THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

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Introduction

The period covered in this book begins with the outbreak of the First Civil War in 1642 and ends with the Restoration of King Charles II in 1660. Although Scots armies intervened in the struggle between King and Parliament, it is the English armies of the day which are discussed in these pages. Even though, as time went by, the Cavalier and Parliamentarian armies developed their own distinctive character, in matters of organization and uniform they differed but little, and for this reason it is not inappropriate to deal with them both in a single volume.

The general history of the war has been dealt with by such modern authorities as S. R. Gardiner, Sir Charles Firth and C. V. Wedgwood, and its military history by the late Lieutenant-Colonel A. H. Burne, D.S.O. For this reason there is no attempt here to give a detailed chronicle of the events of the war. However, a brief chronology may serve to remind readers of the main events.

Chronology

1638 & 1640
The First and Second Scots Wars.

1642
The first campaign. The King defeats the Earl of Essex at the battle of Edgehill (23 October), and, after making Oxford his capital, advances on London. He is checked at Turnham Green and goes into winter quarters.

1643
Essex takes Reading (27 April). Meanwhile, the Northern and Western Royalists, under the Earl of Newcastle and Sir Ralph Hopton respectively, gain the upper hand, though Hull and Gloucester still hold out. Prince Rupert storms Bristol (26 July) and King Charles lays siege to Gloucester (10 August), which Essex relieves (8 September). The King intercepts Essex at Newbury, but, after a severe action (20 September), draws off leaving the road to Reading and London open.
1644
The Scots Army under Lord Leven crosses the border (19 January), tipping the balance in favour of the Parliamentarians. Sir William Waller defeats the Royalists under Lord Forth at Cheriton (29 March), but is defeated by the King at Cropredy Bridge (29 June). Rupert and Newcastle are defeated by Leven, the Earl of Manchester and Lord Fairfax at Marston Moor (2 July), and, in consequence, the Cavaliers lose control of the North. King Charles surrounds Essex’s Army in Cornwall and compels all but the cavalry to surrender near Fowey (2 September). At Second Newbury (27 October) the Parliamentarians concentrate forces double the King’s in number, but fail to crush him. Recriminations among the Roundhead leaders brings about the formation of the New Model Army under Sir Thomas Fairfax.

1645
The New Model Army defeats the main Royalist Army at Naseby (14 June) and captures most of its foot and guns. It then worsts the Western Cavaliers under Lord Goring at Langport (10 July), who lose heart and retire gradually into Devon and Cornwall.

From this time onwards the story of the war is largely one of sieges.

1646
The New Model storms Hopton’s position at Torrington (16 February). Lord Astley is compelled to surrender at Stow-on-the-Wold (21 March). The King gives himself up to the Scots before Newark (5 March). Oxford surrenders (24 June).

1647
Harlech Castle holds out until 15 March, and thereafter the Royalists have no strongholds except in the Isle of Man, the Channel Islands and the Isles of Scilly.

1648
The Second Civil War was in part an insurrection by discontented Roundhead soldiers, and in part a rising of Royalists with the support of a Scots army under the Duke of Hamilton.

Oliver Cromwell besieges Pembroke Castle and then defeats Hamilton and the Northern Royalists at Preston (17 August). Fairfax defeats the Royalists of Kent at Maidstone (1 June) and then besieges Colchester (12 June to 28 August). In Pontefract Castle a Cavalier garrison holds out until 1649.

1649
Cromwell and Henry Ireton contrive the trial of King Charles, who is beheaded on 30 January.

1649–50
Cromwell’s Irish Campaign.

1650
Cromwell defeats David Leslie at the battle of Dunbar (3 September).

1651
Cromwell defeats King Charles II at the battle of Worcester (3 September).

1655
A small Royalist rising by Colonel John Penrudoock in Wiltshire is quickly crushed.

1658
Death of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, who is succeeded by his ineffective son, Richard (3 September).

1659
Sir George Booth’s rising in Cheshire is crushed at the battle of Winnington Bridge.

1660
The Restoration of King Charles II is managed largely by George Monck and a strong detachment from the English garrison of Scotland (29 May).

The lives of the chief protagonists may be found in the Dictionary of National Biography and for this reason I have not devoted a chapter to the leaders on either side in the Civil Wars. Suffice it to say that there was a great deal of military talent and originality on either side, and that both meant
The Earl of Leven, Colonel-General Sydenham Poyntz and Colonel Edward Rossiter at the siege of Newark in 1646: a detail from Richard Clampe's contemporary plan.

Alexander Leslie, first Earl of Leven (1580–1661), though practically illiterate, learned his trade in the Dutch and Swedish armies. He captured Edinburgh Castle for the Covenanters and won the battle of Newburn (28 August 1640) being created Earl of Leven in 1641. He led the Scots Army that invaded England in January 1644 and was in overall command of the Parliamentarian and Scottish armies that fought at Marston Moor. He did not distinguish himself on that occasion. When Goring put part of his army to flight he galloped from the field and did not draw rein until he reached Leeds. He also commanded at the sieges of York, Newcastle, Hereford and Newark.

Colonel-General Sydenham Poyntz (born 1607) was made Colonel-General of the Northern Association (27 May 1645) and Governor of York (19 August). He defeated the remnants of King Charles’s horse at Rowton Heath (24 September 1645), but fell out with the Parliamentarians in 1647 and fled to Holland.

Colonel Edward Rossiter (c. 1617–69) was Major of the Lincolnshire Horse at the siege of Newark in March 1644, and later Colonel. He commanded a regiment 600 strong in the New Model and was also made Commander-in-Chief of the Parliamentarian forces in Lincolnshire. He fought at Naseby. He became M.P. for Grimsby in about 1646. On 5 July 1648 he defeated 800 Royalists at Willoughby Field although somewhat outnumbered. In the first charge he lost his helmet and was shot through the right thigh, as well as receiving some other painful wounds with a musket-ball. But he concealed his injuries and continued in command till the fight was won. Rossiter served in the Parliament of 1656. He was a Presbyterian, and had some share in bringing about the Restoration.

business. As a Royalist, Captain Richard Atkyns, wrote:

‘I was admitted into Prince Maurice’s regiment, which was accounted the most active in the army, and most commonly placed in the out quarters; which gave me more proficiency as a soldier, in half a year’s time, than generally in the Low Countries in 4 or 5 years; for there did hardly one week pass in the summer half year [1643], in which there was not a battle or skirmish fought, or beating up of quarters; . . .’

Though in theory the armies went into winter quarters there was scarcely a hull in the fighting. Wilmot took Marlborough on 5 December 1642 and Rupert stormed Cirencester on 2 February 1643. Hopton and Waller campaigned against each other in Sussex and Hampshire throughout the winter of 1643–44, and the offensive of the New Model went on throughout the last winter of the war.

This ‘war without an enemy’, as Waller called it, was waged with relentless zeal, and if the worst
excesses of the Thirty Years War were only imitated in Ireland and Scotland, England saw bloodshed enough. Counties were divided, families were split, for those who fought on either side followed their consciences. Nor are the causes for which they fought meaningless at the present day: we still have Roundheads and Cavaliers in our midst.

The Fighting

How did they fight in those days? What was a battle like? As always, tactics were governed by weapons and ground.

The English countryside in the mid-seventeenth century rather favoured the action of cavalry. Not only, of course, was there no barbed wire, but there were comparatively few enclosures of any description, and since the forests which clothed the country in the Dark and Middle Ages were already beginning to disappear, the country was, broadly speaking, suitable for movement and especially for that of large bodies of cavalry. Movement is only one element of tactics: another is fire. The important characteristics of firearms are their range, their rate of fire and the nature of the missiles they throw.

The rate of cannon-fire was very slow. The process of sponging-out and reloading was deliberate and complex. Powder was kept in small budge barrels near the guns, which were fired by the application of linstock to the touch-hole. The risk of premature explosions was very great, and it is doubtful whether it was possible to fire more than about one round every three minutes. By the time of Waterloo it was possible, using grape-shot, to get off as many as three rounds a minute for short periods. With grape-shot the recoil was reduced and it was not necessary to run the guns up between rounds. But by 1815 all sorts of improvements had been made, with guns lightened and means of traction improved. A table of ranges will be found in the section dealing with the train.

The musket in common use was a heavy matchlock, which even a trained soldier could not hope to fire more than once a minute. Though it might kill or maim at 200 yards it was not likely to hit the target at a range of more than 50 yards. The reason for this inaccuracy was that the bullet did not fit the smooth-bore barrel at all tightly, and therefore, when propelled towards the target, it tended to wander. The disadvantages of match were all too obvious: by night it could betray the position of the musketeers, and in foul weather it simply went out.

One comes across another form of musket during this period: an early flintlock known as the ‘snaphance’ or ‘firelock’. It was comparatively rare, and soldiers so armed were usually employed to guard the train of artillery. There was less chance of unfortunate accidents if its escort consisted of men armed with flintlocks rather than with matchlocks.

The cavalry of the period normally carried a brace of pistols and sometimes a carbine as well. These weapons were frequently used in mêlée and pursuit, but the great cavalry commanders of the Civil War soon came to rely chiefly on the sword. This is true both of Cromwell and of Rupert.

However, if the cavalry, Cavalier and Roundhead alike, came to rely upon shock action they could resort to firearms if they chose. Similarly, though the bayonet had not yet been introduced, the musketeers could join in a mêlée with their swords or, better still, the sharp-pointed butts of their heavy muskets. But the pikemen, who made up at least one-third of the infantry were condemned to shock action and nothing more. They were far from mobile, having to move in close formation in order to form their hedgehog, and being weighed down with helmet and corselet.

It is not very safe to generalize about the battles of the Civil Wars, for the tactics were far from stereotyped. But usually, and at least in the bigger
Sir Thomas Fairfax, later third Baron Fairfax of Cameron (1612–71), served at the siege of Bois-le-Duc (1629) and in the First Scots War. From 1642 to 1646 he was the life and soul of his father's small force which kept up the unequal struggle with Newcastle's Northern Army until it was destroyed at Marston Moor. His tactical skill and gallant leadership as well as his victories at Wakefield (21 May 1643), and Nantwich (25 January 1644) led to his selection as commander of the New Model Army, whose victories at Naseby, Langport, Torrington and elsewhere put an end to the First Civil War. Fairfax, a taciturn man, was no politician, and power gradually passed to his second-in-command, Oliver Cromwell. His wife's sympathies were Royalist and he played no part in the trial of Charles I.
Prince Rupert (1619–82). The portrait below is from an original by Sir Anthony van Dyck, and that on the left by Gerard von Honthorst. With the possible exceptions of the Marquis of Montrose and Lord Hopton, Prince Rupert was the outstanding Royalist leader of his day. Unfortunately his victories at Pownall Bridge, Cirencester, Lichfield Close, Chalgrove Field, Bristol and Newark were cancelled out by the disaster at Marston Moor which lost the North for the King. He was better as the commander of a small mobile army, a ‘brigade group’, than of a big army. This may be attributed to his youth. He was a thoroughly scientific soldier, as much at home in a siege as a cavalry charge, and interested in the development of weapons. In later life he proved a bold and efficient admiral.
battles, it was customary to draw up an army with the foot and guns in the centre, and the cavalry on the wings. Dragoons, if present, were mostly placed on the outer wings of the cavalry. The smaller guns — often called ‘drakes’ — were placed in pairs with the brigades of foot, while the bigger pieces were planted further back.

There was usually a reserve, often consisting of both horse and foot. The commander, on horseback, was often to be found at the head of the reserve, but it was not the fashion to set up a command post at some building or upon some eminence. It cannot have been easy for gallopers to deliver their messages. Prince Rupert’s great standard, taken at Marston Moor, may have been intended to mark his headquarters. In the rear of the army, occasionally formed into a wagon-lager, was the baggage-train.

Battles sometimes began with the commander parading down his line exhorting his men, or giving them tactical instructions, as King Charles and Prince Rupert did at Edgehill. Sometimes, as at Braddock Down, the Royalists had prayers, or the Roundheads, as before Powick Bridge, sang a psalm. Then came the preliminary bombardment which was not generally very effective. Exceptions are Braddock Down where a surprise burst of fire from the two small Royalist guns struck terror into the Roundheads; Hopton Heath where ‘Roaring Meg’ caused heavy casualties among Sir John Gell’s Roundhead stand of pikes; and Langport where the artillery of the New Model quickly silenced Goring’s big guns.

The next phase was usually a general advance, sometimes heralded by some preliminary skirmishing by the dragoons. Usually it was the cavalry that came to grips, before the foot came to push of pike. The victor was usually the one who could dispose of his opponent’s horse, and having done so could turn upon the as yet unbroken foot of his enemy’s army. This was the case both at Marston Moor and at Naseby.

The last phase was the pursuit, or ‘execution’ as it was called. Often more fell in flight than in the actual battle, and the victor made a good haul of prisoners, especially from among the foot.

Some of the so-called battles were very small, involving not more than a few thousand on each side. In the biggest, Marston Moor, there may have been 50,000 men engaged but they were from five different armies, those of Rupert and Newcastle (Royalist), of Leven, Manchester and Fairfax (Scots and Parliamentarian).

The control of a battle was not simple. General officers very often led charges and fought hand-to-hand. Men like Sir Thomas Fairfax and Prince Rupert were never content to sit on their horses upon some lofty eminence, whilst their men fought it out, and Rupert, indeed, had his own technique of running a cavalry fight which called for his personal leadership. Sir Edward Southcote, when describing the Prince’s way of fighting, says, ‘he had a select body of horse who always attended him, and in every attack they received the enemy’s shot without returning it; but one and all bore with all their force upon the adversaries till they broke their ranks, and charged quite through them: then they rallied, and when they [the Roundheads] were in disorder, fell upon their rear, and slaughtered them with scarce any opposition’. The select body no doubt was the Lifeguard under Sir Richard Crane, and Prince Rupert’s Regiment of Horse, which even as late as Naseby could muster 400 men.

A mêlée could be a difficult and dangerous affair if the enemy stood to their work. At Roundway Down Colonel Sir John Byron describes how, echoing Rupert’s orders at Edgehill, he commanded that:

‘not a man should discharge his pistol till the enemy had spent all his shot, which was punctually observed, so that first they gave us a volley

The Dunbar Medal is thought to have been the first given to all ranks of a victorious English army. The obverse shows a portrait of Oliver Cromwell and the words THE LORD OF HOSTS, which was the ‘field word’ or password at the battle. The reverse shows the House of Commons in session.
of their carbines, then of their pistols, and then we fell in with them, and gave them ours in their teeth, yet they would not quit their ground, but stood pushing for it a pretty space, till it pleased God (I thinke) to put new spirit into our tired horse as well as into our men, so that though it were up the hill, and that a steep one, we overbore them, and with that violence, that we forced them to fall foul upon other reserves of horse that stood behind to second them, & so swept their whole body of horse out of the field, and left their foot naked, and pursued them near 3 miles, over the downs in Bristol way till they came to a precipice, where their fear made them so valiant that they galloped as if it had been plain ground, and many of them brake both their own and their horses' necks.'

This is a spirited account by one whose regiment was the oldest in the King’s Army, one like those described by a Roundhead eyewitness of Marston Moor who wrote: ‘The enemy’s horse... stood very firm a long while, coming to a close
fight with the sword, and standing like an iron-wall, so that they were not easily broken...’

The heavy cavalry of those days, unless skilfully handled, could easily rout those of their own side. Hopton gives a marvellously vivid account of the ‘ruffe medly’ at Babylon Hill at the very beginning of the war (7 September 1642). The Roundheads nearly took him by surprise by marching out of Yeovil ‘by a secret way they had made over the fields’. He had four troops of horse; and he sent two into the attack, supported by a third, keeping the fourth in reserve. Captain Edward Stowell:

‘charg’d verie gallantly and routed the enemy, but withall (his troops consisting of new horse, and the Enemy being more in number) was rowted himselfe; and Capt. [Henry] Moreton,1 being a little too neere him, was likewise brooken with the same shoke, and the trueth is in verie short tyme, all the horse on both sides were in a confusion: At the same tyme a troope of the Enemys horse charg’d up in the hollow-way on the right hand, where ([Colonel] Sir Tho: Lunsford having forgotten to put a party of muskettiers as before) they found noe opposition till they came among the voluntiers [Stowell’s troop] upon the topp of the Hill, where by a very extraordinary accident, Sir James Colborne with a fowling gunne shott at the Captain2 in the head of the troope, and at the same instant Mr. John Stowell charg’d him single (by which of their hands it was, it is not certaine) but the Captain was slayne, and the troope (being rawe fellowes) immedately rowted. In this extreame confusion Sir Ralph Hopton was enforced to make good [cover] the retreate with a few officers and Gentlemen that rallyed to him. . . .’

Sending off his foot he withdrew to Sherborne Castle with little loss.

Naturally not all charges were cavalry against cavalry: sometimes it was a question of horse against foot, and this had peculiar hazards since the latter would take cover behind hedges and walls.

Byron whose horse had been shot in the throat with a musket-ball describes the fighting in which Lord Falkland fell at First Newbury:

‘The passage being then made somewhat wide, and I not having another horse, drew in my own troop first, giving orders for the rest to follow and charged the enemy, who entertained us with a great salvo of musket shot, and discharged their two drakes upon us laden with case shot, which killed some and hurt many of my men, so that we were forced to wheel off and could not meet them at that charge.’

The dogged Byron was not the man to be put off. He rallied his men, and while he did so the Roundheads pulled back their drakes. Another charge beat them back to the end of the close, ‘where they faced us again, having the advantage of a hedge at their backs and poured in another volley of shot upon us, when [Colonel] Sir Thomas Aston’s horse was killed under him, and withal kept us off with their pikes’. The battlefield of Newbury was full of enclosures in those days: no place for horse.

Little Dean (11 April 1643), it seems, was not much better. Captain Richard Atkyns of Prince
Cromwell. Both portraits are by Samuel Cooper, the one on the left from an unfinished miniature. The signature is as Protector in 1657, and the second Great Seal of the Protector is of 1655.
Maurice’s Regiment had one of his several narrow escapes that day:

‘The charge was seemingly as desperate as any I was ever in; it being to beat the enemy from a wall which was a strong breastwork, with a gate in the middle; possessed by above 200 musketeers, besides horse: we were to charge down a steep plain hill, of above 12 score yards in length; as good a mark as they could wish: our party consisting of between two and three hundred horse, not a man of them would follow us, so the officers, about 10 or 12 of us, agreed to gallop down in as good order as we could, and make a desperate charge upon them; the enemy seeing our resolutions, never fired at us at all, but run away; and we (like young soldiers) after them, doing execution upon them; but one Captain Hammer being better horseed than myself, in pursuit, fell upon their ambuscade and was killed horse and man: I had only time enough to turn my horse and run for my life. This party of ours, that would not be drawn on at first, by this time, seeing our success; came into the town after us, and stopped our retreat; and finding that we were pursued by the enemy, the horse in the front, fell back upon the rear, and they were so wedged together, that they routed themselves, so as there was no passage for a long time: all this while the enemy were upon me, Cutting my [buff] coat upon my armour in several places, and discharging pistols as they got up to me, being the outermost man; which Major [Thomas] Sheldon declared to my very great advantage: ... [Major Leighton, a came up and] made good a stone house, and so prepared for them with musketeers; that one volley of shot made them retreat: they were so near me, that a musket bullet from one of our men took off one of the bars of my [steel] cap I charged with, and went through my hair and did me no hurt.’

Many and varied were the adventures that might befall a cavalryman as he tried to get the better of some opponent in the ‘Balaclava mêlée’ of those days. Like Sir Richard Bulstrode, he could be wounded while pursuing an enemy at Edgehill, and, obviously striving like any sensible horse-soldier to attack on the left or bridle-hand side, be wounded by a vicious swing of the pole-axe! Bulstrode was saved by his colonel, Sir Thomas Byron, who pistolled the Roundhead. The episode at Newark (21 March 1644), when a Parliamentarian trooper laid his hand on Prince Rupert’s collar only to have it sliced off by Sir William Neale, serves to show that the cavalry fights of those days were not a battle of flowers.

As for the foot, it was their business to advance steadily in rank and file until they came to push of pike. Sometimes, as at Braddock Down, one side would not await the shock; or, as at Stratton, they counter-attacked; or sometimes, as in the case of Edgehill, finding they could make no impression, ‘each as if by mutuall consent retired some few paces, and they stuck down their colours, continuing to fire at one another even till night; a thing so very extraordinary, that nothing less than so many witnesses as were there present could make it credible’ – King James II. These young soldiers, Roundhead and Cavalier alike, who fought it out at Edgehill, were not unworthy ancestors of the ‘Thin Red Line’ or the superb infantry of 1914, for the one virtue that the foot-soldier needs above all, then and now, is tenacity.

As a general rule regiments of horse were 500 strong and were organized in six troops, each some 70 strong. In practice, however, strengths varied considerably, especially in the Royalist armies, and this was the case from the very outset. The raising of horse presented peculiar difficulties. It was not easy to find officers who had both tactical skill and a knowledge of animal management. In some parts of the country it was not possible to obtain large numbers of horses. The
Cornish Army, which Hopton led at Stratton and Lansdown, was seriously short of cavalry until it joined hands with the Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice at Chard on 4 June 1643.

At the rendezvous at Aldbourne on 10 April 1644 four of the Royalist regiments were 300 strong and had each, seven or eight troops. These powerful units were the regiments of the Earl of Forth, Prince Maurice, Lord Percy and Colonel

In the Royalist armies regiments usually had three field officers: colonel, lieutenant-colonel and major. In the Parliamentarian armies only exceptionally strong regiments, such as Cromwell’s famous unit, which was twice the usual size, had lieutenant-colonels. The quartermasters were commissioned officers. I have never come across any individual Royalist soldier with the appointment of farrier or saddler, but they cannot very
well have done without them. In the organization of Essex’s 1642 Army they are specifically mentioned.

FORMATIONS

The cavalry of the Civil Wars seem to have used rather deeper or heavier formations than those of more modern times. Bulstrode tells us that at Edgehill the Royalist horse were three deep, while the Parliamentarians occasionally, as at Newark (21 March 1644), doubled their files and charged six deep. The picture that Cruso gives (Plate G) cannot, therefore, have been very far from the reality, though Rupert and Cromwell relied on the sword rather than the pistol. The latter, describing the action at Grantham, speaks of advancing at ‘a pretty round trot’.

Rupert one imagines favoured a faster pace, and the Earl of Northampton’s first attack at Hopton Heath (19 March 1643) was described by a Roundhead eyewitness as ‘a very fierce charge, French-like’, an interesting comment, for Condé’s great victory at Rocroi was fought that very year and the French owed a great deal of their success to the dash of their cavalry. At Powick Bridge (23 September 1642) Sir Lewis Dyve’s troop, which was in Rupert’s Regiment, received the Roundhead charge at the halt, firing a volley of carbine and pistol shot. They were roughly handled and when, a month later, they fought at Edgehill they received specific orders to ‘march as close as was possible, keeping their Ranks with Sword in Hand, to receive the Enemy’s shot, without firing either Carbin or Pistol, till we broke in amongst the Enemy, and
then to make use of our Fire-Arms as need should require; which Order was punctually observed’ – Sir Richard Bulstrode.

Discipline

The Cavalier, Sir Philip Warwick, records the conversation of a sober friend of his with an acquaintance serving under Sir Thomas Fairfax. The Roundhead boasted of the sanctity of their army and the negligence of the Cavaliers. ‘Faith,’ retorted the Royalist, ‘thou sayest true; for in our army we have the Sins of men (drinking and wenching) but in yours you have those of devils, spiritual pride and rebellion’.

At the beginning of the war they had a good many other sins as well. In 1642 Essex and his senior officers were hampered in their attempts to impose discipline. For one thing many of them were ‘pluralists’ and could not be in two places at once. Many of the colonels of foot were members of one of the Houses of Parliament and also commanders of troops of horse. But a more serious factor working against good order was the feeling pervading the Roundhead Army that, high or low, they were all rebels together.

An intelligent Londoner, a sergeant in Denzil Holles’s Regiment, wrote letters to his master, which paint a lurid picture of the army’s discipline, while Brian Twyne has recorded some of their disorders at Oxford. We find instances of kirk-rapine, poaching deer, murderous and drunken brawling on a large scale, mutiny; plundering of fellow soldiers as well as papists and malignants. It was recorded that many soldiers flung away their arms and deserted.

In September Hampden and five other colonels complained that their soldiers plundered everywhere, ‘The truth is unless we were able to execute some exemplary punishment upon the principle malefactors, we have no hope to redress this horrid enormity.’ They were rightly afraid that, ‘if this go on awhile, the army will grow as odious to the country as the Cavaliers’. Lord Brooke and Lord Saye and Sele both made some attempt to assert discipline, the latter even sending some mutineers to prison. But it was not until 9 November that Parliament eventually laid down The Laws and Ordinances of War established for the better conduct of the Army.

It is an odd fact that, except for the mutineers imprisoned by Lord Saye and Sele at Oxford, the only instance of punishment in Essex’s Army that Sergeant Wharton records was when, on 27 August, some soldiers at Coventry took the law into their own hands and ill-treated a whore, who had followed them from London. She ‘was taken by the soldiers, and first led about the city, then set in the pillory, after in the cage, then duckt in a river, and at the last banished the City’.

Pillaging and desertion were not readily checked by The Laws and Ordinances, partly because the soldiers had too long been allowed to do as they pleased. Cromwell, though he had a taste for iconoclasm as he showed at Peterborough Cathedral (22 April 1643), drew the line at pillage and marauding. As early as May 1643 Speciall Passages records that, ‘no man swears but he pays his twelve pence; if he be drunk he is set in the stocks, or worse, if one calls the other “Roundhead” he is cashiered; insomuch that the countries where they come leap for joy of them, and come in and join with them. How happy were it if all the forces were thus disciplined.’

But, of course, they were not. As late as Adwalton Moor (29 June 1643) Sir Thomas Fairfax tells us that the Northern Forces did not yet have martial law among them, and it was left to Almighty Providence to punish four malefactors who were plundering the corpse of the Royalist Colonel George Heron. Fairfax records with satisfaction their death from a cannon-shot. As early as April 1643 Cromwell had two deserters whipped in the market-place at Huntingdon and ‘turned off’ as renegades’.
Sir William Waller was another Parliamentarian who strove to enforce discipline. Some court-martial papers have survived which date back to 1644. Mutiny and mass desertion seriously reduced his army after his defeat at Cropredy Bridge (29 June), and it is of great interest to see what his disciplinary troubles were, and what was done about them. A ‘Councell of Warr’ at Phemham (Farnham ?) on 22 April ordered that ‘the (Provost) Marshall Generall’, whenever he found a private soldier drunk, ‘shall have power to inflict the punishment of puttinge on a paire of handcufs, and with a chaine to drawe the party up untill hee stand on tipptoe with a kan or jugg about his necke neere the maine Guard, and there to stand according to discrecon’. As a punishment it sounds rather more severe than that of the stocks, which Cromwell had employed for the same offence the previous year. This punishment was also given to Phillip Warington who had abused and cut a fellow soldier (17 July); in addition he was cashiered.
down it, his speed checked by a sergeant with his halbert. Each man was allowed one blow at the criminal with a switch or with his ramrod.

A Major Willett was cashiered (11 October 1644) for presenting a false muster, that is, attempting to draw pay for men who did not exist. On 17 October Corporal Read was cashiered for robbery, with the added indignity that his sword was to be broken over his head.

The Roundhead committee which ran the garrison of Stafford (1643–45) took it upon itself to impose a high standard of discipline. On 11 December 1643 it was ordered that Lieutenant Yong should ‘forthwith be casheered out of the Towne’ for being drunk, neglecting his guard, letting down the drawbridge at the ‘Geolegate’ at 10 o’clock at night and going to the further end of the foregate. He was to stand in the marketplace ‘with a paper in his hat upon the market-day wherein shall be wrote his offence’.

‘18 March, 1644
Ordered that the Gunner which did commit fornication shall bee set upon the greate gun with a marke upon his backe through the Garrison and then disgracefully expulsed.

‘27 March 1644
Lieutenant Dutton for plundering and for terrorizing the inhabitants of the county was to “be committed to prison and by the next conveniency sent to the Parliament to receive punishment according to their ordinance in the case”.

It would be idle to pretend that the Royalist armies did not suffer in like manner from disciplinary troubles. Plundering and desertion seem to have been the crimes most prevalent, and, since the King was unable to keep his men constantly paid, it is not surprising that they either tried to subsist by marauding, or just went home. It would be unwise indeed to assert that the Cavaliers were better disciplined than the Roundheads, though in 1642 – while the pay lasted – it may be true, at least of the infantry. The truth, is that both sides had such severe administrative difficulties that neither army was blameless, and so the unfortunate country people who had to find quarters suffered the consequences.

In the autumn of 1642, at the outset of the war, according to Clarendon who was not one to praise
military men, the Royalist army 'either by the care and diligence of the officers, or by the good inclinations and temper of the soldiers themselves' was 'in so good order and discipline, that, during the King's stay at Shrewsbury, there was not a disorder of name, the country being kind to the soldiers, and the soldiers just and regardful to the country'. Free loans and contributions from the gentry and substantial inhabitants, and the noblemen with the army, guaranteed the pay of the men so that they had no cause for discontent.

Mrs Hutchinson speaks of Sir Lewis Dyve's troop at Nottingham as 'plundering all the honest men of their arms', but to disarm rebels can scarcely be so stigmatized. At Birmingham, a very hostile place, the King actually had two men executed for stealing from the house of a Roundhead soldier.

Certainly, without question, Royalist troopers occupied themselves with plundering Essex's baggage-train in Kineton during the battle of Edgehill – though one Roundhead captain accuses dragoons of his own side of this! As early as November 1642 Sir John Byron's men did a great deal of malicious damage at the house of the Roundhead, Bulstrode Whitelocke.
The manner of framing a Quadrangle Skonse.

His Four-square Skonse, is of greater strength than your Triangle, and if it be favored with a strong Situation, as great Rivers, or upon a Rocke, or where it may be flanked from the Bulwarks of a Fort, it will stand in great stead; otherwise it is not to be taken for a strength of any moment. The Bulwarks and Curtains are to be made very high, thick, and strong, that it may endure the battering of the Enemies Ordnance.
As the war went on the Royalists strove to uphold discipline with the gallows and the wooden horse. The lash was not very much used though a soldier who had ravished two women was tied to a tree, with his shoulders and chest naked, so Richard Symonds of the Lifeguard of Horse tells us, 'and every carter of the trayne and carriages was to have a lash'. He tells us that this was a Spanish punishment.

It may be that the King was not sufficiently severe in his discipline. But at Wing on 28 August 1645 he did have a soldier hanged for stealing the communion plate. Nicholas writes to Rupert from Oxford (11 May 1643) 'Sir James Mills was lately shot by an officer upon a private quarrel; and the last night Lieutenant Cranefield was wounded by one Captain Hastings upon the like occasion. There is here no punishment, and therefore nothing but disorder can be expected.'

Perhaps this very complaint led to a tightening of discipline. Certainly Colonel Sir Nicholas Crispe, who killed Sir James Enyan in a duel which he had not provoked, had to answer for it to a court martial. Colonel Richard Feilding lost his regiment – and very nearly his life – for surrendering Reading. Sir Richard Cave was court-martialled for surrendering Hereford, but was acquitted.

Colonel Henry Windebank was shot (3 May 1645) for surrendering Bletchingdon House to Cromwell, and Rupert himself was dismissed for the surrender of Bristol (10 September 1645); and, although he was eventually acquitted, he never fully recovered his position in his uncle's favour.

The Rupert Correspondence contains many letters in which Royalist commanders complain about plundering. This shows at least that the senior officers, with a few notable exceptions, intended to keep their men in order. In this some were more successful than others, and this may, of course, be said of both sides. If pay, or at least
Cuirassiers and Harquebusiers, from John Cruso’s *Militarie Instructions for the Cavall’rie* (1632).

Sir Arthur Hesilrige’s ‘Lobsters’ were probably armed very much like the trooper with the pistol, though it is probable that during the Civil Wars cuirassiers wore the triple-barred lobster-tailed helmet rather than a close helmet.

The common type of cavalryman of 1642 was called a ‘harquebusier’, but by that time the harquebus seems to have disappeared. Back and breastplate, pot helmet and perhaps a left arm guard, seem to have been the armour generally in vogue; with a sword and a pair of pistols for armament. That some cavalrymen had fowling-pieces or carbines is certain, but they seem to have been the exception rather than the rule. Cruso’s harquebusier seems to be wearing a kind of burgonet. It must be remembered that his book saw the light ten years before Edgehill, but the triple-barred helmet must have been the most common ‘pot’ among both Cavaller and Roundhead troopers, and there is evidence that morions of the sort worn in 1588 were to be seen in the Civil Wars. There is no reason why a helmet fifty-four years old should not be serviceable. Note the cruel bits and spurs that these troopers use; they rode with the brakes on and the choke out!
In theory a regiment was 1,300 strong and was organized in ten companies. The field officers, colonel, lieutenant-colonel and major had companies, which numbered 200, 160 and 140 respectively. Each of the seven captains had a company of 100 men. Very often the colonel was also a general officer or the governor of some fortress; frequently the lieutenant-colonel or even the major was the real commanding officer. In addition, one of the field officers was sometimes taken away to act as brigade-major of the formation in which the regiment was serving. The duties which in modern times are carried out by the adjutant and the R.S.M. were then performed by the major. I have found no adjutant in an English army before 1665, and no 'sergeant-major' in the modern sense of R.S.M., before about 1720. In 1642 the term 'sergeant-major' was still frequently used for the major, that is, the third senior officer of a regiment.

The staff of a regiment usually included a quartermaster, a chaplain, a provost-marshal (in the Parliamentarian Army), a surgeon and his mate, a carriage-master and a drum-major. In Royalist regiments one occasionally finds the wagoner or wagon-master signing for stores, instead of the quartermaster.

The organization of a normal company was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The colonel had a captain-lieutenant instead of a lieutenant. This officer does not seem to have been paid extra for commanding the colonel's company, but at least he ranked above the other lieutenants and was next in line for a company, should there be a casualty. Each company had a colour which was carried by the ensign.

The gentleman-of-the-arms seems to have been a Royalist innovation. It was much more difficult for them to obtain arms than it was for the Parliamentarians, and therefore it behoved them to take good care of those they had, especially the firearms. This officer seems to have been a kind of company armourer sergeant.

Both pikemen and musketeers were to be found in each company, the theoretical proportion being one pikeman to every two musketeers. There is some evidence, however, that the Royalists at Edgehill had as many pikemen as musketeers, and from a tactical point of view that may have been an advantage.

Throughout the war regiments varied very much in numbers. In 1642 many were up to strength, but battle casualties, sickness and desertion soon took their toll. Neither did every regiment have its ten companies: on the Royalist side eight seems to have been a more usual number.

This table illustrates the wastage in the Royalist infantry. The figures for November 1642 are calculated from a pay warrant; those for April 1644 were taken from a muster of the garrison of Reading.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colonel</td>
<td>Nov. 1642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Belasyse</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir William Pennyman</td>
<td>685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Feilding</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Bolle</td>
<td>560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Edward Fitton</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Edward Stradling</td>
<td>715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Thomas Salusbury</td>
<td>910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonel</td>
<td>April 1644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Theophilus Gilby</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It will be noticed that not one of these seven regiments still had its original colonel.

At Edgehill the Royalist foot, some 10,000 strong, was organized in five tertias or brigades. At Naseby, where the foot were certainly not more than 4,000 strong, there were only three brigades. At Edgehill four of the brigades each had three regiments, while one had five. By 1644 tertias had as many as nine weak regiments in them.

In 1642 the regiments of the King’s main army came from many different parts of the kingdom. They included:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COLONEL/REGIMENT</th>
<th>COLONY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charles Gerard</td>
<td>Lancashire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cheshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Ralph Dutton</td>
<td>North Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Belasyse</td>
<td>Gloucestershire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Feilding</td>
<td>Yorkshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Thomas Lunsford</td>
<td>Nottinghamshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Bolle</td>
<td>Partly from Herefordshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Edward Fitton</td>
<td>Staffordshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Edward Stradling</td>
<td>Cheshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The King’s Lifeguard</td>
<td>South Wales, especially Glamorgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord General</td>
<td>Lincolnshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir John Beaumont</td>
<td>Derbyshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Gilbert Gerard</td>
<td>Cheshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Thomas Salusbury</td>
<td>North Wales, especially Denbighshire and Flint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Molyneux</td>
<td>Lincolnshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earl of Northampton</td>
<td>North Oxfordshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Lewis Dyve</td>
<td>North Oxfordshire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Thomas Blagge, who came from the Roundhead counties of Bedfordshire and Suffolk, were probably not able to raise many men in those parts. Dyve seems to have got at least two companies from Lincolnshire.

As time went by the King’s main army drew many of its recruits from Wales, though it was reinforced by several Northern regiments in 1643. Two of these arrived in May with a convoy of ammunition, while several others reached Oxford with the Queen in July. On the whole, the Northern Royalists went into the army raised by the Earl of Newcastle – the army which was virtually destroyed at Marston Moor. The Cornish, who were as warlike as they were loyal, defended their territory with their trained bands, but as these would not go ‘abroad’, five ‘voluntary’ regiments were raised. These volunteers made the nucleus of Hopton’s Western Army which, after his victory at Stratton, joined Prince Maurice in the Lansdown-Roundway Down campaign and paved the way for Prince Rupert’s capture of Bristol; like Newcastle’s Whitecoats, they were very good foot.

So far as one can tell the Earl of Essex’s Army, which was the main Roundhead army, was recruited in London, the south Midlands and the Home Counties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COLONEL</th>
<th>COUNTY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Earl of Essex</td>
<td>Essex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir John Merrick</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Lord Saye and Sele</td>
<td>North Oxfordshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Sir John Meldrum</td>
<td>Warwickshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Brooke</td>
<td>London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denzil Holles, M.P.</td>
<td>Buckinghamshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Ballard</td>
<td>Buckinghamshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hampden, M.P.</td>
<td>Buckinghamshire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the matter of wastage, Parliamentary regiments fared worse than those of the King, and some did not survive even the first campaign. Lord Wharton’s and Lord Mandeville’s, which, among others, fled at Edgehill, were disbanded in the following month. Denzil Holles’s Regiment fought bravely at Edgehill, but was cut to pieces at Brentford and did not survive the disaster. On 1 October 1642, Sir Henry Cholmley’s 1,200-strong Regiment fled at Edgehill and was evidently punished for its pains, since only 552 men remained on 23 November. Lord Brooke, who had about 1,000 men when he entered Oxford at the end of September, had but 480 in mid-November. Thomas Ballard mustered 808 officers and men on 17 October 1642 but only had 459, not counting officers, on 11 November. Some of his companies were very thin by that time.
1 King Charles I (1600-49) in 1644
2 Sir Edward Walker (1612-77)
3 Prince Charles, later King Charles II (1630-85) in 1642
Sir Charles Lucas (k. 1648)
Trumpeter, Captain Sir Richard Astley’s Troop of Horse
Officer of Horse or Dragoons
1 Pikeman, Lord Brooke’s Regiment
2 Roundhead Commander
3 Musketeer
1 Lieutenant of a bluecoat regiment
2 Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes (1608–69)
3 Colonel Sir Richard Willys (1614–90)
1 Ensign, Lamplugh’s Regiment of Foot
2 Drummer of a redcoat regiment
3 Royalist Sergeant of a greencoat regiment
Second captain  
(Sir Lewis Dyve's Regiment)

Fourth captain  
(Sir Edward Stradling's Regiment)

Lieutenant-Colonel  
(Richard Bolle's Regiment)

Major  
(Pennyman's Regiment)

Captain  
(King's Lifeguard)

First captain  
(Charles Gerard's Regiment)

Major's guidon  
(Dragoon Regiment)

Captain  
(King's Lifeguard)

First captain  
(Lamplugh's Regiment)

Trumpet-banner  
(Parliamentarian)
The Equipment of a Heavy Cavalryman, from John Cruso’s *Militarie Instructions for the Cavall’rie* (1632). It is especially interesting to observe how very different the saddle is from the military saddle of modern times.
King Charles's camp near Berwick during the First Scots War, 1639. The Glorious Standard is no doubt the same one raised at Nottingham when, in August 1642, the King declared war. Some of the colonels listed took part in the Civil Wars. The Earl of Newport was for a short time Lieutenant-General to the Earl of Newcastle, but quarrelled with him and was imprisoned in Pontefract Castle. Vane and Hotham were Roundheads. Savile had a regiment of redcoats in 1639, and it is likely that his regiment was re-raised for the King in 1642. Harcourt took his regiment to Ireland and was killed there. Jerome Brett became a sergeant-major-general. Sir William Pennyman's Yorkshire regiment was the first raised in 1642; he was Governor of Oxford and died there in 1643, and his regiment was eventually destroyed at Naseby. Old Sir Thomas Metham of Metham, Yorkshire (c. 1575–1644), commanded a troop of gentlemen volunteers, of which Newcastle himself was nominally the captain, and was killed at its head at Marston Moor.

Captain Primrose had only 19 men and Captain Marford but 15. John Hampden, whose regiment did not arrive at Edgehill until the battle was over, still had 893 men on 21 January 1643. His numbers dwindled more gradually and by 21 June, when he was lying on his death-bed at Thame, he still had 849 men. Some may have been lost at the siege of Reading and elsewhere, but most had probably succumbed to the fevers so prevalent in the Thames Valley in the summer of 1643.

FORMATIONS
A body of foot normally marched in column of fours, but when it came to fight it was drawn up in a deeper formation. At Edgehill Essex had his men eight deep, which was the formation in the Dutch Army when he was a colonel there. The Royalists on that occasion were six deep, with their tertiads arrayed in what was known as the 'Swedish brigade'. A regiment or body of foot
normally fought with a solid hedgehog of pikes in the centre and with musketeers on the flanks. If cavalry threatened, the musketeers would take cover among the pikemen.

**ARMS, DRESS AND EQUIPMENT**

The appearance of the armies of 1642 would have pained the Duke of Cumberland, King George IV and Marshal Bernadotte; but, all the same, they did present some show of uniformity, as any unit will if they receive general issues of clothing, arms and equipment. At the time of the Civil Wars commissioned officers and even sergeants seem to have worn pretty much what they pleased, but the soldiers, particularly in the foot, were given such items as caps, coats, breeches, stockings and ‘snapsacks’, as well as their arms and armour. Unfortunately, we have no record of the coat colours of the majority of regiments engaged, but some are known.

**ROYALIST**

| The King’s Lifeguard Red |
| The Queen’s Lifeguard Red |
| Prince Charles Red (?) |
| Sir Michael Woodhouse Red (?) |
| The Duke of York Red (?) |
| Sir William St Leger Red (?) |
| Sir Allen Apsley Red |
| Edward Hopton Red |
| Lord Inchquin Red |
| Sir William Savile Blue |
| Lord Hopton Blue |
| Sir Thomas Lunsford Blue |
| Prince Rupert Blue |
| Charles Gerard Blue (?) |
| Sir William Pennyman White |
| Sir Ralph Dutton White |
| (Sir) Stephen Hawkins White |
| Marquis of Newcastle’s Regiment White |
| Lord Percy White |
| Thomas Pinchbeck Grey |
| Sir Henry Bard Yellow (?) |
| Sir Francis Gamul Yellow |
| Sir Charles Vavasour Yellow |
| (Sir) Matthew Appleyard Yellow |
| Sir John Paulet Black (?) |
| Talbot Green |
| Sir Thomas Blackwall Grey (?) |
| Robert Broughton Grey (?) |

**PARLIAMENTARIAN**

| Denzil Holles Red |
| Edward Montagu Red lined white |
| Lord Robartes Red |
| Sir Henry Cholmley Blue |
| Sir William Constable Blue |
| Lord Saye and Sele Blue (?) |
| Sir John Meldrum Blue (?) |
| Edward Aldrich Blue |
| Earl of Stamford Blue |
| Thomas Ballard Grey |
| Sir John Merrick Grey |
| John Hampden Green |
| Earl of Manchester Green |
| Earl of Essex Green lined red |
| Lord Brooke Orange |
| Thomas Grantham Purple |
| Earl of Denbigh (Horse) Grey (?) |
A letter from Charles II when Prince of Wales commissioning Sir Edward Hopton of Canon Frome, Herefordshire, to be in command of a regiment of foot.

The Marquis of Newcastle’s men are generally described as ‘Whitecoats’. It seems that his army – not only his own regiment – wore coats of undyed woollen cloth. Percy’s Whitecoats and Pinchbeck’s Greycoats both came to Oxford from Newcastle’s Army at the same time. It would seem that the dress of Newcastle’s ‘Lambs’ was not exactly as white as snow.

Red was a fairly popular colour in the Cavalier Army, especially, it seems, in the Royal regiments. From the time of the formation of the New Model Army it was adopted by the Parliamentarians, from whom the Standing Army of King Charles II and his successors inherited it.

ARMS
When the war began there were not nearly enough arms to equip all the men who enlisted for the King. The armouries of the trained bands, as well as those of private individuals, were insufficient to provide weapons for all the volunteers. A number of those who fought at Edgehill had nothing better than some converted farm implement or a stout stave. Many of the weapons and pieces of armour had already seen service at the time of the Armada, or even maybe of Flodden and Bosworth. On the other hand, those were days when noblemen and gentlemen commonly had substantial armouries of their own. If the Royalist pikemen were short of corselets it was not really such a hardship: a steel helmet and a good buff coat would keep out many a savage blow, and, marching in body armour can have been no joke.

As for the Roundheads, they had at their command the great armouries of the Tower of London and of Hull. Their troops must have
Plan of the siege of Newark, 1646. The survey by 'Richard Clampe Ingenier' was engraved by Peregrine Lovell, and printed and sold by Peter Stent at the sign of the Crown and later of the White Horse in Giltspur Street without Newgate. This plan was certainly on sale before 1650. The engraving, 20 inches by 17 inches, covers an area of about two miles radius around Newark and shows the works made for the last siege, which lasted from November 1645 to 8 May 1646. Clampe, who had served under the Earl of Manchester, and Sir Thomas Fairfax—presumably in the New Model—seems to have been the chief engineer of the Parliamentarian Army before Newark. He was rewarded in 1647 with the searcher's post at the port of King's Lynn in Norfolk. (Courtesy of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). Crown Copyright)
appeared armed very much according to the regulations of the day.

In theory, all ranks carried swords, those of the officers being no doubt of superior quality. With the exception of the ensign, who carried the company colour, the company officers were armed with partisans, while the sergeant’s halbert was at once his weapon and his badge of rank. The pikemen had a weapon between sixteen and eighteen feet in length, and wore back-and-breast – the corselet – and a helmet. The musketeers had no body armour, but were generally equipped with a matchlock musket, and a bandolier. Some certainly had a rest, but this seems to have been obsolescent by the time of the Civil Wars. A few had the snaphance, or firelock, an early flintlock musket; but this was rare and was usually given to the escort of the train of artillery, for matchlocks and powder-barrels were unhappy partners. The bayonet was not yet to be seen among the English infantry.

The Train of Artillery

Artillery had proved its worth in battles as well as in sieges as early as the middle of the fifteenth century; it was as decisive at Castillon as at Constantinople. But its progress had been slow, and, at the time of the Civil Wars, many of its characteristics were still very unsatisfactory. Ranges were short, rates of fire slow, equipment heavy and means of traction uneconomical. Nevertheless, both round-shot and case-shot were damaging missiles, which could score heavily off a troop of horse or a stand of pikes, whilst for siege work the big guns were invaluable.

Clarendon describes the train of artillery as ‘a spunge that can never be filled or satisfied’, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that Sir John Heydon (d. 1653), the Royalist Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, a noted mathematician and a thoroughly competent administrator, managed to put twenty guns in the field, six of them big ones. These guns were mostly made of brass. The trophies of Edgehill included seven guns and at First Newbury the Royalists had heavier metal.

At Naseby the King had only twelve big guns. Among those captured by the New Model Army were two demi-cannons, probably the same two that had been at Edgehill, and two mortars. Two of the great brass guns taken at Naseby were afterwards used by the Parliamentarians besieging Worcester.

The Roundheads, backed by the resources of the Tower of London, where since medieval times the Board of Ordnance had had its headquarters, were much better provided with guns than were their opponents. In the 1642 campaign they had over forty guns. Unfortunately for them their lieutenant-general, a foreigner named Philip Emanuel du Boys, proved incapable of collecting a sufficient number of draught-horses, and many of the guns arrived too late for the battle of Edgehill. The train of artillery required a great deal of transport, for its ammunition and stores. A Royalist bye-train of four big guns detailed to attack Banbury Castle in October 1642 required the support of fifty-seven wagons.

The personnel – officers and specialists of various categories – was also very considerable. In 1642 Essex’s Train had over 40 officers, 600 pioneers, besides 100 firelocks, to guard the train; engineers, commissaries, provost, gentlemen-of-the-ordnance, fireworkers, battery-master and bridge-master were all to be found in its ranks. The dress of artillerymen probably resembled that of the foot.

The supply of ammunition was not, it seems, very liberal. In the bye-train already referred to, the Royalists allowed fifty ‘round shott of yron’ per gun, and, in addition, twenty-four ‘cases of tynn with Muskett shott, or Cartouches’.
## ROYALIST ORDNANCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPES</th>
<th>EDGEHILL</th>
<th>NEWBURY</th>
<th>WEIGHT OF PIECE (lb)</th>
<th>LENGTH OF PIECE (ft)</th>
<th>WEIGHT OF SHOT (lb)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demi-cannons</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culverins</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelve-pounders</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>10–11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demi-culverins</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3,600</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six-pounders</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakers</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>9½</td>
<td>5½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mynions</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2 (iron)</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three-pounders</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fawcons</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fawconetts</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabonettes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bases</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2 (iron)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### NOTES
1. This was Hopton’s own troop.
2. Said to have been a son of Sir William Balfour, Lieutenant-General of the Horse in Essex’s Army.
3. Cavalry at speed could cover such a distance in half a minute. Their opponents would hardly have time for more than one volley.
4. Four or six troops should have had between sixteen and twenty-four commissioned officers.
5. Doubtless the major of the King’s Lifeguard of Foot, who became lieutenant-colonel and was knighted in 1645: Sir William Leighton.
The Plates

A1 King Charles I (1600–49) in 1644
From a painting by William Dobson (1610–46). This plate shows the King in his normal campaigning dress. Of course, he did not always wear this costume. At Edgehill he is described as wearing a black velvet coat lined with ermine, and a steel cap covered with velvet. In a print of 1644 by Wenceslas Hollar (1607–77) he is shown in full cuirassier’s armour, of the sort worn by Sir Richard Willys (F3). Hollar was a Royalist soldier and served in the defence of Basing House. There can be little doubt, therefore, that he had actually seen the King thus armoured.

A2 Sir Edward Walker (1612–77)
Walker, who became Chester Herald in 1638, was with King Charles continuously from 1642 to 1645. He was at first Secretary at War (1642) and later Secretary of the Privy Council (1644). He was knighted in 1645. A number of his papers, dealing with military affairs are preserved in the British Museum, and his excellent accounts of the 1644 and 1645 campaigns are published in his Historical Discourses (London, 1705). At the Restoration Walker became Garter King-of-Arms. In this plate, which is taken from a painting by Dobson in the National Portrait Gallery, Walker wears the ordinary campaigning dress of a Cavalier gentleman, though without back- and breastplate.

A3 Prince Charles, later King Charles II (1630–85) in 1642
From the portrait by William Dobson in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. The armour the Prince is wearing is still in existence in the armouries at the Tower of London. In this portrait Prince Charles is dressed as he was at the battle of Edgehill, 23 October 1643. On that occasion he was in danger of being captured when Sir William Balfour’s Horse broke through the Royalist centre. Indeed he was seen winding up his wheel-lock pistols and crying out, ‘I fear them not’, before his escort of Gentlemen Pensioners hurried him from the field.

The Prince wears the normal costume of a cavalry officer of the day, a sleeveless buff coat with back-and-breast. In his hand he carries a baton, as a general did in those days. In 1645, when he was fifteen he was nominally in command of the West Country.

B Sir Charles Lucas (k. 1648)
Lucas was a professional soldier who had served in the Dutch Army. At Edgehill he was lieutenant-
Back, breast and pot. These pieces of armour preserved at Broughton Castle were doubtless worn by a soldier serving under Lord Saye and Sele. The helmet is rather curious for it seems to be something between a burgonet and a morion.

Colonel in the Earl of Caernarvon’s Regiment. He greatly distinguished himself by rallying 300 horse of the Royalist left wing and charging into the rear of the Roundhead foot. He was soon made colonel and early in 1644, through Rupert’s influence, he became Lieutenant-General of the Horse in Newcastle’s Army. Unfortunately, he was taken prisoner at Marston Moor. He was executed after the siege of Colchester in 1648. Lucas was an expert commander of horse, and wrote a treatise on the art of war. It was in cipher and so nobody could understand it; its whereabouts, too, are now unknown.

This plate is a reconstruction based on a portrait by Dobson in the National Portrait Gallery. Sir Charles is shown winding up his wheel-lock pistol.

_C Trompeter, Captain Sir Richard Astley’s Troop of Horse_

This figure is taken from Astley’s monument in Patshull Church, in which the Captain, preceded by his two trumpeters is seen riding at the head of his troop. This trumpeter is dressed very much like those one sees fairly frequently in Dutch paintings of the period. His trumpet-banner, like the standard of the troop, and the Captain’s holster-caps and saddle-cloth, bears the cinquefoil of Astley.

Sir Richard Astley, Bart. (1625–88) was the eldest son of Walter Astley, a Roman Catholic. He garrisoned Patshull House, near Wolverhampton, which was captured on 14 February 1645 by a Roundhead force from the garrison of Stafford. Astley was one of the garrison of Dudley Castle when it surrendered on 14 May 1646. He belonged to the small army under Lord Loughborough, the Royalist Lieutenant-General in the Midlands. There is some evidence that he fought in the 1651 campaign. Astley succeeded to his father’s estates in 1654 and was made a baronet in 1662. A man of exemplary piety, he had one other claim to fame: an ingenious invention, whose details are not explained, for matching game-cocks.
also finds instances of men firing carbines or fowling-pieces from the saddle in a mêlée: Sir James Colborne’s exploit at Babylon Hill is a case in point.

It was by no means unknown for mounted troops to be armed with a brace of pistols in addition to a carbine. Richard Symonds of the King’s Lifeguard records a skirmish between Stilton and Huntingdon on 24 August 1645. The Roundheads, 400 strong, raised in Suffolk and Essex, were under Lieutenant-Colonel Lenth. ‘They a little disputed Huntingdon, but wee entered, notwithstanding a large ditch encompassed it... Theis rebellrs ran away to Cambridge; all of them back and breast, headpiece, brace of pistoll, officers more. Every troope consisted of 100.’

While admitting that our plate is a reconstruction, it seems fair to assert that riders so equipped were to be seen in many an affair of the English Civil Wars.

_Et_ Pikeman, Lord Brooke’s Regiment
Robert Greville, second Baron Brooke (1608–43) clothed his regiment of foot in purple. In this he seems to have been unique – just as well perhaps. The regiment was raised in London. It had purple colours with the usual cross of St George in all except the colonel’s colour, and with the captain’s ensigns differenced by a varying number of stars. The regiment, about 1,000 strong in September, lost heavily at Edgehill, and was down to 480 by mid-November. It suffered again at Brentford (12 November) and, it is thought, did not long survive the death of its colonel, sniped by ‘Dumb’ Dyott at the siege of Lichfield on 2 March 1643. Dyott fired from the tower of St Chad’s Cathedral upon that saint’s day. Royalists were not slow to point out the miraculous nature of this event.

_D Officer of Horse or Dragoons_
This dashing character might belong to either side. He is an unashamed reconstruction based on a figure on the title-page of Cruso’s _Instructions for the Cavall’rie_ (1632) and a contemporary painting by a Dutch artist. The helmet is of the Dutch or German type. It was probably the exception rather than the rule for a dragoon to wear back-and-breast, for they were really mounted infantry, and usually fought on foot. It is true that Colonel John Okey’s Regiment, belonging to the new Model, made a mounted charge into the Royalist foot at the end of the battle of Naseby; and one
days to wind up wheel-lock firearms. His beautiful carbine is probably an expensive fowling-piece. It was doubtless with such a weapon that Sir James Colborne was armed at Babylon Hill.

**E 3 Musketeer**

This soldier is armed with a matchlock musket. He has made-up cartridges, 'The Twelve Apostles', hanging from his bandolier, a leather bag containing spare bullets, and a powder-flask. In his right hand he carries a rest to help him aim his heavy firearm. Rests do not seem to be mentioned ever in the Royalist ordnance papers that survive in the Public Record Office. It may be that it was simply assumed that every musket had its rest just as it had its ramrod. On the other hand, it may be that this was a transition period and that the rest was going out. Of the four musketeers depicted in the Farndon Church window only two have rests.

John Lambert (1619–83). Lambert took up arms for Parliament in 1642, and by 1643 was commanding a regiment of horse in Yorkshire. He fought at Marston Moor, and in July 1647 superseded Poyntz in command of the Northern Forces. In 1648-49 he besieged Pontefract Castle, and in 1650 went to Scotland with Cromwell as major-general. He was wounded and captured at Musselburgh (30 July) but immediately rescued. He fought at Dunbar, and routed Sir John Brown at Inverkeithing, Fifeshire (20 July 1651). In the Worcester campaign he captured the important bridge at Upton-on-Severn, and at Worcester had his horse shot under him. He was the leader of the officers who offered the post of Protector to Cromwell, and was one of his council of state, but he broke with him over the question of a royal title. In 1660 he resisted Monck in vain and he ended his days in prison in Guernsey.

Henry Ireton (1611–51). Educated at Trinity College, Oxford, and the Middle Temple, Ireton took up arms in 1642 and fought at Edgehill. Although he held high appointments he was no great soldier. He led the cavalry of the Roundhead left at Naseby, but was wounded and captured in the fighting. Rupert, though outnumbered, drove his men from the field. He married Cromwell's daughter, Bridget, and was his chief supporter during the trial of Charles I. He was one of the regicides who signed the death-warrant. Ireton went to Ireland as Cromwell's deputy and carried out his bloodthirsty policy with diligence and honesty. He died of a fever.

**Fr Lieutenant of a bluecoats regiment**

The Royalist regiment of Colonel Charles Gerard, fought at Edgehill and First Newbury before going to South Wales when Gerard was put in command there early in 1644. There were bluecoats on either side and, except for the difference in the colour of sashes, it would have been easy to mistake a Roundhead officer of the Earl of Stamford's Regiment for one of Gerard's. Colonels Sir Henry Cholmley and Sir William Constable
also commanded bluecoat regiments in the Earl of Essex’s Army during the Edgehill Campaign of 1642.

On at least two occasions Royalist officers were captured through mistaking an enemy regiment for one of their own. This happened to Rupert’s friend, Will Legge, at Southam (August 1642), when he mistook Hampden’s men for the Earl of Northampton’s, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Butler at Nantwich (January 1644).

This officer carries a partisan, which was the

weapon, and indeed the badge, of captains and, lieutenants, though the former were entitled to have them with gilded heads. In practice, one imagines, the blades were probably of plain steel.

Colonel Richard Grace (1621–91). A Roman Catholic son of Robert Grace, Baron of Courtown, he distinguished himself in the First Civil War in Prince Rupert’s Regiment of Horse, and fought at Marston Moor. As a captain he was taken prisoner soon after at Welshpool when the regiment was beaten up in its quarters at night (22 June 1644). He was with the garrison of Oxford in March 1645 and took part in Colonel Will Legge’s raid on Headington in June. He commanded Ormonde’s Regiment in the Royalist Army at the battle of Dunkirk Dunes in 1658, and managed to retreat in good order. In 1691 he was Governor of Athlone where he died fighting for King James II

A detail from a contemporary engraving of the battle of Dunbar, 3 September 1650. This plan, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library, was made by Payne Fisher, who was educated at Hart Hall, Oxford, and Magdalene College, Cambridge. He served in the Netherlands, against the Scots, in Ireland, and fought for the King at Marston Moor. He then abandoned the Royalist cause and in 1652 went to Scotland as an official historian.

Sir Charles Firth, who discovered this plan, identified the building surrounded by trees in the background as Meikle Pinkerton farmhouse. The bodies of foot ranged in front of it on the hillside, below it are Scots. A few Scots cavalrmen may be seen breaking away and fleeing up Doon Hill as the Cromwellian cavalry attack develops in the left foreground. The Scots under David Leslie outnumbered the English by two to one, but they made a tactical error by leaving the high ground, and Cromwell was able to score one of his most brilliant successes.

F2 Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes (1608–69)
From a painting by Mirevelt belonging to Lord Saye and Sele at Broughton Castle, Oxfordshire. In 1642 Fiennes, who was M.P. for Banbury, was
captain of a troop of horse in Essex’s Army. Routed at Powick Bridge (23 September 1642), at Edgehill his men did better for they were with Sir William Balfour whose charges broke the brigades of Colonel Richard Feilding and Sir Nicholas Byron. Promoted colonel he was unjustly disgraced after the fall of Bristol (26 July 1643), and had it not been for the intervention of the Earl of Essex might have been condemned to death. Though excluded from the House of Commons by Pride’s Purge (1648), he sat in Cromwell’s House of Lords (1658). Nathaniel Fiennes was the second son of the first Viscount Saye and Sele.

Points to note in this plate are the steel gauntlet which protects his bridle-arm, and the fact that his armour has been painted black to prevent rust. His helmet looks like a continental one, though he had never served abroad. Although he was a cavalryman, his breastplate with its short tassets looks rather like that of an officer of pikemen. His scarf is typical of those worn by the Roundheads; orange-tawny being the colours of the Earl of Essex.

_Fig Colonel Sir Richard Willys (1614–90)_

This plate is taken from a half-length portrait by Dobson, which belongs to Newark Corporation, and – as to the legs – from the monument to Edward St John, ‘The Golden Cavalier’, in the church at Lydiard Tregoze, Wiltshire. Willys is fully equipped as a cuirassier. The whole of Sir Arthur Hesilrige’s Regiment of Horse on the Parliament side were armoured in this fashion, and so in 1642 were Essex’s Lifeguard. On the Royalist side individuals fitted themselves out in this style. The Earl of Northampton, K.B. (1601–43) was wearing full armour when he was killed at Hopton Heath (19 March 1643). Several suits belonging to the Popham family (Parliamentarian) are still to be seen at Littlecote House near Hungerford, a place which is well worth a visit.

One pities the horse that had to carry men dressed in this fashion; it was also not particularly convenient for the man himself. Edmund Ludlow (Essex’s Lifeguard) was dismounted at Edgehill and writes, ‘I could not without great difficulty recover on horse-back again [remount], being loaded with cuirassier’s arms, as the rest of the guard also were.’ During the night after the battle he was starving, ‘neither could I find my servant who had my cloak, so that having nothing to keep me warm but a suite of iron, I was obliged to walk about all night, which proved very cold by reason of a sharp frost’.

Sir Richard Willys of Fen Ditton, Cambridgeshire, distinguished himself as an ensign of foot in the Dutch Army at the siege of Breda (1637). In 1640 he was major to Goring’s Regiment of Foot in the Scots War. During the next two years he served in King Charles’s guard at Whitehall and at Hampton Court. Willys was knighted on
A Royalist officer from the stained glass window in the Barnston Chapel in Farndon Church, Cheshire. This is Captain William Barnston of Churton (d. 1664) who served in Colonel Sir Francis Gamul’s Regiment during the defence of Chester. It may have been the City Trained Band Regiment. The Captain-Lieutenant of the regiment was Richard Barnston, perhaps a younger brother, of William; he was alive at the Restoration for he is in Lincolnshire and Rutland. He had his headquarters at Newark and was Governor there until replaced by Belasyse in October 1645, because he had supported Prince Rupert in the quarrels that followed his surrender of Bristol.

In 1653 Willys became a member of the ‘Sealed Knot’, the committee which tried to co-ordinate Royalist opposition to the Commonwealth. It is thought that he kept Cromwell’s secretary, John Thurloe, informed of its activities. Though not employed after the Restoration he does not appear to have been punished.

A List of [Indigent] Officers, 1663.

Captain Barnston carries a partisan in his hand, an indication of his rank. He also wears a gorget which shows that he is on duty. The uniform of this regiment seems to have been of a saffron shade of yellow, with the officers wearing buff coats. Other windows from Farndon Church are shown above and on the facing page.
**G1 Ensign, Lamplugh’s Regiment of Foot**

Colonel John Lamplugh of Lamplugh was wounded and captured at Marston Moor. He commanded one of the regiments of the Northern Royalist Army, which were almost all dressed in white or grey, and were known as ‘Newcastle’s Whitecoats’. This particular regiment was raised in Cumberland and in Yorkshire. The colour shown, that of the first captain’s company, was among those taken at Marston Moor, and shows a black cross _pontone_ on a yellow field, as well as the cross of St George in the upper canton. The latter emblem was commonly used in practically all infantry colours in English armies, both Roundhead and Royalist, at this period. It is the single cross that shows that the colour belonged to the first captain’s company. Yellow (gold) in a colour, according to Gervase Markham (_The Souldiers Accidence_, 1625), indicated honour, or height of spirit.

**G2 Drummer of a redcoat regiment**

At least as early as 1588 we find drummers’ coats adorned with a quantity of gold or silver lace. Some Norwich accounts of that period describe them as being embellished with eleven yards of lace and six yards of pointing. In the eighteenth century drummers of the British Army usually wore coats of the colour of the regimental facings. Thus the drummers of the 16th Foot had yellow coats and those of the 50th had black. In the Civil Wars we sometimes find coats lined with a different colour, but ‘facings’ had not yet been invented. So when we learn that in October 1643 the Earl of Manchester ordered coats of ‘green cloth lined with red’ for his regiment in the Eastern Association, we must not assume that his drummers wore red coats. It is much more likely that they wore green, embellished with gold or silver lace. We have no reliable contemporary picture of a drummer of the Civil Wars since the example in the church window at Farndon, Cheshire, is copied from a picture belonging to the Gardes Françaises. The drum in our plate is reconstructed from the one shown serving as a table in Dobson’s painting (1644) of King Charles dictating to Sir Edward Walker. It may safely be assumed that it belonged to the Lifeguard of Foot.

**G3 Royalist Sergeant of a greencost regiment**

The Royalist regiments of Colonel Henry Tillier and Robert Broughton were raised during the Second Scots War, probably in 1649, and were sent to Ireland in 1642. In 1643 there was a cessation of hostilities in Ireland and these two regiments of greencosts were among about a dozen which were sent to Chester or to Bristol to reinforce the Royalist armies. Tillier’s and Broughton’s landed, 2,000 strong, in Cheshire on 7 February 1644. They were well-officered and experienced units, but there was a good deal of desertion from among the private soldiers. These two units were the backbone of the infantry of Prince Rupert’s Army at the relief of Newark (21 March 1644). They suffered heavily at Marston Moor, where Major-General Tillier, a
In the Scots War Colonel Sir Bernard Astley (k. 1645) was major in his father’s regiment of foot, and in 1643 he was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Marquis of Hertford’s Regiment in the West. Hopton would have made him Sergeant-Major-General had he not fallen ill in the autumn of 1643. He commanded a brigade in the 1644 campaign and was killed during the siege of Bristol on 4 September 1645.

very stout and able soldier, was captured, but survived to fight at Montgomery Castle, and Naseby, by which time only a handful survived. The sergeant’s halbert is his badge of rank. It was probably about eight feet in length. Sergeants dressed better than the common soldiers. In September 1642 the Roundhead Nehemiah Wharton had ‘my mistress’ scarf and Mr Molloyne’s hatband . . . and had this day made me a soldier’s sute for winter, edged with gold and silver lace’.

_H Colours_
All except the trumpet-banner are Royalist.

1st row
*Second captain* 
Sir Lewis Dyve’s Regiment; noted by Richard Symonds in April 1644.

*Fourth captain* 
Sir Edward Stradling’s Regiment; taken at Edgehill.

*Lieutenant-Colonel* 
Richard Bolle’s later George Lisle’s Regiment; noted by Symonds in April 1644.

2nd row
*Major* 
Pennyman’s Regiment.

*Captain* 
The King’s Lifeguard.

*First captain* 
Charles Gerard’s Regiment; noted by Symonds in April 1644.

3rd row
*Captain* 
The King’s Lifeguard.

*Major’s guidon* 
Dragoon Regiment; taken at Marston Moor.

*Trumpet-banner* 
Parliamentarian; taken at Cropredy Bridge.

*First captain* 
Lamplugh’s Regiment.
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Avec annotations en français sur les planches en couleur.
Mit Aufzeichnungen auf Deutsch über den Farbtafeln

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