EXTENDED EXAMPLE OF PLAY

The following describes the first 2 Turns of an imaginary game of the Full War scenario of This War Without an Enemy. As, in that scenario, the Year of 1642 consists of only 2 Turns, this example also includes a Year End Phase. The Royalist player, called Charles, is pursuing a fairly aggressive early strategy in the belief that he is capable of winning the game following a sufficiently audacious start. The Parliamentarian player, called Robert, is rather cautious but is prepared to mount a strong defence. The players do not necessarily make the best choices – the example is designed to illustrate various types of situations.

SET UP AND START OF THE YEAR

The two players prepare their card decks and set up their blocks as indicated in section 12.12. Then they each deal themselves 6 cards. Because 1642 is a 2-Turn Year, they must each select 2 of these 6 cards and then discard the rest.

Royalist Cards
Charles receives the following cards: 4, 4, 3-Parliamentarian, 2-Cavalry Fails to Charge, 3-Quartermaster General, 2-Surprise Attack, and 2-Advantageous Terrain. As Robert has been dealt these cards: 4, 4, 4, 3-Mining, 2-The Hothams’ Plot is Foiled, and 2-Attrition. The Plot is an obvious one to choose, as the loss of Hull is now contested, the Royalist blocks can move no further, and so Robert has the choice of using it to attack the lone Parliamentarian block in Derbyshire & Leicestershire, or the remaining 5 blocks of the main army to Leicestershire. Although the Parliamentarian player could potentially attack the King’s reduced main army with Essex’ army, he would need to do so via Oxfordshire and then across a river border, restricting the attack to 4 blocks.

Parliamentarian Cards
Robert has been dealt these cards: 4, 4, 3-Mining, 2-The Hothams’ Plot is Foiled, and 2-Attrition. The Plot is an obvius one to choose, as the loss of Hull would be a serious setback – Robert will play this on the first Turn, hoping that Charles does not play the card with The Hothams’ Plot event (as the Royalist decides the player order in 1642-43, he could choose to be Player 1 and enact his event first). The Mining event is unlikely to be useful as he does not intend to begin any sieges this Year. Although Attrition could be played on the King’s main army, Robert decides to take a ‘4’ card as his second one, as this will provide more flexibility.

FIRST TURN (TURN V)

Initiative Phase
Charles now has 4 Action Points to use. He will use 1 AP for a Group Move from Cheshire. He could move his main army from Cheshire through Staffordshire & Warwickshire to attack the main Parliamentarian army in Gloucestershire, but can only send 4 blocks through the blue river border that separates these two Areas. A secondary attack through Shropshire & Herefordshire is not possible as a Parliamentarian block is barring that route. So, instead, he decides to position the army for an attack in the following turn. Leicestershire is an ideal spot, still being within range of Gloucestershire but also of London, and hence representing a major threat to the Parliamentarians. He wants to move all of his main army out of Cheshire, but cannot afford to leave Chester undefended, so first he uses 1 AP for a Group Move from SE Wales, and moves both of the Welsh blocks from there to Cheshire. Then he uses 1 AP for a Group Move from Cheshire to Leicestershire. The blocks that just came from SE Wales may not move again, but he can move the 7 blocks of the King’s main army. However, he does not have to move all these blocks in the same direction. Imagining Prince Rupert being keen for some early action, he sends Rupert with a Cannon block to attack the lone Parliamentarian block in Derbyshire & Nottinghamshire, and the remaining 5 blocks of the main army to Leicestershire. Although the Parliamentarian player could potentially attack the King’s reduced main army with Essex’ army, he would need to do so via Oxfordshire and then across a river border, restricting the attack to 4 blocks.

Charles has 2 APs remaining. He cannot enter Yorkshire due to the Yorkshire Treaty of Neutrality 6.19, and so decides to focus on the south. An attack on the lone Parliamentarian block in Devon could be treacherous for his opponent, but first he spends 1 AP to deploy the Rec. Pool 5 Horse block at 1 strength in Cornwall – although weak, this cavalry could make all the difference in any battle. Then he uses his final AP for a Group Move from Cornwall and sends both the Hopton and the cavalry block into Devon. Robert must immediately decide whether or not to withdraw his infantry block in Devon into Plymouth. Although he fears the attack from the two Cornish blocks, he cannot afford to withdraw as this would enable Charles to move his blocks straight into Somerset, thus taking an undefended Bristol. So, Robert declares that his block will stay and fight – this Area is now contested, the Royalist blocks can move no further, and there will be a battle there during the Tactical Phase.

Player 2 Action Segment
Robert only has 2 APs to spend, but must react to the threats in the south and to London. Even though he has a ‘4’ card to play next turn, he cannot guarantee being first player, and so must also prepare for an attack in north. Thinking of this, he decides to spend his first AP on a Group Move from the West Riding 6.19 forbids any blocks from entering Yorkshire, but blocks that are already there may move within it). Hull is likely to be besieged soon, and so he sends the Fairfax block to the East Riding – infantry is better than cavalry in a siege situation. He could leave the cavalry block in the West Riding, but decides to send it to the North Riding – by doing so he captures York...
and gains 1 VP so that the score becomes 2 VPs 'For Parliament'. On its own, this single block is not enough to defend York. However, as it is cavalry it should be able to successfully Withdraw Before Battle if, as is likely, Newcastle’s army moves south next turn. Robert spends his second AP on a Group Move from Gloucestershire. Ideally, he needs to protect London, Oxford and Bristol from Royalist attacks. Essex’ army has 2 South blocks. He could just send these to Somerset, but decides instead to move them into Devon to support the block there – they will enter the battle as Reserves. After the battle they can either Retreat or Regroup back to Somerset. A block should be left in Gloucestershire and the Midlands Horse block is ideal for this role. The remaining 4 blocks of Essex’ army are moved to Oxfordshire. Robert also wants to send a block to Cambridgeshire & Huntingdonshire to prevent that route being used to attack London next turn – so he moves the Gloucester E Foot block one further Area from Oxfordshire to Cambridgeshire & Huntingdonshire (this is a Regional block moving back into its Home Region – see the Exception in 6.16). This leaves 4 blocks in Oxfordshire – the Brooke block that began there, and the Essex and 2 artillery blocks that have just moved in.

**Tactical Phase**

There are two Contested Areas in which Battles will take place. Charles, as Player 1, decides the order of these Areas for resolving Battles. The two battles will not directly affect each other, but as the battle in Devon is the most uncertain, Charles decides to resolve that first.

**Battle in Devon.** The defender Robert decides not to Withdraw Before Battle as his reserves should enable him to win. He places his 4-str South Foot block face up in the ‘Firing Infantry’ area of his Tactical Player aid, and his other two blocks upright in the ‘Reserves’ area. Then Charles places both his blocks face up on his Tactical Player Aid – the Foot block in the ‘Firing Infantry’ area and the Horse block in the ‘Cavalry’ area.

**Round 1.** There is no Artillery, so the players move on to Infantry. The defender, Robert, chooses first whether to Fire his Infantry block – he declines to do so, as the block would only hit on rolls of 1 (Firing Infantry are at –1 effectiveness). Charles, on the other hand, elects to Fire with the Hopton block. He rolls 1, 1, 2, 5 – that is 3 hits (far higher than average). Robert reduces his South Foot block from 4 to 1 strength. Only Charles has Cavalry, so he rolls 1 die for his 1-strength South Horse
Battle in Derbyshire & Nottinghamshire. The defender decides not to attempt a Withdraw Before Battle as he only has an Infantry block. He places his Derbyshire M Foot block face up in the ‘Firing Infantry’ area of his Tactical Player aid. Then Charles places both his blocks face up on his Tactical Player Aid – the Cannon block in the ‘Artillery’ area and the Rupert block in the ‘Cavalry’ area.

Round 1. Charles Fires his Cannon block. He rolls 1, 3, 4 and so causes 1 hit – Robert reduces his block from 3 to 2 strength. Then Robert decides whether to Fire his block – it is unlikely to survive the Cavalry Engage, so he choose to Fire. He rolls 2, 4 and causes no hits (Infantry are at –1 effectiveness when Firing). Finally, Charles Engages with Rupert. He rolls 4, 4, 6 – not a particularly good roll under normal circumstances, but with elite cavalry engaging against infantry it is still enough to cause 2 hits. The Parliamentarian Foot block is reduced to 0 strength and Eliminated – Robert places it in his Recruitment Pool.

End of Battle. The Royalists have won the battle as the Parliamentarians had no blocks remaining. Charles may now Regroup his blocks. He moves both of them to the adjacent Leicestershire.

Supply Phase
Both players now need to check for Supply Attrition. The only Area of potential concern is Leicestershire which, following the Regroup, now contains 7 Royalist blocks. Such an Area can supply 4 Infantry/Cavalry blocks (of which no more than 2 can be Cavalry) plus 1 Infantry block for the Minor City. The Royalist army has 3 Infantry and 2 Cavalry blocks, all of which can thus be supplied (Artillery blocks never require supply). There is also an ongoing Siege – at Plymouth – and so this needs to be resolved. The value of the Siege Marker is 0, so there is no roll on the Siege Attrition and Surrender Table. The value of the Siege Marker is increased to 1.

As the Year is 1642, there is no Victory Phase and so the Turn has now ended.

SECOND TURN (TURN VI)

Initiative Phase
Both players play their remaining cards (there is no need to put them face down as it is the last Turn of the Year): Charles plays his ‘3-Parliamentarian Cavalry Fails to Charge’ card and Robert his ‘4’ card. This means that Robert is Player 1. While it is usually an advantage to be able to move first on the last Turn of the Year – the Winter Turn – this is not necessarily the case here as there is no Winter Turn in 1642. Player 1, Robert, will have to be cautious about spreading out his blocks in preparation for Year End recruitment as he may be attacked by Charles in the Player 2 Action Segment.

Operational Phase
Player 1 Action Segment. Robert has 4 APs to spend. He wants to take Plymouth by storm, rather than awaiting the outcome of a potentially long siege, so he uses 2 APs to deploy the Walker block in Devon and increase it to 2 strength (in a siege situation the besieger controls the Area, so Devon is Friendly for the Parliamentarians). He could spend the final 2 APs in the north, aiming to be
able to defend York, but instead opts for bolstering his forces close to London. These forces entirely lack cavalry and so would be vulnerable to enemy horse in battle – therefore he deploys from his Recruitment Pool the (3 effectiveness) Rec. Pool E Horse block at 1 strength in Cambridgeshire & Huntingdonshire and the Rec. Pool M Horse block at 1 strength in Oxfordshire.

**Player 2 Action Segment.** Charles had intended to attack with the king’s main army this turn. Ideally, he would be taking advantage of the ‘Parliamentarian Cavalry Fails to Charge’ event to inflict a defeat on Essex’ army. However, the latter has partially dispersed with its core enconced in Oxfordshire – only 4 blocks would be able to attack across the river border, so Charles consider other options. He is almost guaranteed to be able to move first next turn – as long as he plays a ‘4’ card and Robert does not play ‘Surprise Attack’ – and so he can afford to spread out to occupy territory in preparation for the end of year recruitment. He spends 1 AP for a Group Move from Leicestershire. Rupert takes both Cannon blocks and the Cheshire W Foot and attacks into Cambridgeshire & Huntingdonshire. The king (the Charles block) moves alone into Lincolnshire and the Cheshire M Foot moves into Derbyshire & Nottinghamshire, while the Cheshire M Horse stays in Leicestershire. In the North, Charles spends 1 AP to deploy the Rec Pool N Horse block at 1 strength in Northumberland & Durham and his final AP for a Group Move from the same Area – Newcastle, the Northumb. N Horse and the Northumb. N Foot attack into the North Riding, leaving the Rec. Pool N Horse where it is. Robert must now decide what to do with the Fairfax block – rather than withdraw into York he decides to stay and force a battle, with the intention of making a Withdrawal Before Battle 7.2.

**Tactical Phase**

First Charles must decide which of the two Battles will benefit from the ‘Parliamentarian Cavalry Fails to Charge’ event – he opts for the Battle in the North Riding as he suspects that the Parliamentarian block is Cavalry. There are three Areas where combat needs to be resolved. Player 1, Robert, chooses the siege of Plymouth in Devon as the first.

**Siege of Plymouth.** Charles may Sally 8.5 with his Hopton block, but this would be suicide and so he declines. Robert could wait for the siege to take its course, but is keen to take Plymouth as soon as possible and so elects to Storm.

**Round 1.** Charles, the defender, decides first whether to Fire with his Hopton block. He chooses to do so and rolls 2, 4 causing 1 hit (the block is at +1 effectiveness as Infantry defending in a Storming, and –1 effectiveness for Firing) – Robert must reduce his Devon S Foot block from 3 to 2 strength. Robert now elects to Engage with both his blocks. He rolls 1, 2 for Waller (2 hits) and 3, 6 for the Devon S Foot block (0 hits). However, as the defender has Fortified Defence 8.4 Charles only reduces the Hopton block from 2 to 1 strength. Robert decides to continue the Storming.

**Round 2.** Charles decides not to Fire this round, while Robert Fires with Waller as this gives him the opportunity to hit first. He rolls 2, 3 causing a single half-hit – Charles rotates the Hopton block 45 degrees anti-clockwise to show that it is now at a ½ strength. Then Charles Engages with Hopton (half-hits are rounded up for Engaging and so the block rolls as if it had 1 strength). The result of 4 causes 1 hit – Robert can reduce either of this blocks and chooses the Waller block, as the Devon S Foot block can still Engage this Round. He rolls a 3, just missing out on finishing off the defending block. Robert considers carefully whether to continue the Storming – as he now only needs a single half-hit to take Plymouth and neither of his blocks are in danger of being Eliminated, he decides to continue.

**Round 3.** Charles fires the Hopton block in a last effort to cause a hit before it succumbs to the attackers – he rolls a 2, causing a hit. Robert must reduce the Devon S Foot block to 1 strength. Now Robert Engages with both of his blocks. He rolls a 5 for Waller (a miss) and a 2 for the Devon S Foot block (a hit). The Hopton block is reduced to 0 strength and is Eliminated, so Charles puts it into his Recruitment Pool. The Siege Marker is removed from the map and the Victory Marker is moved to 2 VPs ‘For Parliament’.

**Battle in Cambridgeshire & Huntingdonshire.** This time Robert, the defender, considers carefully whether or not to attempt to Withdraw Before Battle. Charles has 4 blocks attacking, and 1 or 2 of them could be Cavalry. Robert’s Cavalry block only has strength 1 and so could well be Eliminated, leaving him with no Cavalry in the Battle if the Withdraw is unsuccessful. On balance, Robert thinks it is worth fighting and hoping at least to weaken the Royalist force. Both players place their blocks face up on the Battle Map.

**Round 1.** Artillery Fires first and Charles targets the enemy Infantry. Charles rolls 6 dice together for his two Cannon blocks – the result of 1, 3, 4, 6 causes just a single hit, and so Robert reduces his Gloucester E Foot block from 4 to 3 strength. Then Infantry has the opportunity to Fire. Both players decline, as their blocks would only hit on 1s. Cavalry Engagement is next. Robert rolls a die for his Rec. Pool E Horse block and the result of 3 causes a hit, reducing the Rupert block from 3 to 2 strength. Then Charles rolls for Rupert – 1, 3 causes 2 hits. The Parliamentarian block is Eliminated and returned to the Recruitment Pool. Then Charles checks for Rupert’s Cavalry Pursuit – the roll of 3 would normally cause it to Pursue but there is a -2 modifier to the roll because more hits were caused to the enemy Cavalry block than its strength, so the Rupert block remains in the battle. Finally, the Infantry blocks Engage. Robert rolls 2, 6, 6 and causes 1 hit to the Royalist Cheshire W Foot block. Then Charles rolls 1, 3, 4 and causes 1 hit to the Parliamentarian Gloucester E Foot block.

**Round 2.** There is no Artillery Fire. Robert fears his remaining Infantry block will suffer from the enemy Cavalry, so he elects to Fire it. He rolls 2, 3, 5 and causes no hits. Then Charles rolls for his Cavalry. The Rupert block will hit on a 1-4 as it is at +1 effectiveness – so, the rolls of 2, 3 inflict another 2 hits on the Gloucester E Foot block, which is now reduced to 0 strength and is thus Eliminated.

**End of Battle.** There are no remaining Parliamentarian blocks, so there is no Round 3. Charles may Regroup with any or all of his blocks, but he cannot separate
the Regional Welsh block from Rupert (the Leader). He decides to leave all of the where they are. As the Royalists have now captured Cambridge, they gain 1 VP and so the marker is moved to from 2 VPs to 1 VP ‘For Parliament’.

**Battle in the North Riding.** Charles is looking forward to finally using his ‘Parliamentarian Cavalry Fails to Charge Event’ but Robert is not going to oblige him – he opts for a Withdrawal Before Battle. Both players announce that they each have a Cavalry block. The force attempting to Withdraw consists only of Cavalry so there is a +1 modifier to the die roll. As both sides have a single Cavalry block, there is no further modifier. Robert rolls a 5, which is modified to 6. The Withdrawal is successful and his Cavalry block does not lose any Strength. The players proceed straight to the End of Battle.

**End of Battle.** Robert must Retreat. He has a choice of Cumberland & Westmorland, the East Riding or the West Riding. He chooses the latter, to prevent the Royalists from Regrouping into that Area. Then Charles may Regroup – he moves his Northumb. N Horse block into Cumberland & Westmorland to secure the Area in advance of Year End recruitment. The Royalists have captured York, so they gain 1 VP – the marker is moved to the 0 VP position.

**Supply Phase**
Both players now need to check for Supply Attrition, but a quick glance at the map shows that there are no Areas with more blocks than can be supplied. As the Year is still 1642, there is no Victory Phase 10.0 and the Turn proceeds to the Year End Phase 11.0.

**Year End Phase**
**New blocks are added.** Charles places the Henrietta block on The Continent at full (3) strength. He controls 4 Areas in the North and 2 Areas in the East, and so he adds the respective blocks – 4+ Areas N Foot and 2+ Areas E Foot – to his Recruitment Pool. There are no new blocks for the Parliamentarians.

**Regional Recruitment.** Royalist recruitment is first as it is 1642.
Second Turn – Player 2 Action Segment
Charles might be displeased that he has not managed to bring the Parliamentarians to a major battle and that the cards have not given him easy points in the form of plots against either Hull or Plymouth. But the Royalist situation has positive aspects in all three major regions. In the north, Newcastle’s army is at its maximum strength. The two Parliamentarian blocks in the West Riding need to be eliminated, but after that the options are open – a cautious approach with a focus on sieging and taking Hull and then preparing for the entry of the Scots into the war in 1644, or a more aggressive approach that involves masking Hull, token garrisons in Newcastle and York, and then sending the rest of the North blocks south with their Regional Leader. In the south no progress has been made, but on the other hand – thanks to the temporary taking of Plymouth – the Royalists still have a foothold in the Region. And Essex’ army has been weakened by the continued focus of the Parliamentarian South blocks in the south-west. The king has a dispersed but strong army in the centre of England. Most of the blocks could be mustered together in Leicestershire on the first turn of 1643, and would then be well placed to threaten London or to turn west to launch an attack on Bristol. Alternatively, an early attack could be made on London with the 6 blocks in the East – the Midlands blocks would not be able to take part, but they could muster together in either Staffordshire & Warwickshire or in Leicestershire. The Parliamentarians only have 3 blocks in the Buckinghamshire & Hertfordshire Area – reinforcements sent from Oxfordshire would become Reserves in any battle – and London does not yet have complete fortifications, so the Parliamentarians would be obliged to put all their effort into protecting it as strongly as they can. Robert should be fairly content that he has not lost any Fortified Cities and that his forces are reasonably strong as the Parliamentarians did not lose much strength in battles in 1642. The situation in the North is to be expected and, indeed, with 3 blocks he will at least put up some resistance in the first half of 1643. The Parliamentarians are in a fairly good position in the South – the Royalists can easily be cleared out of the Region completely, unless they either reinforce Hopton in Cornwall or make a push south from the Midlands. The current threat to London is a worry – being able to play ‘Surprise Attack’ or ‘Advantageous Terrain’ on Turn 1 of 1643 would be ideal, but ‘Fortification of London’ would also help.
THE BACKGROUND TO THE WAR

Charles Stuart was born in 1600 as the eldest son of King James VI of Scotland. However, in 1603 with the death of the childless Queen Elizabeth of England, James – a distant relative of Elizabeth – acceded to the thrones of England and Ireland as James I. Thus, the young Charles inherited the thrones of three kingdoms when his father died in 1625. Although Scotland, England and Ireland all had the same monarch, they remained separate countries with their own parliaments.

Tensions soon emerged between King Charles and the English Parliament over the issue of money. Charles had few means of directly raising revenues as there was no official excise and regular direct taxation in England. Charles believed in the divine right of kings and so was reluctant to submit his authority to Parliament by asking it to assent to new taxes. His solution was to resort to the feudal levy known as ship money, and other measures such as the granting of monopolies and taxing of land owners. All of these were unpopular and provoked popular protests. Indeed, Charles increasingly found himself in opposition to his subjects, many of whom mistrusted him due to his perceived sympathy for Catholics – he was married to a Catholic daughter of the King of France and failed to aid Protestant forces during the Thirty Years’ War.

However, open conflict between Charles and his subjects first erupted not in England but in Scotland. His attempts to impose his religious policies on the fiercely Protestant Scots resulted in popular unrest and the formalised opposition in the National Covenant. Charles perceived this as rebellion and precipitated the First Bishops’ War of 1639. However the untrained, ill-equipped and poorly led English army was clearly no match for the Scottish Covenanter army and the king was forced to negotiate a truce. In 1640, Charles attempted again, but the Second Bishops’ War resulted in a Scottish invasion of the north of England and the taking of the city of Newcastle. The king was again forced to negotiate a truce.

Meanwhile in Ireland, an uprising had broken out, having begun as a conspiracy to seize a number of key strongholds. The insurgents failed to capture Dublin and the coup that they had planned became a general insurrection fuelled by Irish resentment against Protestant settlers from Scotland and England. The uprising had spread throughout Ireland by the spring of 1642. It was over the issue of control of an army to defeat the Irish Uprising that political dialogue in England between the king and Parliament broke down, and open conflict began when the king raised the royal battle standard at Nottingham in August 1642.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY

THE THREE ARMS OF MID-17TH CENTURY WARFARE

Artillery

Gunpowder and firearms were the technology that differentiated warfare of the ‘pike and shot’ era from that of the Middle Ages and artillery represented the cutting edge of that technology. Indeed, the artillery of the mid-17th century was not qualitatively inferior to that of the Napoleonic period. The importance of artillery is most obvious in the arena of siege warfare. Medieval fortifications were highly vulnerable to large calibre guns and so considerable time and effort was put into reinforcing them with earth bastions. Even these could not protect the defenders from the physical and psychological impact of mortars firing grenades.

The role of artillery in field actions was more limited for a number of reasons. Large guns were difficult to move on campaign, requiring a whole convoy to transport them and their ammunition. In some cases, commanders left their slow-moving siege train behind in order to carry out forced marches or surprise actions. In battle itself, the effectiveness of artillery could be limited by a lack of ammunition. Given also the difficulty of manoeuvring large pieces on the battlefield, it is not surprising that their role was often limited to a bombardment of the enemy forces prior to the main action. However, lighter guns – field artillery – also existed and were deployed in relatively large numbers. Close range ‘case shot’ firing was a staple of battlefield artillery action and is likely to have caused significant casualties and disruption.

Cavalry

Although cavalry were used in scouting and in protecting the vulnerable flanks and rear of an army on the march, it was on the battlefield that their main role lay. The advent of pike and shot infantry had reduced their former dominance of the battlefield, but they were still the most important of the three arms on the field. In many cases, victory went to the side that routed the opposing cavalry and then attacked the enemy foot in the flank or rear. An experienced unit of infantry in good order could usually repulse cavalry, but in the confusion of battle a charge by a horse regiment could often decimate a much larger unit of foot. However, for each example of cavalry winning a battle, there is another example of a failure to do so. Victorious cavalry could often end up pursuing routing horse off the battlefield. Even if they resisted the temptation to do so, it would take considerable time and effort for them to reform after a charge. The battle of Edgehill nicely illustrates the variable use of cavalry in a field action. The bulk of the Royalist cavalry led by Prince Rupert was deployed on the right wing and within half an hour of the start of the battle had charged and routed the opposing horse. But the Royalist horse pursued the enemy off the field, with only a part of them returning when the battle was almost over. On the Parliamentary side, Sir William Balfour’s regiment of cavalry seems to have begun the battle in a gap between the two main brigades of infantry. Balfour’s skilful movement about the battlefield and his careful conservation of his forces, enabled his troops to break two infantry regiments, attack the king’s heavy artillery, and then participate in the breaking up of another Royalist infantry brigade.
Infantry
The infantry formed the backbone of all armies during the English Civil War as well as being indispensable as garrison troops. During sieges, it would be the foot soldiers who constructed the defensive works that were vital for both the besiegers and the besieged, and even if cavalry were involved in assaults, it was the infantry who spearheaded them. In field battles, it was only the infantry who could hold ground, though their slowness and the unwieldy nature of their formations made it difficult to use infantry in an offensive capacity.

The main element of the infantry were the musketeers. In theory they were meant to comprise two thirds of the foot, with the remainder being pikemen, though at the start of the war many regiments had roughly equal numbers of each. 17th century muskets were inaccurate at any range beyond 100 yards and were slow to fire due to the complicated reloading procedure. Nevertheless, a massed formation of musketeers could deliver a devastating salvo at shorter ranges. They were effective even against cavalry, and so were sometimes used on the furthest edges of a battlefield, protected by terrain features such as hedges, to fire into the flanks of charging horse. The Royalists also used musketeers interspersed between units of horse.

The main raison d'être of the pikemen was to protect the musketeers against enemy cavalry. But once infantry units had closed to engage in hand-to-hand combat, it would be the better armed and armoured pikemen who were the mainstay of the fighting. The pikemen could also be used offensively to charge against foot.

THE TOWNS AND CITIES OF ENGLAND
The towns and cities of England played a key role during the Civil War, despite only accounting for a small proportion of the total population. As centres of trade and commerce, they were an important source of funds for the two sides. Some of them were also significant as manufacturing centres for weapons and other equipment. Ports were vital for the Royalists as, particularly early in the war, they sought to procure arms from continental Europe. But, above all, it was the defensive nature of towns and cities that gave them strategic importance. Many towns in England and Wales had been fortified during the Middle Ages with castles, town walls and gates. Although their condition at the outbreak of the Civil War varied, even those in disrepair could form a good basis for new fortifications.

The importance of fortified towns and cities during the war is shown by the fact that sieges and stormings vastly outnumbered field actions. And the battles that did occur were often part of a campaign to secure, relieve or storm a town or city.

London
London was by far the largest and most important city in England and, indeed, was only rivaled in Europe by Constantinople and Paris. It brought for Parliament, who controlled it throughout the war, the benefits of its wealth, derived largely from overseas trade, which enabled its citizens not only to pay high taxes but also to provide loans against the security of future tax revenues. Its population of over 300,000 was a significant source of new recruits, while its existing trained bands were a well-trained and well-motivated part-time militia, which reinforced Parliament’s main field army at crucial points during the war.

The North
York was the third largest city in the kingdom with a population of around 12,000. It was the headquarters for the earl of Newcastle’s army from December 1642. Its extensive medieval walls formed the bulk of the city’s defences and enabled it to withstand a 3-month siege in 1644, which only ended following the Royalist defeat at the battle of Marston Moor and the subsequent surrender of the city. Hull was the location of the first military action of the war. As a major port and the site of an arsenal of weapons stored after the recent wars with Scotland, the king was keen to secure it for himself but when he arrived there in April of 1642, the Parliamentarian governor turned him away. Charles returned in July with an army and laid siege to the city, but gave up after only a few weeks due to the unexpected vigour of the defence. Hull withstood another, longer, siege in late 1643. Besides its relatively strong fortifications, Hull’s defence benefited from the ability of the defenders to flood the low-lying land around the city by breaking the banks of the Hull and Humber rivers. Newcastle was the largest city in the far north of England and was economically important due to the coal trade. Its defences were strengthened by the king in 1638 when tensions with his Scotch subjects were running high, but it was taken by the Scots in 1640 during the Second Bishops’ War. It was besieged again by the Scots in 1644 and surrendered after several months.

The South West
Bristol was the largest port in England after London, and was a hub of trade not only with continental European countries such as France, Portugal and Spain but also with Ireland and with England’s colonies in North America and the West Indies. The city was also a major manufacturing centre, particularly of gunpowder and guns. Initially a Parliamentarian stronghold, it was captured by the Royalists when Prince Rupert stormed it in July 1643. Thereafter it was a major administrative centre, serving as the Royalists’ capital for the southwest, and an important source of arms and ammunition imported from the Continent. It was re-captured for the Parliamentarians by Sir Thomas Fairfax in September 1645, when Prince Rupert surrendered the city following a brief siege. The port of Plymouth was one of the very few towns in England with modern fortifications at the outset of the Civil War. It managed to withstand an almost continuous series of sieges for most of the war, due not only to its defences but also to ability of the Parliamentarian defenders to resupply it by sea.

Oxford
Oxford was the de facto Royalist capital throughout the war, only surrendering to Sir Thomas Fairfax in June 1646 at the end of a third siege of the city. In addition to being an administrative centre – it was the seat of the royal Court and the short-lived alternative parliament set up by the king – it also housed major parts of the Royalist war effort including the manufacture of artillery and munitions. As the existing medieval walls were inadequate for its protection, the Royalists constructed major earthworks on the northern side of the city, the only part not protected by rivers, through 1643 and 1644.
REGIONAL THEATRES OF WAR

The Royalists

At the summit of the Royalist chain of command was the king presiding over the Council of War. This body of men decided on strategy, distributed military resources, issued instructions to commanders and settled disputes between them. The king himself rarely acted as army commander, but delegated the relevant powers to his generals. The most senior of his commanders was the lord general, who held the rank of captain general enabling him to issue commands to all lower ranked generals with the exception of Prince Rupert. Patrick Ruthven, the earl of Forth, held the position of lord general from the eve of the Battle of Edgehill in October 1642 until November 1644, when he was retired due to old age and replaced by Prince Rupert. There were a number of commanders holding the official rank of lieutenant general who operated at some distance from the king’s headquarters and so in practice held the authority of captain generals within their theatres of war. These included, until late 1644, the earl of Newcastle in the north, and at various times the marquis of Hertford, Prince Maurice and Sir Ralph Hopton in the west (south-western England and south Wales).

The Parliamentarians

The two Houses of Parliament – the Commons and the Lords – claimed the right to exercise the king’s military prerogatives on the grounds that he was no longer competent to defend his people. They delegated the day-to-day management of the war to the Committee of Safety, which was replaced by the Committee of Both Kingdoms when the Scots entered the war at the start of 1644. The earl of Essex was appointed lord general at the outset of the conflict, with the rank of captain general and overall control of Parliamentary forces. However, his authority was gradually reduced in scope as regional commanders were appointed, first Lord Fairfax in the north in December 1642 and then the earl of Manchester in the east in early 1644. Both of these men were commissioned as lieutenant generals but had the powers of captain generals in their respective areas. Other provincial commanders, such as Sir William Waller in the south, held the rank of major general and were subject to orders from Essex. There were also officers at the county or sub-regional level who exercised the powers of a general while holding a rank no higher than colonel. In the Scottish army, the earl of Leven had been lord general since 1639, with his deputy David Leslie being a lieutenant general.

Regional and Local Theatres of War

The main field armies tended to operate across central England. They were headquartered only 60 miles from each other, with the Royalists based in and around Oxford and the Parliamentarians in London. The objectives of the major campaigns were the cities of London, Gloucester and Oxford and the majority of the field battles between the main armies – including Edgehill, both battles of Newbury, and Naseby – were fought within a triangle with its apexes at London, Bristol and Leicester. Due to the command structures of the two sides and the difficulties of communications between the headquarters and other parts of the country, regional and even local commanders were often given a large degree of autonomy to run operations in their own theatres of war. In the north, and particularly in Yorkshire, the large army of the earl of Newcastle fought Parliament’s smaller northern army led by the Fairfaxes throughout 1643. The arrival of the Scottish Covenanters in northern England in 1644 forced Newcastle onto the defensive and culminated in the battle of Marston Moor outside York in July 1644, where three parliamentarian armies – the northern army, the Eastern Association and the Covenanters – defeated the combined forces of Newcastle and Prince Rupert in the largest field action ever fought on English soil. Lancashire, geographically isolated from Yorkshire, was the scene of a largely separate local conflict between the Royalists of the earl of Derby and the Parliamentarian forces led by Ralph Assheton.

The northern Midlands was the scene of local struggles between Parliament’s forces in Staffordshire and Warwickshire, led by Lord Brooke until his death at the siege of Lichfield in March 1643 and thereafter by Sir John Gell, and the Royalists led by various commanders, including the earl of Northampton until his death at the battle of Hopton Heath in March 1643, after which he was briefly replaced by Prince Rupert. As the east of England was the heartland of Parliamentary support, there was little fighting there with the exception of Lincolnshire in 1643, with small scale battles between Royalist forces from Newark and the local Parliamentarians, before Eastern Association troops under Cromwell moved north to counter the threat from the earl of Newcastle’s northern army which had invaded Lincolnshire.

The position of the Royalists in Wales was less secure. The king had appointed three lieutenant generals to direct military operations in Wales and the Marches (those English counties lying along the border with Wales). In the north, Lord Capel faced Sir William Brereton, based in Cheshire but the overall parliamentarian commander for Lancashire, Cheshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire. In late 1643, Capel benefited from reinforcements from Oxford and also from Ireland and was able to drive the parliamentarians out of Wales. He was then replaced by Lord Byron who put pressure on Brereton in Cheshire, before Sir Thomas Fairfax arrived with reinforcements and secured a victory at the battle of Nantwich. The royalist commander in south east Wales, Lord Herbert,
was similarly unsuccessful. In southwest Wales, Lord Carberry was content to follow a truce with the local parliamentarians and used diplomacy to secure the major strongholds for the king in the latter half of 1643. But he lost the entire region under his command to local parliamentarians in the first 3 months of 1644. Overall command in Wales was given to Prince Rupert and he had replaced the three noblemen with professional soldiers by mid-1644.

While southeast England was relatively safe territory for the parliamentarians, the far west was a hotbed of sympathy for the king. The royalist commander in the southwest was the marquis of Hertford, but it was his deputy Sir Ralph (later Lord) Hopton who secured the south west of England for the king by raising forces in Cornwall and defeating the parliamentary commander the earl of Stamford at the battle of Stratton in May 1643. Hopton then joined forces with Hertford and Prince Maurice in Somerset where they faced the Western Association under its major general Sir William Waller. After Waller’s defeat at the battle of Roundway Down in July and the storming and taking of Bristol by Prince Rupert later in the month, the royalists were firmly in control of the entire south west, with the notable exception of the port of Plymouth. In September Hopton was appointed general for Dorset, Wiltshire and Hampshire, and began campaigning against Waller in central southern England until defeat at the battle of Cheriton in March 1644.

**POLITICAL AND INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE CIVIL WAR**

**The Cessation**

The Irish Uprising began in Ulster in October 1641 and rapidly escalated into a war that had engulfed the whole of the country by the spring of 1642. Troops were sent from England and Scotland to deal with the uprising, but the Irish became more organised with the Confederate Assembly of Kilkenny in May 1642, which united the native Irish nobility with the Catholic “Old English” aristocracy. The resultant Confederate War was to last until 1653. When King Charles learned of negotiations between the English Parliamentarians and the Scottish Covenanters in 1643, he sought military aid from Ireland. After negotiations between the king’s representative and the head of the Confederate’s Supreme Council, a one-year cease fire – the Cessation of Arms – was signed in September.

The Cessation allowed government troops stationed in Ireland to return to England to fight for the royalists. In all, some 11,000 soldiers were shipped to Wales and southwest England in late 1643 and early 1644. However, their impact on the war proved to be limited. Their recruitment to the royalist cause handed a propaganda victory to the parliamentarians who portrayed the returning troops, the vast majority of whom were English or loyalist Protestant Irish, as bloodthirsty Irish papists. Furthermore, many of them were reluctant to fight their fellow Englishmen and thus proved unreliable in battle and all too ready to defect to the other side if captured. After the king’s defeat at the battle of Naseby in June 1645, he was so desperate for additional troops that he was prepared to recruit Irish Confederates. However, despite the signing of a treaty in August, and the initial promise by the Confederates to raise an army of 10,000 men to fight in England, the breakdown of further negotiations resulted in only 1,600 men being sent to fight for the king in Scotland.

**The Solemn League and Covenant**

The shock defeat of the Fairfaxes at the battle of Adwalton Moor in June 1643, and the prospect of Irish troops joining the royalists, spurred on Parliament to formally request aid from the Scottish Covenanters. This resulted in the signing in September 1643 of a treaty called the Solemn League and Covenant, which promised the Scots the preservation of the reformed religion in Scotland as well as the enforcement of Presbyterian forms of worship and church government in England, Wales and Ireland, although the latter was worded in such a way as to be open to interpretation. In return, the Scots agreed to form an army of some 21,000 troops and send it into England to help defeat the royalists.

Difficulties in recruitment meant that when the army crossed the border into England in January 1644, it was still understrength by a few thousand infantry. Nevertheless, the Scottish invasion obliged the earl of Newcastle to march north with the bulk of his army in order to defend the city of Newcastle. When the parliamentarian northern army and Eastern Association began to threaten York in April, Newcastle abandoned his campaign against the Scots and returned to Yorkshire. The Scots were then able to take part in the siege of York, and played an important role in the battle of Marston Moor in July, before returning north to take the city of Newcastle. In 1645, the Covenanter army moved south into the Midlands and began to besiege Hereford, but on hearing news of Montrose’s further successes in Scotland, it marched north again and in November began besieging Newark together with the Northern Association. In May 1646, both Newark and the king himself surrendered to the Scots. The Covenanter army finally withdrew from England in August in exchange for payment of its expenses by Parliament, though they finally agreed to receive only £400,000 of the estimated £2 million they had spent.

**The Self-Denying Ordinance and the Formation of the New Model Army**

The idea of a “new modelling” of Parliament’s forces was first proposed by Sir William Waller in mid-1644. Parliament’s armies were formed into regional associations with soldiers often reluctant to campaign away from their local areas. A national army with no regional affiliations would redress this issue and the idea was promoted by Oliver Cromwell in Parliament. As a first step in this process, in December the House of Commons passed a bill called the Self-Denying Ordinance, stipulating that no member of the House of Commons or the House of Lords could hold any command in the army or navy. This was designed to rid Parliament’s armies of its aristocratic commanders, some of whom had been less than successful in the field and were suspected of supporting a peaceful resolution of the war. A revised version of the bill was finally passed by both Houses in April 1645, leading to the earls of Essex and Manchester and Lord Fairfax losing their commands and Sir William Waller also resigning.
Oliver Cromwell and Sir William Brereton were exempted due to their indispensable military skills. The New Model Army was planned to comprise a total of 22,000 men in twelve regiments of foot and eleven of horse plus a single regiment of dragoons. The cavalry were mainly veterans from the Eastern Association, the main field army and Waller’s army. There were insufficient infantry remaining from these armies and so new recruits were pressed from London, the east and the south east. Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed captain general and commander-in-chief in January 1645, with Philip Skippon as his major general of foot. Oliver Cromwell commanded the horse, but was not officially appointed as lieutenant general and second-in-command of the army until June.

The army was initially derided by the royalists and satirised as the “New Noddle”. Even on the parliamentarian side, many did not think that the reorganisation would succeed. However, Fairfax moulded the army into a disciplined and highly motivated force, with officers appointed on merit rather than social status. The defeat inflicted on the royalists by the New Model Army at the battle of Naseby in June effectively ended the king’s chances of victory in the war. Other smaller parliamentarian armies were either disbanded or absorbed into the New Model, making it into a national army with Fairfax as the commander-in-chief of all Parliament’s forces in England and Wales.

The New Model Army went on to defeat the royalists in the Second Civil War in 1648 and, under its new commander-in-chief Cromwell, won the Third Civil War by defeating the Scots at the battle of Dunbar in 1650 and Scots-Royalist army under Charles II at the battle of Worcester in 1651. Units of the army helped to seize Jamaica from Spain in 1655 and played a role in Turenne’s victory over the Spanish at the battle of the Dunes in 1658. The New Model Army was only disbanded in 1660 following the restoration of King Charles II, but a single regiment – that of George Monck – become the first regiment in the king’s new standing army. Monck’s Regiment of Foot, now known as the Coldstream Guards, still exists and is the oldest regiment in continuous service in the British army.

THE ROYALIST COMMANDERS

King Charles I

Despite King Charles’ complete lack of military experience prior to the First English Civil War, his position as monarch automatically made him the commander-in-chief of the royalists. As head of the Council of War, he was ultimately responsible for the conduct of the royalist war effort, including decisions on strategy, the appointment of generals and the issuing of orders to field commanders on operational matters. Recognising his own inexperience, he appointed a lord general to act as his military adviser and to be responsible for day-to-day control of the main royalist foot army. However, his first lord general, Robert Bertie, 1st Earl of Lindsey, seemed to have been unhappy at only having control of the foot and artillery – Prince Rupert’s commission put him at the same level as the lord general with regard to the horse. In the end, though, it may have been the king’s decision to follow Rupert’s rather than Lindsey’s advice that led to the latter resigning on the eve of the battle of Edgehill. He was replaced as lord general by Patrick Ruthven, 1st Earl of Forth, a 70-year-old veteran of the Thirty Years’ War. It is not clear exactly what role Forth played in royalist strategy during the first two years of the war, as the king continued to place a high degree of faith in Rupert’s advice, while Forth maintained a low profile and kept his views to himself, at least in public. However, there is no doubt that Forth acted as field commander for the main royalist army, albeit with the king taking an increasing interest in operational matters as the war went on.

When Rupert departed for the north of England in March 1644, the king began to take a more active role in military planning. Unfortunately, this only highlighted one of Charles’ major faults as a military leader – an inability to make firm and clear decisions. The royalist command structure had been obscure from the beginning, with a bloated Council of War that was nevertheless sometimes ignored by Charles, who could be unduly influenced by his current favourite at Court. In 1644, Charles’ personal qualities had a more direct effect on operational matters. Charles failed to appoint a single leader for the campaign in the south west, with the resultant dual leadership of Forth and Hopton being one of the factors leading to the defeat at the battle of Cheriton. His written orders to Rupert about dealing with the allied armies besieging York as quickly as possible, may have contributed to the defeat at Marston Moor. On the other hand, the king’s decisions during the Oxford campaign, during which his there was considerable disagreement among his advisors, demonstrated that he had gained some skill in directing operations. The success of the Lostwithiel campaign could be taken as further evidence that the king was improving his grasp of military matters as he gained more experience. However, the campaign leading up to the Second Battle of Newbury in October 1644 saw the king display some of his worst characteristics. He initially agreed with Prince Rupert not to fight a battle until Rupert could reinforce him and take over command from the ailing Forth, but then allowed himself to be persuaded otherwise by Sir George Goring and Lord Digby. The following year, during the Naseby campaign, the king undermined the authority of his new lord general, Prince Rupert, and prevented a clear strategy from being carried out. Even the king’s apologists, such as the historian the earl of Clarendon, recognised that his inconsistency and lack of resolution had contributed to the defeat of the royalists.

Prince Rupert

Prince Rupert was born in Prague in 1619 as the third son of the “Winter King” Frederick V, Elector of the Palatinate and Elizabeth, the sister of Charles I. After his father’s short-lived assumption of the throne of Bohemia ended in defeat at the battle of White

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Mountain, the family moved to exile in Holland, where Rupert grew up. His interest in the military was demonstrated from an early age. He accompanied the Prince of Orange on campaign in 1633 and then again in 1637, when he was present at the siege of Breda. The following year, he joined Charles Louis in an invasion of Westphalia which ended in defeat at the battle of Vlotho. The Scottish mercenary James King blamed this on Rupert’s impetuousity.

When the civil war broke out in England, Rupert saw this as an opportunity to continue his military career. He arrived in England in August 1642 with his younger brother Maurice and a staff of English and Scottish veterans from the European wars. His uncle appointed him general of horse but, unusually, he was not obliged to follow the commands of the lord general, instead reporting directly to the king. His skill as a cavalry commander was soon demonstrated at the first significant engagement of the war, Powick Bridge, where he routed a parliamentary force. This was followed up by his successful charge at the battle of Edgehill, although his failure to prevent his troops from chasing the parliamentary cavalry off the battlefield contributed to the failure of the Royalists to win the battle. In early 1643, Rupert was active in the Midlands, storming Cirencester, Birmingham and Lichfield. At Birmingham he allowed his men to loot and set fire to the town, providing a propaganda coup to the Parliamentarians and earning a rebuke from the king. In July, Rupert effectively took command of the main field army when he stormed and took Bristol. Although an important strategic gain, the army suffered many casualties, which led the king to take a more cautious approach at Gloucester. In 1644, Rupert was appointed President of Wales, but continued his military activities by relieving Newark and seizing most of Lancashire. However, in July he suffered his first major defeat at the battle of Marston Moor. Nevertheless, Rupert was appointed captain general of the royalist army in November. After the battle of Naseby in June 1645, Rupert realised that the royalist cause was hopeless. After his surrender of Bristol in September, Charles dismissed him and the two became estranged.

Rupert left England in mid-1646 and took command of exiled English troops serving in the army of France in its war against Spain. From then on, Rupert turned his talents to naval warfare. He accompanied the future Charles II during the royalist naval campaign of the Second Civil War, commanded a squadron of ships in Ireland in 1649 and then moved his base to Portugal until pursued by the Commonwealth General-at-Sea Robert Blake. After the Restoration, Rupert returned to England. He held naval commands in the Second Anglo-Dutch War of 1665-7 and was appointed admiral of the English fleet in 1673 before retiring after suffering two defeats by the Dutch.

**The Earl of Newcastle**

William Cavendish, 1st Earl of Newcastle, was an ambitious politician, becoming simultaneously lord lieutenant in Derbyshire and Wiltshire and, from 1639, the governor of Prince Charles and a member of the Privy Council. He craved political office partly as a means of paying his huge personal debt, incurred by his fondness for lavish hospitality. A charming aristocrat, skilled at fencing, drama, writing and horsemanship, he would prove to be less successful in the military arena. He had no previous experience of conflict when he raised a troop of horse at his own expense for the First Bishops’ War. In June 1642, he was sent to secure the city of Newcastle as commander of royal forces in the four most northerly counties. His reputation and ownership of multiple estates enabled him to recruit thousands of men and, with no parliamentary forces in the area, he was able to train them and then march them south into Yorkshire in late November in response to a request for aid from the local Royalists. By then he was general of all royalist forces north of the river Trent, but this area was too extensive for him to control effectively, and so he left his subordinate commanders such as Henry Hastings in the Midlands and the earl of Derby in Lancashire to their own devices.

Newcastle recognised that both he and most of his officers lacked the necessary military experience and so he appointed to senior positions a number of professional soldiers brought over from Europe. These included his lieutenant general and de facto chief of staff James King (the later Lord Eythin), his general of horse George Goring, and his major general of foot Sir Francis Mackworth. During the first half of 1643, Newcastle and his generals failed to use the advantage of their more numerous and better-equipped troops to drive the parliamentary forces led by the Fairfaxes out of Yorkshire, although they did manage to safely escort the queen south with a large convoy. Despite his major tactical victory at the battle of Adwalton Moor in June, Newcastle also failed to eradicate the Fairfaxes in the second half of the year, owing to his failure to take their secure base at Hull. With the invasion of the Covenanters army in January 1644, the new marquis of Newcastle was obliged to march north to protect the city of Newcastle. But then in April came news that York was threatened by the combination of Parliament’s northern army and Eastern Association. Newcastle moved south and reached York just ahead of the pursuing Scots and the Fairfaxes. The siege was relieved when Prince Rupert arrived, but the subsequent battle at Marston Moor was a major defeat for the royalists. Afterwards, Newcastle went into self-imposed exile, living in genteel poverty in Antwerp, until the Restoration. Charles II rewarded him for his loyalty and the losses he incurred during the interregnum by political office, investment in the Order of the Garter, and elevation to the dukedom of Newcastle.

**Sir Ralph Hopton**

Sir Ralph Hopton was born to a Somerset gentry family and followed many of his contemporaries by enlisting with the English volunteers of Sir Horace Vere to fight for the protestant cause in Europe. He assisted in the escape of the “Winter Queen” Elizabeth from Prague and served in Europe until 1625, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel. Among his comrades was Sir William Waller. In the summer of 1642, Hopton became deputy to the marquis of Hertford, the king’s lieutenant general in the west. When Hertford pulled out of Somerset due to pressure from the parliamentary earl of Stamford, and shipped his foot
guns to south Wales, Hopton remained behind with only 110 horse and 50 dragoons. He turned west to the relative safety of Cornwall, where he raised a volunteer force of some 5,000 men and was appointed lieutenant general. In early 1643, he secured Cornwall at the battle of Braddock Down and then in May he defeated the earl of Stanhope at the battle of Stratton, leaving Devon and Somerset open to the Royalists. In June he joined up with Hertford and Prince Maurice and faced his old comrade Waller at Lansdown and Roundway Down. After the capture of Bristol, Hopton was made Baron Hopton of Stratton and then in September he was appointed commander of royalist forces in south west England. His advance eastward into Hampshire and Sussex was initially successful, but was halted by Waller and then driven back after the battle of Cheriton in March 1644. In the summer, Hopton commanded a division in the manoeuvres to encircle and trap Essex’s army at Lostwithiel, and he fought at the second battle of Newbury in October. Hopton was appointed as chief military adviser to the Prince of Wales (the future King Charles II) in March 1645 and then to the position of lieutenant general of the western army in early 1646, but was defeated by Fairfax at the battle of Torrington. After ensuring the Prince of Wales’ escape from England, he surrendered to Fairfax and was allowed to follow the prince into exile.

The Earl of Northampton

Spencer Compton, 2nd Earl of Northampton, accompanied the future King Charles I and the marquis (later Duke) of Buckingham when they visited Madrid in 1623 in an attempt to arrange a marriage between Charles and the King of Spain’s sister. Afterwards, Northampton remained a close personal friend of Charles. He gained military experience by serving in George Goring’s regiment at the siege of Breda in 1637 and fighting for the Elector Palatine at the battle of Vlotho in 1638. He also raised troops for King Charles in the Bishops’ Wars. In the summer of 1642, Northampton was appointed commissioner of array for the counties of Warwickshire, Northamptonshire and Gloucestershire. He besieged Warwick Castle but was defeated by Lord Brooke’s relief force on the day that King Charles raised his standard at Nottingham. Northampton fought at Edgehill and in February 1643 became commander of the royalist forces in Warwickshire and Northamptonshire. After the fall of Lichfield in March, he joined forces with Henry Hastings to prevent the Parliamentarians capturing Stafford. He was killed by a halberd blow to the head at the battle of Stafford later that month.

Queen Henrietta Maria

Henrietta Maria was the youngest daughter of King Henry IV of France. Her marriage in 1625 to the Prince of Wales, the future King Charles I, required a special dispensation from the pope because it was the first time that a Catholic princess had married a Protestant prince. During the 1630s Charles increasingly involved Henrietta in affairs of state, but her influence was viewed with suspicion because she was a practising Roman Catholic. In February 1642, Henrietta left for the Netherlands and spend almost a year in The Hague selling or pawning her jewels and raising loans to finance several convoys of weapons and ammunition and a company of veteran professional soldiers to fight for the king. She returned to England in February 1643, landing at Bridlington in Yorkshire. In the summer she moved south at the head of her troops, styling herself “Her She-Majesty, Generalissima”. She reunited with the king in July and remained in Oxford until April 1644, when she withdrew to Bath, having become pregnant with her ninth child. She escaped to France in July, and remained active in schemes and intrigues aimed at gaining foreign help for the royalist cause.

THE PARLIAMENTARIAN COMMANDERS

The Earl of Essex

Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, was the eldest son of the 2nd Earl of Essex, a favourite of Queen Elizabeth who had distinguished himself by capturing Cadiz in 1596. Prior to the English Civil War, the younger Essex’ only experience of campaigning on land was four years serving as a colonel of foot in protestant armies in Germany and the Low Countries. He had also served as a vice admiral in the disastrous English expedition against Cadiz in 1625. Thus his appointment as captain general in July 1642 probably owed more to his illustrious ancestors and his noble rank than to his military experience.

Essex’ record during the civil war was mixed. He turned a defeat at the battle of Edgehill into a marginal victory, successfully defended London at Turnham Green, and won a victory at the first battle of Newbury. However, he was severely criticized by the London media and, on occasion, by Parliament for not capitalising on his successes to pursue the king’s army when it was weak. He was arguably too cautious and slow to act, but was also dogged and unflappable and popular with his troops. The low point of his career was the Lostwithiel campaign of mid-1644, at the end of which he escaped in a fishing boat leaving his army to surrender. He resigned his commission in April 1645 due to the Self-Denying Ordinance, but remained an important member of the Committee of Both Kingdoms as well continuing to be influential in Parliament until his death in 1646.

Lord Fairfax

Ferdinando Fairfax, 2nd Lord Fairfax, had been a Member of Parliament from 1614. He was proclaimed leader of the Yorkshire parliamentarians in September 1642. His previous military experience was limited to serving in the Netherlands in his youth and commanding a regiment of the Yorkshire Trained Bands in the First Bishops’ War. Over the next 18 months, together with his son Sir Thomas Fairfax, he successfully employed a Fabian strategy against the numerically far stronger forces of the earl of Newcastle. The Fairfax’es prosecuted a war of attrition.
by strategic defence characterised by a series of attacks and retreats where they managed a rough parity of forces, in the hope of achieving small, incremental victories. Even after defeat at the battle of Adwalton Moor in June 1643, the Fairfaxes managed to consolidate and rebuild their forces and thus continued to tie up Newcastle’s large army. At the battle of Marston Moor in July 1644, Lord Fairfax commanded two brigades of foot, which fled from the battlefield after being attacked by cavalry. Their commander fled with them, ending up several miles away, and thus was not aware until the day after that the parliamentarians had achieved a decisive victory. His flight at the battle and the later achievements of his son have marred Lord Fairfax’ reputation.

**Sir William Waller**

Sir William Waller gained his first military experience at the age of 19 when he joined a company of English volunteers fighting for the army of the Venetian republic against Archduke Ferdinand of Austria. In 1620 he befriended Sir Ralph Hopton when they both served as members of Elizabeth of Bohemia’s lifeguard at Prague. He was elected an MP in May 1642 and was an enthusiastic supporter of Parliament at the outbreak of the war, raising his own regiment of horse and capturing Portsmouth in September. During the last months of 1642 he captured several castles in southern England in quick succession, becoming the hero of London and earning him the nickname “William the Conqueror”. He was appointed major general of the west in the spring of 1643 and his string of victories continued until the middle of the year when he faced his old comrade Hopton at the battles of Lansdown and Roundway Down. In November, Waller was commissioned major general of the newly-formed Southern Association and earned Parliament’s greatest victory of the war to date at the battle of Cheriton in March 1644. Waller resigned under the terms of the Self-Denying Ordinance, but continued as an active member of the Committee for Both Kingdoms until the end of the war.

**Lord Brooke**

Robert Greville, 2nd Baron Brooke, was appointed lord lieutenant of Warwickshire in March 1642. He secured the county for Parliament by driving back the earl of Northampton, the king’s commissioner of array, who had captured a convoy of artillery and was besieging Warwick Castle. In December, Brooke was appointed commander of Parliament’s Midlands Association of Warwickshire and Staffordshire and proved to be a popular leader. He drove the royalists out of Stratford in February 1643 and advanced on the city of Lichfield, where he was shot dead by a royalist sniper. His death was a serious blow to Parliament as he had been seen as a potential replacement for the earl of Essex as lord general. A religious radical and writer, Brooke earned later praise from John Milton who wrote of Brooke’s ‘Discourse of Episcopally’ that he had “never read or heard words more mild and peaceful”.

**The Earl of Manchester**

Edward Montague, 2nd Earl of Manchester, married a cousin of the Duke of Buckingham in 1623 and accompanied the duke and Prince Charles (the future King Charles I) on their unsuccessful expedition to Madrid to secure a marriage between Charles and the Spanish infanta. However, in the 1630s the future earl of Manchester opposed the king’s policies leading to a loss of favour at court. At the outbreak of the war, Manchester commanded a regiment of foot in the army of the earl of Essex. In August 1643, he was given command of the Eastern Association and, together with his second-in-command Cromwell, welded it into the most effective of Parliament’s regional armies. Manchester was appointed to the Committee of Both Kingdoms when the Scots entered the war, and took part as a senior field officer at the battle of Marston Moor. In the following months tensions arose between Manchester and his subordinate Cromwell, with the latter and his allies in the army and Parliament accusing Manchester of inactivity and disobeying orders. This may have been to cover up Cromwell’s own lack of success during this period, though it could also have been motivated by religious differences, which had come to the fore after the battle of Marston Moor, when a victory for Parliament began to seem a realistic possibility. Manchester resigned his commission in April 1645 when the Self-Denying Ordinance was passed, but remained active in the House of Lords and on the Committee for Both Kingdoms. Manchester strongly opposed the king’s trial in 1649 and retired from public life the following year. In 1659 he was active in bringing about the Restoration and was showered with honours by Charles II. He was given command of a regiment during the Second Anglo-Dutch War in 1667.

**The Earl of Leven**

Alexander Leslie, 1st Earl of Leven, was the illegitimate son of the captain of Blair Castle in Atholl. He first enlisted as a soldier in 1605, fighting under Sir Horace Vere in the Netherlands, before transferring to the Swedish army where he served under three monarchs: Charles IX, Gustavus Adolphus and Christina. He was promoted to lieutenant general and knighted by Gustavus in 1626 and fought at the battle of Lützen in 1632. He was promoted to field marshal in 1636. Leslie returned to Scotland in 1638 and took command of the Army of the Covenant. After his victory in the Second Bishops’ War, King Charles created him earl of Leven in an attempt to win his allegiance. Leven prepared and led the Covenanters army that marched into England in early 1644. With three decades of command experience and schooled in the new continental methods of warfare, especially Swedish tactical and organisational innovations, he instilled military proficiency in his army. However, his performance from 1644 to 1646 was mediocre. He was overly cautious and failed to take advantage of his army’s superiority over the northern royalists. At the battle of Marston Moor, he fled from the field and is said to have galloped all the way to Leeds. After the king surrendered to the Scottish army at
Newark in May 1646, Leven urged him to make peace. Leven refused to support the Scottish invasion of England during the Second Civil War in 1648, and by the time of the Third Civil War, at the age of 70, he offered to resign as commander-in-chief. But the Scottish Parliament refused, and he retained overall strategic command of the army while delegating control of operations to David Leslie.

Sir Thomas Fairfax

The son of Ferdinando, 2nd Lord Fairfax, Thomas commanded a troop of Yorkshire dragoons in the First Bishops’ War and 150 horse in the Second War and was knighted for his services in 1641. When Lord Fairfax was given command of Parliament’s northern army in Yorkshire, he nominated his son as his second-in-command.

Over the next two years, he gained a reputation as a courageous cavalry leader and an expert commander at brigade level. He suffered defeats at the battles of Seacroft and Adwalton Moor, but achieved a spectacular victory when he took the town of Wakefield against a defending force twice the size of his own, and also triumphed at the battle of Winchbury and in the relief of Nantwich. His reputation had grown to such an extent that he was appointed commander-in-chief of the New Model Army in January 1645.

His triumph at the battle of Naseby effectively ended the Royalists’ chances of winning the war, and was followed up by a victory over Lord Goring at the battle of Langport and the recapture of Bristol. In February 1646, Fairfax defeated Lord Hopton at Torrington and accepted his surrender the following month. In June, the royalist headquarters at Oxford capitulated to Fairfax, bringing the war to an end.

Fairfax was appointed commander-in-chief of all Parliament’s land forces in July 1647. During the Second Civil War, he crushed the royalist uprising in Kent and besieged Colchester. However, Fairfax became increasingly disillusioned by political events. He declined to attend the king’s trial and tried to postpone his execution. Fairfax was reappointed lord general of Commonwealth land forces in March 1649, but remained in England during Cromwell’s invasion of Ireland and declined to lead the invasion of Scotland against Charles II in 1650, resigning shortly thereafter. Under Fairfax’ leadership, the New Model Army did not lose a single battle, siege or storming, making Fairfax the most successful English commander of the 1640s. During the later 1650s, he sat as MP for Yorkshire and was highly regarded for his opposition to military rule. He helped to engineer the Restoration, providing the horse that Charles II rode at his coronation, but took no further part in public life.

Oliver Cromwell

Oliver Cromwell was born into a gentry family descended from the sister of Thomas Cromwell, the minister of King Henry VIII. He was elected an MP in 1628 and became associated with the opposition to King Charles I. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he raised a troop of sixty horsemen and secured Cambridgeshire for Parliament. He was present at the battle of Edgehill, but his skills as a cavalry commander only became evident during the summer of 1643. He was promoted to colonel in the newly-raised Eastern Association and had attained the rank of lieutenant general of horse by January 1644. Cromwell played a major role in Parliament’s victory at the battle of Marston Moor in July, but became increasingly critical of his superior, the earl of Manchester and was a leading supporter of the Self-Denying Ordinance. Although theoretically excluded from command due to his position in the House of Commons, his exceptional military skills meant that he was given the role of cavalry commander in the New Model Army and was officially appointed as lieutenant general of horse in June 1645, just before the battle of Naseby where he again made a major contribution to victory. By the end of the war, despite having no prior military experience, Cromwell was regarded as one of the most talented soldiers in England.

During the Second Civil War, Cromwell crushed a royalist uprising in Wales before leading a daring campaign in the north of England that resulted in total defeat of the Scots at the battle of Preston. As a Puritan with strongly held beliefs, Cromwell was a relentless supporter of the king’s trial and execution. Cromwell’s Irish campaign of 1649–50 was another military success but also stained his reputation owing to the massacre of civilians that took place at Wexford. Cromwell was appointed captain general and commander-in-chief of the army when Fairfax resigned in mid-1650. During the Third Civil War, he achieved the greatest victory of his career at the battle of Dunbar and also triumphed against Charles II at the battle of Worcester. In 1653, Cromwell took the title of Lord Protector, after making clear that he did not want to be made king. He summoned a new parliament in 1654, which was elected on a wider franchise than any previous parliament, including MPs representing Scotland and Ireland for the first time. But, after criticism of his leadership, he dissolved Parliament and imposed direct military rule in March 1655, with England and Wales divided into twelve districts, each governed by a major general reporting directly to him. The Rule of the Major Generals was deeply unpopular and Cromwell abolished the system in 1657. Cromwell died in 1658, but after the Restoration his corpse was exhumed and publicly hanged and beheaded on the twelfth anniversary of the execution of Charles I.

Philip Skippon

The son of a minor gentleman from Norfolk, Philip Skippon went as a volunteer on Sir Horace Vere’s expeditionary force to Bohemia in 1620 and continued his military career in Dutch service. He established a reputation for courage at the siege of Breda in 1625. Skippon was appointed commander of the London Trained Bands in January 1642 and took part at the battle of Turnham Green. Essex noticed his popularity with the troops and appointed Skippon sergeant-major general in his army. In this role
he performed well at both battles of Newbury, and was a natural choice for major general of foot in the New Model Army, with his appointment persuading many reluctant officers and men from Essex’ army to enlist in the New Model. Skippon commanded the infantry at the battle of Naseby, where his work in training his men was triumphantly vindicated. He was severely wounded during the battle and saw no further action during the war, but was appointed governor of Bristol and then of Newcastle. During the Second Civil War, he secured London for Parliament and he continued to hold high military and civil offices during the Commonwealth and Protectorate. Cromwell appointed Skippon to his Upper House as Lord Skippon and even at the time of the Restoration he was held in such high regard that Parliament voted to keep him on as commander of the London militia.

THE CARD EVENTS

ADVANTAGEOUS TERRAIN

The choice of exactly where to fight a field battle was a major consideration for generals, and depended on the composition of their forces. Cavalry could only operate at full effectiveness in open terrain, while foot were more vulnerable there, particularly if they were lacking in pikemen. On the other hand, features such as hedgerows and woods would inhibit enemy cavalry and provide cover to both artillery and soldiers using firearms i.e. musketeers and dragoons. A constricted battlefield could prevent a larger army from deploying on a wide frontage, reducing its advantage in numbers. Hills and ridges provided several potential benefits – a good viewpoint, momentum when moving down or the opposite for the enemy when moving up, and possibly a reverse slope enabling a commander to hide some of his troops from the enemy and protect them from artillery fire.

ATTRITION

It was difficult to maintain large armies in the mid-17th century. Soldiers endured long marches and nights spent sleeping in fields, they were rarely paid on time and sometimes not at all, and on occasion they even lacked food. This made it almost inevitable that, despite the harsh penalties for those caught, many men deserted. Diseases, above all typhus which spread directly from person to person, could be an even bigger problem, especially when armies stayed in one place for an extended period, such as during a siege.

BAILLIE SENT TO SCOTLAND

William Baillie was lieutenant general of foot in the Covenanter army when it invaded England in 1644 and took part in the battle of Marston Moor and the siege of Newcastle. Due to the successes of the king’s commander in Scotland, the marquess of Montrose, in late November 1644 Baillie was appointed to command an army to check the raids of Montrose in the north of Scotland.

BRADFORD CLUBMEN

An important source of manpower for the Fairfaxes in Yorkshire were local volunteers from towns such as Bradford, Halifax and Leeds, who were often referred to as ‘clubmen’. Unlike regular foot troops who were provided with musket or pike, plus a sword of some description, these townsmen would arm themselves with whatever implements came to hand. In December 1642, when the Royalist commander Lord Savile attacked the town of Bradford with a force of 1,000 men, he was initially surprised that the town was able to defend itself at all. The Parliamentarians had about 70 men with assorted firearms and twice as many clubmen armed with a very mixed bag of weapons ranging from hunting guns to clubs and scythes. After being reinforced by more clubmen from Halifax, the defenders went on the offensive, even to the extent of attacking enemy cavalry. The superior Royalist forces had had enough and withdrew to Leeds, with their horse protecting their guns and foot from the 50 or so brave musketeers and clubmen pursuing them.

CLUBMEN

The clubmen were initially spontaneous gatherings, and later associations organised by minor gentry and churchmen, who took up arms and banded together in an attempt to resist the armies of both sides and keep the war out of their regions. Clubmen uprisings tended to occur in areas that had suffered badly from plundering and free quartering of troops, and more often than not were directed against the royalists. The first major uprising took place in Shropshire in December 1644 when 1,200 men assembled to protest against plundering by local royalist garrisons. The movement spread through the counties bordering Wales during the winter, with 1,000 clubmen gathering in Worcestershire in March 1645. In Herefordshire, up to 12,000 clubmen assembled to protest at the tyranny of the royalist governor of Hereford and the clubmen besieged the town for several days. During May and June, uprisings spread to Somerset, Wiltshire and Dorset, with royalist fugitives from the battle of Langport hunted down and killed by Somerset clubmen in revenge for the depredations they had inflicted on the region. The Parliamentarians sometimes tried to recruit clubmen to their cause. Sir Thomas Fairfax met with clubmen leaders in July 1645 and they agreed not to help the Royalists on condition that the New Model Army would pay for their supplies and provisions and would not commit offences against the local population. However, the Dorset clubmen were less amenable, so Fairfax arrested their leaders and Cromwell led a cavalry detachment to break up a gathering of several thousand clubmen. In November 1645, 3,000 clubmen met in Worcestershire and openly declared for Parliament, actively supporting the New Model Army during 1646 by acting as an unofficial militia blockading royalist garrisons.
Sir Alexander Carew was elected as a Member of Parliament in 1641 and declared for Parliament on the outbreak of the war. Carew was part of the committee entrusted with the defence of the strategically-important port of Plymouth and was made governor of the island of St Nicholas and its fort, which dominated the entrance of Plymouth harbour. After the capture of Bristol by the Royalists in July 1643, Carew began to rethink his enthusiasm for the Parliamentary cause and secretly contacted Sir John Berkeley, the commander of the Royalist forces besieging Exeter, with a view to changing sides. His first service would be to betray the island and fort under his command. Despite Berkeley’s firm assurances, Carew worried about reprisals from his new friends, and waited for a formal pardon. This left time for a servant to betray him by leaking the plot to the Mayor of Plymouth. Sir Alexander was arrested, tried for treason by court-martial and beheaded in December 1644.

**DELCAYED ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW MODEL ARMY**

Already in January 1645, Sir Thomas Fairfax had been chosen as the leader of the New Model Army and Philip Skippon as major general of foot. But political wrangling between the Lords and the Commons meant that some essential pieces of legislation did not gain final approval until April. Even then, the post of lieutenant general of horse remained vacant. One of the effect of merging three armies into one and of removing the top generals was to break down command structures built up over two years and with them commitment and discipline. Some cavalry units refused to leave their quarters either because of lack of pay or refusal to obey the orders of their new officers. This, combined with a shortage of infantry, meant that the Committee of Both Kingdoms was reduced to scraping together ad hoc assemblages of units. A total of 7,000 infantry had to be impressed in order to fill up the ranks of the twelve New Model Army infantry regiments, but new troops came in only gradually during the spring, some of them well after the army had taken to the field.

**DESERTION OF IRISH TROOPS**

The English regiments brought back from Ireland after the Cessation were a source of mass defection from the royalist armies. Once withdrawn into England they became more exposed to parliamentarian propaganda that undermined Charles’ commitment to the Protestant cause in Ireland. There was trouble soon after the first regiments landed in Bristol in October 1643, but the first mass defection occurred after Lord Byron’s defeat at Nantwich in January 1644, where 1,500 soldiers were captured, most of whom had previously served in Ireland. Between 700 and 800 of them defected, obliterating Byron’s faith in English soldiers recalled from Ireland. Even native Irish troops, who formed a significant minority of those shipped to England, defected to parliament.

**DETERMINED LAST STAND**

Towards the closing stages of large field battles, the foot in the centre could find itself assailed not only by the enemy foot but also by cavalry attacking from the flanks or rear. In such situations, most of the troops would attempt to flee, routing off the battle field. But well-disciplined veteran regiments could sometimes hold out literally until the last man had been killed or wounded. The example par excellence is that of the earl of Newcastle’s own regiment, the “whitecoats”, at the battle of Marston Moor. They seem to have arrived late to the battlefield and remained uncommitted as the tide of the battle turned against the Royalists. With the latter’s centre having collapsed, and its foot retreating back to the city of York, the whitecoats were probably ordered to fight a rearguard action to cover the escape of as many troops as possible. Having formed a massed hedgehog they were met by Cromwell and Leslie’s horse who fired upon. Cromwell tried to charge the
hedgehog but they held firm, and so Cromwell detached all of his dragoons and some cavalry to deal with them. The whitecoats held out, reportedly, for an hour. Having spent all of their ammunition, they kept the cavalry at bay with their pikes until the latter finally broke in. Even then, the Royalists refused to surrender, with fallen men attempting to gore horses with pike or sword as the cavalry leapt over them. Such was the slaughter that Sir Thomas Fairfax was said to have called on the cavalry to ‘spare your fellow countrymen’.

FORTIFICATION OF CHESTER
In many towns, such as Chester, Hereford and Shrewsbury on the Welsh Borders and, even more so, in the long peaceful areas of southern and eastern England, medieval town fortifications had been allowed to lapse into disrepair. A considerable amount of work was needed not only to fill in gaps in the original defences but also to strengthen them to be able to withstand a siege with heavy artillery. Both sides used foreign experts to design new defensive works. The best known was a Walloon, Bernard de Gomme, who accompanied Prince Rupert to England in 1642 and eventually became his Engineer-General. In addition to constructing the defences around Oxford, he spent much time redesigning fortifications built by others, including those of Bristol, Liverpool and Chester.

FORTIFICATION OF LONDON
In the summer of 1642 London was entirely without defences other than the Tower and the remains of its medieval walls, which the city had far outgrown. However, London had huge supplies of money and labour and used these to rapidly expand its defences. Initially these consisted of little more than posts and chains strung across the main routes into the city. However, already by October the first earthworks had been erected with guns emplaced in mounts and batteries. Work continued every day for the next several months. At any time, up to 20,000 people could be working on the defences without pay, including large numbers of women, with ladies of rank joining fishwives in the work. Eventually, the London defences would be 11 miles in circumference, with between 23 and 28 mounts and sconces housing 200 guns, connected by an earthen rampart with turnpikes, gates and drawbridges on the main routes.

KING CHARLES SURRENDERS TO THE SCOTS

After defeat at the battle of Naseby in June 1645, King Charles refused to recognise that the war was essentially lost. However, Cardinal Mazarin of France hoped to influence the resolution of the war in a way that was favourable to French interests, and so he appointed an envoy, Jean de Montereul, to negotiate with Scottish commissioners in London. Montereul encouraged the Scots to discuss a separate peace treaty with the king, and he acted as intermediary in secret negotiations to prepare for the king’s surrender to the Scots rather than to Parliament. In April 1646, with the New Model Army approaching Oxford, Charles fled the royalist capital disguised as a servant and made his way to the Scottish army besieging Newark, where he surrendered himself to lieutenant general David Leslie. The Scots took the king north to Newcastle but, after nine months of negotiations, they surrendered him to the English Parliament.

LESLEY RECALLED TO SCOTLAND

David Leslie was appointed major general in the Scottish army under the earl of Leven in November 1643. He commanded three Scottish regiments of horse at the battle of Marston Moor and was promoted to lieutenant general of horse in February 1645. He was active in Cheshire and the Midlands, but was recalled to Scotland with six regiments of horse in late August in order to check the victorious career of the earl of Montrose. In September he defeated Montrose at the battle of Philiphaugh.

MINING

Large siege guns and mortars were in short supply and were also notoriously difficult to transport along England’s primitive road system. Both sides, but especially the Royalists, sometimes lacked sufficient numbers of the heaviest guns to have a realistic chance of breaching the defences of the strongest enemy garrisons. If bombardments were unlikely to succeed then trenches would be dug towards besieged fortifications with the intention of mining the walls. These trenches were termed approaches and soldiers would dig them under the protection of structures called blinds that provided cover from missiles and bullets. If the approaches were successful, miners could then burrow towards the walls and place explosives underneath them, or place explosive devices called petards against gates or in walls to blow them open. At Lichfield in April 1643, Prince Rupert exploded what was said to have been the first mine employed in England in order to blast a breach in the defences of Lichfield Cathedral Close.
NEW MODEL ARMY SIEGE TRAIN
Parliament’s New Model Army began its 1645 campaign with two demi-cannon and three culverins, to which it added the Royalist artillery train taken at Naseby, giving it the most formidable array of siege artillery during the war and enabling it to strike very effectively at royalist garrisons.

PARLIAMENTARIAN SHIPS CAPTURED
In January 1643, fierce storms drove three parliamentarian ships laden with weapons, ammunition and money into the royalist port of Falmouth. The ships were promptly seized and enabled Sir Ralph Hopton to re-equip his army and even to pay his soldiers in advance.

PEACE IN IRELAND
The troops shipped over from Ireland from late 1643 following the Cessation had proven to be less useful than the king had hoped. Nevertheless, he continued to place his hopes in an “Irish strategy”. In August 1645, a treaty was signed with the Confederates, who promised to send 10,000 men to England. As a result, Charles quartered most of what was left of his main field army in the Welsh Borders in the late autumn and early winter, in an attempt to prevent Chester falling into parliamentarian hands.

QUARTERMASTER GENERAL
Lacking an organised commissariat, armies often struggled to keep their soldiers supplied with food and other essentials. Baggage trains were slow and cumbersome and, in any case, tended to be reserved for munitions and plunder. So soldiers were generally quartered in civilian homes, with the owner obliged to provide them with food. Supplies were also requisitioned from the surrounding area. If the army were particularly large or the area short of provisions, perhaps having recently hosted another army, then it could be difficult even to keep soldiers and horses fed. This might lead to units, particularly cavalry, having to disperse in search of food, and would also tend to increase the rate of desertion. The responsibility of supplying an army fell to its quartermaster general. Large armies, such as the New Model Army, had separate quartermaster generals for horse and foot.

ROUNDHEAD CAVALRY FAILS TO CHARGE
From the outset of the war, the Royalists used ‘Swedish’ cavalry tactics aimed at taking the initiative by charging in close formation, as demonstrated by Prince Rupert at the battle of Edgehill. In contrast, the Parliamentarians followed ‘Dutch’ practice. The right wing remained stationary in the hope that the fire of its dragoons and musketeers would blunt the Royalist charge, while the left wing may have been moving in the face of Rupert’s charge but they fired their pistols and carbines at too great a distance to have any effect. Despite the failure of these tactics at Edgehill, army commanders were reluctant to change this defensive use of cavalry. Cromwell was the first to adopt a more offensive approach with his Eastern Association troops in the latter half of 1643, though Sir Thomas Fairfax soon followed in the north.

RUPERT DISMISSED BY THE KING
Prince Rupert built up a number of enemies in court during the course of the war and this came to haunt him after this appointment as captain general, as he was opposed by a faction at Court associated with the queen. He was blamed for the defeat at the battle of Naseby by Lord Digby, who had become increasingly influential with the king. Rupert recognised the futility of continuing the war after that point and was not shy of expressing this view to the king. When he surrendered Bristol, which he had been tasked to defend with only 1,500 men against the 12,000 men of the New Model Army, the leniency of the terms granted by Fairfax convinced the king that Rupert had betrayed him. Rupert was stripped of his commands and ordered to leave the country. He pleaded his case before a Court Martial, which exonerated him, but he took no further significant role in the war.

SUPPLIES FROM THE CONTINENT
At the outset of the war, Parliament secured the main arsenals of London, Hull and Portsmouth, leaving the Royalists short of artillery and other weapons, particularly to equip their infantry. The king also lacked facilities to manufacture guns and munitions. Supplies purchased in Europe were therefore of vital importance, but it was difficult to ship them to England because Parliament controlled the English navy and most of the major ports. The queen managed to land in Yorkshire with a large quantity of arms only because of protection from the Dutch navy. However, the situation became less difficult for the Royalists after they had captured ports in the south west, most importantly Bristol, the largest port in the kingdom after London.

SUPPORT FOR THE KING SLIPS AWAY
The king only recognised that the war was over after losing his last armies – the western army when Hopton surrendered following defeat Torrington, and his royal army at the Stow on the Wold – in February and March of 1646. By then, Chester had fallen, leaving Oxford as the only remaining royalist stronghold of any significance. Others among the Royalists had already long seen the inevitability of a military defeat. Back in July 1645, a month after the defeat at Naseby, Prince Rupert had advised that Charles “hath now no way left to preserve his posterity, kingdom
and nobility than by a treaty.” The king still placed his hopes on Ireland, Scotland and France. But Rupert saw that his English forces had already been stripped to the bone and the Irish Catholic rebels had set terms that were unacceptable. He was also sceptical about Scotland, with the marquess of Montrose’s victories having had little effect on the progress of the war in England and Wales. He probably saw the queen’s efforts to gain support on the Continent as mere fantasy, as France was fully occupied fighting Spain, and mercenaries could more easily obtain employment in Germany.

SURPRISE ATTACK
Despite often rudimentary intelligence and scouting, large armies in the English Civil War rarely gained the element of surprise. Baggage and artillery trains would slow down an army, especially the heavy siege artillery of the main field armies. Furthermore, the armies of the king and Essex were often reluctant to engage with each other, given that a defeat in battle could decimate an army. Essex was naturally cautious and with fewer cavalry than his opponent during 1642 and 1643, his army would have been vulnerable in open terrain. Conversely, the king’s army would want to utilise its advantage in horse and thus might hold back from attacking if the terrain were more closed. Later in the war, the main royalist field army was inferior in size, especially in infantry, to that of the parliamentarians, and so engaging with the enemy would carry additional risks.

However, smaller armies led by more aggressively-minded generals sometimes benefited from surprising their opponents. Sir William Waller was an expert at the type of operational manoeuvres that could result in a surprise attack, though even then he favoured smaller or weaker opponents. The situation was different when Sir Thomas Fairfax launched a surprise attack with 1,500 men at 4am on what he believed to be the lightly-defended town of Wakefield. His initial estimate of 800-900 defenders began to seem a little low when he encountered 500 musketeers outside the town, but he pressed on with the attack. After five hours of fighting, during which Fairfax was almost taken, he and his men had succeeded in capturing 1,500 men from among the 3,000 foot and seven troops of horse defending the town.

TERRAIN DISFAVOURS CAVALRY
In order to be fully effective, cavalry required relatively open terrain so that they could charge at a reasonable speed. Features on the battlefield such as streams, ditches and even rabbit warrens would impede their ability to charge, leaving them more vulnerable to the enemy’s musket and artillery fire. Hedges could block horse altogether as well as providing excellent cover for any musketeers or dragoons targeting them.

THE EXCISE ORDINANCE RAISES WAR FUNDS
Money to finance Parliament’s war effort was raised initially through loans from City financiers. In November 1642, the MP John Pym introduced the first of several innovatory financial measures with an ordinance for an assessment tax on property in London. This was the first time that Parliament had imposed a tax without the consent of a monarch. The assessment was gradually extended throughout all areas under parliamentary control. In March 1643, Pym introduced an ordinance for the sequestration of the estates of royalist “malignants”, and in July the excise ordinance imposed a purchase tax on many common goods and commodities.

THE HOTHAMS’ PLOT
The Hothams were Sir John Hotham and Captain John Hotham, a father-and-son team who vied with that other famous father-and-son team, the Fairfaxes, for pre-eminence among the Yorkshire parliamentarians. Sir John had been the governor of Hull from 1635 to 1640 and was reappointed in January 1642. In April of that year he famously barred the town gates to King Charles in person, denying him entry to Hull. The king declared Hotham a traitor and rode off enraged at the affront to his dignity. However, even at this early stage Sir John was less than resolute in his loyalty to Parliament. He came to an agreement with a royalist captive that if the king laid siege to the town then Hotham would surrender it. Charles duly initiated a siege at the beginning of July. But Sir John’s resolve seems to have been bolstered by the arrival of reinforcements and the defenders soon drove the royalist besiegers away. Captain John began secretly corresponding with the earl of Newcastle late in 1642. When Sir Hugh Cholmley, the Parliamentarian governor of the Yorkshire port of Scarborough, turned his coat and declared for the king in March 1643, Sir John also wrote directly to the earl of Newcastle, expressing his intention of changing sides himself. Meanwhile, Captain John’s activities had aroused the suspicions of Oliver Cromwell and Colonel John Hutchinson, who had him arrested, though he soon escaped. Alerted to the Hothams’ intrigues, the Commons sent an agent to seize Hull, which
the townspeople accomplished on 29 June. Sir John’s soldiers failed to support him – one musketeer felled him from his horse and struck him in the face with a musket butt – and so he fled. Both the Hotthams were arrested and, following a court-martial, were beheaded within a day of each other in January 1645.

**THE KING STRIPS THE GARRISONs**

Both sides found it increasingly difficult to recruit soldiers as the war went on, but the problem was particularly acute for the Royalists as their main centres of support, such as Wales, were less highly populated than the Parliamentarian-controlled areas in the east and south-east of England. After the destruction of his main field army at the battle of Naseby in June 1645, followed by defeat for Goring at Langport the following month, the king was faced with a large shortfall, particularly of infantry. With limited sources of new recruitment, he simply could not assemble an army large and proficient enough to defeat the New Model Army. In early 1646 he turned to his only ready source of experienced foot soldiers – those that could be spared from the remaining royalist garrisons in the Midlands.

**TURNCOATS**

There are a significant number of cases of aristocrats, MPs and professional officers changing sides during the course of the war. The traffic tended to be towards the royalists at the high point of optimism for their cause in the middle of 1643, and then to the parliamentarians from 1644 onwards. Side-changing was even more prevalent among the common soldiers. High rates of desertion, particular among the pressed, and the widespread practice of reenlisting prisoners among their captors led to a large turnover of men. As the war lengthened, both sides wooed converts from their enemy’s soldiery. The most frequent situation in which large numbers of infantry changed sides was when they were captured after a battle or siege. This process seems to have accelerated after the defeat of the royalists at Naseby, with over 1,000 joining the New Model Army alone within the next year. According to one estimate, over 30,000 Parliamentarians and over 80,000 Royalists were taken prisoner in England and Wales during the three civil wars, indicating that many thousands potentially changed sides.

**WELL-POSITIONED ARTILLERY**

Despite the problems associated with the use of artillery on the battlefield, it could sometimes play a significant or even decisive role in the outcome. In the first battle of Newbury, both sides were able to use roads and tracks to move both light and heavy cannon quite rapidly into the central part of the battlefield once the fighting had begun. One of Essex’s artillery positions prevented his vanguard from being pushed back, while the artillery fire from royalist field pieces that accompanied cavalry attacks caused significant casualties to the red regiment of the London Trained Bands. At the second battle of Newbury, 9 royalist artillery pieces deployed behind a barricade proved a major obstacle to Essex’s veteran infantry and were the cause of much jubilation when they were captured. At the battle of Lansdown, it was the parliamentarian guns secured behind breastworks at the top of Lansdown Hill that inflicted large numbers of casualties on the attacking Royalists, with a combination of case shot and musket fire halting the advance of a column of pikemen.