Alexander Ennis,
Prisoner of War from the Battle of Dunbar, Indentured Servant of Saugus, and Resident of Block Island,

and his wife, Catherine,
Originally of Ireland

Written by Michelle A. Boyd, 2021

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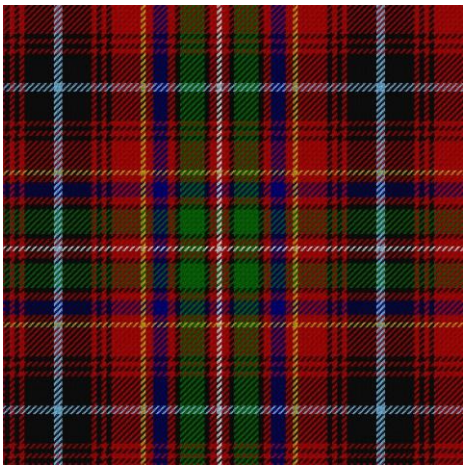
Introduction

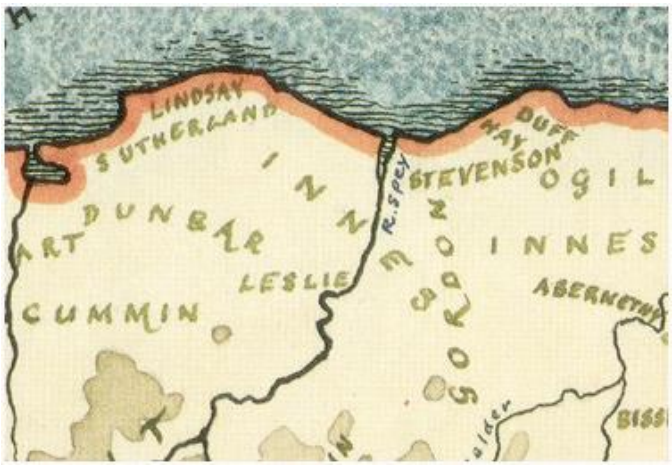
Not much is known about Alexander Innes' background or early years. He was born in Scotland, probably in about the late 1620s to early 1630s. While Alexander could have come from the Clan Innes lands located in Morayshire, Scotland (Innes Clan Society), that is absolutely not guaranteed. He could have easily come from elsewhere in Scotland.

What we do know is that Alexander, likely a young man at the time, became a prisoner of war in 1650. He came to America soon thereafter, though not by choice. Here, he, along with his Irish wife, Catherine, whom he would have met after his arrival, struggled to find a place in society before settling in a community with other Scots on Block Island, of the coast of Rhode Island.

The story of why Alexander was captured and transported to the New World begins when Alexander was probably a young child.



Clan Innes tartan



Clan Innes lands in Morayshire

Historical Context to Alexander's Life

Scotland during Alexander's Youth

Alexander grew up in a time of political and religious unrest.

> "By the start of the 1640s, the royal government of Charles I had managed to create profound instability in three kingdoms. In England, a vengeful parliament had reassembled, loathing the king's years of personal rule, dominated by Puritans and deploring what they regarded as his crypto-Catholic policies in the Church of England. The Scots had been outraged by such enormities as consecrating the kirk of St Giles in Edinburgh to cathedral status and appointing a bishop to it, about as provocative a thing as could be imagined in a country whose national self-image was Calvinist. There was a riot in St Giles in 1637 against what was seen as an alien imposition in the church. The result was the Scottish National Covenant of 1638, signed by over 300,000 people, in

> which Presbyterianism was declared the national church in fact if not in law. In Ireland, the king, through Wentworth [the lord deputy of Ireland], had alienated all interest groups with equal insouciance." (Killeen 91)

In Scotland, in addition to the consecrating of St. Giles, Charles had had a new prayerbook and canons published without the input of the Scottish Kirk, which included measures to increase the control of the king over the Kirk. These measures included assertions that ministers were subordinates to the bishops and the bishops to the king and doctrines that the Scots found popish. Meanwhile, in the realm of politics, the king attempted to intimidate and manipulate the Scottish parliament. These measures built up to the July 1637 riot at St. Giles. (Gentles 7-8)

In the National Covenant of 1638 mentioned above, the signers promised "to defend 'the true reformed religion' and abstain from all innovations not approved by the Kirk assemblies or parliament. Only a 'covenanted king' who agreed to defend 'the true reformed religion' (meaning Presbyterianism), and to rule according to the laws of the realm as defined by parliament would be obeyed by his subjects. If the king failed to uphold Presbyterianism or to govern according to the law, the people were morally required to resist him. This was nothing less than a revolutionary attack on the powers of kingship. Yet the Covenant's promoters recruited many thousands of signatories within the space of a few months." (Gentles 8-9)

Left: Riot over the imposition of Charles I's version of the Book of Common Prayer in Presbyterian Scotland, 1637

Right: Left: The National Covenant (photo credit: National Library of Scotland)

Civil War and the Death of a King

Scotland, along with the rest of Britain and Ireland, were on the verge of a devastating War of Three Kingdoms. Gerrard et al. (4) described the scope of this war: "The Civil Wars, or more properly the Wars of the Three Kingdoms,

convulsed the greater part of the British Isles in a series of conflicts between 1639 and 1651." The War of Three Kingdoms encompassed a series of interconnected conflicts including the First and Second Bishops' Wars between England and Scotland and the English Civil War. (Britannica)

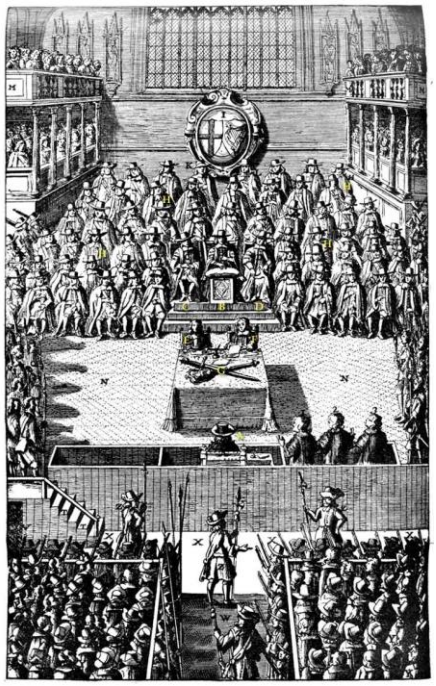
A detailed discussion of these earlier conflicts is outside the scope of this biography. Reid (7) summarized how the conflicts were related by stating that "not only were the King's attempts to reassert his authority in Scotland decisively defeated but as a result his authority in his other kingdoms was also fatally weakened. Rebellion in Ireland was followed by civil war in England in 1642 and having thus precipitated the wider crisis the Scots then intervened in the war two years later to bring about an eventual Parliamentary victory."

However, the temporary alliance between the English Parliament and the Scots soon came to an end early in 1649 when "when the Scottish Committee of Estates wrote to the English Parliament stressing that no action should be made against the king without the agreement of the Scottish Parliament." Commissioners from Scotland condemned proceedings against the king "until, on 29 January, they sent a final appeal on the sovereign's behalf to Fairfax. 'We entreat that you will take into serious consideration that the Kingdome of Scotland hath undoubted interest in his Majesty's person, and how hard a thing it is to proceed against their King, not only without but against their advice and consent.' On 30 January 1649 the king was beheaded. With his death…the way was opened for further hostilities between England and Scotland." (Reese 21)

Scotland and England Go to War

The Scottish response to the death of their king stemmed from their view of monarchy. "For most people monarchy was simply the natural order, a state of government which was so essential as to preclude any serious expectation of an alternative. Attitudes to kingship were slightly different on either side of the Border…The king *[in Scotland]* was expected to be accessible, challengeable, and personally engaged with the nobility of the country…who considered him to be the first amongst equals rather than a divine other." (Johnston 48) The Scots had never intended the National Covenant to lead to a permanent removal of the king. And so upon his death, the Scots immediately proclaimed his son, the exiled Charles II, his successor. "It was simply the natural and expected order of stable government." (Johnston 49)

But, in keeping with the Scottish view of kingship, they also expected Charles II to accept concessions that the Scots had tried to ask of his late father, particularly a "commitment to extend Presbyterian forms of worship," while the Scots promised to "'obey, maintain, and defend' his rule…Two days after they *[made the proclamation]* the English parliament voted to abolish the monarchy." (Johnston 49)



Right: Charles I facing the High Court of Justice, 1649

In England, a new government had arisen, one that would view their northern neighbors' new sovereign as a threat. "With Charles I gone, and his son in exile, a new form of government had to be invented. Out of the turmoil Oliver Cromwell emerged as Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland…In the summer of 1650 Cromwell crossed the border into Scotland in order to pre-empt any threatened invasion of England by armies once loyal to his own Parliamentarian cause." (Gerrard et al. 5)

Cromwell felt the need to go on the offensive for a couple of reasons, as explained by Gerrard et al. (105): "There was much at stake. If the Scots won the inevitable fight ahead, their intention was to impose Scotland's particular form of Protestant religion on everyone in England and Wales, and to reinstate the monarchy, albeit very much under the authority of the Presbyterian Church."

The Scots, in preparation, assembled an army of "nearly all conscripts raised under the long-established 'fencible system'" in which all men in Scotland between 16 and 60 were "liable to turn out in times of crisis." Typically, those actually chosen for service were physically fit enough to bear arms and therefore, tended to be on the younger side. (Reid 24) Alexander was likely among these young men.

The also prepared "by obeying 'King Robert's Testament', and as in the days of the Bruce they slowly withdrew before the invaders, taking with them everything on four legs and burning everything that was not." While the English might be

able to rendezvous with and resupply through ships at Dunbar, this tactic on the part of the Scots would limit how the English could travel. (Reid 45)

But the Scottish efforts were hampered by significant internal conflict. This led to two purges, authorized by Covenanter leadership "as a means of countering Royalist support among the new levies who were about to be mobilised. Hostile commentators, the most eloquent of whom was the English Cavalier Sir Edward Walker, charged the purges that eventually took place between 2 and 5 August resulted in as many as 4,000 good soldiers being expelled from the army simply because of their Royalist sympathies. They were then replaced, he said, with 'ministers' sons, clerks, and such other sanctified creatures, who hardly ever saw or heard of any sword but that of the spirit'." (Reid 27) Note that Reid (27) maintained that these numbers were grossly exaggerated.


Left: David Leslie, Lord Newark and right: Oliver Cromwell, 1649

Cromwell's Campaign in Scotland

Cromwell crossed the border into Scotland in the summer of 1650, leading his army "as far as a line of fortifications linking Edinburgh and Leith." Now under the leadership of David Leslie, 1st Lord Newark, the Covenanting army "forced *[Cromwell]* into a series of alternating retreats and advances" (Gerrard et al. 109-110), until early September, after "another four weeks of playing cat and mouse with Leslie west of Edinburgh Cromwell was forced to withdraw to Dunbar. His troops were in a sorry state…" (Gentles 419) One English soldier reported, "Our bodies [were] enfeebled with fluxes, our strength wasted with watchings; want of drink, wet and cold, being our continual companions, which impaired our strength and courage and made altogether useless above 2000 men…" (Gerrard et al. 117) and another stated that they were "a poor, shattered, hungry, discouraged army; and the Scots pursued very close…" (John Hodgson, quoted in Reid 57)

It seemed that the Scots would be victorious. "With the Scots snapping at their heels *[Cromwell's]* troops found themselves pushed against the sea, encamped in the midst of swamps and bogs…his council of war now gave all its attention to the desperate question of how to get back to England alive." (Gentles 419) The English were trapped.

Clues about Alexander's Early Life

Before we continue on to the Battle of Dunbar, a decisive point in Alexander's life, let's turn our attention to what life was like in Scotland. As stated before, little is known about Alexander's life up to this point. In fact, no known record has been found for him prior to 1653, a few years after the Battle of Dunbar (though, from the context of that document, it can be inferred that he was indeed a soldier at that battle).

The 2013 archaeological excavation at Durham

That said, a good deal of research on the prisoners of the Battle of Dunbar has been conducted in more recent years, which can inform us about what Alexander's childhood would probably have been like. In November of 2013, a remarkable discovery was made. Three skulls were uncovered during a construction project near Palace Green in Durham, England. Even at such an early stage, Janet Beveridge, the archaeologist at Durham University present at the discovery, knew that these were not normal burials. (Gerrard et al. 22-23)

Up to 29 skeletons in two grave-pits were "not laid out in the normal Christian manner" (in other words, on their backs, feet to the east, legs extended, and arms orderly) but were "disordered and tightly packed together, some lying on their sides, with their arms apparently randomly arranged" and only a few aligned to the east. (Gerrard et al. 30-31, 43) The Durham University archaeologists excavated as many remains as they could (existing buildings cover the unexcavated areas, so additional remains could not be retrieved). (Gerrard et al. 28) Through analysis, the archaeologists at Durham University concluded that these were some of the remains of the Scottish prisoners, who like Alexander, were taken at the Battle of Dunbar and imprisoned at Durham. (Gerrard et al. 104)

The project team paired their archaeological and skeletal analysis with historical documentary research to shed a fascinating light on life for a Dunbar soldier. These brothers-in-arms of Alexander, some of whom he possibly could have known by name, provide valuable clues about what life might have been like for Alexander. A detailed report of this project, including information on the survivors of Durham, can be found in book, *Lost Lives, New Voices* (see bibliography), which I highly recommend. Special thanks are extended to them for not only this valuable research but also for their respectful treatment of the excavated soldiers, who, after the conclusion of the study, were reburied in the

local cemetery with a dignified funeral that they would have been denied at their deaths and memorialized at both the cemetery and cathedral.

Age and status

First it must be noted that the individuals found at Durham were mostly young common soldiers. "Given that those incarcerated at Durham were not ranking officers, and taking into account the skeletal evidence for their upbringing, it is unlikely that they came from high status families." (Gerrard et al. 149) Twelve of the 29 skeletons were adolescents, the five youngest being between the ages of 13 and 16 at death. Two-thirds of the adults were between 17 and 25. There was one individual between 36 and 45 and one over 46 but they seem to be outliers. (Gerrard et al. 48) In all likelihood, Alexander fell into a similar demographic—probably a young man of a common, rather than high status, background.

Living arrangements

The exact nature of Alexander's living conditions as a child would have depended on a number of factors, including geographical location. Houses varied by location and may have been made of wood, turf, stone (these were mainly in towns, burghs, and fishing ports), or even wickerwork. Byre houses of wood and turf typically had two to three rooms and housed both humans and one or more cows. (Gerrard et al. 149-150)

A Scottish Lowland farm from John Slezer's *Prospect of Dunfermline*, published in the *Theatrum Scotiae*, 1693

Gerrard et al. (149) noted:

> "Most Scots in the 17th century still worked and lived on large estates in 'fermtouns' or farming townships, sharing out agricultural tasks and resources…while some fermtouns in the Highlands were rural and small with large spaces between them, others, such as those on the Fife coastal estates of the Borders, were larger and more densely occupied, probably with several generations living under every roof."

In large towns, such as Edinburgh, houses were tall with narrow lanes and alleys between. Sanitation in Edinburgh was notably bad with human waste tossed from upper windows. Poor families occupied garrets (subdivided at the top of the buildings) while families that were better off resided in lower stories. (Gerrard et al. 149-150)

Diet

There was a significant difference in diets between the Lowland Scots and Highland Scots (which, according to Gerrard et al., included Moray). Lowlanders had a more restricted range of foods with sparing consumption of beef and mutton (mostly as haggis, blood pudding, and broth with kale and barley) and a high reliance on oats. Highlanders had a greater range of available foods, including fresh meat and dairy. The coastline of the Moray Firth was especially known for productive farmland and orchards. (Gerrard et al. 145-146)

In 1639, Covenanter soldiers would have been given 2 pounds of oat bread, 28 ounces of wheat bread, and pint of ale per day, probably to supply both themselves and one follower. Kirk sessions of the time show that this was not dissimilar to the average civilian diet, though, in the case of civilians, there was some variation due to location, social rank, and wealth. The teeth of the skeletons at Durham were analyzed and showed a diet heavy in oats, beans, and brassica (perhaps kale or cabbage). Also available were chicken, eggs, sometimes duck and freshwater fish with marine fish available near the coast (but not so much inland). (Gerrard et al. 145-146)

Diets, however, were changing in that era. Laborers in Lowland Scotland became almost entirely dependent on oats and Highlanders became increasingly reliant on the same crop in the 1600s and 1700s. (Gerrard et al. 145)

The skeletons showed evidence of malnutrition and deprivation. "Most of the people represented by the skeletons at Palace Green would have been born into periods of famine and disease, or had mothers who had suffered in their younger years and experienced shortage at some point in their lives." (Gerrard et al. 136)

Not all the hunger these men experienced was due to food shortages, though, as fasting was an important part of the lives of 17th-century Scottish Presbyterians. "'Days of humiliation' or fasts were predetermined by the Church and regulated so as to mitigate the sins of society and plead God's forgiveness. Since disease, harvest failure, plagues, or threats to the security of the kingdom or the Kirk were themselves seen as manifestations of God's anger, Scottish society was also called on to fast in order to demonstrate repentance, sometimes for several days." (Gerrard et al. 136-145)

What Alexander's diet was like would have depended, on a degree, on where he came from. If he did indeed come from the clan lands in Morayshire, he perhaps had the better Highlander diet. However, if he was more like the

soldiers found during the excavation, he too could have had a more limited Lowlander diet and perhaps suffered malnutrition. Regardless of where he came from, he would likely have experienced at least some hunger from either the shortages of food in Scotland at that era, the days-long fasting, or both during his childhood.

Mobility

Periods of want in Scotland meant more migration and less population growth with farm laborers moving around to find work and others moving to towns to find apprenticeships and work. Young people would be particularly affected. Social status had an impact—tradesmen would have greater freedom to move while tenant farmers were more bound to a specific place. The clan system in the Highlands also impacted movement, with favor shown toward tenants with kinship ties. Highlanders most likely moved from their places of birth less than Lowlanders. (Gerrard et al. 146-147)

Smoking

Another clue about the typical life of a Scot of the era had to do with a common habit of the time. The presence of inhaled soot and micro-charcoal was observed in several skeletons. One potential cause of this was the smoking of pipe tobacco, which was a common habit at that time. "Both Covenanting and Cromwellian armies certainly smoked extensively." (Gerrard et al. 149) In fact, several of the Durham skeletons showed extensive wear on their teeth in a crescent shape consistent with the use of a pipe. (Gerrard et al. 72-73) Another potential cause was exposure to smoky, sooty environments. (Gerrard et al. 149)

Conclusions

Gerrard et al. (151) concluded:

> "Whatever the overall composition of the Scots army that took to the field at Dunbar on 3rd September 1650, the majority of the prisoners excavated in Durham do seem to have been untested as soldiers, perhaps lads recruited fresh from the fields, called out from the coal mines and saltpans, workshops and weaving sheds, towns, farms, crofts, cots and fishing villages. On reflection, the age and sex composition of the Palace Green men in no way contradicts what might be expected of a small sample of the Scots army at Dunbar…"

While the details of Alexander's early years are a mystery, starting in early September 1650 and extending into the next several months and even next few years, we can reasonably sure where he was and have a vague idea of what he was doing. We, of course, cannot be certain, given the information we now have, exactly where Alexander was on the battlefield, who commanded him, what specifically he did, and how he felt and reacted at each stage of the battle. However, it is certain that he was there at that battle, fighting with his fellow Scots.

Illustration of a Scottish pikeman of the Civil War, showing the grayish outfit and blue bonnet worn by many of the Scottish soldiers at that time, including at the Battle of Dunbar

From *Técnicas Bélicas del Mundo Moderno 1500-1763: Equipamiento, Técnicas y Táctica de Combate* by Christer Jörgensen

The Battle of Dunbar

1 September 1650: The Scots Block the English

On 1 September 1650, the Scots moved to block Cromwell's retreat, placing themselves at the top of Doon Hill. Such a move seemed like a good tactical strategy, as the hill would have been extremely hard for the English to take and the Scots had a good view of the English below. However, there were major disadvantages to this position. Unless the English attempted to attack the hill, there was little the Scots could do to hamper the English from up on the ridge. (Reid 58)

In addition, the troops were exposed to any rough weather. (Reid 58) The weather had been especially rainy with no letting up and the autumn winds would have been cold on the over 500-foot hill. (Reese 72-73)

The hill also made it difficult to resupply the troops. (Reese 72-73) Provisions were short for the Scots as it was for the English due to food shortages that had begun before the campaign. The impact of a large army in the region and the wasted

harvest exacerbated the situation. (Johnston 123) "[T]hey were certainly hungry," wrote Johnston (123), "and in a large army of weakening soldiers sickness was never far around the corner."

Johnston (119, 123) provides insight on what it was probably like for Alexander on top of that hill:

> "Whilst a screen of pickets lined the crest and the northern face, most of the men would have huddled in the hollow between the hills where they were less exposed to the lashing wind and rain. Without any natural source of fuel on the exposed open slopes, there was little comfort for the soldiers except where they could scoop themselves a shallow neuk [nook] in which to lay their shoulders…as they lay on the hill's back their experience was considerably worse than it would be if they were on the lower ground."

Onsite reenactment of the Battle of Dunbar (photo credit: East Lothian Courier)

2 September 1650: The Armies Move into Place

And so, on 2 September, the Scots moved off the hill. The operation started just before sunrise and took up most of the day. The English, meanwhile, moved from the town of Dunbar, forming a battleline along the north side of a burn (or stream) called the Broxburn. (Reid 59) This stream runs northwest of Doon Hill and mostly in a ravine with the northern side higher than the southern. Not wide in and of itself, the burn was nevertheless an obstacle with its stony, uneven bottom. (Reid 59; Johnston 117) According to Johnston (117), "After even just a few days of rain the depth can be unpredictable and inconsistent along the burn's length, reaching up the thigh in places." The Scots formed a battleline along the southern side in response. (Reid 59; Johnston 117)

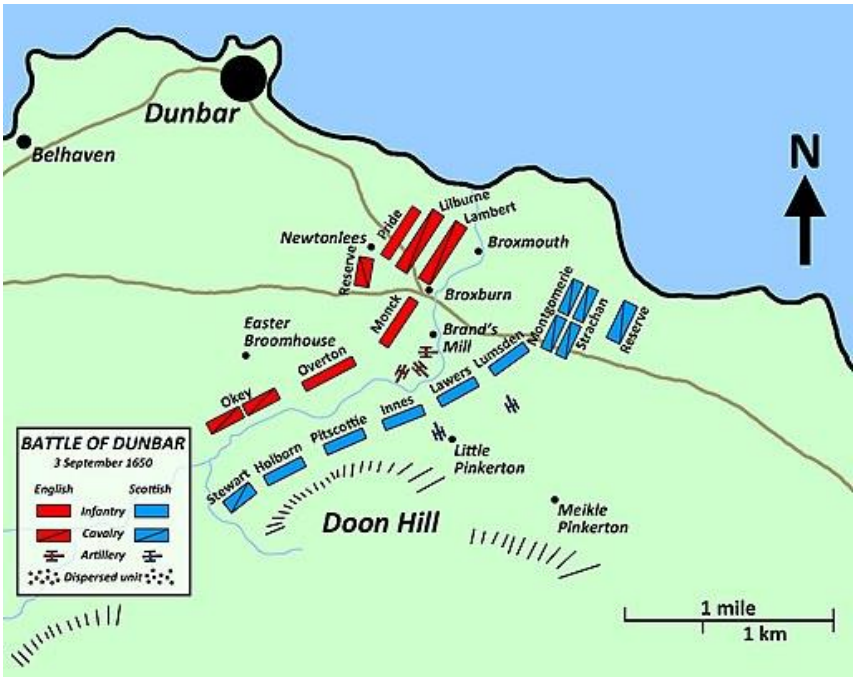
The land between Doon Hill and the Broxburn was only 300 meters (almost 985 feet) at its narrowest but widens considerably as it approaches the coast. (Johnston 118) One of the main fords of the Broxburn lay near this wider area while the ravine flattened and allowed for crossing near the sea. (Johnston 117) Leslie soon realized that the Scots' position opposite the English left these crossings unimpeded and tried to move troops toward the sea to block any attempted passage. By nightfall, he had only partially succeeded but it was enough to be disconcerting to Cromwell. (Reid 60)

One Scottish soldier described that night as "a drakie nycht full of wind and weit" (a dark night full of wind and wet). The Scots remained standing to arms until about midnight, likely sensing something happening on the English side. At about 10 o'clock, a group of English gave alarm to Scots, probably a false alarm to cover troop movements on the other side but were repulsed. (Reid 64)

Between midnight and 3 am, the chances of anything happening before dawn seemed very small and the Scots finally stood down. It made little sense to keep the soldiers in arms through the night when they were exhausted, hungry, and likely to have to face an assault the next day. (Johnston 142) So, the soldiers made shelters from the newly reaped corn stalks. (Reid 64) They "huddled together against the elements. Many officers looked to their own comforts and retired from the line…It was a lapse in leadership and a failure in discipline. No fault should be attached to the soldiers themselves, for their miseries had been faced with stoic endurance." (Johnston 142, 144)

And thus, they were unaware of the movement of the English during the night and unready as some of the foe moved at about four in the morning and secured the crossing points over the Broxburn. (Reid 64)

Left: Saltaire (flag of Scotland) reputedly carried at Dunbar (photo credit: Kim Traynor [CC BY-SA 3.0 (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0)])



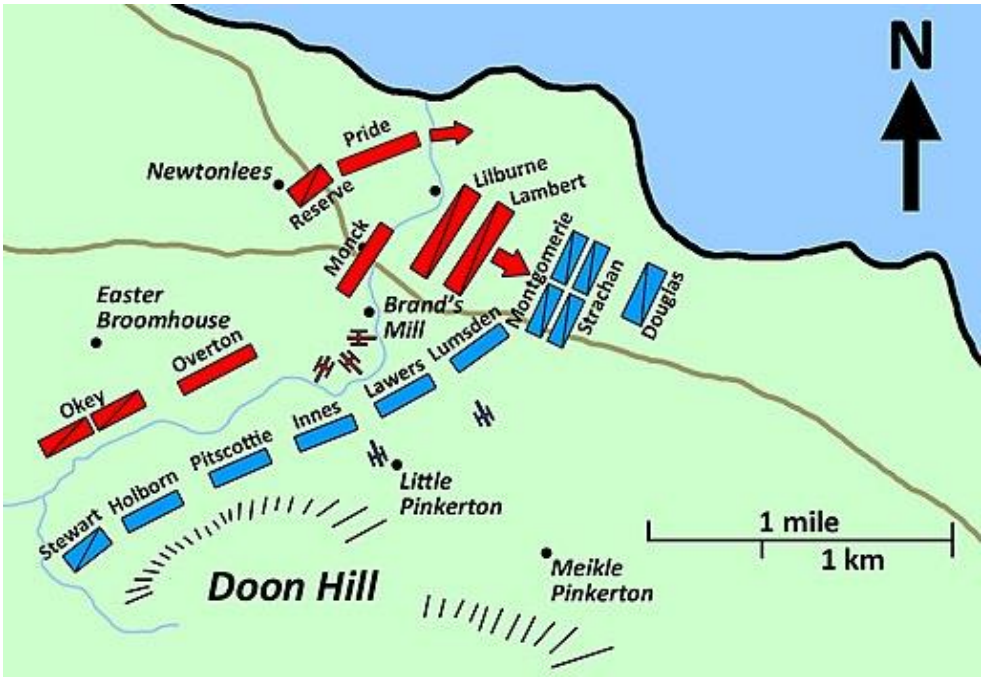
Map of the battlefield, shortly before the start of battle

Map created by Harrias, CC BY-SA 4.0 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>, via Wikimedia Commons

3 September 1650: The Battle of Dunbar

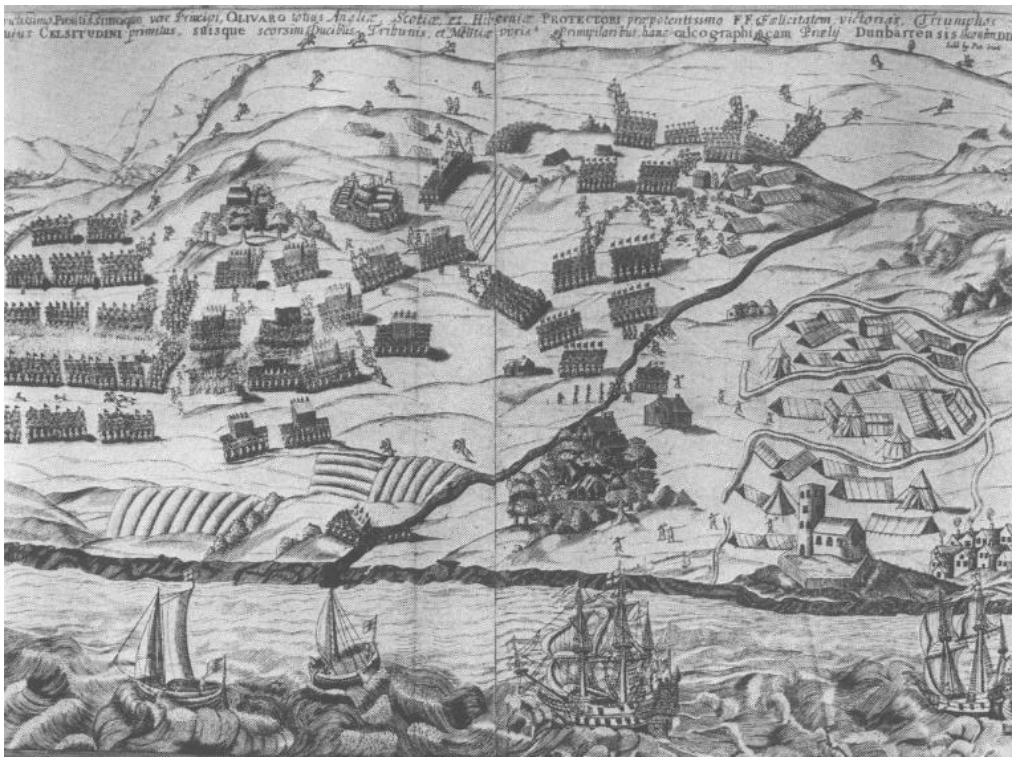
Before dawn, the English ran up against the Scottish picket line and drove them back. The attack stalled until an English brigade arrived, then a confused firefight began on the part of both sides. (Reid 68)

Reid (69) stated, "…far too many officers were absent…" The Scots, caught unaware, "lost critical time which could have been spent reordering the battle line to greater advantage…For the Scots soldiers as the intensifying gunfire shook them suddenly from their short and restless sleep, the instant uncertainty was compounded by the absence of the men they needed the most, their regimental officers." The "late arrival on the field of so many of *[Leslie's]* key officers, in addition to low visibility due to "periodic heavy showers, low-lying mist and the smoke from musket fire" would seriously hamper the Scots from preparing and responding to the initial English movements. (Reese 89-90)



The English army's initial movements

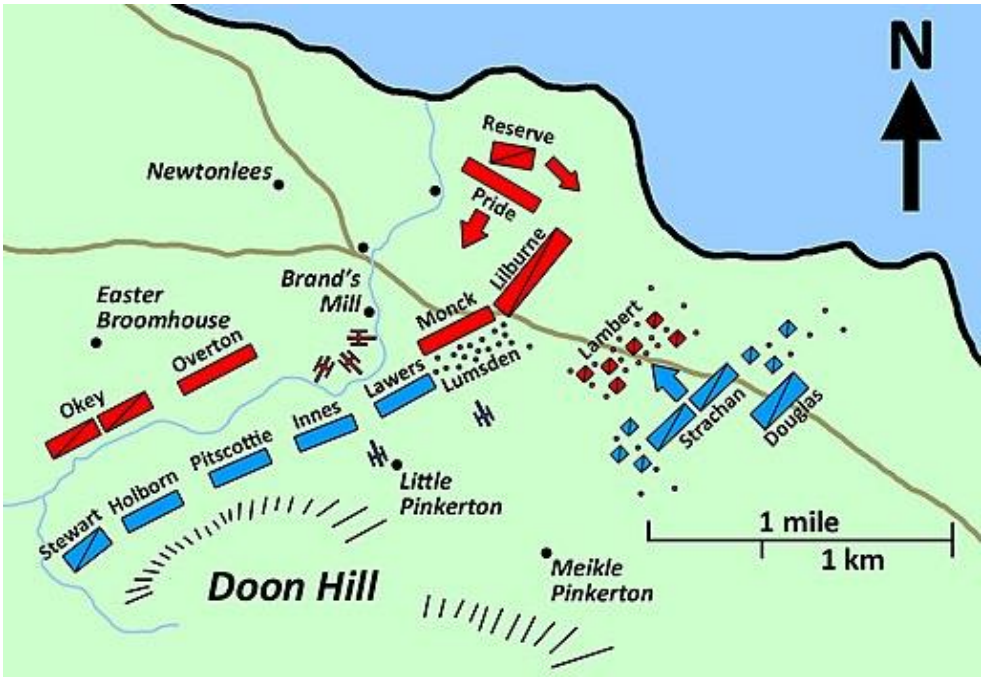
Map created by Harrias, CC BY-SA 4.0 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>, via Wikimedia Commons



Right: Drawing of the Battle of Dunbar, 1650

At about dawn, the cavalry under the command of Major General John Lambert crossed the Broxburn and scattered the Scottish cavalry. The brigade of Lieutenant-General James Lumsden, unprepared for the attack, disintegrated quickly, with Lumsden wounded and taken captive and another two officers killed. (Reid 69, 72)

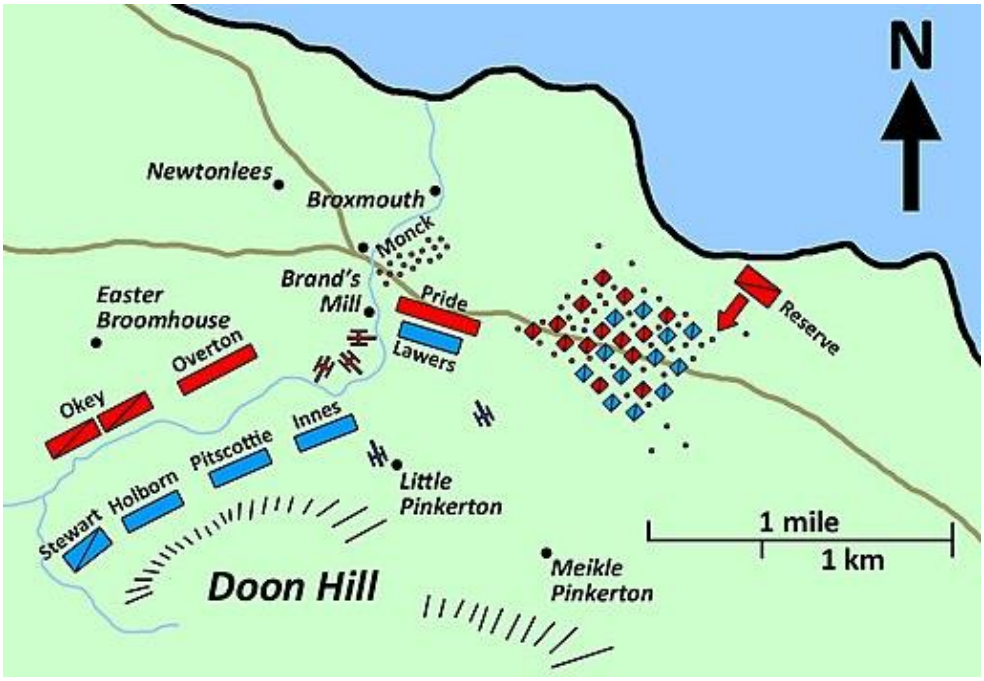
Reid noted, however, that Lumsden and his men seem to have held on long enough to allow Campbell of Lawers' Brigade turn around and block another English brigade from the fight entirely while one Colonel Strachan, rallying a line of Scottish cavalry, drove Lambert back across the Broxburn. "Things were looking serious for Cromwell and the break-out must have seemed in jeopardy, but he persevered and committed Colonel Thomas Pride's infantry brigade." (Reid 73) Pride's brigade became "bogged down in petty skirmishing with 'straggling parties'—presumably the remnants of Lumsden's Brigade." (Reid 73)



The battle develops: "horse and foot were engaged all over the field" (Hodgson)

Map created by Harrias, CC BY-SA 4.0 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>, via Wikimedia Commons

However, Lambert brought a cavalry brigade forward into the Scottish cavalry and Cromwell's own regiment "swung wide to the south and crossed the burn almost by the shore," outflanking the Scottish cavalry. (Sadler & Serdiville 39)



The English outflank the Scots

Map created by Harrias, CC BY-SA 4.0 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>, via Wikimedia Commons

During this decisive moment, some of the Scottish cavalry began to flee. "Instead of pursuing, Cromwell and Lambert now halted their victorious troopers and paused long enough to put them in order again and decide what to do next." (Reid 74) It is said that the English cavalry began to sing 117th Psalm:

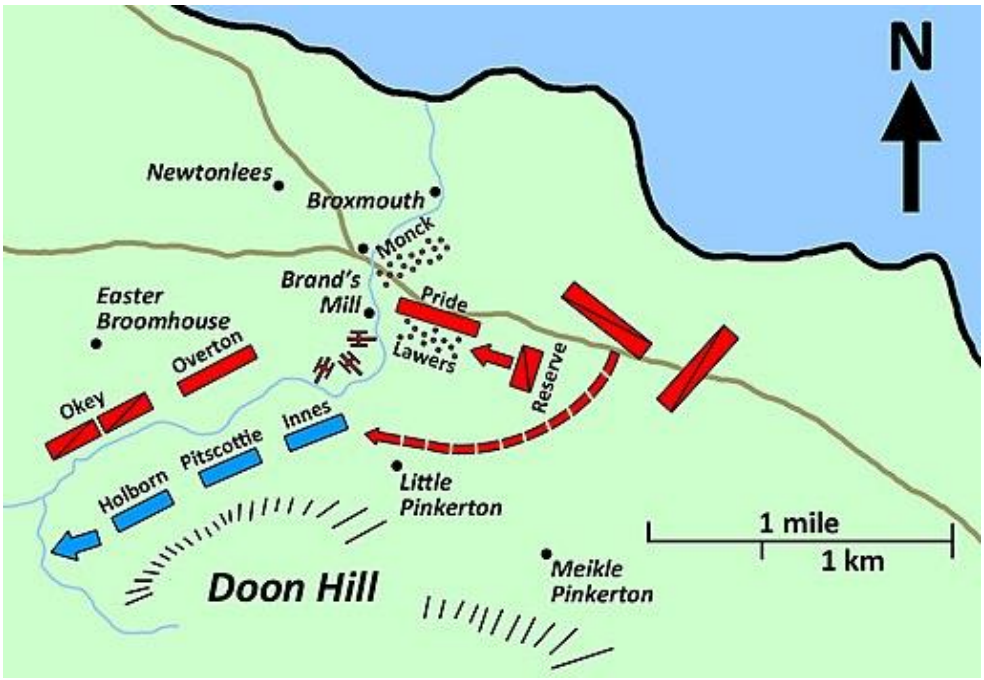
> "O give you praise unto the Lord
> All nations that be;
> Likewise you people all accord
> His name to magnify." (Hastings 136)

"[I]t must have been at this point rather than the night before that Cromwell, if he was still thinking in terms of a breakout, took the decision to encompass the total defeat of the Scots army instead." (Reid 75)

They then "advance[ed] steadily with the morning sun behind them like some agent of divine wrath. They must have looked terrifying, unstoppable. Pitscottie's brigade broke. Disordered, shocked, thrown into confusion by their routing comrades and under constant artillery fire, men began first to edge backward, then to turn, and then to throw down their weapons and run. As in so many battles before and since, the collapse of an army happens quickly as panic spreads like fire." (Johnston 158)

Reid (76), however, hypothesized that the Scottish retreat was not as panicked and chaotic as depicted by English accounts of the battle. It was, according to

him, more likely "the attempted retreat not of a mob of fugitives but of formed bodies of Scots infantry."



The English cavalry charge the Scottish infantry and the Scots retreat

Map created by Harrias, CC BY-SA 4.0 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>, via Wikimedia Commons

Left: A modern representation of Scottish soldiers at the Battle of Dunbar (painting created by Graham Turner)

Aftermath

Retreat and Capture

At this point, the Scottish officers would have had the task of attempting to keep their men together as much as possible but as Reid (160) noted, "As they struggled towards safety, some units may simply have broken up under the pressure, while those that attempted to stand and fight were shot up by the pursuing infantry. Most of the prisoners and the colours were taken during this final stage of the battle, as some regiments threw down their arms and scattered." (Reid 81)

Johnston painted a vivid picture of what it must have been like:

> "All sense of company cohesion was lost, colours falling by the dozen Cromwell's relentless advance. The safety of the Scots lay in keeping together, but in attempting to do so whole clusters of men were cut off by the rampaging horsemen who herded them up like sheep. Their only hope then of preventing a bitter massacre was to throw down their arms…Cromwell gave his men the freedom for 'chase and execution' over almost eight miles in the direction of Haddington, riding with them as they did." (Johnston 160)

Meanwhile, back at the battlefield, prisoners were being gathered and guarded.

> "Large groups of grey-coated figures, sat amongst the flattened corn, red-coated captors standing watch. English soldiers shoved and jostled hundreds of bonneted prisoners into lines, pulling off bags and jackets, slitting seams in search of hidden coin." (Johnston 162)

How Many Fought, Died, and Were Captured at Dunbar?

Answering the questions of how many fought, how many died, and how many were captured is not simple. Johnston noted that a great discrepancy exists between what Cromwell recorded (6,000 cavalry and 16,000 infantry) and what is realistic. At full strength (which is not at all likely), this could have been the case. Johnston noted that, under the circumstances, the numbers were more likely 3,000 horse and 9,500 foot, more closely matching Cromwell's army. "[T]he reality is that there is simply no way of knowing anything with confidence except that Leslie commanded the larger of the two forces." (Johnston 120)

Cromwell boasted of 3,000 dead and 10,000 imprisoned Scots at the end of the battle. Reid, however, dismissed those numbers as absurd and stated that, based on his estimates of the number of soldiers who fought and on information from other sources, that there were no more than 300 Scots dead and 6,000 prisoners with 1,000 of these released due to wounds or illness. (Reid 81) Gerrard et al. (124) also repeats Cromwell's number (adding that he also stated that he released 5,000 sick and wounded from the 10,000 he claimed as prisoners) and notes other contemporary estimates at 800-900 and no more than 300. "Accurate figures for the numbers of dead will probably never be known." (Gerrard et al. 124) As for those not seriously injured or ill that were kept captive,

Reid gave an estimate of 5,000 men, while other sources estimate 4,000 (Johnston 166, Gerrard et al. 124)

Release of the Wounded and State of the Prisoners

The reason why sick and injured prisoners were released while others were kept captive is explained by Sadler and Serdiville (53):

> "Those too badly injured and camp followers [Cromwell] released. These people were not a threat, nor did they have any economic value, no need for them to be a drain on the Treasury. The able-bodied were different. He could not afford simply to parole them as this would leave the Scots with the nucleus of a future army—even at this stage, the war was far from being won. Secondly, they constituted an economic windfall; these able-bodied, primarily young men were worth money. There was a variety of uses to which they could be put: recycled for garrisons in Ireland, hired out as mercenaries, used a forced labour in England or in the burgeoning American colonies where workers were urgently needed."

Those who were kept were not in the best shape, however.

> "Those Scots who marched south into an infamous captivity were already undernourished, demoralized and exhausted. Some will also have been suffering from the psychological trauma which followed their experiences of the sudden and terrifying defeat." (Johnston 166)

Back Home: Speculations about Alexander's Family

One other question that arises is: What of Alexander's family? Chances were that he had left at least part of his family back home. Did they ever know what happened to him?

Sadly, the answer is almost certainly bleak:

> "Across Scotland thousands of women were destined to linger in hopeless limbo for news, unable to know if they were widowed or simply waiting for a loved one to return. Fathers, sons, brothers failed to return, their absences impacting rural communities particularly hard. After a decade of war, these losses were increasingly hard to bear." (Johnston 166)

As we will see, Alexander would be taken further and further from home and would end up marrying, living, and dying on another continent. More about why Alexander never returned home will be discussed later on but for now, keep in mind that his chances of ever seeing or contacting his loved ones again were extremely slight. While it is possible that one or more of his relatives, friends, or neighbors from home had gone into battle with him and were also prisoners, that is not known. The sparse records on Alexander's life give no clues about such things.

It is uncertain who he might have had to have left behind at home, whose deaths he might have grieved after the battle or along the way, or whether he journeyed with anyone he had known before. What can be surmised is that he escaped major injury and was among the hungry, tired, defeated Scots who were about to be forced on a march south. He was about to leave behind

Scotland, his homeland, which he almost certainly never saw again.

Monument to the prisoners taken at Dunbar at the site of the battlefield

Photo credit: Jennifer Petrie, CC BY-SA 4.0 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>, via Wikimedia Commons

The Durham Death March

The Prisoners Sent South

The prisoners were marched south from the battlefield under the guard of four troops from an English regiment lead by Colonel Francis Hacker. (Gerrard et al. 124, Johnston 166) Sadler and Serdiville (71) estimated what the column looked like. With the assumption that the number of prisoners was the higher estimate, then the column of prisoners would have stretched out over at least five miles of rutted, muddy tracks of road. "They don't look much like soldiers, ragged as scarecrows, already stinking, their hodden grey soaked and tattered, and boots if they had any, already giving out." (Sadler & Serdiville 71-72)

Cromwell's reasoning for the march south was explained by Johnston (166):

> "If they had stayed in Scotland then they would either have to be released or they would have starved to death, 'neither of which would we willingly incur,' says Cromwell. If released, there was nothing to prevent these same men standing in his way once more. Sending the prisoners southwards took them away from the theatre of war and placed the burden of their future onto parliament…In London a committee was established to make the arrangements for what to do with the prisoners, and the instructions were accordingly sent north to [Sir Arthur] Haselrigge."

Depiction of the march, displayed at the Saugus Ironworks National Historic Site

It is not clear whether and to what degree the officers were separated from their men but if so, the prisoners would have no advocates and discipline would more likely have broken down further. (Gerrard et al. 124) Johnston (166) stated

that Hacker took the prisoners on the march south "without adequate supply and without any particular understanding of the challenges. They probably also lacked a great deal of sympathy for their charges, men who had forced weeks of hunger and hardship onto the English army" *[referring to the time period of the retreat of the English army to Dunbar, when supplies were scarce]*.

Berwick: A Nonstop March and a Mass Execution

The first stage of the march was a nonstop march of about 30 miles to Berwick in Northumberland, England "over roads ruined by weeks of persistent rain, over a landscape stripped of supply and support." (Johnston 166) The Scots were given no food. (Gerrard et al. 124) "Hacker's men had nothing to give them except the goad." (Johnston 166)

In Berwick, a number of the prisoners rebelled. They "fell down in great Numbers, and said they were not able to march" and the English officers "were necessitated to kill about 30, fearing the loss of them all." They then "brought them far in the Night, so that Doubtless many ran away." (Sir Arthur Haselrigge, quoted in Gerrard et al. 124)

Belford and Alnwick: Further into England

Leaving Berwick, they had "an increased escort but no more supplies. They were faltering, starving." (Johnston 167) They were allowed to rest at Belford in Northumberland. (Gerrard et al. 124) The high street and hall there now were built much later and the buildings in Belford then were probably less grand and more crowded.

> "It was probably in the grounds of whatever was there before that the prisoners were corralled in. No tents or bedding were provided; they just dropped into exhausted oblivion. No food and water either, except for whatever they could find." (Sadler & Serdiville 78)

Alnwick Castle by Canaletto, c. 1750 (about a 100 years after Dunbar)

They then continued to Alnwick, still in Northumberland, thirty miles from Berwick. There, they were penned in at Alnwick Castle "betwixt the middle and upper gaite," according to Robert Watson, an officer of the Earl of Northumberland. (Gerrard et al. 124-125)

Morpeth: A Desperate, Poisonous Meal

Gerrard et al. (125) described the next leg of the march:

> "Another day, another gruelling thirty miles brought the weary column to Morpeth [still in Northumberland." (Johnston 167). Here, they were shut up in a walled garden, perhaps the one within Morpeth Castle. The reason for being enclosed in the garden rather than the castle itself is that the castle was "described as a 'ruinous hole, not tenable by nature or art', and suffered more during the siege [by Scots in 1644]. For this reason, the walled garden may have made a more secure encampment."

Morpeth Castle, gatehouse on left and a portion of castle wall on right (photo credit: C G Burke, CC BY-SA 2.0 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0>, via Wikimedia Commons)

Here, Haselrigge wrote, "…the Prisoners being put into a large wall'd Garden, they eat up raw Cabages, Leaves and Roots…which Cabbage…poysoned their Bodies…" (Gerrard et al. 125) Sadler and Serdiville (81) theorized how, if Haselrigge was right, the cabbages could have "poysoned" them: ""They may well have picked up infections here—it was still common to use night soil as a fertilizer in this period and certainly there is no evidence they were able to wash their booty before wolfing it down. It seems likely that the immediate effect was that their shrunken stomachs couldn't cope."

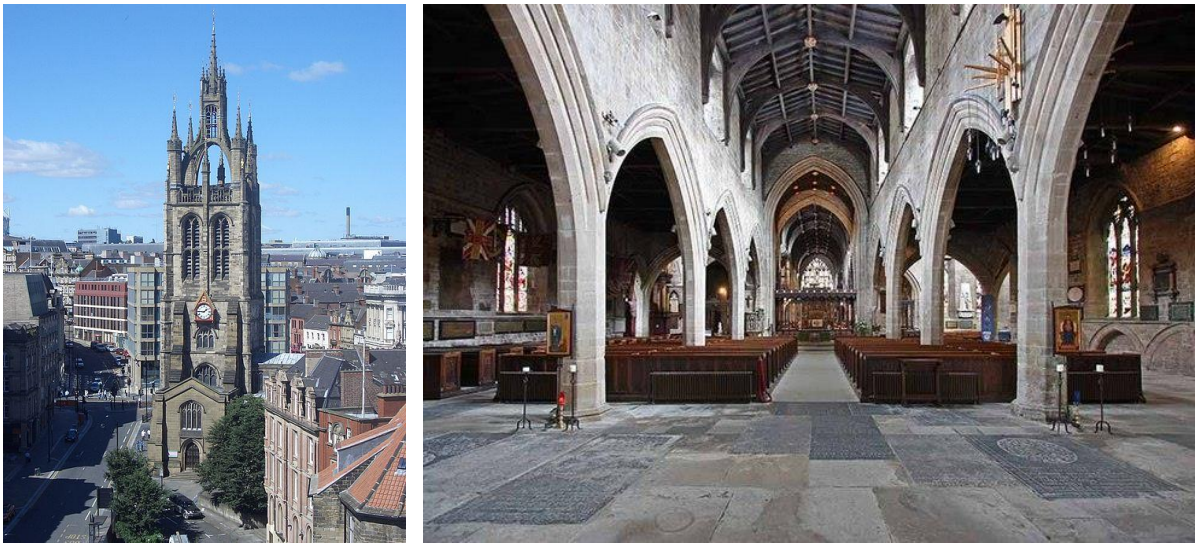
The situation was growing more and more desperate:

> "By now their dreadful cavalry must have seemed never-ending, filthy, stinking, lice-ridden, starving and exhausted, brutalized and beaten by their guards, reviled by the country folk…As Sir Arthur notes, most had not eaten in over a week. During that time they had fought a major battle and marched for days without sustenance or respite." (Sadler & Serdiville 81)

The prisoners began dying in greater numbers. Johnston (167) reported, "On the road to Newcastle they began dying, men falling by the wayside as the march went on."

Newcastle: The Flux Sets In

The next stop was in Newcastle upon Tyne, Northumberland, where the Scots were kept for the night in St. Nicholas's Church (and in one account, in Trinity House on Broad Chare in Newcastle). Any officers still with them were separated from their men there and taken to Tynemouth Castle. Meanwhile, "bloody flux" (dysentery) began to spread among the men left in Northumberland. (Johnston 167)



St. Nicholas Newcastle and its nave (photo credits: left image - Soloist, Wikipedia., CC BY-SA 3.0 <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>, via Wikimedia Commons; right image - John Salmon, Wikipedia., CC BY-SA 3.0 <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)

The Last Stages of the March

Sadler and Serdiville (86) stated that the prisoners made one last stop at Chester-le-Street in County Durham before they arrived at their destination in the city of Durham, noting that the fact that the march from Newcastle to Chester-le-Street to Durham was "in short stages" was "perhaps a testimony to how weakened they had become."

At this point, the remaining prisoners, "ordinary soldiers and/or followers," including Alexander, were then left to be marched further south to the town of Durham on foot. (Gerrard et al. 126-127) Johnston (88) estimated that this harrowing journey took six days from Dunbar to Durham. During this time, "By Haselrigge's own account, about 1,000 men must have escaped or died along the way from a combination of privations, exhaustion, severe gastric problems – 'the Flux', most probably dysentery – and execution." (Gerrard et al. 127)

Durham Cathedral

Imprisonment at Dunbar

The Scottish prisoners were imprisoned at Durham Cathedral. Here they would stay for months, under the supervision of Sir Arthur Haselrigge, who wrote to the Council of State on 31 October 1650 and included an estimate of the number of prisoners left at their arrival:

> "…and when they came to Durham, I having sent my Lieutenant Colonel and my Major, with a strong Guard both of Horse and Foot, and they being there told into the great Cathedral Church, they could not count them to more then Three thousand; although Colonel Fenwick writ to me, That there were about Three thousand five hundred…" (Sadler and Serdiville 93)

The Scottish prisoners would have doubled the population of Durham upon their arrival. (Gerrard et al. 129) Sadler and Serdiville (90) described how different Durham was in 1650 to the serene city of today:

> "ragged, uncared for, part-abandoned, with a rather post-apocalyptic feel to it. The Civil War had been a cataclysm. This was a terrible, sapping conflict which affected the north of England for a decade and had, in its wake, swept away the very foundations of pre-war society. The King was dead; the Church belittled and despoiled, people were tired, hungry, fearful and resentful."

In addition, they noted that the Scots had been there, in a military capacity as conquerors, in 1640 and 1644.

Durham Cathedral, Durham, England (photo credit: mattbuck (category) [CC BY-SA 2.0 (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0)])

View of the Durham Castle and Cathedral (photo credit: Jungpionier (category) [CC BY-SA 2.0 (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0)])

A Cathedral Becomes a Prison

Why were the Scots imprisoned in a cathedral? That a sacred edifice should be used to house prisoners, especially in such desperate and unsanitary conditions as was the case at both Newcastle and Durham seems strange at first glance. However, some understanding of the religious views of Cromwell and the majority of Parliament—not to mention the Coventanters' own similar views—helps make sense of the situation.

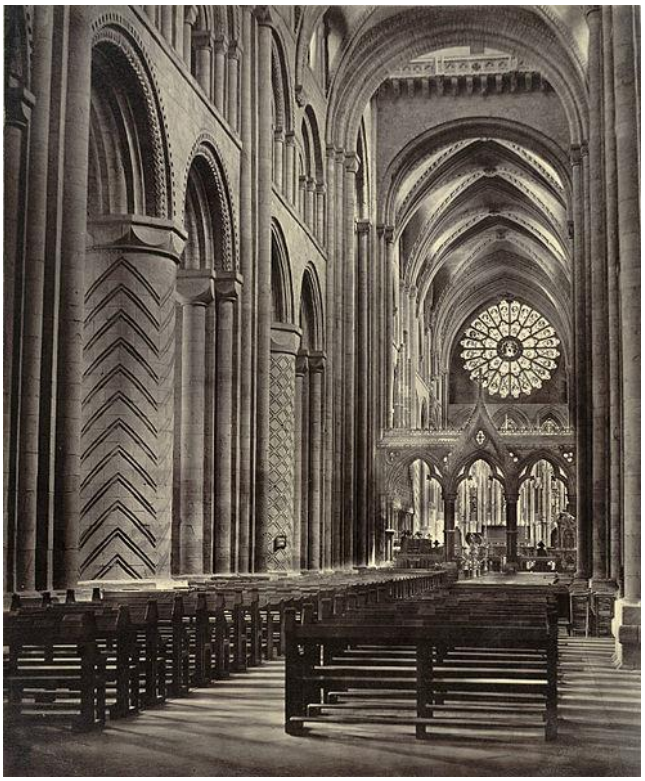
> "But for Oliver Cromwell, whose strongly held religious views as an Independent were essentially Presbyterian on this issue, and for many other sects of Protestantism, including the Reformed Kirk of Scotland, neither a place nor a person could be consecrated by human agency. For them, the idea that a building or even plot of land could be regarded as sacred was blasphemy." (Graves, Pam, "Cathedrals in the Civil War" (audio), Week 3 in Archaeology and the Battle of Dunbar 1650)

Cathedrals and other churches were, during the Interregnum, being re-purposed. Graves continued:

> "Besides re-use, the deliberate damage of images or iconoclasm was also sanctioned…Thus ordinary troopers, Scots and Parliamentarians alike, believed they were the agents of Reform and this made it possible for religiously inspired troops on both sides to destroy tombs and furnishings in places like Durham Cathedral."

So, no longer deemed of sacred significance, the cathedral was simply a building that was larger than any other in the region, making it a viable option for holding thousands of prisoners at once, at a time when "contemporary gaols

were very small indeed, seldom capable of holding tens of people, let alone tens of hundreds." (Gerrard et al. 127)



Interior of the cathedral (photo credit: A. D. White Architectural Photographs, Cornell University Library)

Haselrigge's Treatment of the Prisoners

As for the treatment of the prisoners themselves, Haselrigge claimed to have taken the greatest of care for their well-being. He wrote in his October 31 letter that he had:

> "writ to the Major, and desired him to take care, that they wanted not anything that was fit for Prisoners, and what he should disburse for them, I would repay it. I also sent them a daily supply of bread from Newcastle, and an allowance equal to what had been given to former Prisoners…" (Haselrigge, quoted by Sadler & Serdiville 93-94)

Of course, those were his own claims and he may have had reasons to represent his care as better than what it might have really been. Sadler and Serdiville (95) expressed doubt as to the true state of affairs and how diligent Haselrigge really was in his care of the prisoners. In writing of Haselrigge's claim of providing coal for heating, they wrote, "But there appears to be evidence that the prisoners in the cathedral were not supplied with coal—perhaps this tender care was merely window dressing."

Whatever care Haselrigge was providing, it could not stem the increase of illness and death among the Scots. The situation deteriorated and spiraled out of his control. Haselrigge wrote that "Their bodies being infected, the Flux increased among them." (Gerrard et al. 129)

An Attempt to Stem the Tide of Death

Haselrigge had the sickest of the prisoners removed to several rooms within the former Bishop's Castle in Durham with "old Women appointed to look after them." (Gerrard et al. 129) He claimed that the prisoners were "provided Cooks, and they had Pottage made with Oatmeal, and Beef and Cabages, a full Quart at a Meal for every Prisoner." (Haselrigge, quoted by Sadler & Serdiville 94)

In addition, "They had also coals daily brought to them; as many as made about a hundred Fires both day and night, and Straw to lie upon." ("They die daily," Week 3 in *Archaeology and the Battle of Dunbar 1650*) He sent orders to nearby towns and "Twenty of the next Towns to Durham continue to send daily in their Milk, which is boiled, some with Water, some with Bean Flower, the Physicians holding it exceeding good for the recovery of their health." (Gerrard et al. 129)

Just how dire was the situation? In his 31 October letter, Haselrigge estimated that there had been 3,000 men who had been brought to Durham but that 1,600 of them had died by the time of the writing of the letter. By that time, about 500 were sick in the castle. (Gerrard et al. 129) And, according to Gerrard et al. (129, 133), "the mortality continued at a desperate rate." According to Johnston (168), "the toll continued to rise to the equivalent of nearly thirty losses per day, *[and]* the sickest prisoners were moved to better conditions in the adjacent castle."

Causes of the Massive Losses of Life

But what was behind the high rate of death? Gerrard et al. (129) stated:

> "By now, however, there may have been a range of diseases caused by starvation, severely diminished strength and depleted immunity, and those caused by humans having to live and defecate in close confinement with limited fresh water and sanitation…After a lengthy period of starvation and duress, the prisoners' metabolisms may not have been able to process food and nutrients, and even this attention may have precipitated death."

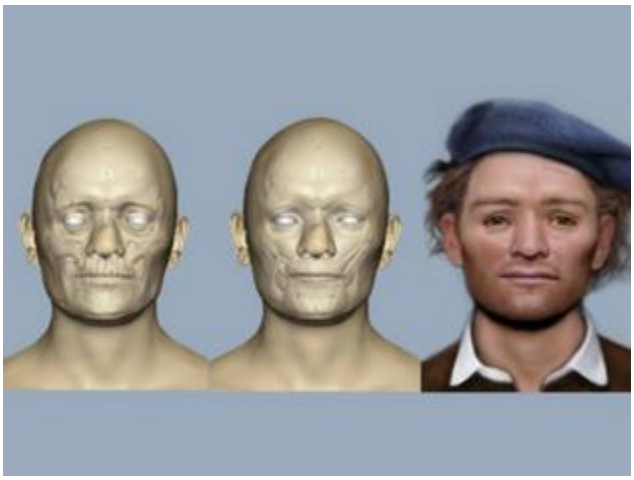
Likely, the greatest cause of death among the prisoners was dysentery, which is caused by ingesting food or water that has been contaminated, human feces being one common contaminant. With little to no food and clean water, the infection probably had already begun prior to their arrival at Durham and would have spread easily once the prisoners were closely confined in the cathedral in unsanitary conditions. (Gerrard et al. 133)

Another probable major cause for the widespread death was re-feeding syndrome. Those who are deprived of most or all food for over five days are at

risk. During this time of malnourishment, the body attempts to conserves energy by reducing both cellular activity and organ function. (Gerrard et al. 133, Sadler & Serdiville 97) Under these circumstances, a person can become subject to refeeding syndrome:

> "Refeeding syndrome can develop when someone who is malnourished begins to eat again. The syndrome occurs because of the reintroduction of glucose, or sugar. As the body digests and metabolizes food again, this can cause sudden shifts in the balance of electrolytes and fluids. These shifts can cause severe complications, and the syndrome can be fatal." (Cadman)

Sadly, the provision of food after a period of starvation may have killed a number of the prisoners. "For starving men, food can itself be fatal if not carefully moderated; it is unlikely such risks were appreciated, and men who did not seem poorly suddenly died." (Johnston 168)



Facial reconstruction of one of the Scottish soldiers found buried at Durham
It is likely that Alexander at least saw this man, whose name is not known, during their march to and imprisonment at Durham and the possibility exists that Alexander knew this man.
(Source: Durham University, https://www.dur.ac.uk/research/themes/news/?itemno=33207, facial reconstruction by Facelab, Liverpool John Moores University from a skull excavated by Durham University archaeologists)

Mass Burials without Ceremony

All this death meant that there were well over a thousand bodies, and naturally, something had to be done with them. The earliest reference to the burial of those prisoners who did not survive comes from a book dated to 1655-6. It stated that "most of them perished and dyed ther in a very short space and were thrown into holes by great numbers together in a moste Lamentable manner." (Gerrard et al. 131) It is likely that "[h]undreds of stripped emaciated bodies were buried without ceremony in a growing open pit between the castle and the cathedral." (Johnston 168)

As noted before, a number of skeletons were discovered in 2013 near Palace Green, between the castle and the cathedral, in Durham. According to the FutureLearn course ("What was found?", Week 1 in *Archaeology and the Battle of Dunbar 1650*) the burial of 29 of the Scots supports the early account:

> "The skeletons were not laid out in the normal manner for a Christian burial. Typically, people are buried in individual graves, on their backs with their heads to the west and with orderly arm and leg positions. At this site many people had been buried together in two common graves, neither of which was fully exposed. Their bodies were jumbled and tightly packed together at different angles; one lay face down and another on one side, with arms raised. There was no trace of clothing, shoes or other possessions. This suggests that the dead were stripped naked and then dropped unceremoniously into large pits. Fine linear marks were detected on the surfaces of some bones, possibly due to gnawing by rodents. This may be because the people were not buried immediately or because they were given only a shallow initial covering of soil."

It is not known if Alexander experienced any of the illness described above and recovered or remained relatively healthy (albeit starving and exhausted). However, he was among the survivors who were healthy enough to be considered for transportation later.

Survival in the Cathedral

Returning to the living conditions of the Scots inside the cathedral, archaeological and record research can provide clues. However, long-held beliefs about the behavior of imprisoned Scots, as well as the biases and ulterior motives of those who were eyewitnesses or at least contemporaries, can obscure our view of the Scots and must be addressed.

One of the eyewitnesses was Haselrigge. He claimed that the prisoners were "so unruly, sluttish and nasty, that it is not to be believed; they acted rather like Beasts than Men…" (Haselrigge, quoted by Sadler & Serdiville 95) He also claimed that there had been murders: "some were killed by themselves, for they were exceeding cruel one towards another." (Haselrigge, quoted by Sadler & Serdiville 98) This, he claimed, was to blame for the deteriorating state of the prisoners. (Gerrard et al. 129)

The reliability of his analysis and whether there were any violent incidents among the prisoners is uncertain. Keep in mind that he certainly had reason to represent himself in the best light and place blame elsewhere for the loss of so many primarily young, once strong, valuable laborers. So, was Haselrigge truthful, or was he stretching the truth by attributing the behavior of a very few outliers to the whole group of 3,000 men in an attempt to divert blame from himself, or was he lying to make it look like he was not responsible for all the deaths?

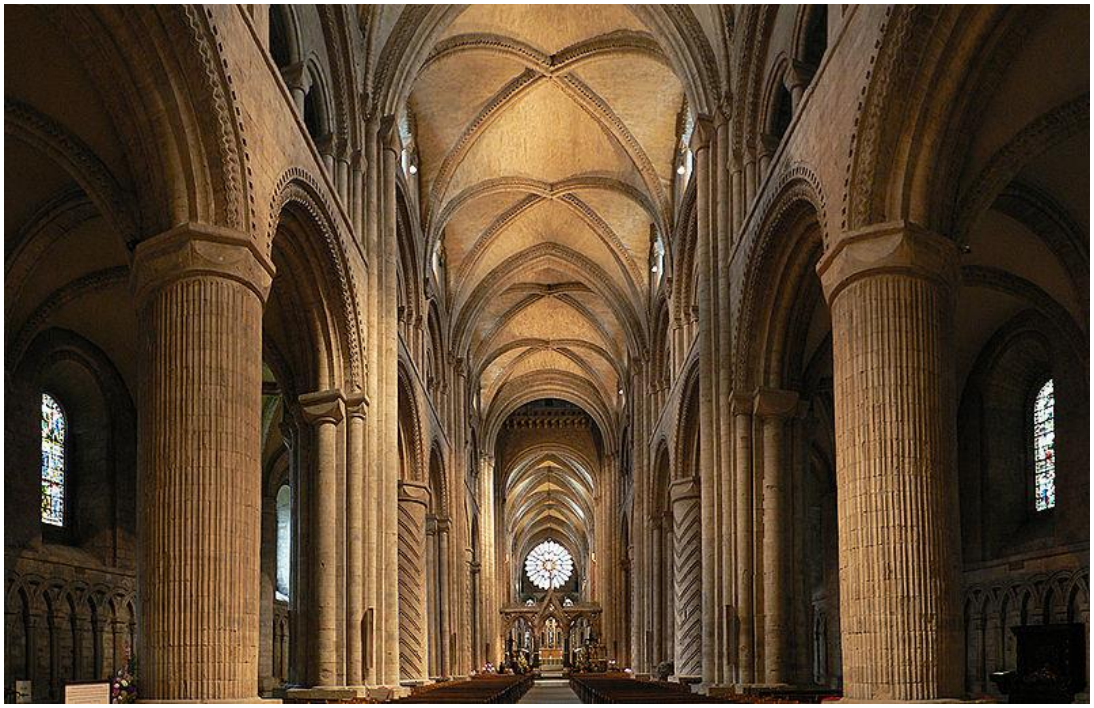
Gerrard et al. (131) pointed out evidence that they were likely not as unruly and beast-like as Haselrigge stated. They noted that "the Scots probably made efforts to organise themselves in the cramped conditions."

One such example of this organization was the oily patches of magnesium nitrate that seeped up through flagstones in the transepts and choir in 1967 and were determined by archaeologists as most likely caused by urine, probably from the Scottish prisoners, reacting with the stone. (Gerrard et al. 131-132) In addition, Gerrard et al. (130) noted that there are scorch marks on stones in several locations in the nave and one in the choir, which could have been caused by braziers the Scots used to keep warm.

If the evidence about the magnesium nitrate and the scorch marks have been interpreted correctly, then the prisoners would probably have organized themselves at least enough to have established a pattern of use of the space within the cathedral. They probably spent most of their time in the warmer west end of the cathedral with several of the braziers in this area, especially as the weather turned colder, and had established the colder east end as their toilet. (Gerrard et al. 132)

How Much Damage Did the Prisoners Cause to the Cathedral?: Myths and Evidence

For a long time, there have been beliefs that held the Scots prisoners responsible for the destruction of items within the cathedral. For example, fictional accounts claim that they seriously damaged the tombs of the Neville family within the cathedral's south aisle because of either Scottish iconoclasm or their resentment of the Neville family's association with a battle in 1346, in which the Scots had been defeated. However, Gerrard et al. (129-130) questions this, noting that "image-stripping" had started in the 1500s under a Puritan dean and that it is difficult to believe that the prisoners could cause much damage to stonework as they had been stripped of their weaponry. It is also difficult to determine from antiquarian records what damage was caused by the Scottish prisoners of 1650 and the Scottish troops who had been there during the Civil War in 1640. (Gerrard et al. Lives 131)



Another view of the interior of the cathedral (photo credit: Oliver-Bonjoch [CC BY-SA 3.0 (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0)])

Another long-held belief is that the prisoners stripped the cathedral of its woodwork to use as fuel. This is more credible as the prisoners would have needed to keep warm as autumn turned to winter. As noted before, Haselrigge claimed to have supplied coals to the prisoners but this may only have been supplied to the sick in the castle and not to those in the cathedral. (Gerrard et al. 131) If they had no coals but did have braziers, then they must have found other fuel sources.

As evidence that they turned to the woodwork for fuel, Gerrard et al. (130) mentions documents from 1660 and 1663 that record the lack of seats in the choir and the replacement of the font destroyed by the Scots. The prisoners may have also used manuscripts from the cathedral's library. Isaac Gilpin, the keeper of the library in 1650, recorded that he had been occupied with "removing [books and other goods] to another place for better security, the Scotch prisoners having got into the next room, and with 24 hours afterwards into the Library, and spoiled and burned whatever they found there." (Gerrard et al. 131)

As part of the narrative of the destruction of the woodwork, there is an tale, likely apocryphal, that the Scots spared the cathedral's clock because it had a thistle (a symbol of Scotland) carved into it. A book from 1655-6, however, noted "But in the yeare 1650 this Abbey churc[h] was made a prison for the Scotts and quite defaced w(i)thin…But in the yeare 1655 the Clocke and Chyme was

repayred againe w(hi)ch was taken downe and preserved from the s(ai)d ruyne." (*Rites of Durham*, quoted in Gerrard et al. 130-131) It should be noted that the owner of book was a recusant Catholic and Royalist. Therefore, the level of damage described by the Scots—who were Presbyterian and formerly associated in Durham with Parliamentary forces in the Civil War—may have been biased (Gerrard et al. 130-131). That said, the account does indicate that the clock may have escaped damage at the hands of the prisoners because it was not actually in the cathedral at the time.

Whatever damage was caused by the Scots, the guards were certainly not blameless. At least some of the guards took advantage of the situation, stealing items of value from the cathedral and mistreating the prisoners. Gerrard et al. (129) gives the example of a guard by the name of Brewen, "a man of badd conscien and a Cruell fellowe to the poore prisoners," who was accused of stealing and selling the lectern from the cathedral choir.

Long-hushed Voices

Unfortunately, one perspective we are missing is that of the prisoners themselves. Recent archaeology and records research has done much to give a voice back to these men to a degree and uncover their true experience but there is still so much that is not known.

As for Alexander, we still do not know the specifics of his stay in Durham, such as the exact state of his health, how he behaved and coped with these ordeals, or whether any of the dead were his kin, friends, or comrades-at-arms. What is known is that, whatever his experience, it would have been difficult. However, it is certain that he was among those who trudged into Durham and were locked up in the cathedral and that when Haselrigge sent 150 men to be indentured, Alexander was healthy enough to one of them.

Memorial on the Palace Green, Durham, where mass graves of Scottish soldiers were found (photo credit: Durham University)

London, Boston and Indentured Servitude

Determining the Fates of the Survivors

Two days after the battle, Cromwell (quoted in Sadler and Serdiville 91) wrote:

> "After much deliberacion, we can find no way hoe to dispose of these prisoners that will be consisting with these two ends. (to witt, the not loosing, & the not starving them neither of which would we willingly incur) but be sending them into England, where the Council of State may exercise their wisdom & better judgment in so dispersing & disposing of them, as they may not suddenly return to your prejudice. We have dispatched neer 5000 poore wretches of them, verie of which it's probable will dye of their wounds or be so rendered unserviceable for time to come by reason thereof. I have written to the Council of State desiring them to direct how they shall be disposed of, and I make no question but you will hastne the prisoners up southward, and second my desires with your owne to the Councill."

So soon after the battle, Cromwell was faced with a dilemma as Carlson (3) summed up, "The disposition of such a large number of prisoners presented the English authorities with a dilemma: to maintain them as prisoners would prove costly, and to release them could prove dangerous to the security of the Commonwealth." Cromwell's answer was seemingly to leave the decision-making about the prisoners up to the Council of State.

"The Council of State, for its part," according to Gerrard et al. (152), "speedily shifted the responsibility on to a Committee of Examinations to consider the 'disposal of the Scotch prisoners.'" According to Carlson (3), this shift took place one week after the battle.

The chief decision-maker on this committee would be Gualter Frost, secretary of the Council, and a man "not above promoting his own personal interests in this matter," (Gerrard et al. 152). On September 16, Frost was directed to "confer with the persons who have propounded taking off some of the Scotch prisoners, as to the terms upon which they will transport them beyond the seas." (quote from Gerrard et al. 152; date from Carlson 4) In essence, individuals had already expressed interest in obtaining—or in other words, buying—prisoners as indentured servants to be transported and used as labor.

The Diaspora of the Scottish Prisoners

An estimated 1,300 prisoners survived Durham. There were some who, in the summer of 1652, were allowed to return home. But others would end up scattered across Europe and overseas. (Gerrard et al. 153) Some of the first of these were sent to the coal mines, according to a letter from the Council to Haselrigge dated 10 September 1650. Others remained in Northeast England, working at the salt pans or establishing a linen trade while others were sent further south to labor on a drainage project in the Fens on England's east coast. Yet others were sent further afield to serve in the continuing campaign in Ireland formerly led by Cromwell (a campaign which will be discussed later) or as

mercenaries in France. Finally, a number of men were transported even further to the West Indies, Virginia, and New England. (Gerrard et al. Ch. 6) Alexander was part of the latter group.

Sir Arthur Haselrigge

Sold and Sent to London

Among the individuals with whom Frost conferred were Frost's partners in the Company of Undertakers of the Iron Works in New England, John Becx and Joshua Foote. "Becx and Foote specified that the prisoners selected be 'well and sound, and free from wounds.'" (Carlson 4) Becx, a London-based speculator, purchased about 150 men, including Alexander, for £5 each. Amongst his business interests were sawmills and ironworks in New England. (Gerrard et al. 171)

On 23 October 1650, the Council had, after temporarily halting the project "until assurance be given of their not being carried where they be dangerous" (Carlson 4), determined that "their ship is ready and the place is without danger." They sent a letter to Haselrigge on November 3, giving him orders "to deliver 150 Scotch prisoners to Augustine Walker, master of the *Unity* to be transported to New England." (Gerrard et al. 171)

Haselrigge decided to send the selected Scots to London by water, rather than over land (Carlson 4), stating:

> "And for those that are well, if Major Clarke could have believed that they had been able to have marched on Foot, he would have marched them by Land; but we perceive that divers that are seemingly healthy, and have not at all been sick, suddenly die; and we cannot give any Reason for it, only we apprehend they are all infected; and that the strength of some holds out till it reaches their very Hearts." (Banks 11)

There was a delay in getting underway when "[o]n November 7 the Council ordered Major Clarke to 'Have a copy of the information given in concerning

the ill-usage of the Scotch prisoners now on board a ship, on his own and others account, and to give in their answers to morrow.'" (Banks 12; Carlson 4)

Panorama of London (before the Great Fire of 1666)

The Voyage of the *Unity*

Whatever the results of that order, on November 11, the Council issued sailing orders to Walker. The *Unity* likely embarked immediately thereafter. (Carlson 4)

Carlson (4) stated that it "most unlikely was an unpleasant experience for the Scots" with the accommodations aboard the *Unity* likely being "far from spacious." The Unity was a ketch and probably similar to the two-masted fishing vessels then found along the New England coast. (Gerrard et al. 172)

Based on descriptions of similar voyages at the time, Gerrard et al. (172-173) extrapolated that:

> "The men had nothing beyond the clothes on their backs, and on other voyages no beds or blankets were provided; food and water often ran short. There might have been poor weather, seasickness certainly, and the men shared the cramped space with other cargo such as iron, lead and livestock. There was ample time to get to know each other well…"

Carlson (4) stated that a normal voyage from London to Boston lasted about six weeks but Gerrard et al. pointed out that six weeks was normal for "favourable seasons," as opposed to during the winter, as was the case here.

No passenger list is extant for the *Unity*, though records subsequently created in New England allow us to reconstruct a list of men who definitely, probably, and possibly were transported aboard the ship. (Gerrard et al. 173)

Carlson (4) guessed that "a death rate approaching ten percent would not have been unreasonable given the crowded conditions and their general state after two months of confinement in England." However, Gerrard et al. stated no deaths were recorded on board the *Unity*, although a "Davison ye Scott" did die shortly after arrival. (Gerrard et al. 173) However, "there can be little doubt

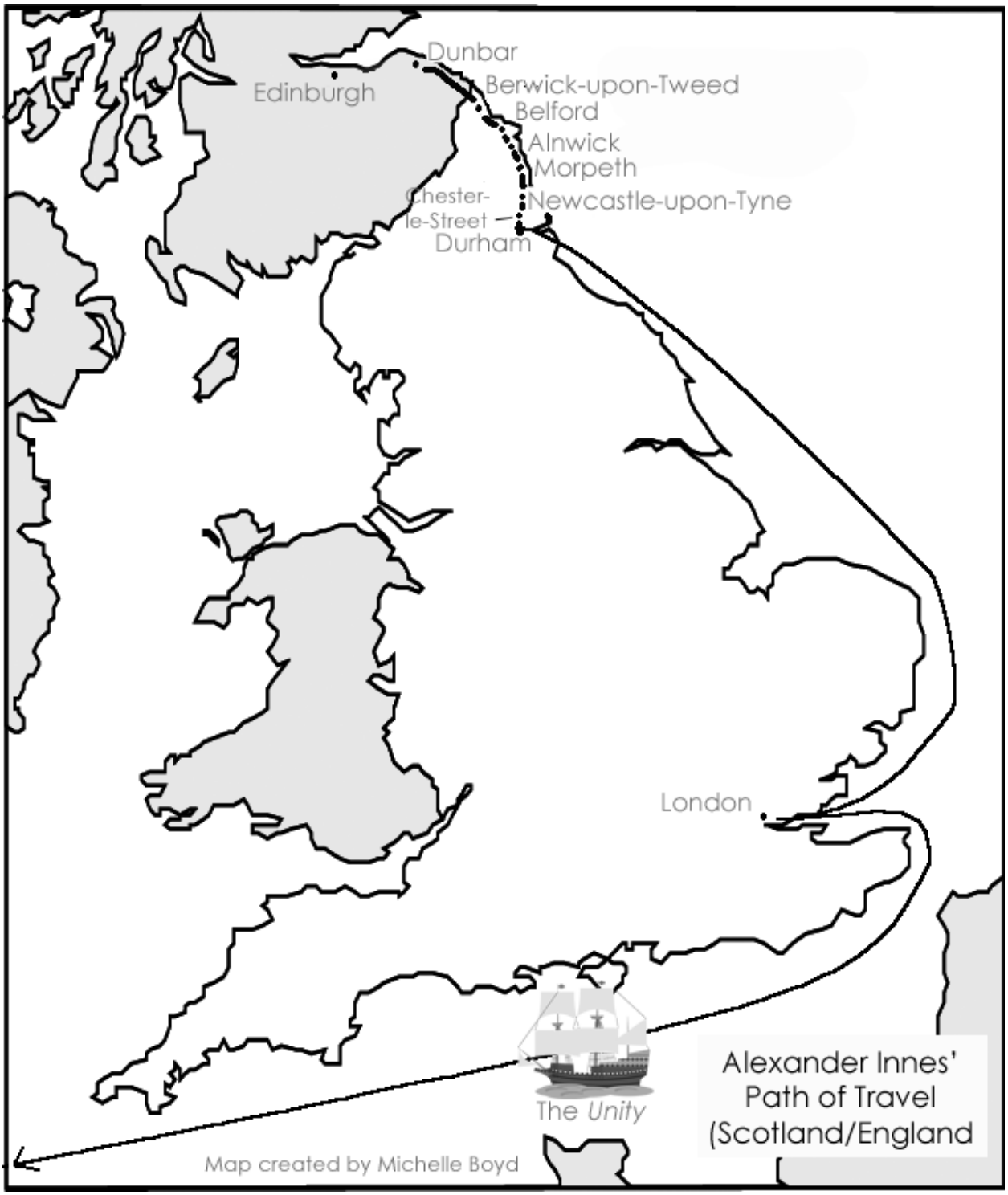
that the Dunbar men were not in good shape when they arrived." (Gerrard et al. 173)

Arrival at Boston and Indenture

The Scots would have arrived in Boston in about late December. (Gerrard et al. 174) Upon their arrival, the Scots began lives as indentured servants. The customary term of service for an indentured servant was seven years. (Carlson 5) However, one man, John Stewart, who was taken at Dunbar and sent to the ironworks, noted in a 1688 petition that he was "sold for eight years service to purchase my future freedom." (Banks 13)

They were divided up among different ventures, including to two businesses in which Becx had major interest. A group of 15 to 25 were sent to a sawmill in Maine. 62 were entrusted to John Giffard, the agent for undertakers of the ironworks at Saugus (then part of Massachusetts Bay Colony, now part of Essex county, Massachusetts). The rest were sold for profit as servants to local residents. (Carlson 5)

Alexander, as we shall see, was among those sent to the ironworks, where the first known record containing his name would later be recorded. He was now an indentured servant in a world that was vastly different than the world he had known.


Dunbar
Edinburgh
Berwick-upon-Tweed
Belford
Alnwick
Morpeth
Chester-
le-Street
Newcastle-upon-Tyne
Durham
London
The Unity
Alexander Innes'
Path of Travel
(Scotland/England
Map created by Michelle Boyd

The Saugus Ironworks

History of the Ironworks at Saugus

Even across the Atlantic, the Wars of the Three Kingdoms had had an impact. In the New England colonies, immigration had soared throughout the 1630s during the Puritan Great Migration. However, with the highly Puritan Parliamentary forces fighting the Royalists, the priorities of potential immigrants shifted:

> "The colony suffered an economic crisis when civil war erupted in England and Puritans planning emigration to the colony chose to stay in England to fight against the king. The 'Great Migration' dried up and ships bringing needed commodities came to port far less frequently. Iron, in particular, came to be in critically short supply, effectively halting the growth of the colony." (Regan & White 28)

Governor John Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay Colony realized that "dependence on English iron was a barrier to his vision of religious and political self-determination" and "that the time had come to develop the colony's native resources." (Regan & White 30)

His son, John Winthrop Jr. left for England in 1641, perhaps carrying samples of bog ore found in the colony earlier that year. (Gerrard et al. 174). There, he labored to recruit and bring over experienced workers from England and attract investors, including John Becx, who would later purchase the Scots prisoners.

> "Winthrop, Jr., brought together investors to form the Company of Undertakers of the Iron Works in New England. The venture was organized as a joint-stock company with shareholders investing varying amounts, from £50 to £2,000, in transferable shares." (Regan & White 30)

They were incorporated in 1645. (Gerrard et al. 175) The first of their two ironworks opened at Braintree but would not be as sophisticated as the ironworks at Saugus, built under the leadership of one Richard Leader, where Alexander would later be indentured.

> "Operating in what was considered the 'dessart Wildernesse' of the New World, the ironworks at Saugus was a large-scale manufacturing venture using the most advanced production methods of the seventeenth century...Originally called the 'iron works at Linn or Hammersmith,' the Saugus facility operated from 1646 to about 1670, when mismanagement and litigation brought production to a halt." (Regan & White 27)

Description of the Ironworks

The reconstructed Saugus Iron Works, as it appears today (photo credit: National Park Service)

Regan and White (32-34) described the advantages of building the site at Saugus:

> "Leader's 600-acre Saugus site contained ideal topographic features and plentiful natural resources to supply the era's most ambitious manufacturing venture. The setting provided a navigable river and a natural terrace that dropped precipitously to a flood plain below. The steep escarpment gave sufficient elevation to power waterwheels and to provide access to the tall stack of the blast furnace from above. Raw materials were shipped in and finished iron was shipped out with the high tides, while the river's freshwater flow was dammed and channeled through a sophisticated system of canals and watercourses. Rich deposits of bog ore were easily accessible. Additionally, Lynn township was able to provide a nonskilled workforce to help meet the labor demands of the ironworks."

The ironworks produced cast-iron and wrought-iron goods and one major commodity would have been nails. Lienhard explained,

> "Now, what do you suppose the primary product of the Saugus Works was? What do people need when they're trying to build cities from scratch? They need lots of nails. The Saugus smiths milled most of their wrought iron into thin strips. Then they slit those strips into small square rods and sold them to householders. It was up to the user to cut the square rods into short lengths and use small dies to shape points and heads on the nails. That kind of nail production was rare in Europe, but our needs weren't European needs. New wooden buildings were our first order of business in the 17th century. So the Saugus Iron Works was not just a well-put-together factory, it was a visionary response to basic need."

The Saugus plant was an integrated ironworks (Lienhard) Gerrard et al. (177) explained this further:

> "Dependent for its location and future success on local reserves of iron ore, charcoal and water power, this was the first facility of its kind in America to consolidate the full range of iron production and refinement at a single location."

So, in the "dessart Wildernesse" of Saugus, essentially every step of the process would have to be part of the operation, all the way from the mining of ore to the production, sales, and shipping of the finished items. This meant, as Regan &

White (38) noted, that some workers specialized in finding and smelting "bog ore charged with charcoal fuel" and the "harvesting and processing" of gabbro, an igneous rock that was used uniquely at Saugus as flux in the ironworking process.

The facilities included:

> "a blast furnace, a forge, and a rolling and slitting mill...The industrial yard also included two blacksmith shops, a coal house, a warehouse and dock, and sundry ancillary buildings. Workers built an elaborate water-power system, beginning with the construction of a great dam upstream on the Saugus River...From the dam, water was channeled through a sixteen-hundred-foot-long canal to a holding pond and on to sluiceways, which fed waterwheels that powered equipment in each of the three main iron-making buildings. Company boats carried the iron products to a Boston warehouse, where a company clerk coordinated their sale and shipment to various domestic and international ports, including London and Barbados." (Regan & White 27)

The Ironworks Community

The ironworks employed about 35 skilled workers, who resided at Hammersmith village, which included houses and gardens for the workmen and their families, an orchard, and a "field of English grass." In addition, up to 185 people were employed for part-time or occasional work. Women were recorded in the ironworks accounts, receiving payment for washing and mending services and medical care. Two Native Americans were also mentioned being paid for woodcutting for the plant. Some of the workers were indentured servants, who had voluntarily exchanged a specified number of years' labor for passage to the New World. (Regan & White 34-36)

This community was different from other communities in Massachusetts Bay Colony. "Iron making was hard, dirty, and dangerous labor and many of the English ironworkers were coarse and unruly. Their inclinations and rough behavior made them outsiders in the staunchly Puritan colony." (Regan & White 34-36)

Reconstructed forge with water-powered bellows at Saugus Ironworks (photo credit: Daderot at en.wikipedia [CC BY-SA 3.0 (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/)])

Arrival of the Scots

It was in this unique community that Alexander would spend at least the next several years of his life. In 1650, John Gifford took over as the managing agent at Saugus. (Regan & White 36) To him would fall the task of overseeing the 62 Scottish prisoners when they arrived.

As stated before, the exact date of the Scots' arrival at Saugus is not known. However, they must have been there by at least April of 1651, as Giffard's account book records an initial payment for food for the Scots in that month. (Carlson 5) "They came from Boston by boat, and arrived in poor health, as payments for medicine and medical assistance attest," as Carlson (5) surmised.

Carlson (8) guessed that, based on the depositions later made by some of the Scots, most would have been between 19 and 35 at arrival. Considering the archaeological evidence at Durham, this is likely fairly accurate. Most, if not all, of the Scots of Hammersmith were probably in their late teens or early twenties in 1651.

Their Status at Saugus

Indentured servitude was common throughout the colonies in the 1600s. An article from the Smithsonian's *Written in Bone* exhibit website described the typical experience of an indentured servant:

> "Indentured servants were mostly young men between the ages of 15 and 25 years, who signed contracts in England to work in the colonies without wages. Up to 75 percent of all the individuals who came off the transatlantic ships in the 17th century were indentured servants…Once a servant arrived, a colonist would reimburse the contracting company for the individual's voyage expenses and would then put the man or woman to work without pay for four to seven years. The servant's master provided food and lodging, as stipulated in the indented contract. After they had completed their service, the servants were provided with three barrels of corn, some tools for the land, a new set of clothes, and 50 acres. For many, signing on as an indentured servant was the only way to emigrate and improve their position in life. Others, such as 'vagrant children and idle fellows [or criminals]…for suspicion of stealing two wastcoats [sent] to Virginia 6 May 1635,' (Samuel Ives, Bridewell Records, 1635) did not choose for themselves life in the colony."

As with other indentured servants, most of the Scots received no pay but were provided with shelter, clothes, food, and such essential provisions. "It seems that even these were impinged upon. In court testimony, William Emory testified that in addition to the 13 or more Scots lodged in a house built specifically for them, many other workers were crowded into the space..." (Regan & White 38)

The expense for the boarding of these workers was, according to Emory, "charged to the Scots' accounts." (Carlson 8) In his deposition, he also claimed "that barrels of beef for the Scots were short having first been opened by Gifford, that mackerel and soap meant for the Scots was given to Samuel Bennett, and that biscuits purchased for the Scots went to Giffard's family and other workmen." (Carlson 8)

Meanwhile, the investors back in London felt that Gifford was spending *too much* on the Scots (which might have been true if Gifford was providing the Scots with just enough to get by and including some more to skim off the top for himself). Becx wrote to Gifford:

> "We wrott you that we desired the Scotts should be dietted by some ther in the Country by those that would have (supplied the) best and cheapest and not to have it done by you at such a high Rate the Company not being willing to allow above 3 s 6 d per week and you being 5 s." (Banks 24)

Becx asserted that this sum was sufficient considering what provisions were available locally, "you haveing ther plenty of fish, both fresh and salte and pidgions and venison and corne and pease at a very cheape Rate." (quoted by Carlson 7)

As for anything distributed after their term of service was over, it is not known whether the Scots were promised or given anything. Since Alexander would have been released at a time when the ironworks was experiencing financial difficulties, it is doubtful that he received much, if anything at all.

It is important to remember that the Scots were *forced labor*. They were sold, transported against their will, and expected to provide labor for those who had bought them for a term stipulated by contract. They did not choose this, and it changed the course of their lives forever, as we will touch upon later.

However, this forced labor was temporary, lasting for the length of an indenture, and seems to have extended only to themselves, not to their children. And this non-perpetual nature of their indentures and the perception of the colonists of their decent treatment (despite the accusation of Gifford's skimming) seemed to justify the situation, at least in the mind of one prominent minister, as Banks (14) noted:

> "As far as known this was the first experience of New England people in this kind of human traffic, and it is apparent that Rev. John Cotton felt the need of making some explanation, a sort of plea in abeyance, for the share in the affair which some of his friends promoted. In a letter to Cromwell dated July 28, 1651, he describes this camouflaged peonage, though why he should suppose that Oliver had any qualms about it is a puzzle. He wrote:
> 'The Scots, whom God delivered into your hand at Dunbarre, and whereof sundry were sent hither, we have been desirous (as we could) to make their yoke easy. Such as were sick of the scurvy or other diseases have not wanted physick and chyrurgery. They have not been sold for slaves to perpetuall servitude, but for 6 or 7 or 8 yeares, as we do our owne; and he that bought the most of them (I heare) buildeth houses for them, for every 4 an house, layeth some acres of ground thereto, which he giveth them as their owne,

> requiring 3 dayes in the weeke to worke for him (by turnes) and 4 dayes for themselves, and promiseth, assoone as they can repay him the money he layed out for them, he will set them at liberty.'"

Later in 1651, another group of Scots prisoners, this time from the Battle of Worcester, arrived in the colony. Banks felt that Cotton's justification impacted how this new group was treated:

> "This second consignment of human freight found a wider distribution among the towns of Massachusetts and the adjacent provinces, as the story of the first consignment had whetted the envy of those who had failed to procure cheap labor from this new kind of auction block. It had the sanction of John Cotton and that was enough to deaden the New England conscience." (Banks 24)

Living Conditions

Carlson (7) stated, "The majority of the Scots resided in a single structure called the 'Scotchmen's house' about a mile from the Lynn plant." It was framed by Samuel Bennett, a carpenter who had built much of the plant on his own land (a move that the undertakers disapproved of and refused to pay for), and "consisted of two rooms arranged around a central chimney, and had a cellar room." (Carlson 7) Banks calculated that in 1653, the 37 Scots still there had "11 beds and bolsters with 22 Coverletts and blanckets among the Scotts" (1653 inventory, quoted by Banks 24) and likely slept in groups of up to three per bed.

Carlson (7) noted that there were other housing arrangements, as well: "The remaining Scots lived with other workers, although one account item refers to the purchase of nails for 'the Scotts Cabbins,' indicating that the company had other quarters for them as well as the Scotchmen's house."

During their time at the ironworks, they also became a part of the community, to a degree, however unequally they may have been treated. A May 1652 court order dictated that any Scots, along with any Blacks or Native Americans, who resided with or were servants to the English were to participate in the military training required of other community members. (Carlson 8) Some Scots married women locally while yet in service, as well as after their indentures. (Carlson 8)

However, Saxbe stated that:

> "Relations with the surrounding Puritan communities were not always smooth: a local observer noted that 'At the Iron Works wee founde all the men wth smutty faces and bare armes working lustily…The headmen be of substance and godlie lives. But some of the workmen be young, and fond of frolicking, and sometimes doe frolicke to such purpose that they get before the magistrates. And it be said, m(u)ch to their discredit that one or two hath done naughtie workes with the maidens living thereabouts.'" (NYGBR 129:233)

Types of Labor Performed by the Scots

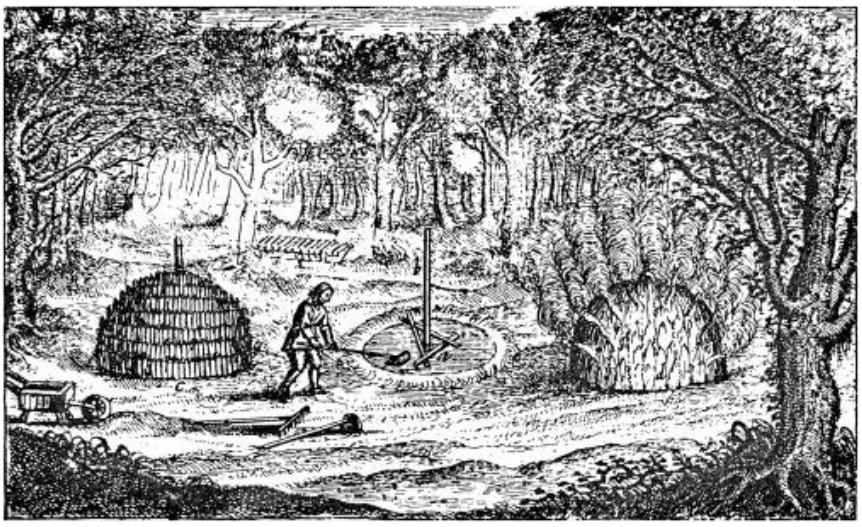
The majority of the Scots were considered non-skilled laborers. They largely performed jobs that supported the ironworks' operations and community, such

as farming, cattle herding, woodcutting, and so on. "Iron making was a multifaceted process requiring a complex set of specialized skilled employees and a myriad of support workers." (Regan & White 38)

As such, the Scots were often employed in capacities that, on the surface, do not seem directly related to working iron. As explained before, Hammersmith was an integrated facility and involved obtaining and processing bog ore and gabbro and the making of charcoal. "Harvesting and processing each of these resources required a different set of skills." (Regan & White 38)

Miners provided the ore and gabbro. Two Scots, Thomas Kelton and James Gourdan, are known to have assisted in the harvesting of bog ore. (Regan & White 38) Colliers and their assistants produced the charcoal:

> "[A]t least nine men and their Scottish woodcutters worked regularly in this capacity. [The colliers] made charcoal in the nearby forests by burning cords of wood that had been carefully piled into rounded mounds and topped with earth, leaves, and dust. They erected hurdles (woven twig screens) around the mounds as a wind break. The collier lit a fire in the mound's center and thereafter worked to maintain a slow smoldering fire that would char the wood evenly." (Regan & White 38)



Charcoal making in the 1600s

Mining bog ore

Some Scots would have been employed in the actual production of cast and wrought iron. (Gerrard et al. 195-198) At least one Scot was involved in smithing:

> "The ironworks operated its own blacksmith shop, located near the warehouse, to manufacture tools and repair iron mechanisms. Blacksmith Samuel Hart and his Scottish assistant John Clark likely produced tongs, ringers, smith's shears, nails, hammers, coal rakes, shovels, cinder hooks, "ships" for making furrows in casting sand, agricultural tools for the farm, and hinges and other hardware for company houses and buildings." (Regan & White 46)

A partially slit bar from the excavation of the slitting mill at Saugus
(Photo credit: Richard Merrill, 1954)

Some of the Scots were sent back to Boston to handle yet another aspect of the business:

> "In Boston, William Awbery and his staff of seventeen Scots managed a warehouse and pier to handle the sale and shipment of the iron products to local and overseas markets. Records indicate that Hammersmith iron went to Kittery and Portsmouth, Maine, Connecticut, Barbados, and England." (Regan & White 48)

To maintain the self-sufficiency of this colonial community, a farm was established to help feed the workers and others at the ironworks. "'[Y]e worke down on ye farme,' we are told, 'was mostly donn by ye Scotts'." (Gerrard et al. 187-188) There were arable fields to be cleared and worked. Oxen teams, as well as at least one horse, were used in the operations. Cattle were kept by the Scots—some belonging to the company, others belonging to individual community members and looked after for a fee. Other livestock, such as pigs, sheep, and goats, were also kept. (Gerrard et al. 188)

It is not known what work Alexander may have undertaken, though he could have taken on multiple tasks, rather than a single role. "Some men moved about between tasks, while others settled into a more permanent routine and were sub-contracted by free employees for lengthier spells." (Gerrard et al. 187)

While most of the Scots were unpaid, there were some exceptions, however, and a few of the Scots managed to receive wages for skilled work, such as handling ox teams, mining, coaling, and carpentry. One Scot was even paid as Gifford's own house servant until the investors found out. Alexander was not listed in the account books as one of these payees. (Regan & White 38)

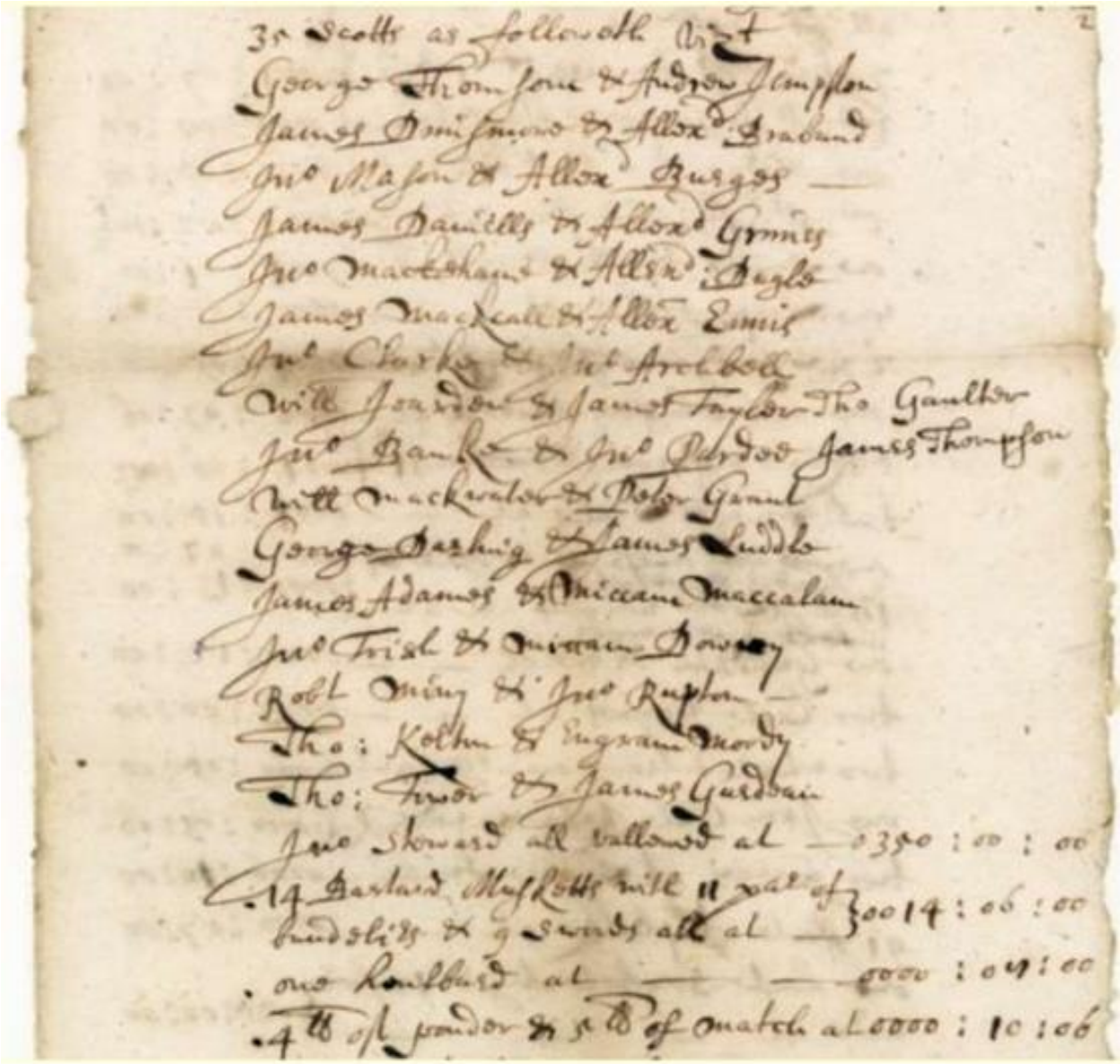
Overall, the London undertakers seem to have disapproved of how Gifford employed the Scots. They demanded an accounting "as for instance how many Scotts you have in your imployment…as alsoe what is become of all the rest that were undisposed over," stating that if Gifford had sold half of the men "you should have as yett 30 more Remaineing at the works to have don[e] your busines compleat that you could not have wants [of] comen hands nor stock." (quoted in Carlson 6-7)

Reconstructed water-powered trip hammer at Saugus
(photo credit: Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site)

The First Record of Alexander, 1653

Not all of the Scots remained at the ironworks. Throughout 1651, they were reassigned or sold elsewhere until on December 16, the account books note that there were 28 Scots still at Saugus and stayed at the number until August 1652, when the numbers rose but never returned to the number of 61 that had been recorded in the account books in April of 1651. (Carlson 5)

"[B]y 1653 only 37 Scots were listed as company property on an ironworks inventory." (Regan & White 38) The 1653 inventory detailed the company's property and included a list of 35 Scots (pictured below), the men collectively valued at £350. (see also Regan & White 39, Gerrard et al. 185)



List of Scottish prisoners from the 1653 Hammersmith Ironworks inventory with the collective value at the bottom of the list (fourth or fifth line from the bottom "Allex. Ennis" is on the seventh line down.

"Allex. Ennis" is one of the men on this list. This is the earliest known record of Alexander. It is from this record that we can determine that he was at the Battle of Dunbar, on the death march to Durham, imprisoned at Durham Cathedral, and indentured at Saugus. We can also know from this record that he had remained there as an indentured servant until at least 1653.

Decline of the Ironworks

The reason that an inventory was taken was due to the questionable state of the ironworks' finances under Gifford.

> "Although production reached its peak under Gifford's management, debts mounted as he expended considerable amounts refurbishing structures and equipment to bring the works up to optimum condition...Concerns about Gifford's business practices prompted the Company's investors to elect four local commissioners, Robert Bridges, Joshua Foote, Henry Webb, and William Tyng, to supervise the operation." (Regan & White 50)

Gifford resented the control given to these men and was uncooperative. While he refused at first to give an account of the business, he finally relented but his version was inconsistent with what the commissioners found in the inventory.

> "It was also apparent that Gifford had no compunction about using Company servants, stock, and materials for his personal benefit. In 1653, the investors removed Gifford from his post." (Regan & White 50)

Gifford also disagreed with the valuation of the Scots and gave a value of £20 per man, double the value given in the inventory. (Banks 24, Carlson 8) He stated "that they were worth at least double, and in some cases even more," some of them having been taught various trades and "'would neare have managed the Compa[ny's] business themselves, and have saved them many hundreds of pounds in a yeare.'" (Carlson 8)

Gifford was sued and arrested. "Multiple lawsuits ensued and while large creditors were paid, small creditors and workers were not. Workers petitioned the court for their back wages." (Regan & White 50)

Unfortunately, this would impact the workers. According to Gifford, "the poore laboring men … for want of which pay some of them are in a Sadd Condition one at the gates of death." Henry Webb, the commissioner, confirmed that "there are manie poor workmen, country men mine carriers colliers & cole carters & other workmen do make a grievous complt for paymnt of their wages." (both quoted in Regan & White 52)

It is unclear if the unpaid Scots fared as poorly at this point as the workmen, though it would be reasonable to suppose so. However, what became of them is known. "Like other property, the Scots were handed over to its creditors in 1653." (Carlson 8)

The business would struggle. Finally, in the late 1660s, with the new owner's estate burdened with debt, the ironworks would finally end operations. (Regan

& White 52) Alexander, however, as we shall see, had left the ironworks behind sometime between 1653 and 1657.

It, however, led to a wider diaspora of the Scots in New England:

> "The demise and failure of the Saugus ironworks caused the disbursal of the 'many ingenious heads and hands' recruited in England by the Company of Undertakers and created a lineage of iron production facilities throughout the northeastern United States...Each brought along displaced skilled workers from Saugus, including Scottish prisoners, and helped to spread specialized knowledge of ironworking to the new colonies." (Regan & White 52-54)

The Scots Build New Lives in a New Land

The Scots, once free of their indenture, as far as can be ascertained, stayed in the New World. But why didn't they go home? The course, *Archaeology and the Battle of Dunbar 1650*, (Reflections, Week 4) offered an explanation:

> "One reason may be because they did not have the resources to do so. In the years immediately after their indenture came to an end, debts may have tied the Scots to people and places. Back in Britain, even after King Charles II regained his father's throne in May 1660, the new political situation made no tangible difference to their situation. There was, for example, no offer of repatriation or compensation. As time went by, a little money could be saved but by then the Dunbar men were mostly married and had children. By now they were invested in the future, both financially and personally. Many had acquired land and property which they would have been unable to do had they stayed in Scotland. At the end of their lives, the Dunbar Scots would have been cared for by relatives who had no connection with Scotland and preferred them to be buried nearby. Given that there is no mention of loved ones left behind in Scotland in their wills in New England, it can safely be assumed that the Dunbar Scots had become wholly absorbed into their new lives. By this time, late in life, they were presumably uncertain what had become of their relatives in Scotland."

Catherine

Unsupported Claims about Catherine's Last Name

Alexander was married to an Irishwoman by the name of Catherine by 1656. I have seen several secondary sources in recent times that have made unsourced claims that Catherine's last name was Briggs. I seriously doubt those claims.

Lack of primary source documentation

Firstly, I have yet to see anything in primary source documentation that confirms this information.

I must here address a reference to Catherine as a Briggs in Sadler and Serdiville (139), which can be found at the end of a pair of sentences relating to Alexander Innes and his wife. Immediately after the second sentence, there is a reference to an endnote, which cites the original (and now outdated) version of my own biography of Alexander and Catherine, which this biography replaces. This would, I fear, imply to readers that the maiden name of Briggs is attributed to me, along with the other information in those sentences.

However, this is not the case. While all the other information is familiar to me and does appear in both the older version and this version of the biography, I have never listed Catherine as a Briggs, have no notes of the Briggs name in connection to Catherine, and, in fact, never saw her referred to as a Briggs until *at least a decade after* I wrote the original biography.

I suspect this spurious last name, rather, to have arisen, as too many other unsourced ancestral maiden names, apocryphally—this one, in particular, in recent years and on the Internet.

Inconsistency within the historical context

Secondly, Briggs is not a name of Irish origin. MacLysaght lists Briggs as a surname found in "modern Ireland" (20th century) but notes that it was among the *English* surnames that appeared in Ulster (the northern province of Ireland) by 1659. If theories, which we will discuss later, about how Catherine arrived in New England are correct, she was probably taken from the southern coast of Ireland, not Ulster in the north, making it even less likely that she had a last name that emerged that that time period in Ulster.

Additionally, Catherine appears in a 1656/7 Plymouth Colony court record, where she is called an *Irishwoman*. While the word "by" in the MacLysaght entry seems to acknowledge the possibility of that surname being present in Ulster at an earlier date, it is unlikely that the first person of that name in Ireland arrived there that much earlier. If she were of an Anglo-Protestant family in Ulster, she would almost certainly not have been referred to as Irish, considering the negative image that the English had of the Gaelic Irish. She was more likely from a native Gaelic Irish/Catholic background.

Therefore, due to lack of evidence and inconsistency of such a name in that historical context, **I am highly skeptical of the Briggs name.**

However, if someone should have primary source documentation that provides evidence of her maiden name, Briggs or otherwise, I would be deeply grateful for this information. **As of yet, though, her last name remains unknown.** So, too, does her townland and county of origin in Ireland.

An Irishwoman of the mid-1600s

(Note: This image is meant to merely illustrate a typical Irishwoman of the period**. It is NOT a portrait of Catherine** and is only intended to give readers an idea how she likely dressed while in Ireland. This image should not be represented as a picture of Catherine.)

While a more modern map, the above map of Ireland gives a general idea of the locations of the provinces of Munster, Leinster, Ulster, and Connaught, as well as counties and major towns.

A Theory about Catherine's Origin

However, the fact that she was called an Irishwoman in the records begs the question: How did an Irishwoman, who was likely Catholic, end up in a predominately English and Puritan colony? Such an environment would not seem a natural choice for her. Or was it even her choice?

Saxbe proposed a theory that "perhaps *[Catherine]* was one of Cromwell's deportees from his campaign in Ireland; several hundred Irish captives were landed at Marblehead, not far from Lynn, in 1654." (NYGBR 129:233) Indeed, it seems that Alexander was not the only Scot to have married an Irish wife. According to Moriarty (RIHSC 13:31), the prisoners' wives "were some times the daughters of the New England Puritans, but more often the 'Irish maids' who were shipped to New England as servants in 1654."

Details about the captives at Marblehead were provided by O'Brien (89):

> "It is evident that a large proportion of the 550 Irish captives brought over in the Goodfellow in 1654 were landed at the port of Marblehead, and it is probable that many of those in need of farm laborers, who came to Marblehead to purchase their time and services from the captain of the vessel, were Essex County farmers. In the vital records of the townships of Beverly, Danvers, Gloucester, Ipswich, Lynn, Manchester, Newbury, Peabody, Rowley, Salem, Salisbury and Topsfield in Essex County, there are occasional references to these people. And in the files of the Quarterly Court, wills, deeds, and other records, may be found the names, not only of Irish 'indentured servants,' but in later years of former Irish 'servants' engaged in various business callings, or cultivators of lands of which they themselves were the owners."

Ireland and the Plantation of Ulster

To understand how and why the *Goodfellow* Irish were taken captive in the first place, some historical context is needed. As mentioned before, Ireland, like Britain, was in a state of unrest. It was under English control but alienated by Charles I and his lord deputy, Wentworth, who had expanded a policy of plantation, the confiscation of land from the Irish and colonization of that land by settlers from England and Scotland. Under them, it became a "decisive, transformative event…partly financed by private capital through the various merchant companies in the city of London." Known as the Plantation of Ulster, a primarily Anglo-Scottish Protestant group of settlers displaced the Irish in Northern Ireland (Kileen 86).

In Ireland, under Wentworth, as Gentles (41) noted, "No Catholic landowner any longer felt that his property was safe." And so "England's refusal to allow the Gaelic Old Irish the liberty to practise the Roman Catholic religion" and "the steady eating away of what remained of the Irish birthright through the policy of Protestant colonization" would fuel the flames of an uprising. (Gentles 50)

But the reconvening of Parliament was even more concerning to the Irish:

> "Catholics, Old English [the Anglo-Irish, who had settled in Ireland well before the Plantation of Ulster] and Gaelic alike, feared the new Puritan radicalism of the English parliament which they knew to be an enemy to their church. Wentworth and the king had been bad: parliament threatened to be a lot worse (and proved to be so in the fullness of time)." (Kileen 92)

Joyce (155) added:

> "As to the plantations, no one could tell where they might stop; and there was a widespread fear that the people of the whole country might be cleared off to make place for new settlers. Besides all this, those who had been dispossessed longed for the first opportunity to fall on the settlers and regain their homes and farms."

The Rebellion of 1641

In 1641, a rebellion was planned but it failed in Dublin, However, in Ulster, it not only succeeded, with emotions running high amongst the oppressed and dispossessed Irish there, it quickly spiraled out of control. "There was no over-arching plan to exterminate planter culture. Rather, the widespread chaos and anarchy took the leaders of the rising by surprise, and calls for discipline went unheard." (Hegerty 129) Kileen (92-93) stated,

> "It was all too easy to recall the sundry humiliations that Ulster Catholics had endured since the plantation. Now they had the enemy at their mercy…Men, women and children, without regard for age and sex, were butchered or turned out on the roads naked in the depth of winter. Houses, farmsteads and other holdings were destroyed in an elemental outburst of revenge. This was the work of the marginalized Catholic masses, not of their leaders: a people who had been reduced to penury in their own land, impoverished and disregarded."

About 4,000 settlers were killed by the rebels and 8,000 refugees died from exposure and starvation. (Hegerty 129-130)

In England, reports of the violence spread. "Before long London was flooded with pamphlets purporting to describe, in the most lurid detail, the genocidal acts of the Catholic Irish against the Protestant English settlers. Both the number and the nature of these atrocities were wildly exaggerated…" (Gentles 34) The pamphlets and the accounts of refugees who returned to England "drove a deeper wedge between Charles I and his English parliament. Many concluded that events in Ireland were only the prologue to a Catholic rising in England with foreign support, and accompanied by parallel atrocities." (Gentles 34)

An example of the propaganda circulated in England after the Rebellion of 1641

In response, the Catholic clergy made an effort to unite the Gaelic Irish and the Anglo-Irish Catholics. On 24 October 1642, the Confederation of Kilkenny, an assembly of delegates from both sides met together. "They earnestly repudiated the appellation of rebels, maintaining that they were loyal subjects, standing up for the king, who they said would do them justice if he were not restrained by the Puritans." Joyce (158)

Left: James Butler, 1st Earl of Ormond

However, things did not work so smoothly. While the confederation "functioned as a normal administration," there were "fissures between Old Irish and Old

English that were never far from the surface" (Kileen 94-5). In addition, James Butler, Earl of Ormond, so resented the king's attempts to use the Confederation's army to recover power that Ormond surrendered Dublin to a parliamentary general. Added to this, a Scots army came to the aid of the Ulster Scots. (Kileen 94)

Gentles (61) noted that, "Ireland had begun its descent into the maelstrom of untrammelled violence from which it would not emerge for a decade or more."

Cromwell in Ireland

The English Civil War had demanded too much attention for the English to have been able to do much about Ireland for some time. With the death of Charles I in 1649, the focus began to shift back to an expedition against the Catholic Gaelic Irish:

> "No one doubted that the expedition was high on the Commonwealth's agenda for several reasons. Ormond and his royalist coalition had to be defeated. The slaughter of thousands of English settlers in 1641 had to be avenged. England's sovereignty over the kingdom had to be re-asserted. Less than a month after the king's execution parliament had appointed a high-level committee of Cromwell, Vane, Marten, Colonel John Jones and Thomas Scot to organize the expedition." (Gentles 385)

Aware of the political dangers of leaving England and fighting in Ireland, Cromwell demanded certain conditions before undertaking the expedition, including "plenary power, civil as well as military…his own substantial purse to spend as he saw fit…[and] an iron-clad guarantee that the Irish project would continue to have top priority in Westminster." (Gentles 385)

Cromwell and a fleet of 35 ships landed near Dublin 15 August 1649. (Fraser 326) Fraser (325) explained Cromwell's mindset and intention at the time:

> "For eight years Cromwell had been following the Irish situation from a distance with close interest—if it was also prejudiced by the religious and nationalist attitudes of his time…Now at last he was to see it for himself, this land of many imaginings, and in Cromwell's mind at least, the signs pointed to a crusade, a crusade followed by a new settlement of godly people, who would give the ancient name of Ireland, the Island of the Saints, a very different meaning."

"Cromwell's ferocious ideological clarity and moral zeal were coupled with a sense of urgent political necessity: he knew that resistance in both Ireland and Scotland must be crushed immediately if the new Puritan regime in England was to stand a chance of survival." In addition, soldiers and creditors of the Parliamentary cause had not been paid in years, and Ireland, if conquered, could offer land and fortune for the taking. (Hegerty 135)

The Siege and Sack of Drogheda

Cromwell's first action after leaving Dublin was to take his troops to the town of Drogheda, County Louth. The commander there refused to surrender and Cromwell besieged the town. When the town fell, no quarter was given.

> "Orders were given that all who had borne arms should be put to death, and although civilians were thus officially spared, undoubtedly many perished, either by accident or because the line of demarcation between combatant and non-combatant was impossible to draw in the hectic conditions of a sack where it was human nature for any man, civilian or otherwise, to hold a weapon in his hand. The friars and priests of Drogheda were another matter. Their fate was extreme. No orders were given to spare them. They were treated as combatants, and perhaps, poor wretches, some of them had fought to preserve their cause. But they died almost to a man" (Fraser 337).

Those who fled to the steeple of the church of St. Peter found themselves trapped inside as it was set on fire and those who held out on the wall had their officers "knocked on the head; and every tenth man of the soldiers killed; and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other Tower were all spared, as to their lives only; and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes." (Cromwell to William Lenthall, quoted in Carlyle) Between 2,000-4,000 people died there. (Fraser ch. 13)

The Siege of Drogheda

Cromwell reacted to this by saying, "I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches." (Carlyle) The Irish view was different:

> "Even to a society so accustomed to violence as that of seventeenth-century Ireland, these events were profoundly shocking…Certainly the massacre at Drogheda, in its violence and brutality, was without question a clear and unparalleled violation of the military code of the day." (Hegerty 137)

The Fall of Wexford

The immediate effect on the surrounding area was a hasty surrender of a number of towns. (Hegerty 138) However, as Cromwell made his way south, he was slowed when his army became sick with flux. (Gentles 395)

Nevertheless, the English army made their way to Wexford, along the southeast coast. It was "the main harbour for the Irish privateers who had taken a heavy toll of English merchant ships during the 1640s. The town also stood out in English minds for its fervent Catholicism." (Gentles 395-396)

Cromwell was outside the city walls by the end of September 1649 with a clear line of communication to Dublin and a well-supplied army. But well-defended Wexford would be difficult to take. (Gentles 396) Cromwell demanded surrender and the governor of Wexford, David Sinnott, answered, attempting to delay. "He believed that time was on his side, knowing that Cromwell's army was every day weakened by disease." (Gentles 396)

> "In the midst of these talks, however, the governor of the castle, which was outside the town walls, yielded it up without consulting his superiors. The parliamentary soldiers lost no time in occupying the castle, and training their guns on the town. The defenders of Wexford then capitulated. Not waiting for orders, Cromwell's men hoisted themselves over the walls with pikes and scaling ladders, and took possession of the town within half an hour." (Gentles 396)

While the attack happened without Cromwell's orders, he failed to stop it. (Gentles 397) Hegerty (138) reported that "it is clear that the army ran amok; here, two thousand soldiers and civilians were killed…"

Gentles (396-397) gave additional details:

> "Some of the defenders made a stand in the marketplace but were overcome and slain on the spot. Another 300 who tried to escape across the harbour drowned when parliamentary troops opened fire on them and their boats sank. Any priests or friars unfortunate enough to cross the attackers' path were butchered. Many townspeople also lost their lives."

The consequences of Wexford were dire to both the Irish and English. Because negotiations were ongoing, this massacre "violated the laws of war at the time" and left Wexford "a desolate and ruined place," devastating to the Irish and useless to the English. (Gentles 397)

The Campaign Continues

Cromwell made his way westward to Waterford (in County Waterford). The governor there "asked for liberty of conscience for the populace" to which Cromwell replied:

> "'concerning liberty of conscience, I meddle not with any man's conscience. But if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know, [that] where the parliament of England have power, that will not be allowed of.'" (Gentles 398)

However, the colonel at nearby Duncannon Fort successfully employed a ruse to make the English believe that Ormond's forces had arrived. The English withdrew from Waterford, making it "the only Irish city that successfully resisted a siege by Oliver Cromwell." (Gentles 398-399)

According to Gentles (399), "At the end of 1649, however, Waterford was the only bright spot on an exceedingly sombre canvas for the Catholic-royalist coalition." English forces had taken most of the towns in Leinster and Munster and had "efficiently reduced Ulster to obedience." Gentles (399)

After wintering, Cromwell and his forces renewed the campaign in February of 1650. However, a new threat was arising—Scotland, as we have learned, had recognized Charles II as king and was preparing for war. Speed in the Irish campaign was now of the essence.

> "Using well the time remaining to him, Cromwell, helped by Lord Broghill and Henry Ireton, devoted February to overrunning many inland towns and garrisons in Munster. At the same time Colonel John Hewson, the new governor of Dublin, led a force of 3,000 men south-west from the capital to join Cromwell in a pincer movement against Kilkenny." (Gentles 401)

Despite skillful defensive tactics and exacerbated by a lack of reinforcements, Kilkenny and Clonmel ultimately surrendered. By this point, Cromwell was granting easier terms of surrender in an effort to undo the damage of Drogheda and Wexford and persuade the Catholic Gaelic population that he would not slaughter them or their priests, if they surrendered. (see Gentles 402)

The War after Cromwell

Cromwell left Ireland 26 May 1650. (Fraser 355) Gentles (403) commented, "He had come intending a quick conquest through the application of overwhelming force. His policy had been to shed blood in order to save it later on…his campaign became ever more costly." Disease and losses due to the need to leave behind troops to hold conquered garrisons reduced his army while replacements from England had been inadequate. (Gentles 403)

Cromwell now had to turn his attention to Scotland, ultimately leading him to Dunbar later that year. "[F]rom now on the affairs of Ireland would be but one of many problems he would face until his early death in September 1658. Nor were the Irish quite tamed: indeed, it was only with Cromwell's departure that the true war began." (Hegerty 139)

Three-fourths of Ireland was occupied to some degree but the town of Limerick held out until 1651 and Galway until 1652. Upon the surrender of Galway, "the Irish and Royalist forces resorted to guerilla tactics. Thousands of irregulars were encamped in the bogs and forests, ready to attack the regular army as it moved around the countryside; and this fragmentation of the enemy made it impossible to strike a decisive blow." (Hegerty 140)

Ethnic Cleansing in Ireland

Hegerty (140) continued, "The response of the army to the guerilla tactics of the enemy came inevitably in the form of savage reprisals—and the poor, the young and the old suffered disproportionately." (Hegerty 139-140) Conquered territory was divided and civilians who strayed into "enemy zones" were punished.

Hegerty (141) explained further:

> "Male civilians were routinely hanged for passing information or intelligence or otherwise giving succour to the guerillas; females too were subject to hanging, though they were more frequently rounded up and shipped off to work the Caribbean sugar plantations… The infrastructure of the country was targeted and destroyed: villages lay empty, pockmarked by ruined mill houses and castles and roofless churches; homes were burned and great stretches of the countryside emptied; harvests were seized by troops for their own use and the surplus destroyed. By 1660 famine, fighting and disease had wiped out between a fifth and a quarter of the Irish population."

The Act of Settlement was passed 12 August 1652 and began:

> "Whereas the Parliament of England, after the expence of much Blood and Treasure for suppression of the horrid Rebellion in Ireland, have by the good Hand of God upon their undertakings, brought that Affair to such an Issue, as that a total Reducement and Settlement of that Nation may, with Gods blessing, be speedily effected…" (Firth & Rait 598)

Hegerty (141) explained the implications of this act: "The Act was of course intended as retribution on the participants in the rising of 1641…But in reality, the Act was focused on the seizure of Irish land: it constituted one of the largest transfers of property anywhere in western Europe in the early modern period."

It was a disaster in an agricultural society where wealth was measured in land and had long-term impacts, including the accelerating shift from the Irish language to English, especially in Ulster and Leinster and the decrease of land ownership in Ireland by Irish Catholics from about 70 to 10 percent. About 40,000 landowners faced "the unappetizing choice of being transplanted across the river Shannon on to native reservations to be established across the western counties of Clare, Mayo, Galway and Roscommon, or execution: 'To hell', as the saying went, 'or Connaught'." (Hegerty 142)

The English government intended to replace the "persistently disloyal" Irish with loyal soldiers and creditors. (Hegerty 142) However, Gentles (410) noted that, with the decimation of the population, "The new settlers were dismayed to discover that they were occupying a graveyard: the collapse in population had reduced land values almost to zero."

The Settlement of Ireland

Transportation and the *Goodfellow*

This time period, a "period of Irish history known as the transplantations" (Fraser 356), brought another development that most likely changed the course of Catherine's life. O'Brien (34) noted numerous references in the Calendar of English State Papers to orders for the transportation of Irish to Virginia, New England, and the West Indies. He (34-35) stated that of those engaged in transporting Irish to Massachusetts, one of the most active was Boston merchant David Sellecke.

It was Sellecke that was responsible for the Irish of the Goodfellow, possibly including Catherine:

> "Under date of September 6, 1653, there is an entry in the records of the Council of State that 'upon petition of David Sellecke of Boston, New England, Merchant, for a licence for the Goodfellow of Boston, George Dalle, Master, and the Providence of London, Thomas Swanley, Master, to pass to New England and Virginia where they intend to carry 400 Irish children, directing a warrant to be granted, provided security is given to sail to Ireland and within two months to take in 400 Irish children and transport them to those plantations." (O'Brien 36-37)

Sellecke and Mr. Leader (probably Richard Leader—see Stackpole) contracted with a Captain John Vernon, employed by the Commissioners for Ireland, on 14

September 1653 "to supply them with 250 women of the Irish nation above twelve years and under the age of forty-five, also 300 men above twelve years of age and under fifty, to be found in the country within twenty miles of Cork, Youghal and Kinsale, Waterford and Wexford, to transport them into New England." (Prendergast 245) However, "Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill…suggested that the required number of men and women might be had from the wanderers and persons who had no means to get their livelihood, in the County of Cork alone." (Prendergast 245)

Right: Lord Broghill

Vernon was thus authorized on 23 October 1653 to search for, arrest, and deliver the aforementioned men and women to Sellick and Leader "who were to be at all the charge of conducting them to the waterside, and maintaining them from the time they received them; and no person, being once apprehended was to be released but by special order in writing under the hand of Lord Broghill." (Prendergast 245)

While Lord Broghill suggested that "wanderers and persons who had no means to get their livelihood" be taken, a 1661 deposition may paint a different picture. On 25 June 1661, one Samuel Symonds accused his servants, William Downing and Philip Welch, with deserting their indentures with two more years to go. One of the witnesses for the defense was John Ring, who gave the following deposition:

> "This deponent saith that he with divers others were stollen in Ireland by some of ye English soldiers in ye night out of theyre bedds and brought to Mr. Dill's ship, where the boate lay ready to receive them, and in the same way as they went some others they tooke with them against their consents and brought them aboard ye said ship where there were divers others of their countrymen weeping and crying because they were stollen from theyr friends, they all declaring the same, and amongst the rest were these two men, William Downing and Philip Welsh, and there they were kept until upon a Lord's morning ye master set saile." (quoted in O'Brien 39-40)

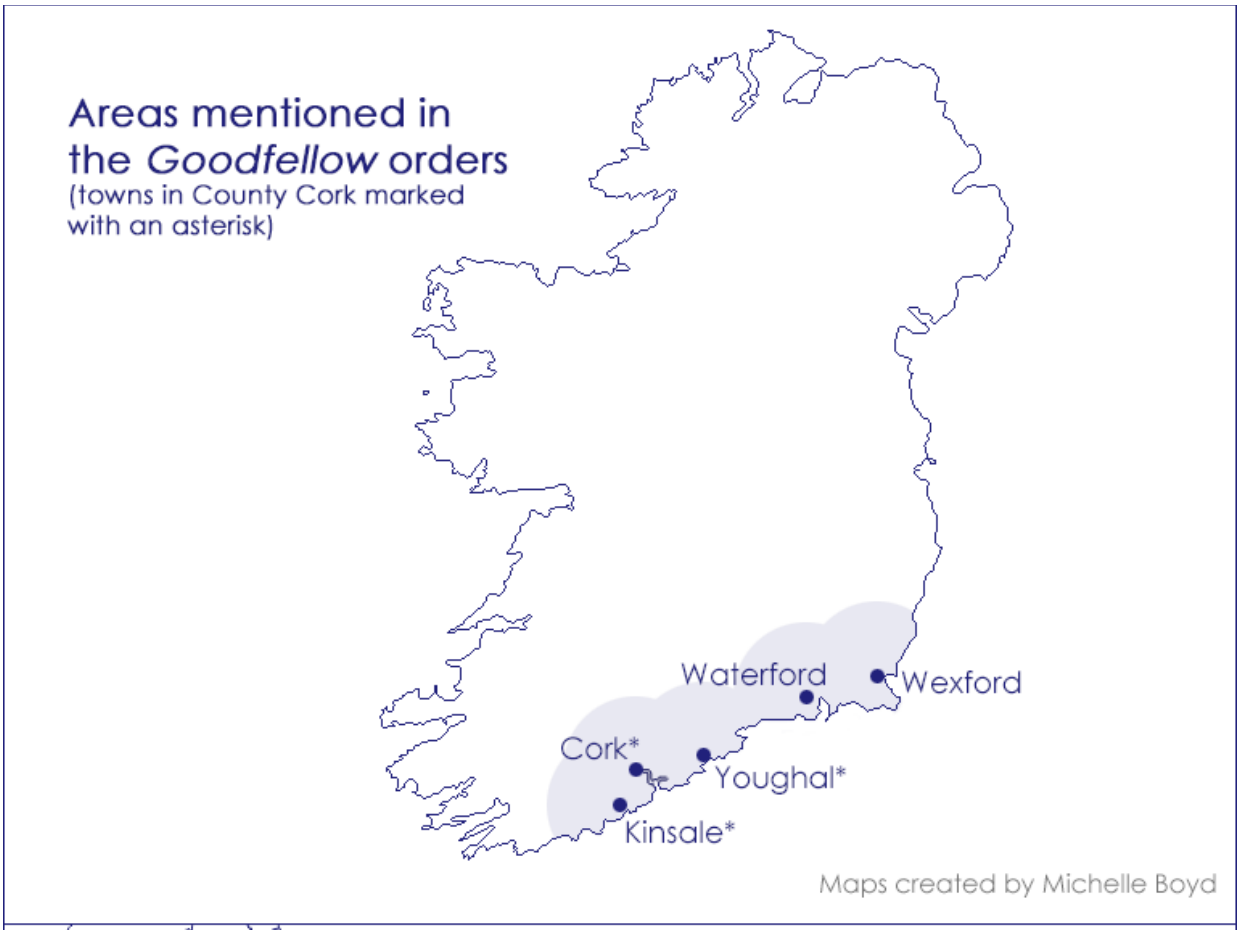
O'Brien (40) noted that Symonds presented a bill of sale, dated 10 May 1654 from George Dell in which he "'sould unto Mr. Samuel Symonds two of the Irish youthes' he 'brought over by order of the State of England.'"

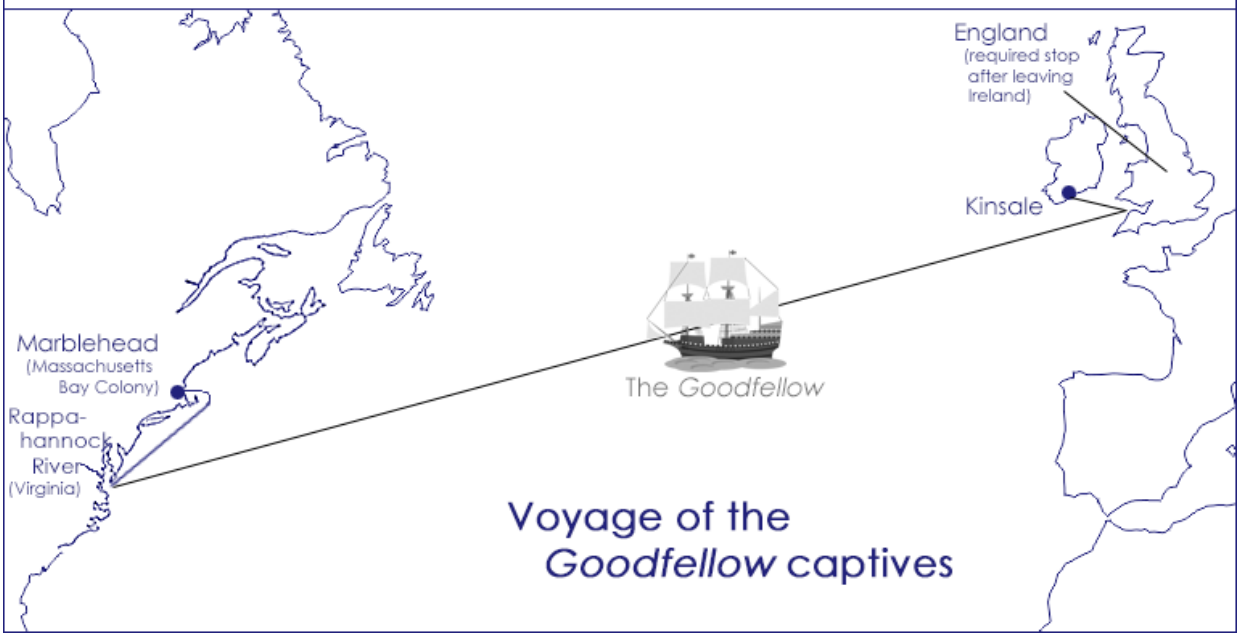
If Catherine was part of the *Goodfellow* group, then we can surmise that she was between the ages of 12 and 45. It is doubtful that she was on the younger or older extremes of this age range. Alexander was most likely a young man and she was likely of an age to attract his attention and to bear children. She was probably, like Downing and Welch, a youth, likely in her late teens or twenties.

We can also infer that Catherine, if transported on the *Goodfellow*, came from the southern coast of Ireland, particularly from within twenty miles of the towns of Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, Waterford, and Wexford. If Lord Broghill's suggestion had been followed, she is likely from County Cork (Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale being among the coast towns in that county). If she was stolen from her bed at night and brought to the ship with the boat ready to receive them, as Ring was, it is likely that she came from somewhere close to the coast.

Dell was licensed to embark on 28 October 1653. The *Goodfellow* sailed from Ireland to England first, then departed for New England from there. (O'Brien 37) O'Brien (37-38) explained why: "Under English law, no vessel could sail for its destination direct from Ireland, being required to call first at an English port where clearance papers would be issued for the voyage, and where a 'head tax' had to be paid on every individual leaving for the colonies."

The *Goodfellow* arrived at Marblehead, Essex, Massachusetts in January of 1654. Part of the group of captives were left there and the Goodfellow then continued on to Boston. While only a few names of these captives are known, all would have been bound as indentured servants upon arrival. (O'Brien 38) If Catherine had indeed carried captive on the *Goodfellow*, as Saxbe theorized, she would have been, like Alexander, indentured and without resources, in a strange land, and therefore unable to return home to her friends and family.


Areas mentioned in
the *Goodfellow* orders
(towns in County Cork marked
with an asterisk)
Waterford
Wexford
Cork*
Youghal*
Kinsale*
Maps created by Michelle Boyd


England
(required stop
after leaving
Ireland)
Kinsale
The *Goodfellow*
Marblehead
(Massachusetts
Bay Colony)
Rappa-
hannock
River
(Virginia)
Voyage of the
Goodfellow captives

An Affair and Punishment in Plymouth Colony

Accusations of Adultery

The first known record of Catherine was in Taunton, Plymouth Colony (now in Bristol county, Massachusetts) in 3 February 1656/7, where she is called "Katheren Aimes." Aimes is probably a minor recording or transcription error, as she is called "Katheren Aines" elsewhere (Aines being a creative spelling for Innes or Ennis). At this point, as we shall see in a subsequent record, Alexander and Catherine had apparently been married before August 1656.

Their appearance in this record likely indicates that Alexander's indenture (and Catherine's, as well, assuming the *Goodfellow* theory is correct) had ended by that point and that the couple had moved from Massachusetts Bay Colony to Plymouth Colony. Saxbe (NYGBR 129:233) provided a possible explanation for this: "When iron production faltered at Lynn and Braintree in 1653, the industry and some of its workers moved to Taunton in Plymouth Colony." Moriarty (RIHSC 13:34) was of the opinion that Alexander "went with the first Leonard *[one of the free ironworkers at Saugus*] from Lynn to Taunton, and worked in the forge established there by Leonard."

This first record on 3 February 1656/7 concerned allegations of infidelity by Catherine with another Scot (Shurtleff 3:110-111):

> "Att this Court, the cunstable of Taunton brought a certaine Scote, a single man, and an Irish woman named Katheren Aimes, whome hee had apprehended vpon suspision of comiting adultery each with other; but the Court, haueing examined them, could not proceed to punish them for want of clearer euidence; but haueing intelligence that sundry in Taunton could giue euidence in the case, whoe were not psent, the Court comited the said man and woman to the custidy of the marshals vntill the next Court, and summoned in the wittnesses to appeer att the said Court, vizt. Alexander Aines, John Muckclay, Daniell Muckeney, Scotsmen, and a certaine Irish woman named Elizabeth; her other name non psent doe know."

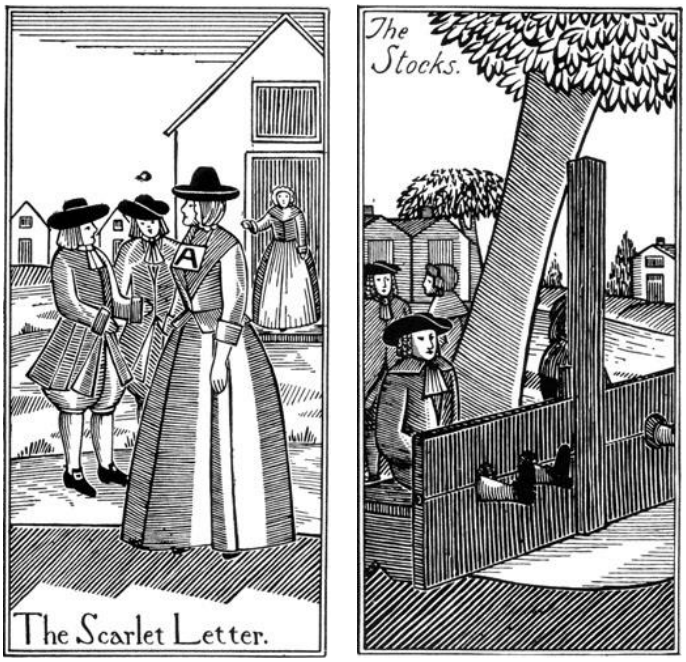
Trial and Punishment

At the next session on 5 March 1656/7, Catherine and the Scot, William Paule, were found guilty and sentenced (Shurtleff 3:111-112):

> "ATT this Court, Wiliam Paule, Scotchman, for his vnclean and filthy behauiour with the wife of Alexander Aines, is centanced by the Court to bee forthwith publickly whipt, and and to paye the officers the charges of his imprisonment and punishment, which accordingly was pformed.
> Att this Cour, Katheren Aines, for her vnclean and laciuiouse behauior with the abouesaid Wiliam Paule, and for the blasphemes words that shee hath spoken, is

> centanced by the Court to bee forthwith publickly whipt heer att Plymouth, and afterwards att Taunton, on a publicke training day, and to were a Roman B cutt out of ridd cloth and sowed to her vper garment on her right arme; and if shee shalbee euer found without it soe worne whil shee is in the goument, to bee forthwith publickly whipt."

In other words, she was to be whipped twice, once at Taunton and once at Plymouth (the colony's capital) for adultery but she had also been charged with blasphemy, for which she was to wear a red letter B sewn onto her right sleeve (and so long as she remained in the colony, she would be whipped if she ever appeared in public without it). It is easy to imagine that Catherine, likely an Irish Catholic, under the stress of a trial and the prospect of a whipping, let loose with something that was seen by the predominantly Puritan community as offensive and blasphemous enough to warrant a very public humiliation.



Samples of colonial punishments, from Curious Punishments of Bygone Days by Alice Morse Earle

Alexander, too, was accused of his own charges and sentenced in the same case (Shurtleff 3:112):

> "Alexander Anis, for his leaueing his family, and exposing his wife to such temtations, and being as baud to her therin, is centanced by the Court for the psent to sitt in the stockes the time the said Paule and Katheren Ainis are whipt, which was pformed; and the said Alexander Anis is to pay the charges of his wifes imprisonment and punishment, which said charge, in regard the said Anis is very poor, is to pay it by twelue pence p weeke

> vntill it is all payed; and James Walker, of Taunton, is appointed to recieue it in the countreyes behalfe."

What Can Be Inferred from the Court Records?

Several facts and inferences can be drawn from this. First, Alexander was "very poor," too poor to pay for the charges incurred from Catherine's imprisonment and punishment all at once, though his poverty did not prevent the court from ordering him to pay it in increments.

Second, he was charged with leaving his family, not just his wife. This seems to suggest the possibility that the couple had had at least one child together in the five or so years that Alexander had been in the New World and in the couple of years that Catherine had been there.

Third, it hints at the fact that the Scottish prisoners of war had formed a community tied together by both nationality and the shared experiences of deportation and indenture that set them apart from the predominant English community around them. Paule was probably another of the prisoners of war from the Battle of Dunbar (Gerrard et al. 251) and Alexander probably associated with Paule enough that Catherine was familiar with him by the time that Alexander was absent. In addition, not only does Alexander appear being summoned as a witness in the 3 February record but also two other Scots, John "Mucklay" and Daniell "Muckeney," as well as an Irishwoman known as Elizabeth.

It also begs the question whether the punishment was so strict—with Paule whipped, Catherine whipped twice (as we shall see, while pregnant), and Alexander placed in stocks and required to pay the fees for Catherine's imprisonment—because all three being cultural outsiders, that is, Scottish and Irish in an English Puritan community. It is interesting to note that the next known record of Alexander Ennis is in Rhode Island, an entirely different colony. Did the Ennises leave Plymouth Colony, seeking a place where they were less likely to clash with the wider community? Also interesting is the fact that Paule and his new wife were ordered expelled from Taunton later that year (though Paule appears six years later in Taunton, being set in the stocks). (TAG 73:313)

Fourth, Alexander had been away from his family for some time but had returned by at least the March session, if not sooner. The reasons for this absence, the length of time he was away, and where he was at that time are not now known but whatever the circumstances might have been, the court officials found the reason and length of time unacceptable for the head of a family. It is difficult to assess, with no other documentary evidence, whether

Alexander had actually been negligent of his family or the court officials were being especially stringent against a couple that did not fit in with the rest of the community. Whatever happened, Alexander was away long enough that the court felt justified in partially blaming him for "exposing his wife to such temtations."

Catherine's Probable Illegitimate Child

Did Catherine have an affair with Paule? Saxbe presented evidence that she, in fact, did:

> "The implication is that he was out of the household or away from Taunton during his wife's affair with Paule. Unless the erring lovers were apprehended in flagrante delicto, the most obvious way they would have been found out is if Katheren became pregnant during a prolonged absence of her husband." (TAG 73:313-314)

In fact, as Saxbe pointed out, a James Paule, son of William, was recorded as having been born 7 April 1657 in Taunton. No mother was recorded. William Paule appeared in the court record as single but later that year he and his wife were ordered expelled from the town. However, Paule's wife, Mary (Richmond) Paule, could not be the mother of James because she was about three months pregnant with the child of Richard Canterbury when James was born!

Saxbe's interpretation of these events is that, in all likelihood (TAG 73:312-315):

- *Catherine had an affair with William Paule in August of 1656 while Alexander was away and became pregnant. This would have made her about seven months along when she was accused, so she would have been showing and rousing the town officials' suspicions by February.*
- *Catherine was whipped "forthwith" at Taunton, while she was about eight months pregnant.*
- *She was the mother of James Paule. James lived to adulthood and married but it is not known who raised him.*
- *Between March and October 1657, William married the then pregnant Mary Richmond. The court then ordered the couple to leave only two days after her child was born. The order came as part of a series of actions taken against "sundry vnworthy and defamed psons [that] haue thrust themselues into the said towne to inhabite there, not haueing approbacon of any two majestrates according to an order of Court, and contrary to the minds of diuers of the inhabitants."*

Land Ownership in Rhode Island

Buying Land in Portsmouth, Rhode Island

A little over two years after Alexander and Catherine were sentenced, Alexander appeared once again in records. On 14 May 1659, Nickolas Browne sold to "Ellexander Enos" one acre in Portsmouth, Newport, Rhode Island. (Brigham 379)

While it is not known for sure why the couple moved to Rhode Island, it is easy to imagine that Alexander and Catherine might wish to leave Plymouth Colony, where they were regarded as outsiders and Catherine was required to wear a red letter as a humiliating punishment and go to a different colony with a different culture and different views than their stricter neighbor.

Settling at Block Island

Alexander probably only stayed in Portsmouth until about 1664, as hinted at in a letter found in the New Shoreham (Washington county, Rhode Island) Town Book (Gerrard et al. 223):

> Countryman,
> My kind love and respects remembered to you and to [your] wife hoping yt [that] you are in good health as we are at this present the cause of my writing to you at this present is concerning yr [your] coming to Block Island when I came off from the Island there was a meeting among ye [the] inhabitants and I was Desired to know yr mind If you are willing to come to settle upon ye Island If so be you doe come you may have five acres of land given you forever convenient for a house lott & forty acres you may bye If you see good & to bring you & what you have to ye Island for nothing this is ye agreement of ye inhabitants so I wold Intreat you to let me kno your mind within the fortnight by a letter and send it to Robert Carrs [house in Newport] & leave it there & I will call for it when I come from Taunton so I pray be mindfull to send yor mind what you will Does about it
> Robert Guthrie
> Block Island ye tenth of August 1664.

Robert Guthrie was "the unofficial leader of [Block Island's] Scots" (NYGBR 129:234) and a probable former Dunbar prisoner (Gerrard et al. 250). "Countryman" would have been one of his fellow Scots and is believed to have been Alexander as "the letter appears early in the New Shoreham Town Book, on the same page as—and immediately following—two deeds in which Innes was the grantee. When Innes sold a parcel of land in 1678/9, he identified it as

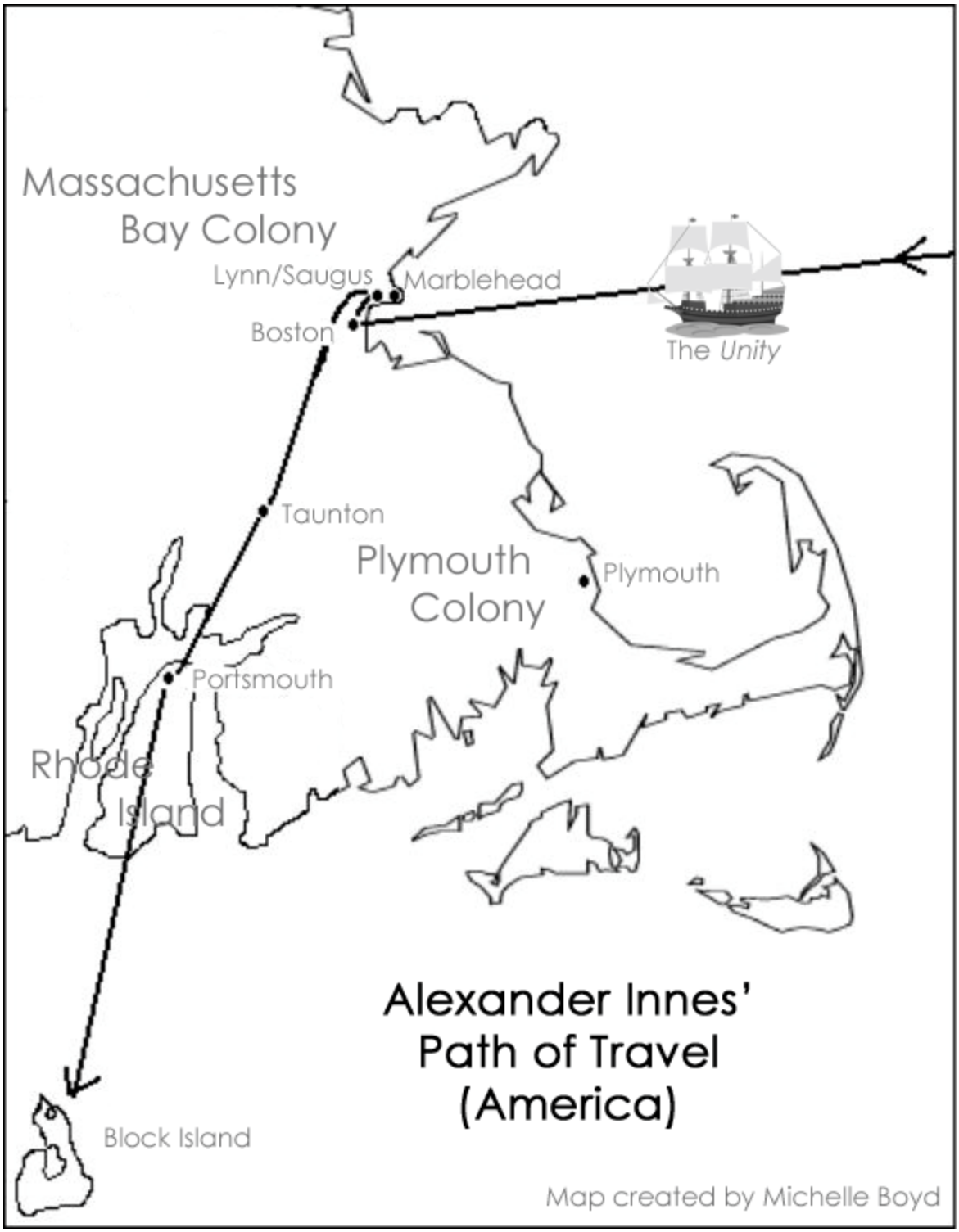
'a gift from the Propriators & Inhabitants of Blockisland" (NYGBR 129:234). Alexander was probably still at Portsmouth when he received this letter. (NYGBR 129:234, note 39)

As can be seen from the deeds mentioned by Saxbe, Alexander did definitely take up the offer to move to Block Island, off the Rhode Island shore. This allowed him to not only gain five acres of land but also return to a community of fellow Dunbar Scots (Gerrard et al. 223). While Catherine is not named by name, Guthrie's letter mentions Alexander's wife, so Catherine may have been alive at that time.

Block Island (photo credit: Timothy J. Quill [CC BY-SA 4.0 (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0)])

Alexander died within a year of the 1678/9 sale of the parcel. The New Shoreham Town Book gave a few details about Alexander's death, as reported by Saxbe: "In 1679 Alexander Innes died at the Harris home, and his nuncupative will made William Harris his heir…Innes was on his deathbed; Guthrie and two other islanders were the witnesses" (NYGBR 129:234-5). William Harris's wife, Elizabeth is believed to be Alexander and Catherine's daughter (NYGBR 129:234).

Catherine may have died by that time, as suggested by "her absence from the will and the fact that Alexander died at their daughter's home." (NYGBR 129:235)


Massachusetts
Bay Colony
Lynn/Saugus
Marblehead
Boston
The Unity
Taunton
Plymouth
Colony
Plymouth
Portsmouth
Rhode
Island
Alexander Innes'
Path of Travel
(America)
Block Island
Map created by Michelle Boyd

Alexander and Catherine's Family

Reconstructing Alexander and Catherine's family is complicated by the fact that the couple does not appear in local church records. This is hardly surprising with a couple from a background that was likely half Scottish Presbyterian and half Irish Catholic, who started their married life in Puritan/Separatist communities. It is even less surprising as that couple obviously did not fit in with the local community. Even some of those families who fit neatly into the colonial community still are not thoroughly preserved in the existing records and evidence can often be found of missing family members. Even in more religiously tolerant Rhode Island, the Ennises may not have had their children baptized in the available churches or recorded in extant records. Therefore, determining their children becomes tricky.

However, Saxbe in two articles, "Four Fathers for William Ennis of Kingston: A Collective Review" and "Who Was the Mother of James Paule (1657-1724) of Taunton, Massachusetts?," did an admirable job of identifying several likely children. One thing to note: Saxbe refuted G. Andrews Moriarty's belief that there was an Alexander Innes, Jr., saying that this was likely an error due to a misreading of a pair of land records referring to an Alexander Ennis. (NYGBR 129:236)

Below are the probable and possible children of this family. They are not presented in birth order as, except in the case of James Paule, no birth or baptismal dates are known.

James Paule

In Taunton Vital Records, under the births for the Paull family, the following record is found:

> "James, s. William, Apr. 7, 1657." (Taunton VR 1:327)

It has already been established in a previous section that Catherine was the most likely candidate to be the mother of **James Paule**, whose birth was probably the result of an extramarital affair between Catherine and William Paule during an extended absence on the part of Alexander.

According to Torrey (2:1152), James married **Mary —**. Torrey gave as the source reference, *The Ancestry of Katharine Choate Paul, Now Mrs. William J. Young, Jr.*, which gives additional details (16-17) about James:

> "7001 James Paul, born in Taunton Apr. 7, 1657, was defendant Dec. 23, 1676, in the Court of Common Pleas for Bristol county in an action of trespass brought by Jarard Talbuts. plaintiff, and having appeared was acquitted: bought lands of Edward Bobbit Mar. 5. 1683, and is supposed to have married soon afterward: bought lands of Thomas King Mar. 5, 1685: became a proprietor of the South purchase; joined with his brothers John and Edward, brother-in-law Thomas Jones and others in signing a petition Oct. 11,

> 1708. that the South precinct might be set off as a new town; became an inhabitant of Dighton. by reason of its organization in 1712: was chosen in 1714 to see upon what grounds Swansea men hold a mile of land out of our Grand Deed: attended a meeting of the proprietors of the South purchase Mar. 25. 1717: obtained judgment in the Court of Common Pleas at Bristol in April. 1717, on a plea of trespass originally brought against him by John and Joanna Godfrey; testified concerning a path in Dighton July 10. 1717: witnessed the will of Thomas Jones Jan. 25, 1723: sold lands to Joseph Atwood Mar. 18. 1723; made his will Sep. 28, 1723, and having left to my son James one-half of my lands in Rocky woods charged with the payment of legacies, and to my son William the residue of my estate, appointed the latter to be executor, and died soon afterward. His will was probated Jan. 14, 1724-5. His estate, appraised Mar. 23, 1724-5, was worth four hundred thirty pounds. His widow was Mary. Their children, bom in that part of Taunton which became Dighton, were: i. James, b. about 1685, m. Mary Phillips; 2. Mary, b. about 1687, m. Daniel Bartlett; 3. Hannah, b. about 1689, m. Robert Pigsley; +4. William, b. about 1691, m. Mary Whitmarsh."

Elizabeth Enos

Of the possible children of both Alexander and Catherine, **Elizabeth Enos** seems the most certain. Saxbe (NYGBR 129:235), citing the New Shoreham Town Book, pointed out that Alexander died at the Block Island home of Elizabeth's husband, **William Harris**, after naming Harris as his heir in his nuncupative will. This implies a probable family relationship between Alexander and the Harrises. Strengthening this theory is the fact that Elizabeth and William named two of their children Catherine and Alexander. (NYGBR 129:234)

"William harass black Smith" was recorded marrying at Block Island on 24 July 1672 but, unfortunately, the name of his wife was not included. However, his wife is recorded as an Elizabeth in the birth records of his first two children.

While Jones (NYGBR 84:134) supposed that, based on her reported age at death, that William must have married twice, both times to women named Elizabeth (the second being Alexander's probable daughter), Bowerman (NYGBR 124:222) uncovered a record that proved otherwise. This record, a 24 July 1672 deed at Block Island, was from William Harris to "Elizabeth Enos" "my supposed wife," giving title to land adjoining the Great Salt Pond to her and her first child.

William received, on behalf of Elizabeth, a deed of land from Robert Guthry and wife Margaret on 8 December 1680 "for the love we bear her…for the hayrs *[heirs]* of her body." (NYGBR 84:134-135) William, as well as one Samuel Hagborn, witnessed a deed in January 1669/70 of land at Block Island that had formerly been owned by Alexander. Hagborn had also witnessed a deed from Alexander to William in February 1678/9 at Block Island. William witnessed a deed from John and Margaret (Dodge) Rathbone to son John on 1 September 1679. (NYGBR 84:135)

Elizabeth and William left Block Island and moved to Lyme, New London, Connecticut. The probable reason for this was the island's exposed location,

which made it vulnerable to "repeated raids by pirates and privateers, both French and English," including one attack in 1689 where four ships took the island and pillaged it for a week. (NYGBR 129:236) William bought a smith shop and a small parcel of land from Christopher Swaine at Lyme 11 June 1691. On 28 June, he is recorded describing himself as "formerly of New Shoreham ales *[alias]* Block Island, now of Lime." (NYGBR 84:134)

William and Elizabeth deeded a dwelling house at Block Island to John Rodman on 12 June 1693. William must have died within a few months of that date, as in September of that same year, the first record of the settlement of his estate is recorded at Lyme. (NYGBR 84:134)

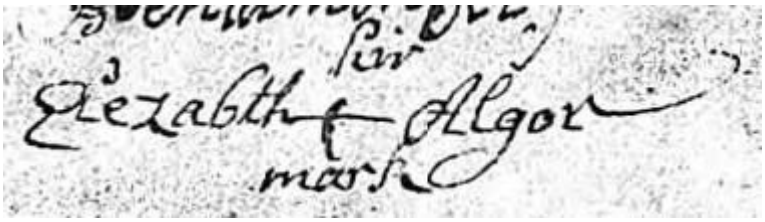
Elizabeth married second **Richard Smith** of Lyme, son of Richard and Mary (Kerley) Smith, before February 1694/5, as his third wife. Richard died 8 March 1701/2. His will was dated 7 March 1701/2, in which he mentioned "my wifs sone Richard Harise." (NYGBR 84:136)

Elizabeth married third the widower **Roger Alger** of Lyme. (NYGBR 84:135)

> "Roger Alger, Senr., was married to Elizabeth, his now wife in 1711-1712, by Joseph Peck, Justis." (NEHGR 23:37)

William Harris (the Harris' eldest child) sued Roger and Elizabeth "his wife, late widow of William Harris" for a settlement of his father's estate. "Elizabeth Alger relict and executrix of Richard Smith, dec'd" produced receipts from Richard's sons-in-law in 1725. (NYGBR 84:136)

Roger's will was written 15 April 1725 and proved 19 Nov 1725. (Will of Roger Alger)



Mark of "Elezabth Algor" from Roger Alger's will

Elizabeth died in July of 1729. Barbour (Lyme VR 2) reported:

> "Alger, Elizabeth, wid. Roger, late of Lyme, formerly w. of William Har[r]is, d. July [], 1720. Attested by Benjamin DeWolf."

Her gravestone at Meeting House Hill Cemetery in Lyme, New London, Connecticut reads:

> "Here Lyeth the Body of Elisabeth the Releck of mr Roger Alger who died July the 6 1729 in the 66 year of her Age"

Note that her age is almost certainly inaccurate, as this would have made her only nine at her first marriage!

Gravestone of Elisabeth Alger (photo credit: Ellen O (46888377), findagrave.com)

William Ennis

William Ennis appeared in Kingston, Ulster, New York records from 1694 to 1712 (Hoes 44, 48, 53, 55, 62, 69, 77, 87, 97), along with his wife, **Cornelia Viervant**, having children baptized at the Dutch Reformed Church there. William theoretically could have, like his sister Elizabeth, moved from Block Island, probably because of the danger presented by pirate and privateer raids on Block Island. William had died before 21 April 1717, when his widow Cornelia and Lambert Brink registered marriage banns. (Hoes 533)

William's probable connection to Alexander and Catherine can be partly established due to the Dutch naming tradition. William settled in a largely Dutch community in New York. In addition, his wife Cornelia was the daughter of Cornelis Arentsen Viervant and Jeanne Lesueur and therefore, half Dutch and half French. (Riker 388)

The Dutch of this era, including those in Kingston, had a strong tradition of naming their children according to a certain pattern, as noted by Saxbe (NYGBR 129:237). Typically:

- *The eldest son was named after one of his grandfathers, usually the paternal one.*

- *The second son was named after the other grandfather.*
- *The third son was named after the father.*
- *The naming of daughters followed a similar pattern: one grandmother (usually, the paternal one) first, the other grandmother second, mother third.*
- *If a child died young, the next child of the same gender was often named after the child who died.*

It is also interesting to note that traditionally, the Irish and Scottish used this naming pattern also.

According to the Kingston baptismal record, William and Cornelia's children were, in order of birth:

- *Alexander*
- *Cornelius*
- *Cornelius*
- *Catherine*
- *Jannetje*
- *Jannetje*
- *Alexander*
- *William*

The first son, Alexander, and the second son, Cornelius, and the second daughter, Jannetje, almost certainly died young because there are younger children with the same names. So, if you exclude any repetition of names, the list of children's names looks like this:

- *Alexander*
- *Cornelius (named after Cornelia's father, Cornelius Viervant)*
- *Catherine*
- *Jannetje (Dutch equivalent of the French name Jeanne; named after Cornelia's mother, Jeanne Le Sueur)*
- *William (named after father)*

According to the naming tradition, the eldest son, Alexander, and the eldest daughter, Catherine, would have been named after their paternal grandparents, William's parents.

As Saxbe (NYGBR 129:228) noted, this alone does not exclude another possible candidate, Enne Tebbes, the father of Kingston resident Rebecca Ennes, from being William's father. The Frisians who came to New Netherland/New York did not often give their children names that were uniquely Frisian. However,

Alexander is not a common Dutch or Frisian name and it was very popular name amongst the Scottish.

One important detail also strengthens the theory that William was Alexander and Catherine's son. Among the baptismal witnesses for William's children are a "Thomas Herris" and "Cathryn Honnist," who both appear at the baptism of son Alexander. There are no Thomas Herrises recorded in Kingston at that time but Elizabeth (Enos) Harris (mentioned previously as a probable daughter of Alexander and Catherine) had a son named Thomas Harris, who moved to Poughkeepsie, just under 20 miles away from Kingston. And accounting for the creative, phonetic spelling of the time and for possible language differences, it is easy to suppose that Cathryn Honnist was an Ennis. (NYGBR 129:236-237)

Thomas Ennis

One other Ennis appears in Kingston records, a **Thomas Ennis**. He appears as the father in three baptisms there in 1695, 1698, and 1700 (Hoes 45, 52, 58). Thomas was married to **Jannetje Lesueur**, daughter of François Lesueur and Jannetje Hillebrant and widow of Jan Jansen Postmael. (NYGBR 129:228)

Unfortunately, his three daughters' names do not yield the same clues as William. However, several facts do open up the possibility that Thomas was William's brother:

1. *He appeared in records just a little under a year later than William in 1694. Rebecca Ennes (mentioned in William's sketch), on the other hand, appeared in baptismal records in 1684 and 1685 as the mother and 1684 as witness, a full nine to ten years before William's first appearance (Hoes 21, 24). While Thomas showing up so soon after William in the Kingston record may just be a coincidence, there is possibility that if they were brothers, Thomas arrived in Kingston with William or one of them left Block Island to join the other in Kingston.*
2. *William's wife Cornelia and Thomas' wife Jannetje were first cousins. Jeanne (Cornelia's mother) and François (Jannetje's father) Lesueur were siblings from Normandy, who arrived together and settled in New Amsterdam. (NYGBR 129:228) Again, while perhaps another coincidence, perhaps the two Ennises were brothers who married cousins.*
3. *Finally, Jan Jansen Post, Antje Post, and Abraam Post appear as witnesses for the baptisms of a couple of William's children (Hoes 62, 69). All three of these witnesses are children of Thomas' wife by her first husband (whose children shortened their name from Postmael to Post after their father's death). (NYGBR 129:229) Through their mothers, the baptized children and their witnesses, in this case, were first cousins once removed. However, if their fathers were brothers, they would have been first cousins. While the first relationship could possibly have been close enough for William and*

Cornelia to select the Posts to be their children's baptismal witnesses, it would be far more likely for them to invite their niece and nephews to hold that important position.

Mary (Innes?)

Mary —, the wife of **John Dodge** (son of Tristram Dodge), was mentioned by G. Andrews Moriarty as "probably a daughter of Alexander Enos (Innis), one of the Scotch prisoners, who settled on Block Island." (TAG 19:135) He did not mention why he felt that way. Saxbe (NYGBR 129:236), however, offered a rationale: two of Mary's children were named Catharine and Alexander (the latter being an uncommon name on Block Island).

The Dodge Genealogy (Woodward 6) gave the following information about Mary and John:

> "2. JOHN2 DODGE (Tristram1). Freeman July, 1670. Wife, Mary. New Shoreham rec. say John Dodge m. Feb. 4, 1696. Bought land in Block Island Oct. 1, 1720, from his brother Israel of New London. Sold land in Block Island Feb, 1, 1724-5."

Catherine Innis

Saxbe reports that several family histories claim that **Catherine**, the wife of **Dennis Manning**, was an Ennis:

> "The probable source for these statements are two nineteenth-century Nantucket manuscripts containing Manning family data which cite 'Innis' as Catherine Manning's maiden name. This combination of given name and putative maiden name, her probable age, the absence of other Innes families on Nantucket, and the relative proximity to Block Island, all invite speculation that she was a daughter of Alexander and Catherine Innes." (NYGBR 129:235)

Court records related by Bliss (49-50) provide additional insights:

> August 19, 1678. Katterine Innis being examined by Mr Coffin Chefe magistrate saith that she is with child and being asked whose it is She answered it is Denis Mannings—speaking in his presence—which he denied…
> November 7th, 1678. Denis maning appears and is bound to ye Court.
> June 24th, 1679. Where as Kattering Innis formerly did say that she was with child by dennis maning and now the child being born still affirmes the child is dennis mannings — The Court doth order that Denis maning shal take care for the mayntenance of the child and mayntayne it as it ought to be, he being legally the father of it. And Katteren Innis is bound over to the next Court to make her appearance. The Court order that Katteren Innis shal nurse dennis mannings child which she laid to his charge, and the Court wil se her master William Worth paid.
> September 30th 1679. Katteren Innis being bound over appeareth. The Court hath ordered that she shall be whipt fifteen stripes or pay five pound.

To sum up, a "Katterine Innis," likely a young woman employed by William Worth on Nantucket, accused Dennis Manning of fathering her child, which he denied (at least early on). "Betty ye dau. of Denis Manning was born July ye 10 1679" (NEHGR 7:182) Catherine was ordered to nurse this child, Dennis to maintain it,

and the court to compensate Worth for the loss of work from his servant. Catherine, like her mother, was to be whipped but, in her case, the court waited until a few months after the child's birth to punish her.

While no marriage record has been found for Dennis Manning and Catherine Innis, there is evidence that Dennis at some point married a Catherine. Nantucket Vital Records (310) recorded a "Manning, Dinah, first w. William Stubbs, d. Dennis and Catherine, —, P. R. 38."

Manning (776) gave the following biography of Dennis Manning:

> "I. DENNIS MANNING was an early settler on Nantucket island, off the coast of Mass. With the exception of one item, knowledge of the family is derived from Savage's Genealogical Dictionary (see 'additions' at the end of one of his volumes). I find no trace of any one in the male line after the third generation who is likely to have been a descendant, but have made no investigation on Nantucket. The fact that several of the daughters married there is against the theory that the family returned to England; it may have become extinct in the male line, or the survivors may have removed to a distance. Mass. Archives [17-591] show a petition, 1739, May 30, of the selectmen of Sherborn, now Nantucket, and the paper relates that Dennis Manning gave to his son William a house and land on condition that the said son supported Dennis and wife during their lifetime, but father and son both having died, while Dennis' wife yet lived and had nothing to support her, the petitioners pray for permission to sell the house and land to procure funds for her maintenance. Granted. The paper also mentions that William left two 'orfans,' and that their mother had married again. Here knowledge of the family ends. Dennis m. 1678, Catherine Innis."

It seems Dennis' wife, probably Catherine, outlived him and remarried but to whom is not currently known.

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