NICK LIPSCOMBE

THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

AN ATLAS AND CONCISE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF THE THREE KINGDOMS 1639–51

OSPREY

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DEDICATION

To Robin and Simon
and in memory of Anna

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FOREWORD

I am delighted to be able to pen the forward to this unique and important study. Since the end of the English Civil Wars (the name by which they are popularly known, although the subtitle wisely emphasises that they stretched across three kingdoms) historians have continued to debate the nature of the conflict itself. Was it a class war? Was it a revolution? And, most importantly perhaps, are the long-term implications of any significance today? Over the centuries which have followed, there has been much interest not only in the political elements but also in the personalities of the conflict and the places which it affected.

The war took many forms and involved many places. Research has recently emphasised the high death toll of this extended and bitter struggle, on the battlefield and through disease and social dislocation. Thanks to the National Civil War Centre at Newark, a pivotal town in the conflict, and the many iconic battlefield sites which the Battlefields Trust is honoured to help protect, interpret and publicise, we can both commemorate and try to understand this key period in our national, if not international, history.

Curiously, a serious venture to map the conflict in its entirety has never been attempted before. A glance at the bibliography and content of this work is a good indicator of the enormity of the project and, perhaps, provides the explanation for this gap.

In 2017, Nick Lipscombe approached Howard Simmons, my predecessor as chair of The Battlefields Trust, to gauge his views and solicit his support for this atlas project. Howard, well aware of Nick's award-winning *Peninsular War Atlas and Concise History* (Oxford, 2010), was only too willing to agree and to offer help. The Battlefields Trust is a registered charity dedicated to preserving, promoting and interpreting Britain's battlefield sites. It is this latter point that is central to this important project: the advancement of battlefield survey and archaeology has provided new evidence, confirming or changing historical perspectives on battles and sieges in this and other historical periods. Nick's work has embraced that evidence and, in some cases with Trust members, has taken it a step further. He has also provided a link with national and regional mapping to the many battles and sieges, some of which have never been mapped before.

The result is this most magnificent atlas of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. It is the most ground-breaking piece of work on the wars for decades. On behalf of the Battlefields Trust, our thanks to Nick for this excellent book, which we hope will stimulate further interest in the Wars and inspire visits to the key sites.

Emeritus Professor Anne Curry
Chair of the Battlefields Trust, March 2020.

PREFACE

The Magna Carta, or Great Charter of 1215, was intended to re-balance the power between the king and his subjects, and between the king and his barons. In other words, it was about sovereignty. Eight hundred years after the signing of Magna Carta, the United Kingdom finds itself embroiled in another struggle for sovereignty; this time with the European Union. Sandwiched between these two tumultuous events, was another more brutal struggle for the nation's sovereignty, the Civil Wars that raked the Three Kingdoms[1] in the 1640s during the reign of Charles I. Mark Twain purportedly said that 'history might not repeat itself but it sure does rhyme' and this, it seems, is the case for the nation's periodic struggle for rule.

This *Atlas and Concise History of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms* concentrates primarily on the military aspects of the wars and provides political (including social and religious) detail in order to better understand the developing political process as a part of an armed negotiation and subsequent military action. Although military campaigns were an extension of the political process, the latter changed and escalated over time, necessitating renewed legitimization and a move to more active warfare. The military campaigns from the Bishops' Wars in the late 1630s to the final conquest of Ireland in 1652 have never been mapped in their entirety before. Self-evidently, the maps form the mainstay of the work. To that end, I have utilized the same format I used to map the Peninsular War.[2] This proved to be popular and has considerable advantages as the reader is able to connect the text directly to the relevant map. However, it does have the hindrance of restricting the amount of text available to describe a particular battle or incident. My greatest challenge, therefore, was deciding what to leave out rather than what to include.

Mapping battles, sieges and events that took place nearly 400 years ago has been a challenge; particularly for the smaller, or lesser known, military engagements. Official military maps did exist but these were mainly prepared for defence against invasion, fortification of the northern border with Scotland and naval dockyards and depots. In the wake of the wars in England (but not Wales) only the major battles were mapped and recorded. In Scotland, the mapping concentrated on the rebellion and its subjugation, while in Ireland the mapping tended to concentrate on Protestant colonialization and the subjugation of the Catholic Irish. For most of the Civil War encounters there is a good idea of the general area of the battle or event. Sieges were, by their very nature, easier to locate, but even here there were challenges as to the locations of siege batteries and exact sites of attacks. Since 1990, battlefield archaeology has enabled us to determine more precise locations, deployments, events and even the outcomes of battles. Historic England's Register of Historic Battlefields identifies 46 important English battlefields, of which 22 relate to the English Civil War. The Historic Environment Scotland Inventory of Historic Battlefields consists of 43 battles, of which nine relate to the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. No such register appears to exist for Ireland, making the task of mapping events there more complicated. Recent archaeological work and discoveries on some of the civil war battlefields enabled me to fine-tune certain battles and adjust others. I have tried to use the most up-to-date information to depict these actions, and the help I have received in this regard has been invaluable. However, battlefield archaeology does not provide all the answers and needs to be interpreted with care and a good understanding of weapon characteristics, ballistics and tactics. At Winceby, for example, a recent study confirmed that the battle did not take place at the hitherto accepted location. Equally, however, it did not determine (as it was limited geographically) where the battle did actually take place.[3] Similarly, at Cheriton, a number of finds that were lifted from the battlefield between 1974 and 1990 were not properly processed and documented, leading to speculation and doubt.[4]

Even when we are sure of where a battle was fought, it remains a challenge to piece together the sequence of events. Very few individuals had timepieces, so time is a relative concept in battles of the era. Maps were virtually non-existent. Units did not keep war diaries and much of what individuals recorded in their journals and memoirs was hearsay gleaned subsequently around campfires. Nevertheless, the amount of primary source material available is surprisingly abundant. A glimpse at the extensive bibliography to this work bears testament to this. I have tried to weave some of the more poignant and colourful of these accounts into the stories. In so doing, it has been remembered that such accounts were often prejudiced, particularly those that cover the struggles in Ireland. In conclusion, therefore, this work is far from the panacea, but I hope that it provides a unique and perhaps long-overdue detailed map study into the military events of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms.

This project would not have been possible without an extraordinary amount of help from so many. The venture has been undertaken in conjunction with the Battlefields Trust, the National Civil War Centre, Newark, and the Scottish Battlefields Trust. I am deeply indebted to Howard Simmons, the (former) Chairman of the Battlefields Trust, who warmly embraced the concept of an atlas covering the wars in the mid-17th century. His support, and that of the other trustees, has been a significant driver. Sir Jon Day and Michael Rayner provided an invaluable conduit between myself and the expertise within the Trust, for which I am deeply grateful. Two members of the Trust deserve particular thanks. The first is Simon Marsh, whose depth of knowledge, expertise and enthusiasm has been vital. The second is Gary Chilcott, who helped me with the tricky but fascinating battlefield at Cheriton and went on to produce the majority of Orders of Battle that feature in the extensive appendices. Other members of the Trust who deserve mention and praise include Professor Anne Curry, Phil Steele, Julian Humphrys, Adrian Webb, Chris Scott, Don Smith, Len Davis, Tony Spicer, Alan Turton, Gregg Archer and, finally, Stephen Ede-Borrett. At the National Civil War Centre, I am indebted to Kevin

1 England, Scotland and Ireland – Wales at that time being considered part of England.

2 Lipscombe, N. J., *The Peninsular War Atlas* (Oxford, 2010).

3 Weston, S., *Lincolnshire's lost Battlefield? A Battlefield Survey of the Battle of Winceby, 1643* (York University, 2013).

4 Klaxton, K. M., *The Archaeology of an English Civil War Battlefield. What can the analysis of small finds contribute to the understanding of the Battle of Cheriton?* (York University, 2017).

Winter, Glyn Hughes and Carol King. I was pleased that the Scottish Battlefields Trust was also keen to participate and I am grateful to its Director, Arran Johnston, for checking the accuracy of the maps of the Scottish battles. Sir John Day was also a huge help in deciphering and assisting in some of the lesser-known and recorded battles in Ireland.

In addition, I would like to recognize the help and guidance provided by Professor Jeremy Black, Professor Charles Esdaile, Professor Peter Gaunt, Professor Martyn Bennet, Professor Peter Wilson, Stephen Bull and Chris Wardle. On the ground I have been assisted across the country by Peter Burton and Martin Marix-Evans at Naseby; Nick Allen and Nick Haynes at Cropredy; Captain Tom Bunting (the Station Staff Officer at BAD Kineton) at Edgehill; Richard Shaw (Battle of Worcester Society) at Worcester and Powick; Martin Fiennes (and the Saye and Sele family) at Broughton Castle; Derek Lester at Chalgrove; and Dr Keith Lawrence and Paul Topham at Nantwich. I am also grateful to Arthur Haselrigg (3rd Baron Hazelrigg), Bob Eddlestone, Andrew and Judith Sumnall, Elias Kupfermann, Nigel and Sally Branston, Phil Philo, David Garner and all the staff at the Bodleian and British Libraries.

I owe huge appreciation to Richard Sullivan and Marcus Cowper at Osprey Publishing for having the continuing confidence in me and in agreeing to undertake a work of this nature and magnitude. I have greatly enjoyed working alongside Russell Butcher who co-ordinated the work. To the cartographers, Trevor Bounford and Denise Bee I owe particular thanks. In redrawing all my maps, they have gone well beyond the call of duty and assisted in a number of areas from their own research and diligence. My final thanks are reserved for a special few. To my wife, Ina, for her help with the proofreading and her unswerving support on our many ventures across the country in search of answers, understanding and confirmation. To Sarah and Robin King, who have proofread all my books and who stepped up to the plate once again to undertake this not inconsiderable task, I am, as ever, very grateful. My final thanks are for Professor Anne Curry, the current Chair of the Battlefields Trust, who very kindly agreed to write the foreword.

Nick Lipscombe
Oxford, March 2020

CHRONOLOGY – THE WARS OF THE THREE KINGDOMS, 1639–52

The following abbreviations are used throughout the chronology: Royalist (R); Parliamentarian (P); Covenanter (C); Irish (I).

1609: Plantation of Ulster and the movement of Protestants onto confiscated Irish land.
1611: King James Bible published.
27 March 1625: James I dies and Charles I accedes to the throne.
1 May 1625: Charles I marries Henrietta Maria, a French, Bourbon, Roman Catholic princess.
1626: Parliament dismisses George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham from command of English forces in Europe; a furious Charles I dismisses Parliament.
October 1627: English forces under Buckingham defeated at La Rochelle, France.
1628: Charles recalls Parliament; Parliament draws up Petition of Right which Charles reluctantly accepts.
23 August 1628: Buckingham assassinated in Portsmouth by John Felton.
1629: Charles dismisses Parliament and does not call it again until 1640, thus commencing the Personal Rule.
1633: William Laud appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.
23 July 1637: Charles attempts to impose Anglican services on the Presbyterian Church of Scotland; Jenny Geddes sparks a riot which leads to the National Covenant.
23 July 1637: New Scottish prayer-book causes a riot in Edinburgh.
12 June 1638: Conclusion of John Hampden's trial for non-payment of Ship Money.

1639–40 THE BISHOPS' WARS

1639

27 February: Charles issues denunciation of the Covenanters, accusing them of trying to overthrow him.
13 March: The Marquis of Huntly musters Royalist forces in north-east Scotland.
27 March: Charles departs for York and despatches the Marquis of Hamilton (R) to Yarmouth to assemble a transport fleet.
7 April: Charles instructs Hamilton (R) to act against the Scottish 'rebels'.
20 May: The Covenanter army begins assembling at Duns on the Scottish–English border.
30 May: Charles joins his army at Berwick.
1 June: The Earl of Arundel (R) crosses border and reads out the King's proclamation at Duns.
3 June: The Earl of Holland's (R) cavalry advances to drive Scots out of Kelso; finding themselves outnumbered, they retreat.
5 June: Charles agrees to negotiate with the Scots.
18 June: Treaty of Berwick signed. Earl of Montrose (C) bombards Viscount Aboyne's forces defending the Brig o' Dee outside Aberdeen.
20 June: Scottish army withdraws from Duns and disbands.
5 December: Failed negotiations lead Charles to regard war with Scotland as unavoidable and he calls Parliament to demand finance.

1640

19 March: Irish Parliament meets in Dublin and agrees to recruit an army of 9,000 to serve the King.
13 April: The first meeting of the Short Parliament, at which Charles demands finance to continue the war against Scotland. MPs voice their concern about the legality of the dissolution of Parliament in 1629.
17 April: John Pym attacks the King's policies in a two-hour speech, and the House of Commons refuses to grant any money.
24 April: Charles appeals to the House of Lords for support against the Commons' motion.
25 April: The House of Lords support the King, insisting that money should be granted.
5 May: Charles dissolves the Short Parliament.
11 May: Riots in London in protest at the dissolution.
12 May: Negotiations for a Spanish loan to Charles break down; in desperation, the King permits Henrietta Maria to approach the Pope's emissary for a loan from the Vatican.
Late May: The Covenanters besiege the King's forces within Edinburgh Castle.
2 June: The Scottish Parliament meets against the King's wishes.
Early July: The Covenanter army begins to muster.
July: The Earl of Stafford assembles the Irish army (R) at Carrickfergus in preparation for invading Scotland.
End of July: Covenanter army assembles at Duns.
3 August: Scottish decide to mount a pre-emptive invasion of England.
20 August: Covenanter army crosses the River Tweed. Charles leaves London for York.
28 August: Battle of Newburn Ford; Lord Conway (R) fails to prevent the Covenanters crossing the River Tyne, forcing the English army to withdraw from Newcastle towards Durham.
30 August: Covenanters march into Newcastle unopposed.
15 September: Charles's forces within Edinburgh Castle (Patrick Ruthven) surrender.
2 October: Treaty negotiations begin at Ripon.
26 October: Charles forced to sign the Treaty of Ripon, signalling an end to the Bishops' War. Scots occupy Northumberland until the final settlement is ratified by the English Parliament.
3 November: First meeting of the Long Parliament.

11 November: Impeachment of Lord Strafford commences: he had advised the King to use an Irish army against England.
7 December: House of Commons declares Ship Money to be illegal.
11 December: The Root and Branch Petition (abolition of episcopacy) submitted to the Long Parliament.
18 December: Archbishop Laud impeached for high treason.

1641

5 February: House of Lords passes the Triennial Bill.
13 February: House of Commons petitions for the disbandment of Strafford's Irish army.
15 February: Charles gives his assent to the Triennial Bill.
19 April: The House of Commons declares Strafford a traitor.
2 May: Charles sends a force to the Tower of London to try to release Strafford.
12 May: Strafford beheaded on Tower Hill.
22 June: Charles gives his assent to a bill to abolish tonnage and poundage.
25 June: Charles dismisses Count Rossetti, the papal envoy.
5 July: Parliament abolishes the Courts of High Commission, the Star Chamber and the Councils of Wales and The North.
10 August: Charles signs Treaty of London with Scottish Commissioners.
17 August: Charles ceremoniously enters the Scottish Parliament.
21 August: The Army of the Covenant leaves Newcastle and disbands at Leith a week later.
August: The Root and Branch Bill (end to episcopacy) rejected by the Long Parliament.
October: Outbreak of rebellion in Ireland in the Ulster plantation.
23 October: Plot to seize Dublin Castle betrayed.
26 October: Armagh captured by Irish insurgents.
28 October: Charles appeals to the Scottish Parliament for an army to crush the Irish uprising. The Covenanters distrust the King and request consent of the English Parliament before intervening.
31 October: Dundalk captured by Irish insurgents.
13 November: Charles ennobles a number of leading Covenanters and appoints them to the Scottish Privy Council.
17 November: Charles dissolves the Scottish Parliament.
21 November: Irish insurgents besiege Drogheda.
30 November: Publication of the 'Proceedings of Parliament'; effectively the first public newspaper. It marks the beginning of the English press.
30 November: Siege of Wicklow Castle relieved by Charles Coote (R).
1 December: The Grand Remonstrance is presented to the King.
December: The Irish uprising spreads to Roscommon, Mayo, Sligo, Kilkenny and Tipperary.
23 December: Charles gives a conciliatory reply to the Grand Remonstrance.
30 December: Sir Simon Harcourt (R) arrives in Dublin at the head of an army of 1,100.

FIRST ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

1642

January: The Irish uprising spreads to Antrim, Limerick and Clare.
4 January: Charles unsuccessfully attempts to personally arrest the Five Members (John Pym, John Hampden, Denzil Holles, Sir Arthur Haselrig and William Strode) on the floor of the House of Commons.
10 January: Charles and his family leave Whitehall for Hampton Court; two days later they go to Windsor Castle.
11 January: The Long Parliament appoints Sir John Hotham (P) governor of Hull, with orders not to deliver its magazine without Parliament's authority. Battle of Swords: Coote (R) defeats the insurgents near Dublin.
12 January: Parliament orders Goring (P) to hold Portsmouth against any demands made by Charles.
19 January: Parliament orders the raising of two new regiments of the London trained bands.
31 January: Hotham (P) secures arsenal at Hull for Parliament.
1–3 February: Ormond (R) burns Newcastle (Ireland) and recaptures Naas in County Kildare.
5 February: The bishops of the Church of England are excluded from the House of Lords by the Bishops Exclusion Act.
20 February: Irish insurgents attack Drogheda.
21 February: Colonel Monck and Sir Richard Grenville (R) arrive in Dublin with 1,500 foot and 500 horse.
23 February: Henrietta Maria goes to the Netherlands with Princess Mary and the crown jewels, in order to raise troops and supplies for the Royalist cause.
27 February: Charles rejects the Militia Bill: designed to give power over the Militia to Parliament.
5 March: Long Parliament passes the Militia Ordinance as Charles would not assent to the Bill. Parliament now has control of the trained bands.
10 March: Ormond (R) raises the siege of Drogheda.
15 March: Ralph Hopton (R) released from the Tower; Earl of Warwick (P) appointed Admiral of the Fleet (against Charles's wishes); Hotham (P) arrives in Hull as governor.
19 March: Charles enters York and establishes his Court. The town of Galway declares for the insurgents.
15 April: Battle of Kilrush; Ormond (R) defeats insurgents under Mountgarrett (I).
23 April: Hotham (P) refuses Charles entrance to Kingston upon Hull.
27 April: Monro (C) advances into Armagh.
End April: The siege of Cork is lifted. Muskerry (I) besieges Limerick Castle. Coote (R) captures Philipstown and Trim.
17 May: Charles orders the Law Courts to move to York; despite Parliament declaring the move illegal, the Great Seal is sent to the city.
20 May: Charles forms a body of Lifeguards to protect him under the command of Sir Thomas Byron (R).
30 May: The arsenal at Hull is transported by ship to London.
3 June: Charles summons a meeting of the gentry at Heworth Moor outside York.
18 June: Charles rejects the Nineteen Propositions: requiring him to give up control of the Militia and the right to appoint ministers.
21 June: Battle of Glemaquin: Stewart's Lagan army defeats O'Neill's (I) insurgents to secure Donegal and north-west Ulster.
20 June: Magazines at Preston, Warrington and Liverpool secured for the Royalists.
21 June: Muskerry and Barry (I) capture Limerick.
5 July: Parliament appoints the Committee of Safety, consisting of five peers and ten MPs.
12 July: Parliament resolves to raise an army. Earl of Essex (P) commissioned as Captain-General.

July: Charles unsuccessfully besieges Hull.

July and August: Numerous military appointments for both the Royalist and Parliamentarian armies are made.

2 August: Colonel Goring (R) declares Portsmouth for the King; a week later Warwick (P) arrives with five warships to blockade the port.

4 August: Earl of Leven (C) arrives in Ulster to command the Covenanter army against the insurgents.

8 August: Earl of Northampton (R) seizes the magazine and artillery at Banbury for the Royalists and marches to Warwick.

12 August: Royalist Mayor of London (Gurney) arrested and detained in the Tower. Parliamentarians capture Portsbridge near Portsmouth.

15 August: Cromwell (P) seizes the magazine at Cambridge. Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice (R) land at Tynemouth and move to join Charles.

21 August: Dover Castle surprised and taken by the Parliamentarians.

22 August: Charles raises his standard at Nottingham and the **war officially commences**.

23 August: Skirmish at Southam; Brooke (P) drives back Northampton's forces (R) and is able to lift the siege of Warwick.

4 September: Goring (R) holds a council of war and surrenders Portsmouth to Sir William Waller (P).

9 September: Essex (P) leaves London and marches towards the King's forces at Nottingham.

14 September: Lord Saye and Sele (P) occupies Oxford.

19 September: Charles issues Wellington Declaration, promising to defend the established church and govern according to the laws of the land.

23 September: Battle of Powick Bridge: Prince Rupert (R) routs Essex's (P) advance guard.

24 September: Earl of Derby (R) besieges Manchester.

29 September: Yorkshire Treaty of Neutrality signed, but repudiated by Parliament on 4 October.

October: The Irish Catholic Confederation was formed after an assembly at Kilkenny. Derby (R) abandons siege of Manchester.

4 October: Hotham (P) captures Cawood Castle.

17 October: Charles reaches Birmingham; the townsfolk seize the King's carriages containing the royal plate. Skirmish at King's Norton.

23 October: Battle of Edgehill, Charles's (R) and Essex's (P) armies meet and both claim a victory.

29 October: Charles enters Oxford in triumph.

1 November: Skirmish at Aylesbury (Battle of Holman's Bridge); Rupert (R) attacks the Parliamentarian garrison at Aylesbury. It is unclear if/when this action took place, and whether Rupert was involved.

7 November: Rupert (R) summons Windsor Castle to surrender; Venn (P) refuses.

12 November: Skirmish at Brentford: Rupert (R) attacks a small Parliamentarian force.

13 November: Battle of Turnham Green; Essex (P) faces Charles's (R) army; the latter chose to withdraw.

18 November: Hopton (R) besieges Exeter.

21 November: Hopton (R) driven away from Exeter towards Tavistock.

1 December: Earl of Newcastle (R) defeats Yorkshire Parliamentarians under Hotham (P) at Piercebridge and crosses the River Tees.

3 December: Newcastle (R) enters York.

5 December: Wilmot (R) storms and captures Marlborough.

6 December: Newcastle (R) defeats Fairfax (P) at Tadcaster and secures Pontefract.

13 December: Lord Grandison (R) surrenders Winchester to Waller (P).

18 December: Henderson (R) occupies Newark.

23 December: Lambert (P) besieges Skipton Castle.

1643

6 January: Earl of Stamford (P) arrives in Exeter to assume command of the Parliamentarian forces in Devon.

7 January: Rupert (R) launches unsuccessful attack on Cirencester.

13 January: General Preston (R) besieges Bir Castle in King's County, Ireland.

16 January: Skirmish at Guisborough: Cholmley (R) attacks Slingsby (P).

18 January: Hopton (R) appointed commander of the Royalist Western Army.

19 January: Battle of Braddock Down; Ruthven (P) defeated by Hopton (R).

22 January: Hopton and Lord Mohun (R) storm and capture Saltash.

26 January: Preston (R) captures Fort Falkland in King's County, Ireland.

27 January: Newcastle (R) withdraws to York with the Royalist northern army.

28 January: The Long Parliament sends commissioners to negotiate the Treaty of Oxford (unsuccessful). William Brereton (P) defeats Aston (R) at Nantwich, which he fortifies and holds as the headquarters of Parliament's forces in Cheshire.

1 February: Skirmish at Yarm; Royalists recapture the town.

2 February: Rupert (R) storms and captures Cirencester.

3 February: Charles presents his counterproposals at Oxford, calling for peace.

9 February: Seaton (P) storms and captures Preston.

16 February: Derby (R) driven back from attacking Bolton.

19 February: Parliamentarian forces seize Lancaster.

20 February: Lord Herbert (R) advances from south Wales towards Gloucester and defeats Berrow (P) at Coleford.

21 February: General Chudleigh (P) defeats the Royalists at Modbury and relieves siege of Plymouth.

22 February: Rupert (R) tries to intercept Waller's (P) advance guard as it moves west from London.

24 February: Parliament passes an Ordinance for raising money for the maintenance of the Parliamentarian army.

28 February: General Ballard's (P) forces attack Newark but are repulsed.

3 March: Waller (P) occupies Winchester.

7 March: Rupert (R) tries to capture Bristol, but the plot fails and he is forced to withdraw.

11 March: Ormond (R) besieges Ross in County Wexford, but he abandons the siege three days later.

13 March: First Battle of Middlewich; Brereton (P) defeats Aston (R).

14 March: Cromwell (P) seizes Lowestoft.

18 March: Battle of Ross; Ormond (R) defeats Preston (I) and the Leinster Confederates when they try to block the former's withdrawal to Dublin.

19 March: Battle of Hopton Heath; Northampton (R) defeats Brereton (P) and Gell (P). Northampton is killed in action and Rupert assumes command of the Royalist army in the Midlands.

20 March: Derby (R) captures Preston and Lancashire; Blackburn also surrenders to the Royalists.

21 March: Waller (P) storms Malmesbury and Cromwell (P) occupies King's Lynn.

23 March: Newcastle (R) and Henderson (R) capture Grantham.

24 March: Waller surprises Lord Herbert's Welsh Royalists at Highnam, near Gloucester.

26 March: Rupert (R) recaptures Malmesbury.

30 March: Battle of Seacroft Moor; Goring (R) routs Fairfax (P) as he withdraws from Tadcaster.

2 April: Newcastle (R) recaptures Wakefield.
3 April: Battle of Camp Hill; Rupert (R) storms Birmingham. Brereton (P) attacks Derby's Headquarters (R) at Warrington.
4 April: Waller (P) captures Monmouth and Chepstow the following day.
10 April: Rupert (R) besieges Lichfield.
11 April: Battle of Ancaster Heath; Willoughby (P) defeated by Cavendish (R).
13 April: Battle of Ripple Field; Maurice (R) blocks Waller's (P) advance towards Worcester. Earl of Castlehaven defeats a British detachment under Crawford marching to raise the siege of Ballinakill.
16 April: Commencement of siege of Reading by Essex (P) and an army of 19,000.
20 April: Derby (R) defeated by Shuttleworth (P), giving control of Lanarkshire to Parliamentarian forces. Derby escapes to the Isle of Man.
21 April: Lichfield surrenders to Rupert (R).
25 April: Battle of Sourton Down; Hopton (R) surprised and routed by Chudleigh (P). Waller (P) takes Hereford.
26 April: Reading surrenders to Essex (P).
28 April: Crowland captured by Parliamentarian forces.
6 May: Newcastle (R) recaptures Sheffield. Action at Middleton Cheney; Northampton (R) thwarts an attempt by the Parliamentarians to capture Banbury Castle.
8 May: Lady Arundel (R) surrenders Wardour Castle to Hungerford (P).
16 May: Battle of Stratton; Hopton (R) defeats Stamford (P).
18 May: Waller (P) abandons Hereford, due to lack of men, and returns to Gloucester.
20 May: Parliamentarian forces begin to besiege Manchester.
21 May: Fairfax (P) storms and captures Wakefield against heavy odds, but is unable to garrison the town and withdraws to Leeds.
23 May: The House of Commons impeaches Henrietta Maria for high treason, having brought arms and ammunition into the country.
27 May: Norris (R) surrenders Warrington to Parliamentarian forces.
29 May: Waller's (P) attack on Worcester fails and he withdraws, returning to Gloucester.
31 May: Earl of Antrim (R) taken prisoner by Covenanter forces in Ulster; his captured correspondence reveals the plan for a Royalist uprising in Scotland supported by an Irish Catholic army.
4 June: Hopton's army (R) links up with Maurice (R) and the Marquis of Hereford (R) in Somerset; they establish garrisons at Taunton, Bridgwater and Duncaster Castle, and then move on Wells and Bath.
4 June: Castlehaven (I) defeats Sir Charles Vavasour (R) at Cloghlea, County Cork.
8 June: Waller (P) occupies Bath.
16 June: Long Parliament passes the Licensing Order, designed to institute publishing censorship.
18 June: Battle of Chalgrove Field: Rupert (R) conducts a raid outside Oxford; John Hampden (P) killed in the skirmish.
22 June: Newcastle (R) resumes operations in Yorkshire.
28 June: Essex (P) tenders his resignation after his leadership is criticized.
30 June: Battle of Adwalton Moor; Newcastle (R) defeats Fairfax (P).
1 July: First meeting of the Westminster Assembly of Divines set up to reform English Church.
3 July: Newcastle (R) occupies Bradford after Fairfax (P) escapes; Lady Ann Fairfax taken prisoner.
4 July: Battle of Burton Bridge; Tyldesley (R) launches a cavalry charge across the bridge to secure passage for a Royalist relief convoy.
5 July: Battle of Lansdown (or Lansdowne); Waller (P) narrowly defeated by Royalist Western Army under Hopton (R).
10 July: Waller (P) pursues Hopton (R) and besieges Devizes.
13 July: Battle of Roundway Down; Maurice, Wilmot and Byron (R) inflict heavy defeat on Waller (P).
18 July: Brereton (P) probes Chester but withdraws after two days.
20 July: Battle of Gainsborough; Willoughby (P) captures the town.
24 July: On the recommendation of John Pym's committee, Parliament agrees to pay the arrears for Essex's army, to reinforce his cavalry and to raise more recruits.
26 July: Storming of Bristol; Fiennes (P) surrenders to Rupert (R).
28 July: Cromwell and Sir John Meldrum (P) defeat Cavendish at Gainsborough but cannot hold the town as Newcastle (R) approaches.
30 July: Willoughby (P) surrenders Gainsborough to Newcastle (R).
4 August: Capel (R) attacks Nantwich, but the attack fails. Erle (P) abandons the siege of Corfe Castle.
7 August: Irish insurgent leader O'Neill (I) defeats Lord Moore at Portlester.
10 August: Charles begins siege of Gloucester. Earl of Manchester appointed to command the Eastern Association army.
17 August: Church of Scotland ratifies the Solemn League and Covenant.
23 August: Manchester (P) begins the siege of King's Lynn.
30 August: Brereton (P) captures Eccleshall Castle.
2 September: Newcastle (R) commences the siege of Hull. Barnstaple surrenders to Maurice (R).
4 September: Stamford (P) surrenders Exeter to Maurice (R).
5 September: Essex (P) arrives at Prestbury Hill and forces Charles (R) to lift the siege of Gloucester.
11 September: Brereton and Sir Thomas Myddleton (P) seize Wem and establish a garrison.
15 September: The Cessation of Arms signed for Charles by the Marquis of Ormond (R) and Lord Mountgarret (I) for the Confederates; a one-year ceasefire allowing English troops in Irish garrisons to return to England to fight for the Royalists. Royalists commence siege of Plymouth.
16 September: King's Lynn surrenders to Manchester (P).
18 September: Skirmish at Aldbourne Chase.
20 September: First Battle of Newbury; Essex (P) engages Charles's (R) force: the latter withdraws, enabling Essex to move towards London.
25 September: Long Parliament and the Westminster Assembly ratify the Solemn League and Covenant. Under the terms of the deal with Scotland, the Committee of Safety is superseded by the Committee of Both Kingdoms.
29 September: Charles (R) resolves to form two new armies. Lord Hopton is appointed commander of a new Western Army to advance on London through Wiltshire and Hampshire; Lord Byron is appointed commander of a new army in Cheshire to regain Lancashire and assist the Earl of Newcastle in Yorkshire. Both armies to be reinforced by troops returning from Ireland.
30 September: Scottish troops occupy Berwick.
Early October: William Ogle (R) captures Winchester by surprise attack.
3 October: Astley (R) reoccupies Reading.
6 October: Maurice (R) captures Dartmouth in a surprise attack.
9 October: Manchester, Fairfax and Cromwell (P) besiege Bolingbroke Castle.
11 October: Battle of Winceby; Cromwell and Fairfax (P) rout Henderson (R). Meldrum (P) attacks the Royalist siege works at Hull.
12 October: Newcastle (R) abandons the siege of Hull.
15 October: Dyve (R) captures Newport Pagnell.

17 October: Capel (R) attempts to recapture Wem, but his force is decisively beaten by Brereton (P) at Lee Bridge while trying to escape.
20 October: Lincoln surrenders to Manchester (P).
30 October: Essex (P) recaptures Newport Pagnell and moves to capture St Albans.
November: Alasdair MacColla (R) raids the Western Isles of Scotland and captures Colonsay.
10 November: Ravenscroft (R) surrenders Hawarden Castle to Brereton (P).
12 November: Waller's (P) second attempt on Basing House fails. Brereton (P) captures Flint Castle.
16 November: The arrival of Royalist regiments under General Erneley (R) from Ireland drives Brereton (P) back in north Wales.
December: More Royalist regiments arrive from Ireland and land in north-west.
7 December: Parliamentarian force in Hawarden Castle surrenders to Erneley (R).
9 December: Arundel Castle surrenders to Hopton (R).
11 December: Richard Norton (P) attacks Royalist garrison at Romsey.
13 December: Waller (P) storms the Royalist garrison at Alton. Steele (P) surrenders Beeston Castle (Cheshire) to Byron (R).
20 December: Gainsborough surrenders to Meldrum (P). Waller (P) attacks Arundel.
22 December: Royalists abandon siege of Plymouth.
26 December: Second Battle of Middlewich; Brereton (P) defeated by Byron (R).

1644

4 January: Parliamentarian forces begin bombardment of Arundel Castle, which surrenders to Waller (P) two days later.
10 January: Byron (R) besieges Nantwich.
19 January: The Scots under Leven (C) march south and join Parliament's army, threatening York.
20 January: Charles commissions Earl of Antrim (R) to raise an army of 10,000 soldiers for service in England and 3,000 for service in Scotland.
25 January: Battle of Nantwich; Fairfax and Brereton (P) defeat Byron (R) and raise the siege.
28 January: Earls of Antrim (R) and Montrose (R) sign a formal agreement whereby Montrose will raise Royalist forces in Scotland and declare for the King; Antrim will undertake to raise forces in Ireland and the Western Isles and invade north-west.
2 February: Newcastle (R) occupies Newcastle hours before the Scottish army (C) appear to the north of the city.
3 February: Leven (C) demands the surrender of Newcastle which is rejected; Leven's men storm the outworks to the north-east.
10 February: Parliamentarian cavalry from Hull rout Royalists at Kilham then raid Bridlington.
20 February: The same group of Parliamentarian cavalry from Hull raid Whitby.
22 February: Laugharne (P) in conjunction with Swanley's (P) naval squadron, cross from Milford Haven to attack the Royalist fort at Pill near Pembroke, which surrenders two days later.
26 February: Laugharne (P) captures Roche Castle.
4 March: Leven (C) occupies Sunderland. Lambert's (P) cavalry capture Tadcaster. Rupert (R) defeats Mytton (P) at Market Drayton.
6 March: Meldrum (P) commences the siege of the Royalist stronghold of Newark. He attempts to storm the place two days later.
9 March: Laugharne (P) captures Tenby.
10 March: Carew Castle surrenders to Poyer (P); only Pembroke Castle remains in Royalist hands.
13 March: Hopton Castle surrenders to Woodhouse (R).
20 March: Covenanters storm and capture the fort at South Shields.
21 March: Rupert (R) relieves the siege of Newark.
24 March: The armies of Leven (C) and Newcastle (R) meet north of Sunderland but do not commit to battle. Marquis of Huntly (R) occupies Aberdeen.
27 March: Hopton and Ruthven (R) occupy Alresford.
29 March: Battle of Cheriton; Waller (P) defeats Hopton and Ruthven (R). Parliament's first decisive victory of the war.
Early April: Waller (P) storms and captures Winchester but Royalists maintain the castle. Waller's (P) troops capture Salisbury, Andover, Bishop's Waltham and then seize Christchurch (Dorset).
11 April: Lord Fairfax, Thomas Fairfax, Lambert and Meldrum (P) join forces to storm and capture Selby.
15 April: Montrose (R) occupies Dumfries.
18 April: Newcastle (R) occupies York.
23 April: Leven (C) and Fairfax (P) besiege York. Maurice (R) commences the siege of Lyme Regis.
2 May: Marquis of Argyll (C) recaptures Aberdeen.
6 May: Manchester (P) captures Lincoln.
10 May: Montrose (R) attacks the Covenanters at Morpeth; the town surrenders.
14 May: Monro (C) seizes Belfast.
24 May: Malmesbury surrenders to Massey (P).
25 May: Rupert (R) captures Stockport.
28 May: Storming of Bolton by Rupert (R); so-called 'Bolton Massacre'.
29 May: Montrose (R) captures Morpeth Castle from Covenanters.
2 June: Waller (P) seizes Newbridge and secures crossing over the Thames above and below Oxford.
5 June: Bombardment of York commences.
9 June: Waller (P) captures Sudeley Castle in Gloucestershire and Purefoy (P) captures Compton House in Warwickshire.
11 June: Rupert (R) captures Liverpool after a five-day bombardment. All of Lancashire (except Manchester) under Royalist control.
12 June: Gage (R) captures Boarstall House near Aylesbury.
23 June: Denbigh and Mytton (P) capture Oswestry.
29 June: Battle of Cropredy Bridge; Waller (P) inflicts a defeat on the Royalist rearguard but mutinous Parliamentarian army begins to desert in large numbers.
1 July: The siege of York is lifted.
2 July: Battle of Marston Moor; the combined forces of Fairfax, Manchester (P) and Leven (C) inflict a decisive defeat on Rupert and Newcastle (R), thereby ending Royalist influence in the north of England.
3 July: Myddleton (P) defeats Royalist cavalry under Marrow (R) attempting to recapture Oswestry.
4 July: The allies resume the siege of York. Rupert (R) withdraws west to the Welsh border while Montrose (R) withdraws north to the Scottish border.
8 July: Blake (P) captures Taunton.
16 July: Glemham (R) surrenders York to Fairfax (P).
23 July: Grenville (R) abandons siege of Plymouth as Essex (P) advances towards Tavistock.
25 July: Rupert and Byron (R) occupy Chester.
3 August: Grenville (R) occupies Tregony in an attempt to block Essex (P) from the west.

4 August: Massey (P) defeats Mynne (R) at Redmarley, exposing Herefordshire to Massey's raids. Myddleton and Mytton (P) raid Welshpool and rout a Royalist cavalry unit.

7 August–2 September: Battle of Lostwithiel; Charles (R) traps Essex's (P) army at Lostwithiel and a stand-off ensues.

7 August: Gage (R) attacks Waller's headquarters at Abingdon.

11 August: Grenville (R) drives Essex's (P) cavalry out of Bodmin and advances to Respryn Bridge, where he makes contact with the King.

12 August: Leven (C) resumes siege of Newcastle.

14 August: Middleton (P) defeated at Bridgwater.

22 August: Gerard (R) captures Haverfordwest.

26 August: Brereton (P) attacks Langdale (R) at Malpas in Cheshire and drives Royalists into north Wales.

1 September: Battle of Tippermuir; Montrose (R) routs Elcho's Covenanters and occupies Perth.

2 September: Skippon (P) surrenders the Parliamentarian infantry at Lostwithiel.

5 September: Myddleton (P) captures Montgomery Castle.

8 September: Erneley and Vaughan (R) launch a surprise attack on Myddleton (P) at Montgomery, forcing the latter to retreat to Oswestry.

12 September: Gage (R) drives the Parliamentarian forces out of Basingstoke.

13 September: Battle of Aberdeen; Montrose (R) defeats Balfour's Covenanters.

18 September: Battle of Montgomery; Byron (R) attempts to recapture Montgomery Castle but fails, leaving the Parliamentarians in control of central Wales.

23 September: Parliamentarians reoccupy Basingstoke and resume siege of Basing House.

29 September: Horton (P) resumes siege of Donnington Castle.

2 October: Myddleton (P) captures Powis Castle.

18 October: Goring (R) drives Waller's (P) army from Andover; the King's army subsequently occupies the town. Horton (P) abandons siege of Donnington Castle.

19 October: The Covenanters storm and capture Newcastle. Myddleton (P) captures Ruthin.

24 October: The Long Parliament passes the Ordinance of no quarter to Irish soldiers in England.

25 October: Northampton (R) relieves the siege of Banbury Castle.

27 October: Second Battle of Newbury; combined armies of Parliament inflict a tactical defeat on the Royalists, but fail to gain any strategic advantage. Tynemouth Castle surrenders to the Covenanters.

1 November: Royalists surrender Liverpool to Meldrum (P).

3 November: Royalists surrender Laugharne Castle in Pembrokeshire.

4 November: Long Parliament sends Propositions of Uxbridge to the King at Oxford.

9 November: Charles and Rupert (R) relieve Donnington Castle.

19 November: Norton (P) abandons siege of Basing House.

22 November: Crossland (R) surrenders Helmsley Castle to Fairfax (P).

8 December: Myddleton (P) storms and captures Abbey-Cwm-Hir in Radnorshire.

19 December: Parliamentarians and Covenanters besiege Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire. Self-Denying Ordinance passed by the House of Commons.

20 December: Fairfax (P) captures Knaresborough Castle.

21 December: Laugharne (P) captures Cardigan but Slaughter (R) retains control of the castle until 29 December when it is captured.

1645

3 January: Ludlow (P) routed at Salisbury by Sir Marmaduke Langdale (R).

6 January: Parliament agrees to the creation of the New Model Army.

10 January: Archbishop Laud executed on Tower Hill.

11 January: Rupert (R) attacks Abingdon but is repulsed.

15 January: Goring (R) attacks Christchurch, Dorset, but is repulsed.

20 January: Preston (I) besieges Duncannon Fort in County Wexford.

27 January: Brereton (P) tries to capture Chester but is repulsed.

2 February: Battle of Inverlochy; Montrose (R) defeats Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, destroying the power of the Campbells in the Highlands.

20 February: Maurice (R) outmanoeuvres Brereton (P) and relieves the siege of Chester.

22 February: Meldrum (P) captures town of Scarborough but Royalist defenders hold out in the castle.

23 February: Mytton (P) captures Shrewsbury.

25 February: Langdale (R) routs Rossiter's (P) force at Market Harborough and marches towards Newark.

28 February: Dyve (R) driven from Weymouth.

1 March: Langdale (R) defeats Lambert (P) at Wentbridge and temporarily lifts first siege of Pontefract.

8 March: Cromwell (P) captures Hillesdon House.

19 March: Duncannon Fort, County Wexford surrenders to Preston (I).

21 March: Parliamentarians commence second siege of Pontefract.

April: 1,400 Scottish soldiers leave Ulster to counter the threat from the Earl of Montrose (R).

4 April: Montrose (R) storms Dundee then evades Baillie's Covenanter army and escapes to Highlands.

22 April: Rupert (R) drives Massey's (P) forces out of Ledbury.

23 April: The Long Parliament passes the Self-Denying Ordinance. Siege of Taunton reinstated by Berkeley and Grenville (R). Gerard (R) defeats Laugharne (P) at Newcastle Emlyn.

24 April: Cromwell (P) defeats Northampton (R) near Islip and crosses River Cherwell.

25 April: Gerard (R) captures Picton Castle.

26 April: Cromwell (P) defeats Vaughan (R) at Bampton.

29 April: Cromwell's (P) summons for surrender of Faringdon Castle is rejected. Gerard (R) recaptures Carew Castle.

May: Clubman risings gathering momentum across south of England.

8 May: Blake (P) repels a Royalist assault on Taunton.

9 May: Battle of Auldearn; Montrose (R) defeats Hurry (C).

18 May: Brereton (P) abandons sieges of Chester and Hawarden Castle as Charles's (R) army moves north.

26 May: Massey (P) storms and captures Evesham, cutting Royalist lines of communication between Oxford and Worcester.

30 May: Rupert (R) storms Leicester.

1 June: Galvanized by the fall of Leicester, Parliament orders the New Model Army to march against Charles (R).

5 June: Fairfax (P) abandons the siege of Oxford and marches north.

9 June: Massey (P) defeats Lunsford (R) near Ludlow.

14 June: Battle of Naseby: New Model Army inflicts decisive defeat on Charles and Rupert; most of the Royalist artillery and stores captured.

18 June: Leicester surrenders to Fairfax (P).

28 June: Carlisle surrenders to Covenanters.

29 June: Goring (R) abandons siege of Taunton.

July: Publication of the King's papers captured at Naseby.

2 July: Battle of Alford; Montrose (R) defeats Baillie (C).

8 July: Massey (P) defeats Porter (R) at Isle Moor, Somerset.
10 July: Battle of Langport: Fairfax (P) routs Goring (R).
21 July: Pontefract Castle surrenders to Poyntz's (P) Northern Association army. Fairfax (P) storms Bridgwater in Somerset and captures the eastern quarter of the town, which surrenders two days later.
23 July: The Covenanters storm Canon Frome in Herefordshire.
25 July: Scarborough Castle surrenders to Poyntz (P).
31 July: Bath captured in a surprise attack by Colonel Okey (P).
1 August: Battle of Colby Moor; Laugharne (P) defeats Stradling (R) near Haverfordwest.
2 August: Fairfax (P) besieges Sherborne Castle, Dorset.
5 August: Laugharne (P) storms and captures the Royalist garrison at Haverfordwest.
15 August: Battle of Kilsyth; Montrose (R) defeats Baillie (C). Dyve (R) surrenders Sherborne Castle to Fairfax (P).
16 August: Montrose (R) occupies Glasgow.
17 August: Sir Robert Stewart and the Lagan army rout Irish cavalry (I) near Sligo.
23 August: Fairfax (P) commences siege of Bristol.
1 September: Leven (C) receives news of Montrose's (R) successes in Scotland. Leven (C) abandons the siege of Hereford and marches north.
5 September: Carew Castle in Pembrokeshire surrenders to Laugharne (P).
11 September: Rupert (R) surrenders Bristol to Fairfax (P).
13 September: Battle of Philiphaugh; Leslie (C) defeats Montrose (R).
14 September: Dalbier (P) begins bombarding Basing House.
20 September: Jones (P) storms the outer defences of Chester and bombards main city walls. Picton Castle in Pembrokeshire surrenders to Laugharne (P) after a 20-day siege.
21 September: Cromwell (P) occupies Devizes in Wiltshire and besieges the castle, which surrenders the next day.
24 September: Battle of Rowton Heath; Poyntz (P) defeats the King's cavalry under Sir Marmaduke Langdale (R). Lacock House in Wiltshire surrenders to Pickering (P).
26 September: Lucas (R) surrenders Berkeley Castle to Rainsborough (P).
28 September: Cromwell (P) enters the city of Winchester and summons Winchester Castle to surrender.
5 October: Winchester Castle surrenders to Cromwell (P).
8 October: Town of Sligo captured by Coote (P) in co-operation with the Lagan army.
10 October: Chepstow surrenders to Morgan (P).
12 October: Laugharne (P) occupies Carmarthen.
14 October: Cromwell's (P) army storms and sacks Basing House.
15 October: Digby and Langdale (R) defeat Parliamentarian infantry at Sherburn-in-Elmet, but are subsequently routed by Copley's (P) cavalry.
17 October: Fairfax (P) advances to Tiverton in Devon, captures the town and bombards the castle.
24 October: Final defeat of the Northern Horse by Sir Richard Browne (P) on Carlisle Sands. Digby and Langdale (R) escape to the Isle of Man.
25 October: Monmouth surrenders to Morgan (P).
1 November: At Denbigh, Colonel Jones (P) defeats Vaughan (R),who was marching for the relief of Chester.
3 November: Royalist outpost at Shelford Manor near Newark stormed by Poyntz (P) and the Northern Association army; the defenders are massacred.
4 November: Royalist garrison at Wiverton Hall near Newark surrenders to Poyntz (P).
6 November: Beeston Castle and Bolton Castle surrender to the Parliamentarians.
15 November: Final siege of Skipton Castle by Thornton (P) begins.
27 November: Leven (C) joins Poyntz (P) to besiege Newark.
2 December: Montrose (R) besieges Inverness.
18 December: Morgan and Birch (P) capture Hereford for Parliament in a surprise attack.
21 December: Mallory (R) surrenders Skipton Castle to Thornton (P).

1646

3 January: The Covenanters reoccupy Aberdeen.
9 January: Cromwell (P) routs Lord Wentworth's (R) troops in a surprise attack at Bovey Tracey in Devon.
12 January: Royalists abandon the siege of Plymouth.
18 January: Fairfax (P) storms and captures Dartmouth and surrounding outposts.
26 January: Powderham Castle surrenders to Fairfax (P), completing his encirclement of Exeter.
3 February: Byron (R) surrenders Chester to Brereton (P) after a 136-day siege.
10 February: Hopton (R) occupies Torrington in north Devon. Fairfax (P) marches north to intercept him.
16 February: Battle of Torrington; Fairfax (P) defeats Hopton (R), who withdraws into Cornwall.
18–20 February: Laugharne (P) defeats Royalist forces besieging Cardiff.
27 February: Corfe Castle in Dorset surrenders to the Parliamentarians.
9 March: Brereton (P) captures Lichfield city and begins a siege of 'the Close'.
14 March: Hopton (R) surrenders to Fairfax (P) at Truro.
Mid-March: Hawarden Castle surrenders to Parliament.
17 March: Parliamentarians besiege Pendennis Castle in Cornwall.
21 March: Battle of Stow-on-the-Wold; Lord Astley (R) defeated by Brereton (P) at the last pitched battle of the First Civil War.
1 April: Boys (R) surrenders Donnington Castle to Dalbier (P).
8 April: Ruthin Castle surrenders to Mytton (P).
13 April: Siege of Exeter ends with the surrender of Royalist garrison. Fairfax (P) occupies Exeter, then marches for Barnstaple.
14 April: Whitley (R) surrenders Aberystwyth in Cardiganshire to Powell (P) after a siege of several months.
20 April: Barnstaple surrenders to Fairfax (P). Dunster Castle in Somerset surrenders to Blake (P).
23 April: St Michael's Mount in Cornwall surrenders to Hammond (P).
26 April: Bridgnorth Castle captured by Parliament.
27 April: King Charles flees from Oxford disguised as a servant as the New Model Army approaches the city.
29 April: After raising a new force in the Highlands, Montrose (R) besieges Inverness but is driven off by Middleton (C).
3 May: Oxford besieged by Fairfax (P) and the New Model Army.
5 May: Charles surrenders to a Scottish army at Southwell, Nottinghamshire.
6 May: Newark falls to the Parliamentarians.
9 May: Banbury Castle near Oxford surrenders to Whalley (P).
21 May: Parliamentarians besiege Worcester.
5 June: Battle of Benburb; Irish Confederates under O'Neill (I) defeat Monro (C).
11 June: Charles writes to both Houses attempting to open peace negotiations directly with Parliament. He is obliged by the Scots to order the Marquis of Ormond to abandon his negotiations with the Irish Confederates, though he is aware that a treaty has already been concluded.
14 June: Anglesey surrenders to Welsh Parliamentarians.

15 June: Charles renews his order for Montrose (R) to disband his forces in Scotland, but Montrose demands guarantees from the Covenanters for the safety of his men.

24 June: Surrender of Oxford ends the English Civil War. Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice leave the country under terms. James, Duke of York, a prisoner of Parliament.

10 July: Lichfield Close surrenders to Brereton (P). Roscommon Castle surrenders to Irish Confederates commanded by Preston (I).

12 July: Bunratty Castle in County Clare surrenders to the Irish Confederates.

22 July: Siege of Worcester ends with surrender of Royalist garrison.

27 July: Wallingford Castle surrenders to Fairfax (P).

30 July: Proclamation of the First Ormond Peace in Dublin. Montrose (R) disbands his forces at Rattray near Blairgowrie. Parliamentary commissioners arrive in Newcastle to negotiate with the King.

31 July: Goodrich Castle surrenders to Parliament.

17 August: Pendennis Castle in Cornwall surrenders to Parliament.

19 August: Raglan Castle surrenders to Parliament.

24 August: Flint Castle in north Wales surrenders to Parliament.

7 October: Parliament votes that the New Model Army be kept in pay for another six months.

9 October: Long Parliament passes the Ordinance for the abolishing of Archbishops and Bishops in England and Wales and for settling their lands and possessions upon Trustees for the use of the Commonwealth.

12 October: Parliament asks the Marquis of Ormond (R) to step down as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; he orders the destruction of all crops, mills and bridges within an 8-mile radius of Dublin.

22 October: Disbandment of Parliament's Western Association Army.

26 October: Denbigh Castle in north Wales surrenders to Parliament.

18 November: Conway Castle in Wales surrenders to Parliament.

15 December: Final details of the payment and withdrawal from England of the Scottish army agreed between Parliament and the Scottish commissioners. Scotland to receive a total of £400,000.

31 December: The Lords and Commons agree that the King should be taken to Holmby House in Northamptonshire while the English and Scottish Parliaments discuss how to proceed.

1647

19 January: Holt Castle surrenders to Parliament.

26 January: Parliamentary commissioners arrive in Newcastle to take charge of the King.

6 February: Ormond (R) offers to surrender his office as lord lieutenant of Ireland to the English Parliament. Parliament orders the demolition of selected fortifications throughout England.

12 February: The last of the Scottish regiments leave English soil.

4 March: The House of Lords votes against continuing to raise taxes to pay the army.

10 March: General Leslie (C) marches north against Royalists still in arms in Scotland.

13 March: Harlech Castle, the last Royalist stronghold in Wales, surrenders to Parliament.

17 March: Fairfax (P) orders the New Model Army to stay at least 25 miles outside London.

21 March: A deputation of Parliamentary commissioners meets Fairfax (P) and senior officers at Saffron Walden in Essex to discuss plans for disbandment and the formation of a new army to go to Ireland.

22 March: Army officers refuse to volunteer for service in Ireland without assurances from Parliament regarding: settlement of arrears; indemnity from prosecution for past service; details of which regiments are to remain in England; who is to command in Ireland.

9 April: Colonel Michael Jones (P) appointed governor of Dublin and commander of Parliamentarian forces in Leinster.

10 April: Confederate Leinster army marches into County Carlow; Preston (I) storms and captures Carlow Castle.

16 May: 223 officers sign a Representation of the Army, setting out army grievances for presentation to Parliament.

18 May: The King's letter of 12 May read in Parliament. Presbyterian MPs and Scottish commissioners accept his offer as a basis for a settlement. Despite the Representation of the Army, the Presbyterians continue to plan the disbandment of the army without settlement of grievances.

21 May: Cromwell (P) delivers the report of the military commissioners to Parliament, reassuring MPs that the soldiers will remain loyal if fairly treated.

24 May: Argyll and Leslie (C) join forces to defeat MacColla (R) at Rhunahoarine Point in Kintyre. MacColla flees to Ireland; his followers are massacred.

28 May: Mutiny of Colonel Rainsborough's (P) regiment at Portsmouth. Agitators direct the mutineers to march for Oxford to secure the army's artillery train.

29 May: Fairfax (P) calls for a General Council of the Army, which draws up the Solemn Engagement, stating that the army will not disband until satisfactory arrangements have been made and that a general rendezvous of the army be held at Newmarket.

31 May: Parliament orders the army artillery train to be removed from Oxford to London. Cromwell (P) orders Cornet George Joyce (a junior officer in Fairfax's Horse) to ride to Oxford in order to safeguard the train of artillery for the army, and then to take a body of 500 horse to Holmby House and secure the King against any attempt by the Presbyterians to remove him to Scotland.

3 June: Joyce (P), with a troop of New Model Army cavalry, seizes the King from his Parliamentarian guards at Holdenby House and places him in the 'protective custody' of the New Model Army.

4–5 June: At a rendezvous on Kentford Heath near Newmarket the officers and men of the New Model Army give their assent to the Solemn Engagement

7 June: Parliamentarian force of 2,000 troops under Jones (P) lands near Dublin.

10 June: General Rendezvous of the New Model Army on Triploe Heath near Cambridge. The Council of the Army rejects Parliament's latest terms. A letter signed by Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton (P) and ten other officers is sent to the City authorities outlining the soldiers' grievances. The Army marches to Royston.

12 June: The New Model Army marches from Royston towards London. The Militia Committee orders the trained bands to mobilize, but only the Westminster regiment turns out in strength.

19 June: The Marquis of Ormond (R) surrenders Dublin to Jones (P).

15 July: Preston (I) captures the fortress of Naas near Dublin for the Confederates.

17 July: George Monck (P) appointed commander of all Parliament's forces in Ulster with the exception of Monro's Covenanters.

23 July: Preston (I) captures the fortress of Maynooth for the Confederates then besieges Trim, in preparation for an attack on Dublin.

28 July: The Marquis of Ormond (R) surrenders the lord lieutenancy of Ireland to Parliamentary commissioners at Dublin and sets sail for England.

29 July: The army marches for London.

1 August: General Council of the Army offers the Heads of Proposals. Jones (P) marches out of Dublin against Preston's (I) Confederates.

4 August: Supporters of the army open the city gates; four regiments occupy Southwark. Fairfax receives a letter from the City announcing its intention to submit. Jones (P) joins with forces commanded by Sir Henry Tichborne (P), Parliamentarian governor of Drogheda, and Colonel Moore (P) from Dundalk.

6 August: The army marches to Westminster. The Lord Mayor and aldermen welcome Fairfax (P) at Hyde Park; the Common Council greets him at Charing Cross.

7 August: In a deliberate show of strength, the army marches through London on the way to its new headquarters at Croydon.

8 August: Battle of Dungan's Hill; Jones (P) defeats Preston (I) and the Confederate Leinster army. Siege of Trim lifted; the forts at Naas and Maynooth recovered for Parliament.

5 September: George Monck (P) arrives at Dublin to take command of Parliamentarian forces in Ulster.

9 September: Army Council discusses terms for the King's restoration.

21 September: Publication of the first issue of the Royalist news book *Mercurius Pragmaticus.*

2 October: Jones (P) marches from Dublin against the Confederates; he joins Monck (P) to form a combined Parliamentarian army in Ireland of 6,000 foot and 1,600 horse. During October, Jones's campaigns against O'Neill (I) clear northern Leinster of Confederate strongholds.

6 October: The Army Council resolves to open new negotiations with the King, offering him more lenient terms than those offered by Parliament.

7 October: Jones (R) storms Portlester; garrison massacred.

11 October: Charles refuses to negotiate with the army; the Royal council is dismissed.

28 October: Beginning of the Putney Debates under the presidency of Cromwell. The Council of the Army meets in Putney church to discuss *The Case of the Armie and the Agreement of the People*.

6 November: Parliament resolves to force its Propositions on the King without negotiation.

9 November: New Army Council appointed, consisting of officers only. Three separate smaller army reviews to be held; anxious to maintain army discipline, Fairfax (P) requests that Church lands be sold to provide for the soldiers' pay.

11 November: Charles escapes from Hampton Court.

13 November: Charles arrives on the Isle of Wight and stays at Carisbrooke Castle. Battle of Knocknanuss; Lord Inchiquin (P) defeats the Confederate army of Viscount Taaffe (I) in Munster.

14 November: Fairfax (P) and Council of Officers submit The Army Remonstrance outlining its intention of abandoning negotiations with Charles and to bring him to trial as an enemy of the people.

15 November: At Corkbush Field, near Ware, Hertfordshire, two regiments threaten to mutiny. Fairfax and Cromwell (P) personally confront the troops; three ringleaders arrested. Private Richard Arnold shot as an example.

24 November: Cromwell (P) turns against the King when a letter is intercepted in which Charles tells the Queen his plans to negotiate with the Scottish Presbyterians rather than the army (the 'saddle letter').

15 December: Charles sends the Scottish commissioners a draft of the terms he is now willing to accept.

26 December: Charles signs the Engagement with the Scottish commissioners.

SECOND ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

1648

3 January: House of Commons passes the Vote of No Addresses, by which no more approaches are to be made to the King because of his secret negotiations with the Scots.

End February: Colonel Barry (R) lands at Cork with instructions from the Marquis of Ormond to open negotiations for an alliance between Royalists in Ireland and Confederates.

Mid-March: Lord Saye and Sele (P) attends the King at Carisbrooke Castle and tries to persuade him to come to terms with Parliament.

23 March: Colonel Poyer (R) declares for the King at Pembroke in south Wales.

3 April: Lord Inchiquin (R) declares for the King and for an alliance with the Irish Confederates and the Scots.

9 April: Poyer (R) marches to Carmarthen to rendezvous with Colonel Powell (R); their combined force estimated at between 3,000 and 4,000 men.

17 April: Colonel Horton (P) arrives at Neath to enforce the disbandment of Parliamentarian troops in south Wales.

28 April: Sir Marmaduke Langdale (R) occupies Berwick for the King, intending to hold it until the arrival of the Scottish army. Sir Philip Musgrave (R) takes Carlisle for the King, opening a route into England for the Scots.

1 May: News reaches the Army Council of War at Windsor that Fleming (P) has been killed by Royalist insurgents in south Wales. Fairfax sends Cromwell with two regiments of horse and three of foot to join Horton (P) in putting down the rebellion; Waller (P) sent to secure Cornwall.

4 May: Duke of Hamilton (C) appointed commander of the Scottish army to invade England; levy of the Engager army begins.

8 May: Battle of St Fagans; Royalist insurgents under Laugharne (R) routed by Horton (P). Remnants of the Royalist army retreat into Pembroke Castle.

20 May: The Inchiquin Truce: a cessation of hostilities signed between Lord Inchiquin (R) and the Confederate Supreme Council at Kilkenny.

25 May: Ewer (P) takes Chepstow Castle by storm.

27 May: Archbishop Rinuccini excommunicates all supporters of the Inchiquin Truce. O'Neill (I) declares for Rinuccini, but Irish leaders Clanricarde, Preston and Taafe (I) support the Supreme Council. The divisions preclude any possibility of help for the Royalists from Ireland.

1 June: Battle of Maidstone; Fairfax (P) defeats the Kent Royalists.

4 June: Cromwell's (P) attempt to storm Pembroke Castle repulsed.

5 June: Dover Castle surrenders to Rich (P). Colonel John Morrice (R) seizes Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire and declares for the King.

12 June: Skirmish on Mauchline Moor; anti-Engager insurgents dispersed by Middleton and the Earl of Callendar (R).

13 June: Fairfax's (P) attempt to storm Colchester repulsed by Sir Charles Lucas (R); a siege ensues.

24 June: Cromwell's (P) second attempt to storm Pembroke Castle repulsed.

1 July: Lilburne (P) captures 400 Royalists under Sir Richard Tempest (R) in a surprise attack at Cartington in Northumberland.

6 July: Earl of Holland (R) attempts to secure Reigate Castle but is resisted by Lord Monson (P).

8 July: The Duke of Hamilton's (C) Engager army crosses the border into England. Hamilton marches to join forces with Langdale's (R) Royalists at Carlisle.

11 July: Laugharne and Poyer (R) surrender Pembroke Castle to Cromwell (P).

12 July: Walmer Castle surrenders to Colonel Rich (P).

14 July: Fairfax's (P) troops seize the Hythe, Colchester's harbour on the River Colne. Skirmish at Penrith between Lambert's (P) rearguard and Engager (C) cavalry.

16 July: Cromwell (P) departs Pembroke and marches for the north.

17 July: The Scots (C) attack Lambert's (P) headquarters at Appleby; he withdraws across the Pennines to Barnard Castle in Durham, awaiting the arrival of Cromwell (P).

22 July: The Prince of Wales's (R) fleet arrives off Yarmouth in Norfolk, but local magistrates supported by a small body of troops prevent him from landing.

31 July: Appleby Castle in Westmorland surrenders to the Scots (C).

13 August: Cromwell and Lambert (P) join forces at Wetherby near York; they advance across the Pennines in pursuit of Hamilton (C).

14 August: A landing force from the Prince of Wales's (R) fleet attempts to lift the siege of Deal but is driven back by Rich (P).

17 August: Battle of Preston; Cromwell (P) defeats Langdale (R) and occupies Preston while the Engager army (C) withdraws south towards Wigan.

19 August: Battle of Winwick Pass; final defeat of Hamilton's (C) Scottish army.

25 August: Hamilton (C) surrenders to Lambert and Grey (P) at Uttoxeter in Staffordshire. Deal Castle in Kent surrenders to Rich (P).

27 August: Colchester surrenders to Fairfax (P). He occupies the city the next day.

30 August: The Royalist and Parliamentarian fleets manoeuvre in the Thames estuary but are driven apart by bad weather. The Prince of Wales (R) sails for the Netherlands the next day.

5 September: Leven (C) secures Edinburgh Castle. Sandown Castle in Kent surrenders to Rich (P).

16 September: Monck (P) secures Belfast, Carrickfergus and Coleraine against Scottish supporters of the Engagement in Ulster. Monro (C) sent as a prisoner to England.

19 September: Earl of Warwick's (P) fleet arrives in the Netherlands to blockade the Royalist fleet in Helvoetsluys harbour. Warwick tries to persuade the crews to desert and return to Parliament.

21 September: Cromwell (P) crosses the River Tweed and advances into Scotland.

3 October: Ormond (R) lands at Cork as the King's Lord Lieutenant in Ireland with instructions to encourage the alliance between Lord Inchiquin (R) and the Confederates in the interests of forming a united Royalist party in Ireland.

14 October: Cromwell (P) at Carlisle, from where he marches into Yorkshire and sets up his quarters at Knottingley, intending to enforce the submission of Pontefract and Scarborough – the only castles still holding out for the King.

10 November: Henry Ireton (P) introduces the Army Remonstrance to the General Council of the Army, calling for the purging of Parliament and the trial of the King. Fairfax (P) and a majority of Council members oppose the Remonstrance.

18 November: The General Council of the Army at St Albans adopts the Army Remonstrance.

25 November: Colonel Ewer (P) sent to relieve Colonel Hammond (P) of his charge of the King at Carisbrooke.

1 December: Fairfax (P) orders Charles (R) to be moved from the Isle of Wight to Hurst Castle.

2 December: The army marches into London.

6 December: Pride's Purge, when troops under Colonel Thomas Pride (P) remove opponents of Oliver Cromwell (P) from Parliament by force of arms resulting in the Rump Parliament.

23 December: Charles (R) arrives at Windsor Castle. Riots in support of the King break out in the town and are violently suppressed by soldiers.

28 December: First reading in Parliament of an ordinance instituting a special court for the trial of the King.

1649

1 January: An ordinance passed by the House of Commons proposing a special court for Charles's trial.

2 January: House of Lords rejects the ordinance for the King's trial.

4 January: Rump Parliament declares itself supreme authority in the land, with powers to pass laws without the consent of the King or the House of Lords.

15 January: 'An Agreement of the People of England' presented to the Rump Parliament.

17 January: The Second Ormond Peace: Ormond (R) concludes a treaty with the Irish Confederates to raise 18,000 troops for the King in exchange for toleration for Catholics and constitutional reform in Ireland.

20 January: Opening of the King's trial; Charles refuses to recognize the legal authority of the High Court.

21 January: Prince Rupert's (R) squadron of seven warships sails from Helvoetsluys in the Netherlands for Kinsale in southern Ireland.

27 January: Charles's death warrant signed.

30 January: Charles I executed by beheading at Whitehall.

2 February: Parliament resolves to strengthen the Navy against the threat from Prince Rupert's (R) fleet and Irish privateers by sending 30 warships and 40 armed merchantmen to sea.

5 February: Eldest son of Charles I, Charles, Prince of Wales, proclaimed 'King of Great Britain, France and Ireland' by the Scottish Parliament.

7 February: Rump Parliament votes to abolish the English monarchy and the House of Lords.

9 February: Publication of *Eikon Basilike*, allegedly written by Charles I.

14 February: Rump Parliament creates the English Council of State.

17 February: Charles II (R) renews Ormond's (R) commission as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Mid-February: The Scottish Presbytery of Belfast denounces the execution of King Charles and encourages the Ulster Scots to refuse to cooperate with the Parliamentarian commanders Monck and Coote. Charles II proclaimed King of Great Britain, France and Ireland by Hugh, Viscount Montgomery and other Irish Royalists at Newtownards in Ulster.

22 February: Charles II (R) appoints Montrose (R) his Captain General in Scotland.

26 February: Ormond (R) sends representatives to persuade O'Neill (I) to join the Royalist alliance but O'Neill will only consider doing so if six counties in Ulster are restored to the native Irish.

14 March: Jones (P) replies to Ormond, rejecting his authority as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and refusing to surrender Dublin.

15 March: Council of State nominates Cromwell (P) to command the army to be sent to Ireland.

17 March: Rump passes an Act abolishing the monarchy.
19 March: Rump abolishes the House of Lords.
24 March: Morrice (R) finally surrenders Pontefract Castle to Lambert (P) after a nine-month siege.
28 March: Arrest and imprisonment of Leveller leaders.
Late March: Parliamentarian garrison at Londonderry besieged by the Lagan Army of Ulster.
8 May: Battle of Balvenie; Ker (C) routs Pluscardine's (R) rebels, bringing the Royalist uprising in the Highlands to an end. O'Neill (I) and Monck (P) sign a three-month cessation of hostilities at Dundalk.
14 May: Cromwell and Fairfax (P) suppress Leveller mutineers at Bedford.
15 May: Ormond (R) sends Inchiquin (R) and Castlehaven (R) north from Kilkenny to clear the way for a Royalist advance on Dublin.
16 May: Inchiquin (R) captures Leix Castle in Queen's County.
19 May: England declared a Commonwealth.
21 May: Castlehaven (R) captures Athy in County Kildare from O'Neill's (I) garrison.
1 June: Ormond (R) musters 14,000 men near Clogrennan near Carlow and prepares his campaign against the Parliamentarian garrisons in Leinster.
19 June: Ormond's (R) army arrives at Finglas on the northern outskirts of Dublin and prepares to blockade the city.
22 June: Charles II arrives at Brussels in the Spanish Netherlands to negotiate for help from Spain. He is rejected by the Archduke Leopold, on the orders of King Philip.
28 June: Charles II sends Sir Robert Meynell to Rome to seek help from the Pope.
Early July: Monro (C) joins the Lagan army besieging Londonderry with 2,000 Ulster Scots.
9 July: The Marquis of Clanricarde (I) captures Sligo in Connacht.
11 July: Drogheda surrenders to Inchiquin (R).
24 July: Monck (P) surrenders Dundalk to Inchiquin (R) after most of the garrison defect.
28 July: Ormond's (R) troops storm and capture Rathfarnham Castle near Dublin.
2 August: Jones (P) recaptures Baggotrath Castle and goes on to inflict a decisive defeat on Ormond's (R) coalition army at the battle of Rathmines.
12 August: Ormond (R) succeeds in getting O'Neill (I) to join the Royalists against the Parliamentarians.
15 August: Cromwell (P) arrives in Dublin with 35 ships. Henry Ireton (P) sets sail for Ireland with a second force which joins Cromwell at Dublin a week later.
10 September: Cromwell (P) storms and captures Drogheda; many of the garrison put to the sword.
15 September: Coote (P) captures Coleraine; the garrison is put to the sword. Venables (P) occupies Dundalk, which the Royalists have abandoned.
17 September: Charles II lands at Jersey, hoping to move from there to lead the Royalists in Ireland.
21 September: Carlingford surrenders to Venables (P). The next day he occupies Newry.
27 September: Venables (P) occupies Lisburn and marches to invest Belfast.
28 September: Arklow Castle surrenders to Cromwell (P).
29 September: Ferns Castle surrenders to Cromwell (P).
30 September: Belfast surrenders to Colonel Venables (P) and Enniscorthy, in County Wexford, surrenders to Cromwell (P).
October: First publication of *Eikonoklastes* by John Milton; a rebuttal of *Eikon Basilike*.
2 October: Jones (P) captures Fort Rosslare guarding Wexford harbour, enabling Parliamentarian fleet to land siege artillery.
11 October: Sinnott (I) surrenders Wexford Castle to Cromwell (P); storming and massacre of the garrison.
19 October: Sir Lucas Taaffe (I) surrenders New Ross to Cromwell (P).
20 October: O'Neill (I) agrees to join Ormond (R) against Cromwell.
2 November: Colonel Dalziel (C) signs articles of surrender at Carrickfergus, agreeing to deliver the town and castle on 13 December.
6 December: Coote and Venables (P) defeat forces under Montgomery and Monro (C) at Lisnestrain near Lisburn.
13 December: Coote (P) occupies Carrickfergus. All of Ulster under Parliamentarian control except Charlemont and Enniskillen.

1650–1660 THE (ENGLISH) INTERREGNUM

1650

11 January: House of Commons requests Cromwell's (P) return from Ireland to deal with the situation in Scotland; Cromwell ignores the request until he has secured Ireland.
31 January: Cromwell (P) captures Kilbeheney Castle in County Limerick.
2 February: Cromwell (P) captures Rehill Castle in County Tipperary.
3 February: Cromwell (P) advances to Fethard Castle in County Tipperary, which surrenders without resistance.
4 February: Cashel Castle surrenders to Cromwell (P) without resistance.
8 February: Callan surrenders to Reynolds (P) after the execution of captured soldiers.
10 February: Ireton (P) storms and captures Ardfinnan Castle.
24 February: Cahir Castle in County Tipperary surrenders to Cromwell (P).
27 February: Kiltinan Castle in County Tipperary bombarded into submission by Cromwell (P).
1 March: Ballisonan Castle near Carlow surrenders to Hewson (P). Royalists abandon garrisons at Athy and Maryborough (Portaloise).
3 March: Hewson (P) advances to capture Castledermot.
21 March: Gowran Castle surrenders to Cromwell (P).
27 March: Sir Walter Butler (R) surrenders Kilkenny to Cromwell (P).
Late March: Lord Broghill and Henry Cromwell (P) defeat Lord Inchiquin's (R) forces near Mallow in County Cork.
21 April: Dunbeath Castle surrenders to Hurry (P).
27 April: Battle of Carbisdale; Strachan (C) defeats Montrose (R).
1 May: Treaty of Breda signed between Charles II and the Scottish Covenanters.
10 May: Lord Broghill (P) defeats an Irish relief force marching for Clonmel at Macroom in County Cork.
11 May: Carrigadrohid Castle near Macroom surrenders to Broghill (P).
16 May: Cromwell (P) storms Clonmel.
17 May: The Mayor of Clonmel surrenders to Cromwell (P).
27 May: Cromwell (P) concludes conquest of Ireland and returns to England leaving Ireton (P) in command.
2 June: Charles II sets sail for Scotland without having agreed to the Covenanters' new demands.

18 June: Reinforced by regiments of the New Model Army, Coote (P) advances to attack the Ulster Confederates.
21 June: Battle of Scarriffhollis; Coote (P) defeats the last Confederate field army, under the command of Heber MacMohan, Bishop of Clogher (I).
23 June: Charles II lands in Speymouth, Scotland, and signs the Solemn League and Covenant.
26 June: Fairfax (P) resigns as commander-in-chief of the Commonwealth army. Cromwell (P) appointed in his place.
28 June: Cromwell (P) marches for Scotland with 16,000 men.
11 July: Parliament passes a new Militia Act. Property holders to contribute proportionately to defence costs. Lords-lieutenant of counties to be replaced by commissioners appointed by Parliament or the Council of State.
13 July: Inchiquin's (R) forces in County Kerry defeated by Colonel Robert Phayre's (P) cavalry.
22 July: Cromwell (P) crosses the border into Scotland.
29 July: Cromwell (P) advances towards the defensive lines around Edinburgh but cannot draw the Scots out into the open.
31 July: Scottish lancers under Colonel Montgomery (C) attack Cromwell's (P) camp at Musselburgh.
6 August: Preston (I) surrenders Waterford to Ireton (P).
12 August: Duncannon Fort near Waterford surrenders to Ireton (P).
14 August: O'Neill (I) surrenders Charlemont Fort in Ulster to Coote (P).
24 August: Cromwell (P) storms and captures Red Hall, a fortified house commanding the crossing of the Water of Leith.
1 September: Cromwell (P) falls back to Dunbar.
3 September: Battle of Dunbar; Cromwell (P) routs the Scots. Leslie (C) retreats to Stirling; Committee of Estates abandons Edinburgh for Stirling.
4 September: Lambert (P) occupies the city of Edinburgh but Walter Dundas (C) refuses to surrender Edinburgh Castle.
5 October: Colonel Montgomery (C) finds Charles taking refuge in a shepherd's hut in the mountains. The King agrees to accompany him back to Perth.
25 October: Colonel Axtell (P) defeats the Marquis of Clanricarde's (I) forces at Meelick Island on the River Shannon.
1 December: Lambert (P) defeats Colonel Ker (C) and the Western Association army at Hamilton.

1651

1 January: Charles II crowned King of Scots at Scone.
23 February: Tantallon Castle surrenders to Monck (P).
9 March: Arrest of John Birkenhead and other conspirators at Greenock; capture of correspondence regarding plans for widespread Royalist insurrection in England.
29 March: Arrest of Royalist conspirator Tom Coke. In exchange for his life, Coke reveals full details of Royalist plans and names the leaders of the conspiracy in England. Widespread arrests follow.
23 May: Sir John Grenville (R) agrees to surrender the Isles of Scilly after General-at-Sea Robert Blake (P) offers generous terms.
18 June: Lord Dillon (I) surrenders Athlone to Coote (P).
12 July: The Battle of Knocknaclashy; Lord Broghill (P) routs Viscount Muskerry's (I) Irish relief force marching for Limerick.
20 July: Battle of Inverkeithing; Lambert (P) defeats Sir John Brown (C).
24 July: Monck (P) captures Inchgarvie in Fife.
29 July: Monck (P) captures Burntisland, securing Cromwell's (P) base of operations in Fife.
2 August: Perth surrenders to Cromwell's (P) summons.
6 August: Monck (P) arrives at Stirling; town surrenders but castle continues to resist for another eight days.
16 August: Skirmish at Warrington Bridge. Combined force of Lambert and Harrison (P) withdraws before the Royalist advance.
25 August: Battle of Wigan Lane; Derby (R) and the Lancashire Royalists routed at Wigan by a regiment of horse under Lilburne (P).
28 August: Battle of Upton; Lambert (P) captures Upton Bridge on the outskirts of Worcester, allowing Cromwell's (P) army to operate on both banks of the River Severn.
1 September: Monck (P) storms Dundee; his troops massacre up to 800 soldiers of the garrison and plunder the town.
3 September: Battle of Worcester; Cromwell (P) defeats Charles II (R) and the Scots (C). The last major battle of the Wars.
6 September: Charles II spends the day hiding in the Royal Oak in the woodlands surrounding Boscobel House.
7 September: Aberdeen occupied by English troops.
15 October: Charles II sails for France from Shoreham, near Brighton, in Captain Tattershall's coal boat the *Surprise*.
16 October: Charles II lands in Normandy.
19 October: Charles II joins Henrietta Maria and James, Duke of York, in exile in Paris.
25 October: Royalist garrison at Mount Orgueil on Jersey surrenders to Colonel Heane (P).
26 October: Limerick surrenders to Ireton (P).
31 October: Royalist garrison on the Isle of Man surrenders to Duckenfield (P).
10 December: Cromwell (P) summons a conference of army officers and lawyer MPs to discuss the settlement of the nation.

1652

13 March: Colonel O'Dwyer (I) surrenders Irish forces in Tipperary and Waterford.
12 May: Preston (I) surrenders Galway to Coote (P).
1652–1654 First Anglo-Dutch War, fought entirely at sea between the navies of the Commonwealth of England and the United Provinces of the Netherlands. It resulted from trade disputes; the English navy prevailed, forcing the Dutch to accept an English monopoly on trade with England and her colonies.
20 April 1653: Rump Parliament disbanded by Oliver Cromwell.
18 December 1653: Cromwell installed as Lord Protector.

1653–58 THE PROTECTORATE

3 September 1654: First Protectorate Parliament assembles (dissolved 22 January 1655).
25 March 1655: Battle of the Severn fought in the Province of Maryland; won by a Puritan force fighting under a Commonwealth flag, which defeated a Royalist force fighting for Lord Baltimore.
17 September 1656: Second Protectorate Parliament assembles until 26 June 1657.
23 February 1657: Oliver Cromwell offered the crown.
13 April 1657: Oliver Cromwell declines the crown.
3 September 1658: Death of Oliver Cromwell.

1658–59 THE PROTECTORATE UNDER RICHARD CROMWELL

7 May 1659: Rump Parliament restored by Richard Cromwell after coercion by army officers.

25 May 1659: Richard Cromwell delivers a formal letter resigning the position of Lord Protector.

13 October 1659: Army dissolves Rump Parliament.

1660 THE ENGLISH RESTORATION

30 January 1660: Charles II proclaimed King of England.

March 1660: Convention Parliament elected.

4 April 1660: Charles II issues the Declaration of Breda, making known the conditions of his acceptance of the crown of England.

25 April 1660: Convention Parliament assembles for the first time.

29 May 1660: Charles II arrives in London; the English monarchy is restored.

July 1660: Richard Cromwell leaves England for France, where he goes by a variety of pseudonyms, including 'John Clarke'.

29 December 1660: Convention Parliament disbanded by Charles II.

23 April 1661: Coronation of Charles II at Westminster Abbey.

30 January 1661: On the twelfth anniversary of the beheading of Charles I, the exhumed remains of Oliver Cromwell are posthumously executed (Cromwell's severed head displayed on a pole outside Westminster Hall until 1685).

LEGEND TO MAPS

PHYSICAL FEATURES


Contour (height in feet)


River (arrow shows direction of flow)


Marsh/bog


Woodland


Hedge


Enclosed land (this would have been heavily subdivided, but rarely recorded in detail)


Road


Bridge

Track


Ditch/dyke


County border


National border


Town (neutral)


Church

MILITARY SYMBOLS


Royalist force (represented by royal blue)


Parliamentarian force (represented by red)


Covenanter/Engager force (represented by sky blue)


Scottish Royalist force (represented by royal blue)


Irish Royalist force (represented by royal blue)


Irish rebel force (represented by green)


Battle or skirmish


Neutral castle or fort (represented by grey)


Castle (Irish)


Siege of castle or fort (inner castle in colour of garrison; outer roundel in colour of besieging forces)


Town (Royalist)


Siege of city/town (inner dot in colour of defenders; outer circle in colour of besieging forces)


Sconce/fortified position


Fortified line


Earth fortifications


Siege line/trench line (Parliamentarian)

Sap line (Parliamentarian)


Bridge of boats


Barricade


Ship/naval force (Parliamentarian)


Baggage train (Covenanter)


Siege or garrison artillery (Parliamentarian)

Field artillery (Royalist)


Bivouac area (Royalist)


Movement (Parliamentarian)


Attack (Covenanter)


Withdrawal (Parliamentarian)

UNIT SYMBOLS


Pike formation (Royalist)


Musket formation (Parliamentarian)


Cavalry (Irish)


Dragoons (Royalist)


Dragoons or musketeers deployed (Parliamentarian)

AUTHOR'S NOTE

Where the information boxes on the maps contain a number in brackets, corresponding notes can be found in the Notes to Maps section on page 327.

INTRODUCTION – ORIGINS OF CONFLICT

The bravest are surely those who have the clearest vision of what is before them, glory and danger alike, and yet notwithstanding, go out to meet it.

Thucydides (471–400 BC)

It is not unreasonable to suggest that any single-issue explanation of the causes, origins and/or significance of the English Civil War can ever be adequate. As a study, it is a many-headed monster attached to the same body. In fairness, the debate as to its origins has never abated; in fact, it has morphed, largely because historians reinterpret, quite rightly, the old based on the new. But this has not resulted in consensus – far from it. Even the title of the war has been subject to challenge as new and contrasting theories continue to emerge.

The 17th-century post-war interpretations tended to be shaped by the freshness of the trauma. Bulstrode Whitelocke, a lawyer, one of Cromwell's advisors, and the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, suggested the nation had stumbled into conflict: 'It is strange to note how we have insensibly slid into the beginning of a civil war by one unexpected accident after another.'[1] Other early English accounts were rather simplistic, or driven by personal circumstance in pointing the finger of culpability. Lord Clarendon (Edward Hyde) blamed the King's opponents; Lucy Hutchinson, the wife of a prominent Parliamentarian who died in prison (under Charles II), considered it a struggle between priestcraft and tyranny; Thomas May, a Parliamentary secretary, was unequivocal in his blame of the monarch and his close personal advisors; while Thomas Hobbes blamed mankind, which he considered to be obsessed with society's need of authority.[2] Contemporary accounts from Scotland and Ireland are less balanced in their blameworthiness. Other than official papers, the memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose on the one hand, and the letters of Robert Baillie on the other, provide the case for and against (respectively) Charles's cause north of the border,[3] while a collection of letters and seminal documents put together by John Gilbert for the Irish Archaeology and Celtic Society, in the latter part of the 19th century, gives a good contemporary insight into the struggle from the perspective of the Irish 'rebels'.[4] At this stage, however, there was no attempt to place the conflict into a multinational context.

Another contemporary view was provided by James Harrington, an English political theorist and advocate of republicanism. He looked at the longer-term reasons, namely that feudalism was on the wane while the middling classes were on the wax. As such, he threw a socio-economic cause into the mix, widening the debate in terms of foundation and time. Thus, four pillars were established, one at each corner of the debate. As Peter Gaunt summarized in his first-rate short work on the wars, 'these key variables – long-term or short-term, political and constitutional (including religion) or socio-economic – provide a matrix into which most subsequent interpretations can be placed'.[5]

Curiously, however, during the 18th century the debate did not advance with anything like the same intensity of the subsequent two centuries. The issue over James II's suitability to the English crown led to divisions and the emergence of two political groups: the Whigs, who opposed the idea, and the Tories, their Royalist opponents. In short, the Whigs proposed Parliamentary primacy over the monarch, while the Tories supported the idea of monarchical primacy (but not necessarily absolutism) in the constitutional process. It was, in a way, an echo of the divide between Parliamentarian and Royalist that had led to war in the first instance. Then, following the Glorious Revolution of 1688–89, the Whig view triumphed and their explanation of history began to mature. This 'Whig interpretation' was seen as a combined struggle of political and constitutional liberty and a secular and religious revolution. It provided the descriptive basis of the civil struggles for the 19th-century historian Thomas Babington Macaulay, published in his defining and highly readable five-volume work, *History of England*. His *magnum opus* endorsed the classic Whig statement and demonstrated those (consequent) virtues with examples of Parliamentary government that had developed in Britain (and America). Macaulay's work was followed 30 years later by Samuel Rawson Gardiner's tomes covering the period leading to the Civil War, the war itself and the subsequent period of the Commonwealth and Protectorate.[6] Once again, this is undeniably a great work, but the problem is that neither author made an attempt to consider the struggle as anything other than one of political liberty and religious evolution. Indeed, Gardiner's statement that 'on the whole, the nobility and the gentry took the side of the King, while the townsmen and the yeomanry took the side of Parliament' could not have been more deliberately misleading.[7]

At the end of the Victorian period socio-economic historians were laying the foundations of scientific economic history, which led to a number of reappraisals and new interpretations of the Civil War, along class and commercial lines. In 1887 Karl Marx argued, in *Das Kapital*, that the appropriation and exploitation of the land by a feudal aristocracy resulted in the rise of the English bourgeoisie commercial class, who were acting out of their own interest to acquire political power.[8] He made the distinction that the bourgeoisie class of English 'gentry' were not part of the nobility and that the Civil War was, therefore, a class struggle. This argument was developed by Richard Tawney in his work *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* in 1926 and again in an article for the *Economic History Review* entitled

1 Cobbett, *Parliamentary History of England,* vol. II, p. 1415.

2 Hyde, *Great Rebellion*; Hutchinson, *Life of Colonel Hutchinson*; May, *History of Parliament of England*; Hobbes, *Causes of the Civil Wars.*

3 Wishart, *The Memoirs of James Graham Marquis of Montrose*; Laing, *Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie.*

4 Gilbert, *Affairs in Ireland.*

5 Gaunt, *The English Civil Wars.*

6 Gardiner, *Accession of James I, Great Civil War* and *Commonwealth and Protectorate.*

7 Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, vol. I., p. 11.

8 Marx, *Capital*, vol. I., pp. 676–8.


MAP 1
The Three Kingdoms
KEY CITIES AND TOWNS c.1640
1300m and over
1000m
800m
600m
400m
200m
Sea level
Lakes and rivers
ORKNEY ISLANDS
Pentland Firth
Cape Wrath
Duncansby Hd
Wick
HEBRIDES OR WESTERN ISLANDS
LEWIS
The Minch
Pt of Aird
NORTH UIST
SOUTH UIST
SKYE
RUM
Barra Hd
COLL
TIRÉE
MULL
JURA
ISLAY
Pt of Rhinns
KINTYRE
ARRAN
Morray Firth
Kinnaird Hd
Dingwall
Elgin
Nairn
Peterhead
Inverness
Culloden
Turriff
Buchan Ness
Aberdeen
Stonehaven
Dundee
Arbroath
Buddon Ness
Perth
St Andrews
Fife Ness
Kinross
Firth of Lorn
Stirling
Dunfermline
Firth of Forth
Edinburgh
Dunbar
St Abb's Hd
Glasgow
Paisley
Dalkeith
Haddington
Hamilton
Berwick
HOLY IS.
Firth of Clyde
Kilmarnock
Ayr
North Sea
ATLANTIC OCEAN
TORY IS.
Ram's Hd
ARAN IS.
Coleraine
Derry (Londonderry)
Letterkenny
North Channel
Carrickfergus
St Helen's Hd
Donegal
Loch Neagh
Belfast
Donegal Bay
Sligo
Armagh
Newry
Carlingford
Dundalk
Dundalk Bay
Longford
Drogheda
Irish Sea
Galway
Athlone
Dublin
Hd of Howth
Naas
Wicklow
Ennis
Carlow
Limerick
Kilkenny
Loop Hd
Mouth of Shannon
New Ross
Wexford
Sound of Blasket
Hook Hd
Cork
Youghal
Bantry
Bantry Bay
Cape Clear
St George's Channel
Fishguard
Cardigan
St David's Hd
Milford Haven
Carmarthen
Swansea
Worms Hd
Cardigan Bay
Dumfries
Annan
Wigtown
Carlisle
Solway Firth
Mull of Galloway
Burrow Hd
St Bees Hd
Newcastle
Sunderland
Durham
Appleby
Whitby
Scarborough
Flamborough Hd
ISLE OF MAN
ISLE OF ANGLESEY
Holyhead
Bangor
St Asaph
Denbigh
Chester
Formby Hd
Preston
Bolton
Manchester
Liverpool
Bradford
Leeds
York
Hull
Spurn Hd
Sheffield
Lincoln
Newark
Derby
Nottingham
Stafford
Shrewsbury
Dolgelly
Lichfield
Leicester
Peterborough
The Wash
King's Lynn
Norwich
Lowestoft
Montgomery
Birmingham
Coventry
Rubgy
Huntingdon
Bury St Edmunds
Warwick
Worcester
Northampton
Stratford-upon-Avon
Cambridge
Ipswich
Bedford
Hereford
Cheltenham
Aylesbury
Colchester
Harwich
Monmouth
Gloucester
Rye House
Chelmsford
Oxford
Cardiff
Chepstow
Swindon
LONDON
Reading
Hungerford
Nore
North Foreland
Bristol
Bath
Newbury
Hampton Court
Chatham
Canterbury
Bristol Channel
LUNDY IS.
Barnstaple
Bridgwater
Shaftesbury
Salisbury
Guildford
Dover
South Foreland
Barnstaple Bay
Bideford
Taunton
Yeovil
Winchester
Bude Bay
Bude
Exeter
Dorchester
Southampton
Chichester
Brighton
Dungeness
Straits of Dover
Lyme Regis
Wareham
Selsey Bill
Beachy Hd
Trevose Hd
Teignmouth
Torbay
Plymouth
Brixham
Bill of Portland
St Alban's Hd
ISLE OF WIGHT
Falmouth
Start Pt
English Channel
FRANCE
SCILLY ISLES
Land's End
Lizard
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'The Gentry Take the Power to Which Their Economic Success Entitles Them'.[9] Hugh Trevor-Roper in his 1957 work *The Social Causes of the Great Rebellion*, endorsed this change in the socio-economic balance of power. But it was Christopher Hill's work, at much the same time, that hijacked the 17th-century struggle, labelling it a 'bourgeois revolution'. His work and viewpoint were quickly dubbed the 'Marxist interpretation' and published as a Marxist textbook.[10] Hill sought to equate the 'English Bourgeois Revolution' with the revolution in France in 1789 and that in Russia in 1917. Clearly such comparisons are awkward, but that is not to suggest that the Marxist interpretation does not have some merit, particularly when it is considered in parallel with the growth of radical groups such as the Levellers, Diggers and Ranters (see glossary for definitions). Nevertheless, the consensus view of the utility of Marxist ideology to the Civil War in 17th-century England remains sceptical. There is, however, general consensus that the Marxist interpretation 'over-estimated both the influence and the revolutionary ideology of the radicals, thereby inflating the Civil Wars into a revolution that… England never had'.[11] Despite this, the Whig view and Marxist socio-economic interpretations are both useful. They serve to highlight the emergence of modern liberalism on the one hand, and the growth of a middling-class and capitalist organizations on the other.

During the mid-20th century, a number of revisionist historians returned to the traditional themes of a political, constitutional and religious struggle. Some even resurrected the theory that the principal participants of historic events are agents of a process of which they themselves are totally unaware. Yet others returned to the short-term theme encompassing the problems associated with the running of the state and the church during the reign of Charles I, stemming largely, but not exclusively, from the King's personality and inflexibility. Nevertheless, in many late 19th- and early 20th-century accounts of the war, the socio-economic causes are never far away. Winston Churchill, in his *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, wrote that 'underlying the apparently clear-cut constitutional issue was a religious and class conflict'.[12] This vision of the wars as David rising up against Goliath pervades, but it was simply not the case. In the English Civil War, brother fought against brother, and father against son. It was not a struggle pitting peasant against aristocrat, as was the case in France in 1789 or Russia in 1917. While some historians have concentrated on the problems at the nation's core, others have taken a bottom-up approach by analysing the four interlocking causes (political, constitutional, religious and socio-economic) from a provincial or county starting point. This approach is considered by late 19th- and 20th-century historians to be closer to the coalface.

However, the research conducted on county histories has found no clear-cut connection of a class conflict.[13] It is accepted that some working-class men rose in the ranks of the Parliamentarian army and navy, while none did in the Royalist ranks. It is vitally important to recognize that the war would not have taken place at all if the governing classes had not been deeply divided.[14] Men from the same social background, with comparable economic interests and similar political and religious ideals, found themselves in opposite forces. Peter Young and Richard Holmes summed it up impeccably:

> Just as the war itself originated in a multiplicity of causes, so the nation was divided along a series of irregular jagged lines which defy simple interpretation in clear-cut social, religious, geographical or economic terms. It was in no sense a class war, a conflict between nobility and commoners or even between Court and Parliament.[15]

Other historians have suggested that the wars resulted from an economic crisis, but this does not pass closer scrutiny. By the end of the 16th century high levels of inflation were back under control and both wages and rents had increased, albeit not by as much as the price of food. Lawrence Stone wrote about a 'crisis in the aristocracy' caused by a combination of inflation and static rents; his work concentrates on the longer-term causes of, *inter alia*, financial instability.[16] However, it is difficult to support or reject Stone's work as a key driver, or set of drivers, which ignited the struggle. Leaving aside the financial issues with the monarchy, there is some economic traction with regard to the counties. Maurice Ashley writes:

> In the poorer parts of England and Wales the gentry, for the most part, fought for Charles I. Indeed, the mixed farming (unenclosed or 'champion') areas such as Kent, Norfolk and Suffolk were extremely wealthy regions where the Parliamentarians were the strongest, whereas in the mainly pastoral districts, such as Cheshire and Lancashire, the south-western shires and much of Wales, the inhabitants on the whole were loyal to the King.[17]

This provincial angle is an important one. John Morrill, in his fascinating work *The Revolt of the Provinces, Conservatives and Radicals in the English Civil War 1630–1650*, examines the growth of the county as a coherent political and social community in the early 17th century. He argues that the generalizations that stem from the Whig or Marxist views are incomplete, that the definitions of 'court' (in particular) and 'country' are unclear, and that the impact and influence of the county have been underplayed and misunderstood.[18] Other revisionist historians, such as Anthony Fletcher and Conrad Russell, elevated this county angle and suggest that the pressures and influences of the three separate kingdoms was a key driver in destabilizing the situation and contributing to war.[19]

Seventeenth-century England (including Wales) formed just one part of a 'composite monarchy' of the three Stuart kingdoms. The Stuarts were the first dynasty to unite all three kingdoms under a single crown. Charles I considered the struggle to be a single war, and he certainly had no qualms about deploying forces and resources from one kingdom to try to resolve matters in another. In 1644, for example, there were English and Scottish troops in Ireland, Scottish and Irish troops in England, and Irish (but not English) troops in Scotland. England's position within that multiple polity, while not one of *primus inter pares*, was especially influential. However, this helps little in unravelling the nature and causes of the conflict, which were confusing, convoluted and changed during the 12-year struggle. Even the

9 Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* and *Economic History Review* article, reprinted in Taylor, *Origins*, pp. 32–42.

10 Hill, *English Revolution*.

11 Anderson, *Civil Wars*, p. 21. See also Parry, *The English Civil War and After*, and Ashton, *The Civil War and the Class Struggle*, pp. 97–102.

12 Churchill, *English-Speaking*, vol. II, p. 185.

13 Ashley, *Civil War*, p. 16.

14 Ollard, *War without an Enemy*, p. 12.

15 Young & Holmes, *English Civil War*, p. 27.

16 Stone, *Causes of the English Revolution.*

17 Ashley, op. cit., p. 8.

18 Morrill, *Revolt of the Provinces* pp. 13–51.

19 Fletcher, *Outbreak of the Civil War* and Russell, *Causes of the English Civil War.*


MAP 2
The Three Kingdoms
COUNTY BOUNDARIES c.1640
ORKNEY
CAITHNESS
SUTHERLAND
ROSS
NAIRN-SHIRE
ELGIN-SHIRE
BANFF-SHIRE
ABERDEENSHIRE
INVERNESS-SHIRE
KINCARDINESHIRE
FORFARSHIRE
PERTHSHIRE
ARGYLLSHIRE
FIFESHIRE
KINROSSSHIRE
CLACKMANNANSHIRE
STIRLING-SHIRE
DUMBARTONSHIRE
HADDINGTON
EDINBURGH
BERWICKSHIRE
RENFREW-SHIRE
LANARK-SHIRE
PEEBLES-SHIRE
SELKIRKSHIRE
AYRSHIRE
ROXBURGH-SHIRE
DUMFRIESSHIRE
NORTHUMBERLAND
KIRKCUDBRIGHT-SHIRE
WIGTOWNSHIRE
CUMBERLAND
DURHAM
COLERAINE
TYRCONNEL
ANTRIM
ULSTER
TYRONE
DOWN
FERMANAGH
ARMAGH
MONAGHAN
SLIGO
CONNAUGHT
LEITRIM
CAVAN
LOUTH
MAYO
ROSCOMMON
LONGFORD
MEATH
WESTMEATH
LEINSTER
GALWAY
KING'S COUNTY
DUBLIN
KILDARE
QUEEN'S COUNTY
WICKLOW
CLARE
CARLOW
KILKENNY
LIMERICK
TIPPERARY
WEXFORD
MUNSTER
WATERFORD
KERRY
CORK
ISLE OF MAN
WESTMORELAND
YORKSHIRE
LANCASHIRE
FLINTSHIRE
ANGLESEY
CHESHIRE
DERBYSHIRE
LINCOLNSHIRE
DENBIGH-SHIRE
CAERNARFONSHIRE
NOTTINGHAM-SHIRE
RUTLAND
MERIONETH-SHIRE
STAFFORD-SHIRE
LEICESTER-SHIRE
NORFOLK
SHROP-SHIRE
MONTGOMERYSHIRE
WARWICK-SHIRE
SUFFOLK
CARDIGANSHIRE
RADNOR-SHIRE
WORCESTER-SHIRE
HEREFORD-SHIRE
CARMARTHEN-SHIRE
ESSEX
PEMBROKESHIRE
GLOUCESTER-SHIRE
BRECKNOCKSHIRE
GLAMORGAN-SHIRE
LONDON
BERKSHIRE
MONMOUTHSHIRE
WILTSHIRE
SURREY
KENT
SOMERSET
HAMPSHIRE
SUSSEX
DEVON
DORSET
ISLE OF WIGHT
CORNWALL
1 HUNTINGDONSHIRE
2 NORTHAMPTONSHIRE
3 CAMBRIDGESHIRE
4 BEDFORDSHIRE
5 BUCKINGHAMSHIRE
6 OXFORDSHIRE
7 HERTFORDSHIRE
8 MIDDLESEX
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miles


MAP 3
The Thirty Years' War
1618–48
(DEPICTING MAJOR BATTLES AND INVASION ROUTES)
FIVE PHASES OF THE WAR
1618–21: Bohemian Revolt
1621–24: Palatinate phase
1625–29: Danish intervention
1630–35: Swedish intervention
1636–48: French intervention
1 1620–23: Defeat of the Bohemians and the Electoral Palatinate
2 1625–1629: Intervention and defeat of Christian IV of Denmark
3 1630–1632: Intervention of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden
4 1635: Intervention of France; 1642: Occupation of Roussillon
5 1645–48: Turenne's and Sweden's Campaign in Germany
NORWAY
SWEDEN
SCOTLAND
North Sea
Baltic Sea
DENMARK
IRELAND
ENGLAND & WALES
UNITED PROVINCES
BRANDENBURG
PRUSSIA
POLAND
Wolgast 1628
Lützen 1632
White Mountain 1620
Rocroi 1643
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Nordlingen 1634
HUNGARY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SWISS CONFEDERATION
AUSTRIA
FRANCE
MILAN
VENETIAN REPUBLIC
PAPAL STATES
Adriatic Sea
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Mediterranean Sea
SICILY
OTTOMAN VASSALS
MOROCCO AND FEZ
Portugal was officially an autonomous state, but in actuality, the country was in a union with the Spanish crown from 1580 to 1640, after which it attained independence.
N
W
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0
500
miles
Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire – 1648
Spanish Hapsburg dominions
German territories
Austrian Hapsburg dominions
Hohenzollern lands
Swedish dominions

outcome is in dispute. The Restoration of Charles II in 1660 unbuttoned much of what the Parliamentarians had fought for in the 1640s. Thirty years later, the Glorious Revolution ended the Stuart line, but not the Jacobite struggle, suggesting that the civil wars were never really fought to conclusion.

As the nature and causes of these wars have been extensively debated over the last 350 years, so has the search for a more suitable title. In that time, the struggles have been known as 'the Great Rebellion', 'the Puritan Rebellion', 'the Cause', 'the English Revolution' and, more recently, 'the British Civil Wars'. However, in the mid-17th century, Scotland was an independent country and Ireland effectively an English colony, so the 'British' tag is unsatisfactory. Perhaps the best solution, and the term seemingly preferred by many historians today, is 'the Wars of the Three Kingdoms'.[20] However, even this fails to represent the impact and effect of the bloody religious wars on the Continent that raged throughout this period. It is important, therefore, to view the Wars of the Three Kingdoms as a peripheral part of the Thirty Years' War. The Spanish Hapsburgs, the French Bourbons and (to a lesser extent) the Dutch Republic, were active participants in the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, their ambassadors promising (but seldom delivering) financial aid and military support.[21]

One particular area that has received scant exposure in the plethora of books and papers on the subject of the wars is that of the print revolution and press censorship. The collapse of censorship and explosion of print is not so much a cause as a driver. Nevertheless, it is a factor that cannot be ignored. The explosion of cheap print brought news and shaped opinions, one way or the other, to a far wider audience. 'This print revolution had a profound impact on *who* was affected by the civil wars and *how* the revolution was experienced by the ordinary citizens.'[22] It also had a profound effect upon the political practice, although it is important to acknowledge that the majority of publications addressed religious issues and, in particular, the control and management of the church. Nevertheless, the primary impact and influence on citizens, in the early to mid-17th century, can be readily compared with that of the internet revolution in the late 20th century. It took the debate outside capitals to the counties and, in so doing, transformed political culture, broadening it both socially and geographically. It is hard to imagine how the Covenanters' movement in Scotland, or the appeal for popular support with the Grand Remonstrance[23] in England, would have been successful without the persuasive power of print.

Therefore, the very title 'The English Civil War' is both confusing and, in many respects, a misnomer. It is unhelpful and ultimately detrimental to detach the Irish and Scottish wars from the complex chain of events in England (and Wales) between 1639 and 1651. Of course, it also depends on where, to coin John Kenyon's words, 'you set the stone rolling': 1558, on the accession of Elizabeth I; 1603, on the accession of James I; or perhaps 23 July 1637, when Jenny Gedes threw her stool at the dean of St Giles, Edinburgh?[24] Ollard sums it up well: 'As the kaleidoscope is jarred by the succession of events, the groupings change their pattern.'[25] Two distinct patterns emerge: the decades leading up to 1638 and the period from 1638 to 1642. The former resulted in war in Scotland, and the latter encompassed rebellion in Ireland and ultimately civil war in England.

20 Even this does not take into account Wales, but since 1284 it formed part of the Kingdom of England.

21 Kenyon & Ohlmeyer, *Military History*, p. xx.

22 Peacey, *Revolution in Print*, p. 10.

23 The Grand Remonstrance was drawn up in late summer 1641 to give renewed impetus to political change in light of the King's apparent conciliation, which some felt had drawn a veil over the matter of sufficient and long-lasting alteration.

24 Kenyon & Ohlmeyer, op. cit., p. xxiii.

25 Ollard, op. cit., p. 12.

CIVIL WAR ARMIES, FIGHTING COMPONENTS AND THEIR TACTICS

THE FIRST STANDING ARMY

The term 'revolution' is bandied about quite freely by historians. It certainly enjoys more than a cameo role in describing events in British 17th-century history. The continued development of weaponry and a considerable evolution in battlefield tactics created the perfect ingredients for regime change and led Michael Roberts to categorize the period between 1560 and 1660 as a 'military revolution'.[1] Jeremy Black, however, deliberates that this military revolution started earlier and finished much later,[2] while Geoffrey Parker has reservations about the basis of Roberts' arguments, and considers the military advances to have been more evolutionary than revolutionary.[3] In support of Roberts, there is no doubt that armies were much larger in this period and, more significantly perhaps, they began to come under state control. A factor that changed their emphasis and led, among other things, to increased proficiency. However, if this military revolution evolved gradually for the larger armies on the European Continent, then in the case of Britain's military development, it was more of an ignition at the period's close. 'The history of the Civil War is the history of the evolution of an efficient army out of a chaos', wrote Charles Firth in his excellent work *Cromwell's Army*.[4] And so it was, more or less, although it must be recognized that the Wars of the Three Kingdoms have no meaningful place in the evolution of military strategy.

One of James I's early decisions, on accession in 1603, was to end the long war between England and Spain that had dragged on during the twilight years of Elizabethan reign. The English military structure was dismantled; only the guards and garrisons of the forts remained in pay and on establishment. The Militia Acts of 1558 were repealed and the government ceased to hold militia musters, or authorize training for several years.[5] Even by its own standards the militia became decadent. Despite this, James found that he could ramp up the militia during a crisis, such as following the Gunpowder Treason Plot of 1605 and in times of national emergency. Although this policy satisfied the King's immediate requirements, it completely missed the point that the two indispensable requirements for an effective fighting force are expenditure on up-to-date equipment, and continuous training. For reasons of countering a real threat from outside the country, the trained bands of the coastal counties were on a better footing than those of inland counties, but the modernization of the force in general lagged behind the curve. Furthermore, the reluctance of the country gentry to breed war horses, and to practise military equestrian manoeuvres, virtually brought the horse bands to extinction.[6]

The outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618 altered the dynamics, but to an impoverished monarch like James, estimates of £2 million to raise and transport an army of 30,000, and £900,000 a year to maintain them, were simply unaffordable.[7] In order to try to get around this financial obstacle, James authorized the raising of English and Scottish regiments for foreign service. They were funded by the country who employed them and, in turn, they provided a pool of war-experienced officers and men. The accession of Charles I in 1625 rekindled an aspiration for military involvement on the Continent. But there was little desire by central or local governments to adequately fund an army, or to address the underlying malaise within the militia. Charles's attempts to influence the outcome of the Continental wars, with operations against Cadiz in 1625, and La Rochelle two years later, were nothing short of national military humiliations. The huge and fruitless loss of life, and the appalling sight of the wounded and diseased soldiers and sailors on their return, was a key catalyst for Parliament's 1628 Petition of Rights, which fundamentally restricted the sovereign's constitutional liberties with regard to the use of the nation's citizens in time of war. During the period of Charles's personal rule (1629–40), attempts (by him) to reform the militia continued to be met with opposition from numerous factions. Yet money and military power remained inexorably linked, and, as the King had no funds available to pay for an army or to reorganize and modernize the militia, both he and the nation remained exposed and vulnerable. Matters came to a head during the Bishops' Wars (see chapter 2), when Charles needed to raise an army to counter the Scottish invasion. The northern trained bands were mobilized but the outcome was yet more humiliation. Fundamentally disobedient, as well as being poorly trained, equipped, supplied and led, the results of 40 years of military mismanagement were all too apparent.

Within two years, relations between Crown and Parliament had collapsed and armed force was deemed necessary to decide the constitutional impasse. From a standing start, both sides now needed to create great war machines comparable to those that had, and were, laying waste to great swathes of the Continent. Each side sought to defend their political position by taking control of the country's existing military resources. For the King, the mechanism was in place for him to muster an army under the terms of the Commission of Array. For Parliament, no such apparatus existed and so they chose to take control of county militias through ordinance, namely legislation passed by Parliament that does not have the royal assent necessary to make it statute.[8] Parliament, however, had one major advantage: they controlled London, which included not only the most capable of the trained bands in the country but also the machinery of government, and with it, the control of the Office of the Lord High Admiral and the Board of Ordnance. Hence, the other great commercial cities and ports were almost exclusively supportive of the Parliamentarian cause. Charles underestimated these advantages and was slow off the mark. Parliament, conversely, nominated

1 Roberts, *Military Revolution.*

2 Black, *A Military Revolution?*

3 Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West.*

4 Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p. 1.

5 Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms*, p. 136.

6 The trained bands were local militia regiments organized on a county basis and controlled by the lords-lieutenant who were expected to appoint professional soldiers to drill the militia and teach them to use the pike and musket. The horse bands were the equestrian/cavalry equivalent.

7 Barnett, *Britain and Her Army*, p. 61.

8 Braddick, *War and Politics*, p. 2 (online source).

Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex, a professional soldier with considerable experience from both the Thirty Years' War and Sir Edward Cecil's ill-fated expedition against Cadiz. A swift and enthusiastic execution of the Militia Ordinance, during the summer of 1642, energized the Parliamentarian war effort and helped fill the ranks of Essex's army and, in particular, the reserve army under the Earl of Warwick raised in October 1642.[9]

In very simplistic terms, the King controlled Wales and the west, while Parliament controlled London, the south-east and the east. However, it would be wholly wrong to conclude that the process of county allegiance to faction was smooth and uniform.[10] Furthermore, both the King and Parliament soon discovered that neither held ultimate authority when it came to calling out the militia. To complicate matters further, when county militias did muster they demonstrated little desire to leave their home areas. Both sides, therefore, had to resort to recruiting additional volunteers. The King chose to do this by offering royal commissions to any man who agreed to raise a regiment in support of the crown. As it turned out, it was a policy that was to lead to disorganization within the Royalist ranks, as every new regiment denied replacements for existing regiments, creating an army of company-strength regiments.[11]

At the outbreak of civil war on 22 August 1642, the two armies were, on paper at least, numerically balanced, although the Royalists enjoyed more officers in senior positions who had previous military experience. Not surprisingly, the early engagements failed to deliver a decisive victory. In 1644, prompted by this military stalemate, as well as a significant crisis with and between its senior military commanders, Parliament chose to reform its forces through the Self-Denying Ordinance and the 'new modelling' of the army. Samuel Gardiner, in his renowned history of the war, wrote that 'a standing army would bring with it many dangers, but the King was already less dependent on local organizations than Parliament was, and unless Parliament could secure its mastery over local associations, it must be content to succumb in the struggle which it had invented.'[12] In the end it was the dubious performance of Parliament's armies in the autumn of 1644, and the in-fighting between many of its generals, that drove reform. The concept had been laid before the House of Commons by one of Parliament's military commanders, Sir William Waller, in June 1644 with the words, 'Till you have an army merely your own, that you may command, it is impossible to do anything of importance.'[13] Cromwell, one of the main protagonists for change and a spearhead of the internecine struggle, tied the purge of some of its general officers to the creation of this new army. During the highly charged debate on the issue in the House of Commons on 9 December 1644, Cromwell delivered a form of ultimatum: '… I do conceive if the Army be not put into another method, and the War more vigorously prosecuted, the People can bear the War no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace'.[14] What set this new model army apart from its predecessor was its regular organization and national (rather than regional) focus and reach.

The new army consisted of 12 infantry regiments, each divided into ten companies of 110 men apiece. The cavalry consisted of 11 regiments, each containing six troops of 100 men. The dragoons were not regimented but divided into ten separate troops, each 100 strong. According to Lieutenant General Hammond's account, the artillery train consisted of four demi-culverins, four long sakers and 20 ordinary sakers. The accuracy of this is unclear as the train was supplied with two demi-culverins and eight sakers in April 1645, with another saker and three drakes being subsequently sent up to Windsor for the army.[15] The artillery train was provided with two regiments of infantry and two companies of firelocks (infantry with flintlock in preference to matchlock muskets), which were used for the purposes of protection during escort only.[16] When the New Model Army took to the field in May 1645, it was understrength, but the following month it inflicted the first decisive defeat of the war on Charles's forces at Naseby. From that point forward the writing was on the wall.

FIGHTING COMPONENTS

For some military historians, the military revolution took place much earlier than the century leading up to the English Civil War. They argue that this revolution took place in the century after gunpowder arrived in Europe, at the start of the 14th century.[17] Indeed, the English army had used gunpowder artillery for the first time in the field as early as 1346 against the French at the Battle of Crecy. However, its use was limited and its practicality open to debate. It was not until the mid-16th century that the effectiveness of gunpowder artillery and portable firearms began to make a significant impact on the conduct of war.[18] Nevertheless, the advent of gunpowder did not alter the three fighting components on the field of battle, the infantry, the cavalry and the (field) artillery; it merely redefined their roles and transformed combined tactics accordingly.[19]

A 17th-century army, therefore, retained the three fighting components. There were two quite different types of infantry – musketeers and pikemen. The introduction of firearms had increased the importance of the infantryman, but that evolution was slow and developed in tandem with the ever-increasing efficiency of the infantry musket itself. Most musketeers were armed with a matchlock rather than a flintlock musket, mainly for reasons of cost.[20] A trained soldier could load and fire every 30 seconds, although in the heat of battle, a minute was a more realistic time. The musketeer carried two kinds of powder, a fine powder for the priming charge and a coarser powder for the propellant charge. A number (normally about 12) of pre-prepared quantities of propellant powder were held in leather or wooden tubes and slung from a belt, or bandolier, worn over the left shoulder. The other infantrymen were known as pikemen; they wore a combe-cap, an armour corslet (back and breast) and tassets and carried an 18-foot-long (5½-metre) pike (but in practice it was a good deal shorter, for practical reasons). Before the end of the civil wars the corslet and tassets had been abandoned for the purpose of greater mobility and comfort on longer campaigns. Pikemen considered themselves a cut above the average musketeer, as their weapon and customs were ancient. Charles Firth, in his

9 Holmes, *Eastern Association*, p. 35.
10 Ibid., p. 34.
11 Barnett, op. cit., p. 80.
12 Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, vol. 2, p. 5.
13 Ibid., p. 5. See also Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, chapter III.
14 Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters,* vol. I, p. 176.
15 National Archives SP28/145 f.60r.
16 Fortescue, *History of the British Army,* vol. I, pp. 214–16. There were three types of firelock: the flintlock, the snaphaunce and the wheel-lock.
17 Gunpowder was invented in China in the ninth century; it was first documented there two centuries later and then spread to Europe via the Muslim world and India.
18 The last battle on English soil, where the longbow was used as a principal weapon, was at Flodden Field as late as 1513.
19 In stating this, it is assumed that the Greeks deployed the first artillery with the field ballista; heavier catapults and trebuchets were really used for sieges and were not, therefore, like subsequent siege guns, part of the fighting component.
20 Tallett, *War and Society*, p. 2.

Name	Calibre (inches/mm)	Length (feet/cm)	Weight of Gun (lb/kg)	Weight of Shot (lb/kg)	Team Horses/Men
Siege Guns					
Cannon of 8	8/203	8/244	8,000/3,629	63/28.6	16/90
Cannon of 7	7/178	10/305	7,000/3,175	47/21.3	12/70
Demi-Cannon	6/152	12/366	6,000/2,722	27/12.3	10/60
Field Guns					
Culverin	5/127	11/335	4,000/1,814	15/6.8	8/50
Demi-Culverin	4.5/114	10/305	3,600/1,633	9/4.1	7/36
Saker	3.5/89	10.5/320	1,500/680	5.25/2.4	5/24
Saker – Drake	3.5/89	5.25/160	1,200/544	5.25/2.4	5/24
Minion	3/76	8/244	1,500/680	4/1.8	4/20
Falcon	2.75/70	6/183	700/318	2.25/1	2/16
Falconet	2/51	4/122	420/191	1.25/0.6	1/10[1]
Robinet	1.25/32	3/91	120/54	0.75/0.3	1/8

Source: An amalgam of Firth, Hogg, Haythornthwaite and Henry.[2]

1: The figures of horses and men for the Falconet and Robinet are guestimates.

2: Firth, ibid., pp. 147–63; Hogg, *English Artillery*, pp. 28–9; Haythornthwaite, *Illustrated Military History*, p. 53; Henry, *Civil War Artillery*, p. 9.

excellent work on armies and tactics of the era, suggested that 'adventurous gentlemen who enlisted to see the wars preferred to trail a pike'.[21] Indeed, a letter in 1632 from General von Wallenstein to his colonels argued that in any infantry clash the pikemen decided the issue and he chided his officers for equipping their weakest, least-trained men with the weapon.[22]

Nevertheless, over time, the inevitable superiority of the musket began to tell. Pikemen were mainly used to protect the musketeers from cavalry attack and for storming the breach during sieges. On the battlefield, they adopted a more open formation, with about a yard between pikemen, thereby giving enough space for the artillerymen and/or musketeers to retreat through the pike formation for shelter. At the end of the 16th century, there were two pikemen to one musketeer, but by the end of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms (and across Europe) there were two musketeers to one pikeman. In time, the infantry developed a movement from line to square to protect themselves from cavalry and this was accelerated by the introduction of the bayonet. On the Continent, the French seem to have been using a makeshift bayonet from 1647, although there are earlier 17th-century references to long knives called 'bayonets'. William Barriffe, in his 1661 edition of his drill book, talks about unscrewing forks (meaning the staff from the musket rest) and inserting them in musket barrels.[23] However, a designed plug bayonet was not in use by British troops until the late 1660s. Within a few years the socket bayonet had been developed and the pikeman's days were numbered.

The growth in importance and effectiveness of infantry and artillery (who provided battlefield firepower) also led, over time, to a decrease in cavalry. There were a number of reasons for this. Cavalry were fearfully expensive; the horses were particularly susceptible to gunshot and less effective against well-drilled infantry. As a result, and due to a national shortage of mounts, by 1645 the infantry in the Parliamentarian forces outnumbered the horse by two to one.[24] Nevertheless, if the cavalry could get among a body of infantry, whose formation had been broken, the consequences were devastating. There were two types of cavalry: the heavy cuirassiers, clad entirely in armour, and the lighter harquebusiers (arquebusiers), who had only a helmet, breastplate and heavy buff leather coat. The lancers, and cavalry equipped with a light horseman's staff, had all but disappeared in England in the years leading up to the wars, although some remained in Scottish cavalry regiments. It was not long before the cuirassiers were also redundant, their full suit of armour proving too cumbersome for protracted campaigning and too expensive for mass production. The cuirassier was designed for shock action, charging against the enemy formations, whereas the harquebusiers were used for reconnaissance, pickets (outpost duty) and skirmishing. However, with the demise of the heavy cuirassier, the harquebusier was used increasingly in direct action. There was no standard equipment for cavalrymen, but it was generally accepted that a harquebusier was armed with a carbine or harquebus, a sword, a pair of saddle pistols and, in some cases, a poll axe.[25] Finally, there was another mounted soldier, a dragoon, who was really a horsed infantryman able to move at speed to different parts of the battlefield and then dismount. They were a cheap source of mounted troops, as their horses were inferior to those of the cavalry and, as such, both sides raised large numbers relatively quickly. They wore no armour and, it would appear, were not issued with buff coats but the infantry redcoat and a hat rather than helmet.[26]

There were three types of artillery: field guns, siege guns (including heavy mortars) and garrison or coastal guns. There was a bewildering array of ordnance and the terminology is confusing, but the table above provides

21 Firth, op. cit., p. 71.

22 Tallett, op. cit., p. 27.

23 Barriffe, *Military Discipline*, p. 145. According to Simon Marsh, Barriffe also makes reference to the practice of making the musket rest have more of a pointed end seemingly so it could be used as a 'Swedish feather' – effectively a stake that was carried by musketeers to place before them as a defence against cavalry.

24 Tallett, op. cit., p. 29.

25 Barriffe, op. cit., 116–17.

26 Ibid., pp. 124–5.

a summary of the types and sizes of guns. 'Cannon' derives from the Latin *canna*, a reed or tube, 'culverin' from the Latin *culubrinus*, snake-like, and 'saker' from the Arabic *saqr*, a species of falcon. The majority of these guns and mortars were cast in bronze and the majority fired iron balls.

The Board of Ordnance was responsible for the supply and upkeep of military stores, including all guns, mortars and munitions, and the necessary gunpowder, to both the navy and the army, in that order (for reasons of national defence). There were no standing artillery units at the time of the civil war. The Board also had responsibility for providing small arms (pistols, muskets, harquebusiers and carbines) to the infantry and cavalry and providing the means for maintenance and repairs. The original Board had been set up around 1406 as the 'designated keeper of the matters ordnance' within the Tower of London. During Henry VIII's reign (1491–1547) the organization was placed on a more official footing within the (White) Tower, while the Office of the Armoury and Royal Arsenal moved to the Royal Dockyard at Greenwich. At the outbreak of the civil war, arsenals existed at the Tower of London, Upnor Castle (Medway) and at Chatham, Hull and Portsmouth dockyards as well as Edinburgh and Dublin castles. Within months of the commencement of the war, Parliament held all the key arsenals in England, as well as most of the foundries.[27] Consequently, in late 1642, when Charles moved his capital and military headquarters to Oxford, he established, with mixed results, a foundry at Frewin Hall (Brasenose College) and two powder mills at Osney, so he would not have to rely entirely on foreign imports.[28]

TACTICS

There was no shortage of military manuals at the start of the 17th century. The need to train and educate the militia, and subsequently the untrained civilian volunteers, provided a burgeoning market. Charles Carlton, in his admirable work, states that 35 appeared in the seven years between 1634 and 1641.[29] Most of them were concerned with discipline, mustering, victualing, paying, moving and motivating an army. A lesser number provided tactical information and drill movements for the use of the musket and pike. Some, like John Cruso's work and the anonymous work entitled *Pallas Artnata*, were the operating bibles for the cavalry.[30] However, as prolific and extensive (and indeed complicated) as this plethora of manuals was, none were written to cover combined-arms tactics and integration. That is to state that the three fighting components were not trained to fight together; instead, their training was specific to their arm, and the business of combined-arms warfare was, therefore, constrained to the views and decisions of the commanders on the day of battle. This is all the more noteworthy when juxtaposed against the achievements of Maurice of Nassau and (particularly) Gustavus Adolphus, who were experimenting with combined-arms groupings and operations using light guns in a mobile fashion in support of advancing infantry and cavalry, or the placing of musketeers in support of the cavalry during a charge.[31] There is scant evidence of similar doctrinal combined-arms use of artillery during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, and while there are examples of infantry being placed in support of the cavalry, known as 'interlining' or 'commanded musketeers', this appeared to be the exception rather than the rule. The Parliamentarians tried it at Edgehill with limited success, while Prince Rupert, who had experience of combined-arms tactics on the Continent, used the tactic more frequently, most notably at Marston Moor and Naseby.

There were a number of treatises on the use of artillery published prior to and during the war. These focussed on the use of artillery during sieges and paid little attention to the use of artillery on the battlefield.[32] Despite this, the gunners knew their trade and the capabilities and limitations of their equipment. There were standard words of command for swabbing, loading and firing the gun. Firing tables were compiled so that the weight of propellant, elevation and ranges were recorded. Guns were organized into batteries with a 'gentleman of the ordnance' responsible for each battery.[33] There was no standard gun crew *per se*, but a gun team would consist of an experienced gunner, a couple of matrosses (semi-skilled gunners) and a number of labourers to move the gun and the ammunition. European armies were experimenting with the movement of lighter guns (falcons, falconets and robinets) in support of infantry and cavalry, but there is very little evidence that this tactic was used doctrinally during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms.[34] Even Colonel Wumbrandt's much-hyped 90-pound leather gun, designed for lightness and mobility, and much used by the Swedes in the Polish campaigns of the 1620s, proved unreliable and was eventually withdrawn.[35]

Artillery pieces, once deployed, generally remained static and were only ordered to move at the end of battle or to execute a retreat. It is unclear whether guns were allocated and designated as regimental guns at this time – that is, under the protection and command of allocated infantry battalions/regiments.[36] Overall command of the artillery lay with the General of the Ordnance at army level, and how he delegated and deployed the field artillery was unclear. It may well be that he dispersed it across the frontage, in between regimental gaps, giving the appearance of regimental guns. To ease resupply and to fit in with the deployment of the rest of the army, guns tended to be deployed in groups or, more likely, pairs of guns. The heavier guns tended to be on the flanks and slightly set back,[37] although the European approach was to have a large battery of heavier guns in front of the infantry and regimental pieces deployed with each battalion. Their positions were, for fairly obvious reasons, in front of the infantry but might be deployed behind on high ground, as was the case at Newburn Ford with the Covenanter guns, and at Edgehill with some of the Royalist guns.

The effective range of the guns depended upon a whole series of factors, but a suitable yardstick is 1,000 yards.[38] As such, they had a far greater reach than the infantry and were accordingly brought to bear early in the battle,

27 The Tower of London had very little by way of arms at the outbreak of the war, having supplied the armies in Ireland and the Bishops' Wars.

28 Henry, ibid., p. 5.

29 Carlton, *Going to the Wars*, pp. 71–2.

30 Cruso, *Militarie Instructions for the Cavallrie*, is an English treatise on the use of the single rapier and the sword, anonymously published in 1639. The author is listed as 'G. A.' and it is widely believed to be Gideon Ashwell, a fellow of King's College Cambridge. It should not be confused with *Pallas Armata – military essayes of the Ancient Grecian, Roman and modern art of war*, written in the years 1670 and 1671 by James Turner and published in 1683.

31 Firth, op. cit., p. 147. The battles at Leipzig 1631 and Lützen 1632.

32 Norton, *Of the Art of Great Artillery, The Gunner and The Gunner's Dialogue*; Nye, *Art of Gunnery*; Ward, *Anima'dversions of Warre*.

33 Marsh, *Train of Artillery*, p. 8.

34 Hogg, op. cit., p. 40. First recorded use of English artillery as a mobile weapon is at Blenheim in 1704.

35 Tallett, op. cit., p. 33.

36 Ibid., p. 242. Hogg records that the first evidence of battalion guns does not emerge until 1686.

37 Ibid., p. 222.

38 Effective range was a relative concept but it was more applicable than maximum range, for at the latter the effectiveness of the projectile would be negligible.

in order to disrupt and demoralize the tightly packed enemy formations. It was hoped that this bombardment would provoke the enemy to attack and/or to move his troops out of effective range. However, there is little evidence, in eyewitness accounts or battle reports, of the effectiveness of artillery on civil war battlefields. Sergeant Henry Foster's account at the First Battle of Newbury is a rare example: 'The enemy's cannon did play most against the red Regiment of Trained Bands; they did some execution amongst us at first, and were somewhat dreadful when men's bowels and brains flew in our faces; but blessed be God that gave us courage, so that we kept our ground, and after a while feared them not.'[39]

There are, perhaps, four reasons why artillery did not have a huge impact during civil war encounters. Firstly, guns were expensive and needed highly skilled operatives: both were in short supply. Secondly, they tended to be deployed individually or in pairs – it is not until Dunbar in 1650 that we see massed artillery deployment. Thirdly, they had a slow rate of fire; Eldred in *The Gunner's Glasse* of 1646 states that the average rate of fire was eight shots an hour (one every seven and a half minutes) and after 40 shots the piece had to cool for an hour.[40] Eldred is almost certainly referring to heavier guns, like a cannon of 7 or 8 or a demi-cannon; the rates of fire for the medium and small field guns would be far quicker, at about one round every two to three minutes. British gunners served the gun from a leather bucket filled with gunpowder placed behind the ordnance. This was both slower and most unwelcome to the adjacent infantry and cavalry. It was not long before they adopted the Continental system of paper cartridges made using a special former and then filled with powder.[41] The Swedes had already perfected the use of pre-prepared charge bags, particularly for their lighter guns. Fourthly and finally, the only projectile widely available was round shot, and given the long reload times, this was not hugely effective against infantry or cavalry advancing and/or in the attack. It is puzzling why more use was not made of canister or grape shot – rather confusingly called 'case' at this time. The first officially recorded use was in 1450. The inventory of ordnance supplied to Essex's army identified some 'cases of tin' for different types of ordnance. However, in the gunners' defence, there was clear evidence that case/canister caused considerable damage to the guns' barrels. It is not an overgeneralization to state that the true worth of the artillery during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms was not realized on civil war battlefields but with their use at the numerous sieges.

Cavalry tactics changed considerably during the wars. The demise of the heavier cuirassiers transferred the task of direct cavalry action to the harquebusiers. This decision was also driven by a need to make a clear distinction between the cavalry and the dragoons. It should be noted that this policy was reversed during Cromwell's Irish campaigns of 1649–50, where large-scale cavalry on cavalry actions was almost non-existent. In the run-up to the civil wars, the rapid evolution of battlefield tactics, and the almost simultaneous demise of the cuirassier, caused understandable confusion with regard to the role and tactics of the cavalry. The Dutch system of deploying five or six ranks deep had been superseded by the Swedish method of deploying and advancing three ranks deep. The Swedish system also ensured a greater frontage than the Dutch style for the same number of horses, which led to Dutch-style deployments being enveloped by the Swedish system. However, the Dutch system provided the ability to counter-march so that a caracole could be performed, with the front-rank firing and then withdrawing to the rear to reload, as the next rank came up. This required space between troops to allow the withdrawal to the rear, and those gaps could be exploited by the Swedish-style attack. Edgehill was a case in point. In this manner, Gustavus Adolphus taught his troopers to withhold their fire when they charged, to charge at a more rapid pace, and to always charge home,[42] in so doing capitalizing on the shock effect of cavalry. A recent study by historian Gavin Robinson, in an article for the *Journal of Military History*, has examined the possibility that the shock was a physical collision instead of, or in addition to, the psychological effect of cavalry charging home. That is, that cavalry crashed into each other at the climax of the charge.[43] He concludes that it is difficult to prove or disprove, as the available evidence is ambiguous and because the cavalry drill books of the period are not a reliable guide to execution of tactics in the field.

At the start of the wars there is little doubt that the Royalists (generally) adopted the Swedish style and the Parliamentarians the Dutch style, but by 1645 they were all working, to a greater or lesser extent, on the former. However, the removal of armour and a greater reliance on firearms over the sword and sabre had led (on the Continent) to the German Reiters adopting the pistol as their main weapon, with rank after rank riding up and firing until a breach in the wall of pikes had been formed which, swords drawn, they then exploited. There is evidence that Prince Rupert adopted a reversal of this tactic at Edgehill. Richard Bulstrode, a Royalist cavalry officer, recorded in his memoirs:

> Prince Rupert passed from one wing to the other giving positive orders to the horse, to march as close as possible, keeping their ranks with sword in hand, to receive the enemy's shot without firing either carbine or pistol till we broke in amongst the enemy, and then to make use of our firearms as need should require; which order was punctually observed.[44]

Cavalry charges are possibly the most misunderstood and misrepresented of all battlefield manoeuvres. The word 'Charge!' conjures to the mind the movement of a vast body of horse at the gallop across the battlefield. The reality was, in point of fact, very different. To maintain a semblance of order, with knees and stirrups locked, the formation would begin at a trot, increase to a fast trot, and finally (but not always) reach a canter. Rarely would the formation reach the gallop. As Firth wrote, 'repeatedly we hear of charges made at "a full trot", or, as Cromwell terms it, "a pretty round trot".'[45] The increased use of, and reliance upon, firearms in cavalry attacks inevitably led to a more measured advance towards enemy lines. Rupert's frequent cavalry charges are in contrast to the steadier pace adopted by the Parliamentarian cavalry, and while the former may have created surprise, there is little doubt that Cromwell was able to gather his cavalry for a second charge, while Rupert, generally, could not. The tactics adopted by both sides for the use of their dragoons are more uniform. Dragoons had a number of tasks, including providing pickets, holding key points like bridges, lining hedges or holding enclosures, and providing dismounted musketeers to support regular cavalry. They were equipped with a shorter musket and a short sword and used drummers, not buglers, to communicate orders on the battlefield.

39 Foster, *True and Exact Relation* – British Library.

40 Rogers, *Artillery*, p. 45.

41 Marsh, op. cit., p. 12.

42 Ibid., p. 131.

43 Robinson, *Equine Battering Rams*, p. 720.

44 Firth, op. cit., p. 133, citing Bulstrode, *Memoirs and Reflections*, p. 81.

45 Ibid., p. 142.

Infantry tactics witnessed the greatest change, with the 'pike and shot' era in its final throes. Infantry units were organized in regiments commanded by a colonel, subdivided into a number of companies commanded by captains. On paper at least, the largest regiments should have been 1,200 strong, with a colonel's company of 200 men, a lieutenant colonel's company of 160 men, a (sergeant) major's company with 140 men, and seven captain's companies each of 100 men. However, in practice there could be any number of companies and each would be fortunate to muster more than 30 men apiece.[46] Indeed the whole business of the size, composition and nomenclature of subunits, units and formations is very difficult to tie down and an attempt to dovetail this with modern terminology is almost meaningless. In addition, the tactics of pike and shot, combined (or otherwise) with artillery and cavalry, are equally confusing. In view of the fact that communications were very slow on civil war battlefields, the initial deployment of the army, to meet and counter 'every' eventuality, was supremely important. In simplistic terms, by the early 17th century there were two systems: the Dutch (Maurice of Nassau) and the Swedish (Gustavus Adolphus) – see the diagram opposite (symbols as per Legend to Maps).

The Dutch system had been defined and refined by three members of the house of Nassau: William Louis, Count of Nassau and stadtholder in Friesland; his brother John; and Maurice, son of William of Orange, who held various stadholderships and served as captain-general of the Dutch forces in Flanders and Brabant.[47] They devised a system whereby the musketeers would deploy in six ranks; the first rank would fire and counter-march to the rear to reload, while the second rank marched forward and fired before they counter-marched, and so on. This provided the basis of a continuous volley fire. In addition, the infantry was spread out in a more linear fashion so as to maximize their firepower and minimize the effects of incoming artillery fire. This tactic was, however, not without drawbacks for it reduced the psychological reassurance from tightly knit formations under fire and increased the possibility of men breaking and running to the rear. Training, discipline and words or signals of command were deemed essential to overcome this shortcoming, and in 1607 a drill book was produced by Jacob de Gheyn, *Wapenhandelinghe van Roers Musquetten ende Spiessen* (The Exercise of Arms for Calivers, Muskets, and Pikes), which provided the basis for the Dutch system that predominated during the Thirty Years' War.

In addition to the Dutch and Swedish systems, a new German doctrine had been adopted by the 1640s. It was, to all intents and purposes, a composite of the Danish and Swedish systems and it was this German style that was to became the model increasingly used by both sides during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms.[48] At Edgehill (1642) the Royalists deployed using the Swedish style, while the Parliamentarians were closer to the German system; there is no surviving plan of the Parliamentarian deployment.[49] At Marston Moor (1644) the Royalists adopted the German style, as did the New Model Army at Naseby in 1645.

In the advance or attack, the infantry would either keep up a steady constant fire or hold their fire until well within musket range before delivering a huge simultaneous volley and falling on the enemy pikemen and musketeers. The constant rate of fire was maintained using the counter-march system. The advance would be undertaken by both pikemen and musketeers. The musketeers would then use the butt-end of the weapon once it had been discharged. If the final charge was successful, the second line or reserve was deployed to continue the attack, while the front line fell back and rallied behind the second line, where they would reload and form the new reserve. Commanded musketeers could also be withdrawn from the formation to form a separate body in order to deploy in support of the cavalry, to strengthen the wings, to line hedges or to occupy buildings, often in support of or in conjunction with dragoons. They might also have been used to form a skirmish line in front of the main body, although the tactic and use of large-scale skirmish lines was not utilized widely throughout the wars.

46 Reid, *King's Armies*, p. 16.
47 Tallett, op. cit., p. 24.
48 Roberts, *Pike and Shot*, p. 6.
49 Ibid., p. 60.