the market, sent Major Sanders with five hundred horse and dragoons thither, to clear the passage; the enemy understanding that our men quartered at Ashbourne, drew all the forces they could together, thinking to surprise them: but our men having intelligence that the enemy was approaching, drew all our dragoons into the lanes and hedges and charged them: our horse falling on the rear of them, routed them all and pursued them to the town of Tissington and took one hundred and seventy prisoners, and many of them slain. After this defeat they left Tissington and Bakewell and went some to Frescheville and some to Chatsworth house and some to Bolsover and Wingfield Manor.

On the 24th of February, by an especial command from the Parliament, Colonel Gell sent all his horse and dragoons towards Newark, under the command of Sir John Meldrum, where they continued about a month, that Prince Rupert raised the siege and in that conflict Colonel Gell lost about two hundred horse and dragoons, with their arms and the men stripped to their very skin, contrary to all articles of agreement.⁵¹

After Prince Rupert's return from Newark to Ashby de la Zouch, Colonel Gell had intelligence that some of his [Rupert's] horse were come over the River Dove and were plundering some towns about Egginton; he presently sent all his horse out towards Egginton Heath, Captain Rhodes⁵² being chief commander thereof. As soon as they came to the Heath, the enemy appeared above six hundred strong, and ours but about three hundred and fifty; whereupon, Colonel Gell having intelligence of the enemy's strength, sent presently Major Molanus out with four hundred foot, towards Egginton Heath, to lie in the lanes waiting, lest his horse should be forced to retreat, that they might be ready to fall upon the enemy if they should pursue them; but before the foot came near them, our horse most valiantly routed them, and [drove] them into Trent river, where many were drowned and slain, and two hundred taken prisoners.⁵³

In the beginning of April, 1644, Colonel Gell, having order from the Parliament that forty⁵⁴ pieces of ordinance were coming from London to Peterborough for him, and that he should be careful to fetch them with a good convoy; because the enemy being then very strong at Newark and Ashby de la Zouch, and had open passage to Grantham and Stamford, sent Major Molanus with five hundred horse and dragoons towards Leicester, with a letter to my Lord Grey, that if there were any danger he would assist them; presently, after they came to my Lord Grey, he drew them to a rendezvous within three miles of Leicester, with all his horse and dragoons in a body, having intelligence how the enemy were drawing towards Leicestershire from Banbury, Bridgenorth, Dudley, and Lichfield, to meet them of Ashby de la Zouch; my Lord commanded them to draw six miles westward towards Tamworth, to the enemy's rendezvous, where they tarried some four days; and so the enemy, hearing of their being there, their design was frustrated. Then my Lord Grey commanded Major Molanus to march with his horse and dragoons towards Peterborough, there to receive his charge; promising that he would send his scouts towards Newark, and if any of them would stir, he would presently be in the rear of them; and so Major Molanus marched safely to Peterborough, and brought the ordinance to Derby.

Presently after, there were letters sent from Sir William Brereton to Colonel Gell, how that Prince Rupert was passed into the north to assist the Earl of Newcastle against my Lord of Manchester, my Lord Fairfax and the Scots, and that he had order from the Parliament to pursue them, to assist our side with all the forces he could procure; so that Colonel Gell sent him presently three hundred horse and dragoons, and Captain Rhodes commander in chief over them.

Within a month after, my Lord Grey and Colonel Gell appointed their rendezvous near Wilden Ferry, which lieth in Leicestershire, where the enemy had made a strong fort and had above three hundred men in it for hindering the passage over the Trent. And so immediately [they] environed the fort and planted their ordinance, and the next day made ready to storm it; but the enemy, seeing their resolution, cried out presently, quarter for their lives, and so they yielded themselves prisoners; the fort demolished,⁵⁵ my Lord Grey marched towards Leicester, and Colonel Gell to Derby. So he sent his horse and dragoons to quarter close by Ashby de la Zouch and by that means took many prisoners, and they durst no more stir to rob carriers.⁵⁶

Within ten days after, Colonel Gell sent to Nottingham to Governor Hutchinson and Colonel Thornagh for their assistance to beleaguer Wingfield Manor, because it was as great an annoyance to Nottinghamshire as to Derbyshire. Colonel Thornagh⁵⁷ presently sent his Major, with troops of horse, and met Colonel Gell, who brought all his foot and horse with him (except two companies of foot which he left in Derby) within a mile of Wingfield and presently environed the Manor House; and about ten days after, Colonel Hutchinson sent two hundred foot. After they had lain fifteen days there, Colonel Gell had intelligence how the enemy at Lichfield, Tutbury and Ashby de la Zouch and other garrisons, were gathering their forces together about Burton, for to relieve the Manor. He presently sent Sanders, Major of his horse, with all the horse and dragoons towards them, and to have an eye to Derby. Our horse coming near the enemy, and hearing that Colonel Eyre, his regiment, lay in Boylestone church, our dragoons dismounted and surprised the whole regiment in the church, and so took men, arms, colours and all without loss of one man on either side.⁵⁸

And hearing that Colonel Bagot, governor of Lichfield, was with all his horse and foot at Burton, marching towards the rendezvous, our men presently left a guard of dragoons on the prisoners in the church and

marched with their horse towards Burton and assaulted the enemy; and after two or three hot encounters, beat them clear out of the town, where there were five of our side slain and seventeen of the enemy and many of them taken prisoners and brought back to Boylestone church to the other prisoners, which made up three hundred in all, and so marched with them to Derby, with six foot colours and one horse colour, with all their arms.

And so our men and horse returned to the leaguer at Wingfield Manor again. Colonel Gell finding that his ordinance would do no good against the Manor, and understanding that Major-General Crawford⁵⁹ had four great pieces, sent two of his officers unto him, to desire him to send him them for three or four days for battering and in so doing he would do the country good service, because it was a place that could not be otherwise taken, without they were pined out.⁶⁰ Major-General Crawford, desirous to do the state and country good service, came presently with his ordinance and some horse and foot thither, and so we planted ours and their ordinance together, and after three hours battery they yielded themselves, being about two hundred and twenty; and so upon composition, every one marched to his own home;⁶¹ and so Major-General Crawford marched towards Lincoln, where the Earl of Manchester quartered, and Colonel Gell to Derby, leaving behind him in the Manor two foot companies and a troop of horse.

Presently after Colonel Gell had taken Wingfield Manor, all the enemy's scattered forces, which were routed in Yorkshire⁶² and belonging to Derbyshire, Leicestershire and Staffordshire, came to Lichfield, Ashby de la Zouch and Tutbury and began to rob and plunder in Derbyshire and Leicestershire, for preventing whereof, Colonel Gell set up a garrison at Barton Park,⁶³ opposite to Tutbury, in October 1644, and so kept Tutbury men in, that they could do no hurt to Derbyshire. Leicestershire Committee seeing this, sent to Colonel Gell for his assistance to set up a garrison at Coleorton, within a mile, and opposite to Ashby de la Zouch. Thereupon he sent them all the horse and dragoons he could well spare and so [they] continued there all the month of November 1644, till it was perfected.⁶⁴

The first of December next following, Sir William Brereton sent to Colonel Gell for assistance to besiege Chester; he presently sent him six troops of horse and dragoons, who continued there till the latter end of March.⁶⁵

Within four days after, Colonel Rossiter⁶⁶ and Governor Hutchinson sent to Colonel Gell for assistance, for an onslaught which they had upon Newark men; whereupon Sir John sent them all the remainder of his horse and dragoons, being six troops. As soon as Nottingham men, Lincoln men and our men were in the vale of Belvoir, they presently descried the enemy, horse and foot, charged and routed them, slew many of them and drove many of them into a brook, that they were drowned, and Sir Richard Byron, then governor of Newark, had much ado to save himself, in running on foot to Belvoir Castle, leaving his perriwig behind him on the ground, many of them [were] taken prisoners, and our troops brought with them about thirty good horse to Derby, which made some satisfaction for our loss before Newark. Of this exploit, Colonel Rossiter was Commander in chief.⁶⁷

About the latter end of December 1644, the Committee of Both Kingdoms sent an order to Sir John Gell, that he should send all the horse and dragoons which he could spare, to the assistance of blocking up the north side of Newark, under the command of Colonel Sanders, where they tarried till the midst of March.

About the beginning of April 1645, Colonel Gell's horse came back from Chester, and the very same night, the governor of Nottingham sent his letter, how Sir Richard Willys,⁶⁸ Governor of Newark, had surprised Nottingham bridge, and that he entreated all the assistance he [Gell] could make, with all speed possibly. The next morning Sir John Gell sent all his horse and dragoons thither. Within three and four days after, the Governor of Newark, finding that he could not hold it, came with a good strength and brought his men off back to Newark, so that there was no loss in regaining it, because the enemy left it.⁶⁹

In the beginning of May 1645, the King came to Lichfield and so to Tutbury⁷⁰ and from thence set before Leicester and by storm took it. In the mean time there came a letter from the Committee of both Kingdoms to Colonel Gell, that he should draw to Nottingham with his horse and dragoons, where they had commanded all the horse and dragoons of Cheshire, Staffordshire, Nottinghamshire and others to meet at the rendezvous at Nottingham, under the command of Colonel Gell, and he, with the said forces, to follow the King, what way so ever he marched. As soon as the forces came together (which was at least fourteen days first) Colonel Gell

advanced. In the mean time, the King was routed at Naseby,⁷¹ and his excellency, Sir Thomas Fairfax, advancing towards Leicester, commanded Sir John Gell to lie with his forces on the north side of it, and so the town of Leicester was surrendered, and afterwards he dismissed Colonel Gell and all the forces that were under his command.⁷²

He was no sooner come back to Derby but there came a letter from the Committee of Both Kingdoms what he should march with his own horse and dragoons to Coventry, where they had commanded all the other forces, which were formerly under his command, to meet him there; and when he had marched as far as Sinfin Moor, part of his horse began to mutiny for want of money and turned back;⁷³ nevertheless, he marched forwards with two or three troops and tarried there ten days, and nobody coming to him, he returned back again to Derby.

He was no sooner come home but Colonel Thornagh sent a letter unto him, that Welbeck was surprised by the enemy of Newark and that Colonel Frescheville was made Governor thereof, and gathered a great strength,⁷⁴ and therefore [Thornagh] desired him, [if] he would send all the assistance he could for to keep them in, before they were provided of provision, and that he would meet them about Wingfield Manor. Sir John presently drew all his horse and dragoons together, and marched with them himself thither and delivered them under the command of Colonel Thornagh, who tarried there a while and encountered twice or thrice with the enemy, and beat them, and took many prisoners. Upon the King coming to Derbyshire, our forces returned back to Derby.⁷⁵

In the beginning of September 1645, there came letters from the Committee of Both Kingdoms, that Colonel Gell should keep five hundred foot ready upon an hour's warning, to march towards Newark, under the command of Colonel-General Poyntz,⁷⁶ for the blocking up of Newark. In the meantime, Staffordshire men sent unto Colonel Gell, that if he would assist them with a considerable number of foot, they would besiege Tutbury Castle, whereupon he assured them that he would assist them with all the forces he had, but that as soon as he received orders from Colonel-General Poyntz, seven hundred of his foot must be ready at his command at an hour's warning, because he had received such orders from the Parliament, for the blocking up of Newark. Notwithstanding, he sent his Lieutenant Colonel with four hundred foot to the rendezvous, within a mile of Tutbury, where Staffordshire officers and ours met together and held a council of war, and found that it would be at least a month's work, and therefore neither they nor we could tarry so long about it, and so returned to our several garrisons.

Within two days after our return, the King came with three thousand horse to Tutbury and from thence to Ashbourne, where our horse fell in the rear of them, and took a Major, much esteemed by the King, and twenty five prisoners,⁷⁷ which Major was afterwards exchanged for one Major Gibb,⁷⁸ who was Major over the horse in the associated counties, by the Earl of Manchester's letter, and so the King marched through the High Peak to Doncaster.

The latter end of September 1645, the Governor of Welbeck, having gotten good strength by the King coming that way, came to Derbyshire with three hundred horse and dragoons to set up a garrison in Chatsworth, and one Colonel Shallcross⁷⁹ for Governor there. Colonel Gell, having intelligence thereof, sent presently Major Molanus, with four hundred foot to repossess the house; and having lain there fourteen days, and hearing of the demolishing of Welbeck, Bolsover and Tickhill castles, was commanded by Colonel Gell to return to Derby.

About the same time, Sir William Brereton sent to Colonel Gell for his assistance to besiege Chester; he presently sent him six troops of horse and dragoons, where they continued till it was taken and returned to Derby in February next after.⁸⁰

And within ten days after, Sir William sent for them again to the besieging of Lichfield, whither they went, and tarried till the surrender thereof.⁸¹

The 28th of October 1645, Colonel-General Poyntz sent to Sir John Gell, according to the Parliament's order, that he should send him his forces to the rendezvous at Belvoir in the vale; he presently sent Major Molanus with five hundred and twenty foot thither, who remained under his command with one Captain-Lieutenant

Drinkwater⁸² alone, till Newark was surrendered, being the 8th of May 1646, and then the said Major received order, from the Grand Committee before Newark, to return back to Derby with his forces and artillery.

In this service that we were under Colonel-General Poyntz first storming of Belvoir outworks about the castle, of Colonel Gell's men, eleven were slain, and twenty-seven wounded; and for their service and valour in storming the said works, the Parliament bestowed £40 amongst [the] Derby soldiers to drink.

And at Stoke, the 1st of January 1645/6, four slain and thirty wounded, whereof the Major's own Lieutenant was one, and three sergeants, and twenty-seven taken prisoners. Which skirmish continued from three of the clock in the morning till six, [until] the enemy were beaten back, having seventy-two of their men wounded and slain, whereof was one Captain Forster.⁸³ The enemy were one thousand foot and four hundred horse strong, and we, from Derby and Nottingham, could not at that instant make five hundred foot betwixt us, and most of our horse ran away, but Captain Pendock⁸⁴ who was sore wounded and taken prisoner.

In this skirmish, [the] Derbyshire foot stood most valiantly and courageously to it, so that as soon as it was day, Colonel-General Poyntz gave them many thanks in the open field, where they stood in battalio, for their courage and valour. And before Newark we left seven men and one wounded.⁸⁵

For all the aforesaid several good services done by Colonel Gell, his officers and soldiers, the horsemen were disbanded with four pounds six shillings apiece, and the foot with one pound six shillings apiece, and the officers never a penny to this day, being most of them two years' pay in arrear, and therefore let the world judge whether we are well rewarded or no;⁸⁶ but the reason is, as I suppose, because the greater part of our Committee were of the King's side till after the battle at York, and especially our Sub-Committee of Array.

Footnotes to Text of "True Relation"

1. Not located but presumably in the Sheffield area. John Bright (c1619-1688), later Colonel Bright, "*was the most active in the neighbourhood of Sheffield to raise companies for the Parliament service, and did raise several, receiving a captain's commission from the Lord Fairfax.*" (Joseph Hunter, *Hallamshire*, 1819, p250.)
2. Sir Francis Whortley (1620-1665) a "*prime and pernicious Royalist..... one of the first to draw his sword and declare for the King*" - (RO p422). Was with the King at Nottingham and was sent into Derbyshire to collect arms and money. After his ejection from Derbyshire he and his dragoons moved to Staffordshire and assisted in the setting up of a garrison at Stafford. (See Staffs Education Department, *Staffordshire in the Civil War*, Source Book G28, 1983, p15; and Johnson & Vaisey, *Staffordshire in the Great Rebellion*, 1964, p56.)
3. Charles White of Newthorpe, Nottinghamshire, like Gell, had a bad press from Lucy Hutchinson. He raised some dragoons in the Wirksworth area and fought with Gell's forces before joining the Nottingham Committee in December 1642. Served thereafter as a captain in the Notts cavalry regiment of Col. Thornagh (qv).
4. Full name Johannes Couradus Molanus (v 1655), a Dutchman who probably came to England in the entourage of Sir Cornelius Vermuyden whose agent he was. Became a tenant of Sir John Gell at Middleton and was heavily involved in the local lead-mining trade. As Major of the Derby foot regiment, he saw widespread service during 1642-46 throughout Gell's area of operations. (RR p39.)
5. Colonel Philip Stanhope, 1st Earl of Chesterfield, (1584-1656) led the Royalist gentry of Derbyshire at the outbreak of the war. Captured by Gell at Lichfield Close, he was dispatched to London where he remained on parole. Two of his sons - Ferdinando and Philip - were killed during the war. Stanhope claimed to have lost fifty thousand pounds as a consequence of the war, much of which disappeared into

Gell's pockets for the latter enjoyed the income from the Earl's estates until 1646. (Gell Mss 34/10; RO p356.)

6. Anne - widow of Sir Humphrey Ferrers and daughter of Sir John Packington of Westwood, Worcestershire - was the Earl's second wife. The first - Catherine - was of the Earl of Huntingdon's family and died in 1636. (Stanhope Pedigree: Box 57, Derby Local Studies Library.)
7. Thomas Sanders (1610-1695), after Gell the most important figure on the Parliament side. His family owned property at Caldwell and Lullington and he acquired Little Ireton by marriage. At the start of the war he was given a captaincy by Gell and raised a company of foot from amongst his own tenants. In December 1643 he was commissioned as Major by Essex and ordered to raise a regiment of horse. By an unfortunate agreement dated 17 December, Gell was to be the Colonel of the new regiment and Sanders was granted authority to appoint the rest of the officers; however, Gell was to retain personal command of his own troop (JBDHS 1X p4). The officers Sanders commissioned reflected his own views re politics and religion and were anathema to Gell. The two soon became avowed enemies. However, Sanders proved to be a competent officer and took part in many successful engagements. Despising Gell, he unsuccessfully sought employment under Fairfax in the New Model Army. After the Derby horse regiment was disbanded in July 1646, he pursued a distinguished career as a Colonel of horse in Thornagh's regiment and fought at Preston and Worcester. At the end he declared for Monck and this probably explains his flourishing survival after the Restoration. His daughter Elizabeth (1644-1722) married William, the grandfather of William Woolley the author of the *History of Derbyshire* who died in 1732 and whose *History* was published by the Derbyshire Record Society in 1981. A useful biography and pedigree of Sanders can be found in the DAJ (*Derbyshire Archaeological & Natural History Society Journal*) by J.L. Hobbs, 1948.
8. Francis Pierrepont, third son of the Royalist Earl of Kingston, was one of the first to assist Hutchinson at Nottingham, having refused Sir John Digby's request on 10 December to help garrison Newark for the King. He raised a regiment of foot - most of which was later incorporated into Hutchinson's own regiment - and on 20 June 1643 was appointed Notts representative of the Northern Association. He became MP for Nottingham in 1645 and died in 1658. (Wood, p130 & 135; Robin Brackenbury, *Brothers at War, Pierrepont Family in the Civil War*, 1992.)
9. Henry Hastings (c1609-1672) second son of Henry Earl of Huntingdon, created lord Loughborough in October 1643, became commander of the King's North Midland forces in February 1643 in recognition of his *de facto* authority. He was a constant threat to Gell's hold on Derbyshire and seriously disrupted Parliamentary communications. Served at Edgehill, Hopton Heath, Relief of Newark and was finally governor of Leicester in the Naseby campaign; forced to surrender his operational base at Ashby on 28 February 1646. Known somewhat unfairly to history by the perjorative nickname "Rob-carrier" given to him by his enemies on account of the number of their couriers he intercepted (RO p179). His much underrated role in the war has been significantly reappraised by Martyn Bennett in *Leicestershire Historical Society Bulletin*, 1986, pp44-51.
10. Sir John Harpur (c1602-1677) raised a regiment of horse, foot and dragoons in 1643 and served in Hasting's army. He was related to the Earl of Newcastle, reputed to be one of the richest men in Derbyshire and was sheriff after Gell in 1636. Upon compounding in November 1645 he was fined four and a half thousand pounds. (RR p32; RO p177.)
11. Sir George Gresley (1580-1651) of Drakelow certainly suffered as a result of his allegiance to Parliament; his estate was plundered repeatedly by Royalist garrisons established later in the war at Lichfield, Tutbury and Ashby. These losses were the cause of several petitions for repayment out of the estates of Delinquents (GLB f.114). His troop of horse took the field at Swarkestone Bridge in January 1643 and Hopton Heath in March but Gresley himself remained behind at Derby serving with the Committee (RR p32).

12. Thomas Grey, third Baron Grey of Groby, Leicestershire, (1623-1657) son of Henry, Earl of Stamford; appointed commander of the Midland Counties Association in 1643. A poor leader and disliked by Gell for his temerity. (See Lynn Beats, *Midland History*, Vol 1V, 1978, pp161-174.)
13. Sir William Brereton (1604-1661) whose Letter Books in the final two years of the war reveal evidence of Gell's increasing high-handedness and distaste for outside Parliamentary interference. Though Brereton is well established in the pantheon of Parliamentary heroes, at this early part of the struggle Gell regarded him as something of an also-ran. Their mutual animosity doubtless stemmed from misunderstandings and disagreements experienced at Hopton Heath.
14. Gresley's *True Account* excuses the retreat from Ashby as caused by "false intelligence" but Gell is in fact correct. Rupert left Oxford on 21 January with five regiments from the garrison and wrote to Hastings on the 22nd announcing his imminent arrival. By the 24th he was at Northampton. Once Grey had obliged him by lifting the siege, Rupert moved into Warwickshire, confident that Hastings was now secure. (Ian Roy, *The Royalist Ordinance Papers*, pp190 & 470.)
15. Essex died 14 September 1646, which suggests that Gell was writing in October when he was summoned to answer charges at his examination in London.
16. Major General Thomas Ballard fought at Edgehill under Essex and was subsequently appointed in January 1643 to command the East Midlands Association forces numbering over 6,000 troops drawn from Lincs, Notts and Derbys for an attack on Newark (NCWS p60).
17. John Mundy (1601-1682) of Markeaton near Derby ceased to be a captain after 1643. Sat on various committees 1644-52 as an opponent of Gell. He participated in George Booth's rising in Derby in 1659 and was joined by his former colleague Charles White. He did well out of the war and made a sizeable fortune from sequestrations and money-lending though his father Francis (1596-1650) was suspected of delinquency but cleared in August 1646 (Gell Mss 31/33). Described in 1662 as a "rich presbyterian" Mundy used the "late distracted times" to acquire unlawfully Church lands and tythes in Allestree. Consequent litigation rumbled on from 1654 to the Restoration when he was finally forced to disgorge his appropriations. (RR p40; *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 1889, Vol 11, p46.)
18. Stafford - nothing known other than that his foot company garrisoned Whaley-Bridge and Chatsworth during 1643 before Newcastle's invasion, then Wingfield. His Lieutenant - one Henry Bagshaw - held Chatsworth with 40 musketeers in March 1643 (DN p32) and on 29 November, when Newcastle's Col. Dudley reached Bakewell, Stafford and his reinforced command of 300 men fled away "not adventuring either an assault or summons." (DN p198.)
19. Robert Mellor was a mercer of Derby and son of the town's first mayor, becoming mayor himself in 1647. He served loyally despite his opposition to Gell and his unscrupulous defeat at Gell's hands in the Recruiter election of November 1645. (RR p38.)
20. Robert Greville, Lord Brooke (1608-1643) was killed on 2 March by a Royalist sniper perched on the steeple of St. Chad's cathedral. Being St. Chad's day, the event was regarded as auspicious by the Royalists. However, Brooke's death served only to draw Gell out from Derby and set in train the events leading to the capitulation of the Close three days later and the battle at Hopton Heath on the 19th. (Howard Clayton, *Loyal and Ancient City*, 1988, pp21-35.)
21. Ballard's attack on Newark was a failure and he was suspected of treachery; it was widely rumoured that he had former friends amongst the defenders and was therefore unwilling to press home the attack. On this occasion, Gell's opinion coincides with that of Lucy Hutchinson, who was equally critical and believed that Ballard's lethargy alone had saved the Newarkers. He was replaced by Sir John Meldrum and being given no further commands, retired to Rouen where he died in 1645. (NCWS p17; Wood pp39-42; LH pp76-78.)

22. Captain John Middleton (c1602-1643) was the third son of John Middleton of Middleton Hall, Westmorland and had been a captain in the army of 1640. At the time of his death he was serving as a Major-General to Lord Loughborough. (RO p254.)

Another Royalist victim of Hopton Heath was Col. Ferdinando Stanhope (1615-1643), fourth son of the Earl of Chesterfield, who was taken prisoner by Gell but later exchanged; he then joined his mother at Tamworth Castle but was recaptured by Gell in June. Exchanged for a second time, he was killed in a skirmish in Nottinghamshire in October. (JBDHS No V11, 1980, p13.)

23. For details of the battle see JBDHS No V111 pp52-58; John Sutton's *The Battle of Hopton Heath*, unpublished thesis, St. John's College, York, 1966; also Sutton's essay on the topography of the battlefield in *Staffordshire History*, Vol 6, winter 1987. The principal combatants are listed in RR p45 and RWE p134.
24. This remarkable act of unchivalry, committed within a month of the sacrilege at Elvaston (which "True Relation" entirely omits) created such outrage that when a week later the King issued a general pardon to Staffordshire and Derbyshire, the names of Gell and Brereton were specifically excepted. Having failed in his attempt to use the Earl of Northampton's body as a bargaining counter to recover his artillery captured by the victorious Royalists, and having failed to get the Earl's son to reimburse him for money paid to a surgeon for embalming the body, Gell deposited the dead Earl in the Cavendish vault at All Saint's Derby on 4 June (*Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, Derby Cathedral: The Cavendish Vault, CX1V, 1994, p16). Before interment, "Gell suffered that noble corpse to lie at Derby many days subject to public view to the reproach of his fellow traitors who pulled out the teeth and cut the hair from that head...." (Sutton, op. cit. 1966, Appendix 1).
25. James Chadwick (1598-1666) barrister and deputy recorder of Nottingham who was much vilified by Lucy Hutchinson. He served on the Nottingham Committee, became a colonel and is known to have raised troops in Staffordshire. (Wood p132; LH pp71-72.)
26. Francis Leake (c1582-1655) became Baron Deincourt of Sutton Scarsdale in 1624. After his house was taken by Thomas Gell, he dishonourably escaped to Newark where he had a town house (The Friary) and served in the garrison, giving his name to part of the defences - *Dencort's Port* (NCWS p30 & p92). He entertained Charles at his residence there from August to November, was created Earl Scarsdale and finally surrendered with the garrison in 1646. Thereafter he became something of an eccentric and carried out a morbid ritual in commemoration of Charles's execution in 1649, whereby he lay in his own grave dressed in sackcloth each Friday in order to meditate and pray. (*The Reliquary*, Vol X, p72; RR p35.)
27. Thomas Gell (1594-1656), younger brother of Sir John, was a lawyer and commissioned in the militia in 1642. He served on the Derby Committee 1642-46 and became Recorder of Derby after the infamous Recruiter election of 1645. Became MP for Derby in 1652 but was investigated by the Committee of Revenue for alleged arrears whilst Receiver of the Duchy of Lancaster in respect of Crown Lands comprising the Honour of Tutbury (Gell Mss 58/5). He seems to have been somewhat milder mannered than his irascible elder brother, by whom he was overshadowed throughout his life (RR pp28-29).
28. Col. Sir Miles Hubbard was a Lincolnshire officer who later took part in Meldrum's attack on Newark in March 1644 and whose forces were based at Balderton (Wood p67 & p69). The promenade in the Vale of Belvoir was something of a parliamentarian fiasco; the commanders disagreed, failed to co-operate, wasted their resources and did nothing to halt the Queen's progress south. She left York on 4 June with 4,500 men and got to Newark unhindered on 21st. For once at the head of his men in person in the field, Gell is as bellicose as he is correct in his retrospective perception of the strategic situation. As Gresley's parallel account commented ".... had the other commanders been as forward to fight as ours, we had then put it to the fortune of a battle, but it was otherwise resolved" (TA).
29. Richard Houghton was commissioned to raise a regiment in Staffordshire and was made governor of Burton by Parliamentary order (PR, CPSD). It was Burton on Trent's misfortune to change hands at least five times during the war due to the location of its important medieval bridge spanning the Trent. Rupert's recapture of Lichfield Close on 20 April necessitated the installation of a garrison to secure the

town. Houghton survived to become a key member of the Lancashire Committee and became an MP in 1645 (Dore, Vol 11, 1990, pp146-7).

30. The disaster at Burton on 7 July inflamed the already smouldering animosity between Gell and his former captain, Thomas Sanders. The matter was referred to by both parties during the examination in London in March 1645 following Gell's arrest of Sanders in January for alleged subordination. Gell argued that Sanders had deserted the Derby regiment at a crucial moment and had given up his company of 200 men plus 60 dragoons and a cannon to the disposal of Houghton in return for a Lt. Colonelcy. This Sanders strenuously denied, arguing that he had accepted a captain's commission from Gell "*dated in or about November 1642*" and that he alone had raised the company. By posting him to Burton, "*the Colonel did it purposefully to put him in danger of ruin*" whereby he was "*thrust out of the county*" (Sanders Mss 030). Along with Houghton and Captain Watson of the dragoons, Sanders was imprisoned by the Royalists at Tutbury but soon exchanged in return for his "*promise to serve faithfully hereafter in this county*" (TA). Sanders was added to the Derby Committee by order of Parliament (Sanders Mss 01) and promoted to Major by the Earl of Essex, with orders to raise a much-needed regiment of horse and to appoint its officers. Gell, however, was to be Colonel of the new regiment. This unhappy arrangement led inevitably to intensified bickering between the two protagonists.
31. Sir Richard Fleetwood (1611-1645) obtained an early release and served under Lord Byron and was taken prisoner again at the battle of Nantwich in January 1644, his estates being sequestered for delinquency and recusancy (Dore, Vol 11, p122; RO p134).
32. Gell can only mean here Colonel Richard Bagot (1618-1645), governor of Lichfield from April 1643 until his death from a mortal wound at Naseby. (See H. Clayton, *Loyal and Ancient City*, pp51-75.)
33. Grey's weakness and indecision in May and June caused his replacement on Essex's orders by Sir John Meldrum, the commander of the Lincolnshire force. He took Gainsborough on 28 July but was in turn overcome by the appearance of the Earl of Newcastle's army. He went on to suffer a resounding defeat at the hands of Prince Rupert in March 1644. (NCWS p61; LH pp82-86.)
34. Ireton and his troop of horse had been sent over to Derby at the beginning of July to escort a number of mutinous Nottingham townsmen who objected to Hutchinson abandoning the town's batteries and works and transferring the goods and property of the citizens into the Castle for greater security (LH p84). Being an associate of Cromwell, Ireton obviously wished to escape Gell's sideshow and rejoin Cromwell and Meldrum in the fighting at Gainsborough.
35. *Battalio (battail, battalia)* - contemporary military term to describe regiments of foot drawn up and fully deployed for action.
36. Col. Francis Hacker of East Bridgford and Colston Bassett, Notts, wounded at the defence of Leicester in May 1645 but famous as the officer who superintended the King prior to his execution and who escorted him to the scaffold. Though Charles described his conduct as courteous and considerate, Hacker was executed as a regicide at Tyburn on 19 October 1660. His brother Rowland was a member of the Royalist Newark garrison. (Wood p183.)
37. Royalist sympathisers opened Nottingham on 18 September to an inrush of Newarkers who ransacked the town and penned Col. Hutchinson in the Castle. Charles White's horse en route from Leicester joined Gell's relief force and stormed the town five days later and a considerable melee ensued. However, Lucy Hutchinson's account (LH pp96-103) differs markedly from Gell's, giving Hutchinson and Hacker the credit for repelling the Royalists whilst Gell's men are depicted as plunderers with no stomach for fighting. The Newarkers however held on to the vital Trent Bridge and fortified it. Hutchinson again asked for Gell's assistance and ten days later the Derby troops returned to Nottingham. A proposal to storm the Royalist defences jointly was apparently rejected out of hand by Molanus, whom Lucy Hutchinson ungraciously decried as an "*an old dull headed Dutchman*" (Wood p58). Gell is adamant, however, that without his help Nottingham would have fallen to the Cavaliers. Gresley's "*True Account*", not surprisingly, echoes Gell and explicitly states: "*we beat the enemy from the bridge, which was of such*

importance that the governor of the castle professed to Major Molanus, that unless our soldiers would stay and take the bridge, he would quit the castle, let the Parliament do with him what they would."

38. Col. John Milward of Snitterton (1599-1670) raised a regiment of foot and dragoons under Newcastle's commission and quartered it at Chatsworth. He fought at Marston Moor with Frescheville and Eyre (qv), was compounded and pardoned in 1646 and elected an MP after the Restoration. (RR pp38-39; RWE pp131-2 & pp337-8; RO p256.)
39. Captain Samuel Taylor of Chesterfield (1623-1670) deserted the Wingfield garrison during the crisis of Newcastle's invasion of Derbyshire in the autumn of 1643 but he nevertheless managed later to obtain a commission from Fairfax (RR p47; GLB ff. 72 & 79).
40. Captain Thomas Hadfield (d 1674) was initially Lt. to Captain Randle Ashenhurst in Gell's troop of horse. Both men defected from the Derby regiment in December 1643. Ashenhurst seems to have joined his brother Edward Ashenhurst, a Staffordshire Committee member, and was later made a colonel under Fairfax and installed as governor of Bolsover, much to Gell's understandable fury (GLB f. 92 ; RR p31).
41. Nathaniel Hallowes of Ashover (1582-1661), Alderman and MP for Derby in the Short and Long Parliaments. Treasurer of the Derby Committee 1642-3 (RR pp31-2).
42. Though Gell puts a brave face on events, he was in fact facing ruin in the winter of 1643. He blames Fairfax for failing to assist him, but he also sought help in vain from Essex (GLB f. 69) and from the despised Grey (GLB f. 61). The Newarkers captured Gell's small garrison at Alfreton on 2 December (GLB f. 66) whilst Newcastle's men took Gell's only place of strength, Wingfield Manor, on the 19 December, but failed to press home their advantage and move against Derby. Newcastle's departure is excused by his wife by remarking that there remained "*no visible party behind him in Derbyshire save only an inconsiderable part of the town of Derby which they had fortified, [but] not worth the labour to reduce it*" (DN pp32-3). Gresley's "*True Account*" argues differently, relating that though Newcastle was entreated by Hastings and others to besiege Derby, he was "*sufficiently informed of our resolution to defend it and could not be drawn to the enterprise.*"
43. Major Wheeler - almost certainly Charles Wheeler of Birdingbury Worcestershire (1620-1683) who was commissioned colonel by Rupert at Oxford in 1644 after his exchange in August (GLB ff. 97-8) and who "*may have held a command in Newark in 1645*" (RO p407). In 1661 he became a Lt. Col. of the King's Guards. Kilburn was a small hamlet within the parish of Horsley, owned by the Stanhopes. The church there bears evidence of musket shot-marks on the south porch and tower and might well be the place where Wheeler and his men were surprised and captured by Major Sanders and the new Derby regiment of horse, possibly operating from Horsley Castle.
44. The entry of the Scots into the war on the side of Parliament in January 1644 caused Newcastle's withdrawal back into Yorkshire. Gell was rewarded by Essex with a formal commission as governor of Derby on 5 January (Gell Mss 60/32).
45. Col. Rowland Eyre of Hassop (1600-1674), a Roman Catholic who recruited horse, foot and dragoons under Newcastle in 1643. Took part in the relief of Newark, was at Marston Moor and then captured by Sanders at Boylestone church in July 1644. Exchanged afterwards, he fought at Naseby with Langdale's Northern Horse and finally surrendered at Lichfield on 10 July 1646. Said to have spent forty thousand pounds in the King's service. Denied composition as a recusant in arms. (RR p24; RWE pp129-130 & 328; RO p125.)
46. Col. Sir John Fitzherbert of Norbury (1604-1649), a Roman Catholic of ancient family, was active at the relief of Newark and went to Tutbury after the fall of Wingfield. Surrendered there in April 1646 and was fined eight hundred pounds. (RR p25; RWE p130 & pp330-2; RO p132.)
47. Col. Sir John Frescheville of Staveley (1617-1682), a trained band officer who served against the Scots, joined Charles at Nottingham in August 1642 with a troop of horse which was later attached to Wilmot's regiment, fought at Powicke Bridge, Edgehill, First Newbury and was with Rupert at the taking of

Lichfield in 1643. Frescheville then garrisoned his house at Staveley and was commissioned by Newcastle to raise a regiment of horse and foot. This unit participated in the Newark campaign of March 1644 and then went on to fight at Marston Moor. Thereafter Frescheville temporised and yielded Staveley but then recanted and returned via Oxford to Newark where he rode with the Newark horse at Naseby. Held the governorship of Welbeck but after its re-capture by Thomas Gell in August 1644 he fled to Holland. Flourishing after the Restoration, he became governor of York, captain in the Royal Regiment of Horse, Baron in 1664 and MP for Derbyshire in 1668. (A.C. Wood: *Memorials of the Holles Family*, Vol LV, 1937, pp160-2; RR pp26-7; RWE pp130-1 & 332-4; RO p145.)

48. Harpur (see note 10). An active Royalist from the beginning in Hastings's army, he garrisoned his house at Swarkestone commanding the vital bridge over the Trent but was driven out by Gell in January 1643. His forces occupied Burton on Trent after its seizure by the Queen in July 1643 till beaten off by the Derby troops under Molanus on 6 January 1644.
49. The accounts of this successful action by Gell and Gresley vary considerably as to the matter of Royalist losses (GLB f .79) but it unlikely that Harpur "*ran away in the night*" as he is known to have been at Chesterfield on 6 January serving with the Commission of Array. In any event, Harpur's men immediately reoccupied the town and it remained in Royalist hands until the following November. (RWE pp198-9.)
50. Gell gives few details of the fight at King's Mills. In Gresley's "*True Account*" the episode in fact concludes the work, but the Letter Book contains a report written to Essex on the 8th which provides an interesting description of the assault (GLB f .77). Artillery proved too weak to break the strong defences so "*our Captains of horse*" resolved to attack with volunteers drawn from each troop sliding down the steep hill on the south where "*our men beat down ye windows and stormed in and so forced them to cry quarter.*" Some fifty or so of Hastings's men were taken for the loss of twenty wounded and five slain, in what Gresley goes on to term "*as desperate a piece of service as any such petty business*" There is no mention of Gell being present and the credit for this little action therefore must lie with the new regiment of horse, presumably commanded by Major Thomas Sanders.
51. Rupert's relief of Newark on 21 March was an achievement in some measure due to the assistance of Hastings and his army and the effective co-operation of the North Midland Royalist garrisons. (For a discussion of the crucial role played by Hastings, who was raised to the peerage as Lord Loughborough in October 1643, see Martyn Bennett, *Lord Loughborough, Ashby de la Zouch and the English Civil War*, 1984, pp20-3; RWE pp200-207.) The agreement Gell refers to was that by which Meldrum was allowed to march away but deliver up the weapons of his defeated army.
52. Captain William Rhodes of Streetley (d. 1683) served in Gell's horse regiment and was one of the few captains who remained loyal to their Colonel, hence the specific reference to him in the text. The rest of the regiment's officers appear to have been commissioned by Sanders and were consequently hostile to Gell.
53. The fight at Egginton on 31 March was the largest cavalry action to take place within the county. The Royalists seem to have been contingents of Loughborough's command, drawn out from their garrisons for the relief of Newark, consisting of Col. Sir Andrew Kniveton's party from Tutbury Castle and elements of Sir John Frescheville's regiment. This amalgam of garrison troopers were returning to their quarters via Ashby from their successes at Newark, when they were confronted by the Derby horse as they negotiated the Trent at Willington and Twyford fords. There is no independent or Royalist version of what took place, and Gell's account is almost the only source. However, Sanders made reference to this business when giving evidence against Gell in March 1645 (Sanders Mss f.35-49) and states that he had anticipated the enemy's movements and ordered his friend Captain Barton to keep watch on the fords. When the news reached Derby that the horse were engaged "*in the lane near Egginton Heath*" Sanders marched out with Molanus and the foot but were soon informed that "*all was done and the enemy beaten.*" Gell's account of the action published in the Parliamentary press (T.T. E 42 [21] BL) makes a number of fanciful claims as to casualties and mentions by name a number of Royalist dead who were soon afterwards very much alive! Neither does the T.T. account mention the identity of the Derby horse commander. One suspects that it was Captain Barton, but in Gell's "*True Relation*" penned in October

1646, Rhodes is given particular credit. It is likely therefore that this reflects a political preference at the time of writing, rather than a reliable observation made in March 1644. (For further comment on this action, see my article in *English Civil War Notes & Queries*, No. 33, pp2-7).

54. This figure of *forty* cannot be correct and is probably a slip of the pen, for on 13 May 1644 an entry in the Ordinance Office at the Tower notes a delivery of two culverins and two demi-culverins plus roundshot, powder and ladles to Lt. Col. Thomas Gell (BL Add 34315 f.50). The author is obliged to Dr. Ian Roy for this reference.
55. Lord Loughborough's garrison at Wilne Ferry dated from the winter of 1643 and was commanded by a Captain Thomas Robinson. Its purpose was to hinder passage over the Trent and in particular to disrupt the lead trade in which Gell had a considerable interest. (Jill Dias: *Lead, Society and Politics in Derbyshire Before the Civil War*, Midland History, Vol. VI, 1981, pp39-57; also Woolley's *History of Derbyshire*, Derbyshire Record Society, 1981, xl & p24.)
56. This Roundhead *Renaissance* locally was in large measure due to the major Royalist defeat at Marston Moor on 2 July in which Derbyshire contingents under Colonels Eyre, Milward and Frescheville had participated. Lord Loughborough too had exhausted his resources in assisting Rupert's army and now found himself seriously denuded of men, horses and money with which to meet the enemy's incursions after their victory at York (RWE pp222-230).
57. Colonel Francis Thornagh of Fenton, Notts (1617-1648) was one of the first to rally to John Hutchinson at Nottingham in 1642 and was originally Lt. Col. in the regiment of horse raised by his father. Member of the Committee and later commanded all the cavalry in the county; fought at Lincoln and, with Meldrum, at the defeat at Newark. Was then active under Rossiter (qv) in harrying the Newarkers and with Poyntz (qv) at Rowton Heath near Chester in September 1645 and then Shelford Manor in November and finally the siege and surrender of Newark. Acknowledged by contemporaries as a *beau sabreur* whom even Lucy Hutchinson spoke well of. Served in the New Model in Pembroke and under Cromwell in 1648 with Thomas Sanders as his Major. Ordered against the Scots at Preston, he was killed on the 18 August in a rear-guard action and Sanders then succeeded him as the regiment's Colonel. (RR p43; Wood p152.)
58. J.C. Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, Vol. 1V, 1879, p155. Shot-marks can be seen on the south side of the church as at Horsley, indicating that there may have been a struggle before the Cavaliers finally came out to surrender.
59. Major-General Lawrence Crawford (1611-1645), a Scots professional soldier who in 1644 became commander of the foot in Manchester's army of the Eastern Association. Clashed with Cromwell, who commanded the cavalry, over religious issues but performed well at Marston Moor. The loan of the army's heavy guns to Gell was a major factor in achieving the subjection of Derbyshire's Royalist garrisons.
60. *Pined out* - to starve the garrison into submission.
61. The siege of Wingfield Manor by the Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire forces began on 28 July. Loughborough attempted to organise a relief and summoned Bagot from Lichfield and Eyre from Hassop to join him at Burton. However, this operation was ruined by Sanders capturing Eyre and then driving Bagot out of Burton. Col. Molyneux, Wingfield's governor, was determined to hold out, but Crawford's big artillery train spelled ruin. Sheffield Castle fell on 10 August, followed by Staveley on the 12th and Bolsover Castle on the 14th. The next day Crawford's guns opened fire on Wingfield. Molyneux yielded on the 21st and marched out with his 200 men, of whom 40 were allowed to proceed to Tutbury Castle; the rest went home (GLB f.105). Gell won more applause in the Parliamentary press - "*who, as good as his word.... vowed he would never leave the said siege until he had the place.*" (Perfect Diurnal, Aug. 19-26.)
62. Reference to Marston Moor. It seems likely that Frescheville "*the first and most active of our countrymen that ever took up arms against Parliament*" (GLB ff. 91-92) was captured at the battle or at the surrender of York, for he secured a letter of protection from Fairfax and thus escaped Gell's vengeance. Wingfield was

the last of the Royalist garrisons and those Cavalier die-hards who wished to fight on could only do so from bases outside Derbyshire.

63. Several troops of the horse regiment were posted as a force of observation to bottle up the defenders; they could issue out the moment Kniveton's men made a sortie and prevent them gathering contributions from the locality (Rev. A.M. Auden, *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 1921). To further constrain the defenders, Gell was anxious to establish a permanent garrison in Burton and wrote several letters to Essex urging the scheme (GLB ff. 110). Essex was aware that Gell was really after maintenance out of Staffordshire's resources and rejected the plan (GLB f.111). The Staffordshire Committee was hostile and said it would agree only if Gell undertook to foot the bill (GLB f.112). He did not.
64. The agreement to establish a garrison to overawe Ashby was drawn up in mid November and required Derby to furnish 300 horse; Sanders took post there, along with Captains Swetnam, Hope and Harstaffe. Leicester would provide a further 200 plus 300 foot (GLB ff. 106-7).
65. With this sentence, Gell dismisses the perambulations of the Derby horse and conceals his own endeavours to sabotage them. He was anxious to send them against the Newarkers and had Sanders arrested for alleged insubordination on 28 January (GLB f.126) and determined to break him by a court martial held in London on 7 March before Isaac Dorislaus the judge-advocate of the army. Meanwhile on 7 February, the Committee of Both Kingdoms ordered nine troops of the regiment to march into Cheshire to assist Brereton under Captain Swetnam, pending the return of Sanders (Sanders Mss 016 & 120). Gell thereupon did his utmost to thwart these instructions by denying pay and encouraging the men to desert. Brereton's Letter Books contain correspondence from the severely tried Derby captains, revealing Gell's disruptive machinations. He promised 40 shillings to each man who returned to Derby only three days after their departure (Dore 1, p73). Faced with wholesale desertions, the embarrassed officers begged Brereton for an honourable discharge, having so few men left "*that we blush to own them*" (Dore 1, p205). Brereton was unable to furnish either pay or provisions and so was compelled to grant his Derby auxiliaries an honourable discharge on the 16th, but nevertheless wrote insisting that Gell "*hasten your horse towards us*" (Dore 1. pp231-2). Gell replied denying Brereton's allegations that he had withheld pay and ordered his men back to Derby, saying "*I did not write one syllable to them*" (Dore 1, p291). Gell in fact wrote letters of many syllables, directly ordering his captains to return, warning that "*I make a difference between those that are constant to their colonel and such as endeavour to stir up mutinies...*" (GLB f.124). In this business Gell was successful and by such threats secured the return of his cavalry to Derby, but in the matter of Sanders - the alleged ringleader of the *mutiny* - he was outmaneuvered when Sanders won an acquittal and was re-instated by the court martial. The regiment returned to Brereton from October 1645 to January 1646 and Sanders and his officers - "*faithful, godly and valiant men*" - (Dore 1. p219) served with some distinction and participated in the battle of Denbigh on 1 November (Dore 2. pp567-74; Nathaniel Lancaster, "*The Siege of Chester*", Ed. John Lewis, 1987).
66. Col. Edward Rossiter of Somerby, Lincolnshire, originally in Manchester's army. With Thornagh he jointly commanded Meldrum's cavalry at the battle before Newark in March 1644. Defeated by Langdale at Melton Mowbray on 25 February 1645, yet his regiment of horse was incorporated into the New Model and fought at Naseby. Rossiter was one of the senior commanders at the last siege of Newark from November 1645 to May 1646. Knighted by Charles II in 1660.
67. Otherwise known as the battle of Denton, this encounter took place on 30 October and is described by Bennett as a "*devastating defeat*" involving some 1500 Royalist horse and 500 foot. It led directly to Byron's replacement as governor by Sir Richard Willys (qv) in January 1646 (RWE pp232; NCWS p21).
68. Col. Sir Richard Willys (1614-1690), a career soldier who fought in Holland and then against the Scots. At Edgehill and then commander of horse in Lord Capel's army. Made governor of Newark after the garrison's defeat at Denton but was himself replaced by John Belasyse for siding with Rupert against the King over the surrender of Bristol. Exiled till 1652, after which he became a founder member of the Sealed Knot and involved in intrigue and espionage. (R. Smith & M. Toynbee, *Leaders of the Civil Wars*, pp215-217; NCWS pp61-62.)

69. The dissensions in the ranks of Derby's Parliamentarians were mirrored in Nottingham, where rival factions were airing their disputes before the Committee of Both Kingdoms in April. Aware of this, the Newarkers stormed Hutchinson's Trent Bridge fort on the 20th and once again threatened Nottingham (Wood pp90-91). It was perhaps this crisis which lay behind Gell's determination to recover his cavalry from Brereton's control when he wrote to him on the 25th (Dore 1. p291-2). However, Lucy Hutchinson makes no mention of her husband receiving assistance from Gell (LH pp156-159).
70. The King left Oxford on 7 May and by the 26th he reached Tutbury where he reviewed his army on Foston Heath on the way to Ashby. His objective remained a mystery to the Parliamentarians. The garrison at Barton of 700 horse under Captains Barton and Greenwood expected an attack and as Gresley reported to Brereton, the King "*drew a brigade of his horse into Barton Park... and marched about the garrison to view it*" (Dore 1. pp496-8). Prince Rupert seems to have been present, as "*a fair Irish greyhound ventured over the works and was taken by our men. He had a collar about his neck with P.R. in brass and the Prince's arms*". However, the Royalists marched away and the garrison was spared an assault. The Derby horse ventured out and skirmished with the departing Cavaliers and Captain Swetnam reported "*many of the enemy have legged it with bloody pates*" (Dore 1. p499). Col. Cary's Royalist horse received an alarm and suffered a dozen or so casualties (Richard Symonds, *The Complete Military Diary*, Ed. Stuart Peachey, 1989, p50). Fears that the Royalists were aiming at Derby were not realized, though it remained a possibility and was doubtless considered. Yet the town was well defended by 3,000 of Vermuyden's and other New Model horse on its way to link up with Fairfax and the main field army. Gell too was busy collecting some 2,000 horse and dragoons from neighbouring counties in accordance with instructions from the Committee of Both Kingdoms. Derby was too tough a nut to crack and Rupert was aware that if he did attack and was repulsed, honour would oblige him to besiege the place (Sir Edward Walker, *Brief Memorials of the Unfortunate Success of His Majesty's Army and Affairs in the Year 1645*). From Ashby the King moved on to an easier prize and stormed Leicester on the 30 May.
71. On the 11 June Gell was ordered by the Committee of Both Kingdoms to "come up" to Fairfax and the New Model at Northampton with all his strength. However, he was late leaving Nottingham with his 2,000 horse and failed to reach Fairfax in time for the battle at Naseby on the 14th, arriving the following day. A possible explanation for this delay is suggested by a Royalist tract of 1648 ('A Case for City Spectacles', *The Reliquary*, Vol. VI) which decries Sanders, saying "*he had a trick to make his soldiers mutiny, which he did notoriously when he should have gone with Col. Gell to Naseby fight*". But whatever the cause, Gell narrowly avoided intercepting the Royalist Northern Horse as they fled back to Newark, though on the 16th he was more successful and captured a number of stragglers from the King's beaten army (Glenn Foard, *Naseby, the Decisive Campaign*, 1995, p320). Several commentators wondered how the King had managed to evade Gell's command and suspicions were aroused (Joshua Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, 1647, pp46-7). Much later in his response to the Breda Declaration (Gell Mss 60/80, 4th June 1660) Gell hinted that his inefficiency was deliberate. It is certainly interesting to speculate that Gell could indeed have won undying fame by capturing the King and thus ending the Civil War in 1645!
72. Though Gell's brigade of horse was present at the recapture of Leicester on the 16th, Cromwell remained unimpressed by Gell's tardy performance and relieved him of command. The Breda Response confirms this, for Gell recorded that "*The late Protector and I was ever adversaries and at the siege and regaining of Leicester, caused my regiment of horse to be taken from me. I then refused to pursue his late Majesty to Worcester*".
73. Gell was ordered by the Committee of Both Kingdoms to move with his forces to Coventry and on to Worcester to join the Scottish army, but alleges that at Sinfen Moor part of his regiment mutinied for lack of pay. Here Gell is deliberately misleading. There was indeed a mutiny, but caused by the arrival of Major Sanders from Gloucester, where he seems to have been acting under Fairfax's orders with the New Model on its march culminating in the battle of Langport in Somerset on 10 July. Upon his re-appearance, the troopers cried "*We will have our Major or we will not march*" (Sanders Mss f.040) and despite Gell's fury, they turned back to Derby. Gell's authority was limited to his own troop and that of Captain Rhodes - his only loyal and reliable officer of horse. The nine troops loyal to Sanders lay "*scattered abroad in the county*" as Gell refused them entry to Derby. For a while there was nearly a civil war within a civil war, for - as Sanders reported to Captain Barton still at Gloucester - "*My soldiers wear His Excellency's colours and for that are called rogues and (they) threatened to pull them out of our hats.... Gell's*

soldiers wear Gell's colours. I fear no good will come of this". A revival of Royalist activity brought both parties to their senses and the row between Gell and his Major was temporarily suspended pending a later resolution.

74. The military situation was dramatically altered in Derbyshire when on 16 July the Royalists from Newark suddenly re-captured Welbeck House and began aggressive raiding. The officer responsible for this *coup de main* was one John Jammot, a Walloon volunteer and Major in Sir John Frescheville's horse (Symonds, op. cit. p64). The Notts and Derbys garrisons united against the common enemy but it was not until 13 November that the Newark forces finally gave up Welbeck.

75. On 12 August what remained of the King's field army, numbering some 2,000 men, made its way from Lichfield to Ashbourne, moving by a circuitous route to Chatsworth and then on to Newark on the 21st. Gell's garrison at Barton under Captain Greenwood was well placed to tackle the Royalist column of march and Symonds relates that on the 13th "*a body of 500 of the enemy's horse fell upon our rear near Barton garrison*" (Symonds, *ibid.* p62). Both sides suffered a few casualties. The laurels were even and Longford church registers record the burial of some combatants (DAJ Vol. 43, 1921, pp1-18). Gell instructed Major Sanders to "*follow in the rear*" and not become "*too far engaged*." He also warned Sanders to "*take heed of ambustadoes*" (ambushes). With Gell safely berthed at Derby, this advice looks much like back-seat driving! (Sanders Mss 044). Though given command yet again of all the local horse by the Committee of Both Kingdoms, Gell once more failed as at Naseby to capture the King and "*render his Majesty unto his Parliament*." For this second failure, Gell was finally replaced by Poyntz (qv) in October, who was ordered to deal with the Newark menace once and for all.

76. Colonel-General Sydenham Poyntz (1607-1665), a mercenary soldier in the Thirty Years War from 1626 he did not return to England until 1645. Was made governor of York and commander of the Northern Association forces. Given the task of following the King's army after Naseby, he destroyed it at Rowton Heath near Chester in September. Then moved to Nottingham, joined with the forces of Rossiter plus the Notts and Derbys county forces and united with the Scots army under the Earl of Leven. The combined force numbered more than 15,000 men and was marched against Newark to undertake the final siege and surrender of the place (NCWS pp61-62).

77. Gell is here referring to the events discussed in footnote 75 above. The Major is not identified but Symonds mentions the loss of an un-named Captain in Gerard's regiment and the capture of twelve of the enemy (Symonds, op. cit. p62).

78. Major Gibb remains a mystery, but possibly one Henry Gibb, originally of Essex's horse and mentioned in Peacock's *Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers*, 1863, p39.

79. Colonel John Shallcross of Shallcross, Derbyshire, (1603-1673), Lt. Col. in Milward's regiment and commanded what was left of it as Colonel after Marston Moor when Milward entered into peace negotiations. Shallcross then rode with the Northern Horse and was at Naseby. Wounded at Pontefract (Gell Mss 66/2) and captured at Doncaster in March 1645, described by Samuel Luke as High Sheriff of Derbyshire. (*Letterbooks of Sir Samuel Luke 1644-45*, Ed. H.G. Tibbutt, H.M.C. 1963, p474; RR p44.)

80. Most of the Derby horse under Major Sanders served for a second time with Brereton's army at the siege of Chester and participated in the victories at Rowton Heath on 24 September and Denbigh on 1 November. Gell is significantly silent concerning the contribution made by Sanders and his officers (Dore 2, App. V111). Brereton however was lavish in his praise when writing to the Committee of Both Kingdoms in November (Dore 2, p219). They returned to Derby when Chester fell on 3 February 1646. Meantime, Gell did not repeat his tactics of the previous Spring and employ underhand methods to get his soldiers back. Then, Sanders had been under arrest, but now he was very much at large and had the ear of Brereton, and through him, the Committee of Both Kingdoms. Instead, Gell tried to wriggle out of his obligations to provide provisions and supplies for Brereton's army by pleading that the King's passage through the county in August/September and the necessity to supply the Scots army had stripped Derbyshire of resources. But the Speaker of the House wrote in December ordering Gell to comply (Dore 2. p345).

81. In early January 1646 Brereton was ordered to release forces from his army at the Leaguer of Chester to counter a build-up of Royalist activity at Lichfield. He massed his troops at Lichfield on 9 March and then commenced a siege of the Close which lasted until the surrender of 16 July.
82. Gell's narrative glosses over these last 8 months of the war and his comments here are unusually brief, reflecting no doubt his own inactivity and lack of command. His forces were in action in a variety of theatres over which he no longer had any personal control. Most of the horse regiment was serving with Brereton in the Lichfield area and almost certainly took part in the battle of Stowe-on-the-Wold on 21 March. Meanwhile the foot regiment served under Poyntz in the campaign against Newark and its satellite garrisons. On 3 November the Derby foot under Major Molanus took part in the storm and sack of Shelford House, where Col. Philip Stanhope and the Queen's regiment were refused quarter and massacred. Then came the capture of Wiverton House on the 9th and on the 22nd a particularly bloody attack began on the outworks of Belvoir Castle. It was a costly success, as Gell relates, but the Castle itself held out until the 31 January 1646.

At the same time, Thomas Gell with the rest of the foot regiment was besieging Welbeck House, which finally surrendered on 13 November. The Richard Drinkwater Gell refers to, commanded Gell's own foot company (the Colonel's) whilst Gell himself remained at Derby. Drinkwater replaced his predecessor, Captain- Lieutenant Lenerick, who was killed in the fight at Nottingham in 1643 (RR p62).

83. Royalist accounts of the surprise night attack at East Stoke state that their forces numbered 300 foot and 800 horse and that they took 100 prisoners. Poyntz was driven from the house where he had his quarters and had to run away without his boots and lost his money and had his chamber ransacked (Wood p109; NCWS pp22-23). The Captain Forster Gell mentions was possibly an Edward Forster, a native of Newark who served in the garrison (NCWS p57).
84. Captain Barry Pendock of Tollerton, Nottinghamshire, of Thornagh's regiment of horse, of whom Lucy Hutchinson was highly critical (LH p129; Wood p112).
85. Gell's narrative unfortunately terminates at this point. But as governor of Derby, his career continued with a misplaced effort to secure the capitulation of Tutbury Castle. Although Brereton had been appointed commander in chief of the forces of the neighbouring counties on 13 March, Gell went behind his back by offering a free pardon to Kniveton's Royalist garrison on 6 April if they agreed to surrender to him. Neither Brereton nor the Committee of Both Kingdoms were prepared to tolerate this and after Tutbury was given up on the 16 April, Gell was summoned to London to appear before the Committee of Privileges. He was thereafter stripped of his governorship and commissions- thanks largely to a lengthy indictment running to some 65 folios prepared against him by Major Sanders (Sanders Mss 055-057; Gell Mss 34/10). It was doubtless for the purposes of his unsuccessful defence at the November 1646 hearing that Gell compiled his "*True Relation*."
86. With the fall of Newark and Lichfield in May and July respectively, the Derby forces were without employment or pay and began to mutiny. A sum of 5,000 pounds was granted by Parliament in June to pay off Gell's veterans, being met from fines levied on Royalist *malignants* and Church lands. It would seem from an analysis of contemporary pay records, that the Derby men were paid for something like six weeks outstanding arrears (G.L.B. f. 121; Gell Mss 60/53; Sanders Mss 0110; C.H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, OUP, 1967, pp182-207). From May onwards, Gell was in London preparing his case and petitioning Parliament for repayment of what he claimed to be his own arrears of pay and lost revenue amounting to £11,000. (Gell Mss 56/37). In September he was granted a mere £3,000 for his public service between November 1642 and September 1646 (Gell Mss 30/16 and 58/1-a). It was this apparent ingratitude, together with the reprimands and humiliating loss of office, that led to his implication four years later in Royalist conspiracies.