

# The Battle of Edgehill, 1642 - Terrain Conjecture

*A review and reconstruction of the contemporary terrain experienced by the Royalist and Parliamentary armies and how the landscape may have appeared in October 1642.*

*(D.Harridence 2011- Updated May 2012).*

1. Preface
  2. Introduction
  3. Essex's hill
    - 3.1 Gorse
    - 3.2 The top
    - 3.3 The lower eastern slopes
  4. The central area
    - 4.1 Ploughed
    - 4.2 The parish boundary
    - 4.3 Pit
    - 4.4 Radway brook
    - 4.5 Enclosures - north
    - 4.6 Enclosures - south
    - 4.7 The stacked enclosures - centre
  5. The eastern end of the open plain
  6. North - the Kineton Fields
  7. The Edgehill escarpment
  8. Conclusion
- Notes.

## 1. Preface:

Unlike earlier studies, modern research seeks much more understanding towards interpreting historic battlefields by lending greater attention to the terrain and its physical archaeology, which is a core principle shared by this analysis. Reconstructing the narrative for the Battle of Edgehill has benefited from extensive attention, but knowledge of the specific terrain remains relatively poor. The reconstruction of a battlefield's historic terrain proves to be an important component for understanding the battle itself and helps shape and rationalise information provided by other disciplines such as the battle archaeology. Not only can it help interpret the battle's contemporary accounts and clearly assist in placing the battle within the landscape, but most powerfully it can even enlighten our understanding of the strategic decisions made on the day.

Most early Edgehill deployment conjectures have suffered from a limited knowledge of the physical battlefield of 1642, have resorted to generalised assumptions concerning the terrain and as a result not been influenced by the realities of the battle's contemporary landscape. If a reasonably accurate picture of the open field system utilised for the battle had been available for earlier studies and for the sighting of the front lines, such as Burne or Young,<sup>1</sup> then perhaps issues concerning their deployment locations, when related to the actual 1642 terrain, would have become apparent and a more careful reassessment would have been required. Establishing how a landscape and terrain may have appeared during a battle can reveal the subtlest of nuances influencing the event as well as helping to determine the reliability of secondary interpretations and suggestions. My own research and almost certain knowledge that the parish boundary featured a hedgerow which would have ran across a large part of the battlefield in 1642 raised private but realistic doubts concerning the practicality and probability of an earlier 2003 conjecture, for example.<sup>2</sup> Conversely, some attempts to involve elements of historic terrain incorrectly can significantly contribute to misinterpreting events, such as an integral hedgerow assertively included by a Victorian Reverend.<sup>3</sup>

Other investigations concerning the contemporary landscape for the Battle of Edgehill have been made, but here I've attempted to provide a partial compendium and to share what I have found, no matter how small the detail.

Varied sources provided insights for this terrain study and are listed in my notes, but clearly two documents in particular prove invaluable for this purpose. Strangely the first has seemingly only become familiar to scholars of the battle in recent years, but its clues still don't appear to have been fully considered. Instrumental in helping establish which enclosures may have existed during the battle is the 18th century pre-enclosure map and survey "The Inclosure of the Common Field called Radway Field" document, which came into the possession of the Warwickshire Record Office in the mid 1970s and provides important clues for establishing how the battlefield may have appeared in the 1600s.<sup>4</sup>

The second document is much more modest but is surprisingly insightful and is evidently unknown to previous studies of the battle. An estate plan drawn at the beginning of the 18th century surveys a farm which existed close to Radway Field, but firmly within the Little Kineton Field. Made in 1701, less than 60 years after the battle, the document captures the farmstead of Battle Farm in early transition, as some of the details of land usage no longer fit the names provided for some enclosures and last minute pencil additions also capture the latest intentions for their use.<sup>5</sup> Positioned very close to where it's commonly believed that much of the central battle took place, the farm clearly derives its name from the event but was also clearly well established long before the survey was made.<sup>6</sup> As there is no mention of any farm from any contemporary accounts of the battle it's reasonable to judge that Battle Farm was its original name and was established after 1642.

It's an unusual document as it demonstrates an enclosed farm within a common field which wasn't yet formally enclosed and wouldn't be until 1733.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, assessing the map's detail approximates that the farm was first laid out somewhere around the middle of the second half of the 17th century, which is post battle, but it does provide plentiful clues regarding the earlier terrain and the surrounding area.

Throughout this terrain conjecture I've "illustrated" the passages with contemporary quotes which either relate to an area of the landscape in question and may reinforce a supposition, or suggest how an element of the landscape may have influenced proceedings. In general, as this document concerns itself with the battlefield landscape, most quotes which reference physical features of the terrain have been included for completeness. The core content is intended to be of interest to any study of the battle, but I have included some passages and explanations to accommodate most readers.

Scott, Turton & Von Arni, in their 2004 book 'Edgehill - The Battle Reinterpreted', said "it is hard to visualize the field as it would have been, but to envisage the battle one must try. Much work remains to be undertaken on this aspect". I agreed, so I made a start...

## 2. Introduction:

*"we [the Parliamentarians] presently marched forth into a great broad Field, under that Hill, called, The Vale of the Red Horse, and made a stand some half a Mile from the Foot of the Hill, and there drew into Battalia, where we saw their Forces come down the Hill; and drew likewise into Battel in the Bottom; a great broad Company".* The Account of the Battel at Edgehill, Oct 23. 1642. as publisht by Order of the Parliament. [sic]

Recent analysis of the results from an extensive and systematic archaeological survey of the battlefield strongly suggests a striking alternative to all previous deployment conjectures and will no doubt inspire other variants in the future, but Foard's robust interpretation not only reveals the armies' positions within the landscape - with what can only be the greatest reliability to date - but the revelation also illuminates many other elements of the battle which troubled previous suggestions.<sup>8</sup> Widths of frontages, known wind directions and curiosities in accounts concerning topographical details are only some of the anomalies which can be better explained.

From contemporary accounts and physical archaeology, it's established that the Battle of Edgehill was largely fought amidst an elongated small hill or swell in the land and the Edgehill escarpment, south of Kineton (Warwickshire) and largely where the southern section of the current DSDA (*Defence Storage and Distribution Agency*) Kineton, now occupies.

On the afternoon of Sunday 23rd of October 1642, it was here the two opposing armies of the English Civil War deployed across part of the plain in the large open field, which once constituted the large common fields of Radway Field and Great and Little Kineton Fields. Together these open fields formed a large, roughly oval, expanse stretching diagonally across from Little Kineton, south east towards Knowle-end hill - which is at the northern end of the Edgehill escarpment - to the north of Radway village. The open expanse ran over 4.5 kilometres in length and reached around 3.2 kilometres in breadth. At the time of the battle its narrowest section - at around half way and where the battle arrays are believed to have deployed - the open width measures just over two kilometres.

*"The Enemy [the Parliamentarians] had all the Morning to draw up their Army, in a great plain Field, which they did to their best Advantage".* Sir Richard Bulstrode. Memoirs and Reflections.

These open ancient fields were typical of common grazing land and the open field system of farming still in use at the time; prior to the parliamentary enclosure acts becoming prevalent the following century. The existence of these open fields throughout the region is recorded, not in farm names, but by place names such as Harbury Field, Napton Fields and the neighbouring Oxhill Fields and Tysoe Field.<sup>9</sup> Defining their presence a respected boundary hedge often evolved which for the Kineton and Radway Fields remains obvious by surviving sections of very distinct, aged, characterful and irregular hedging along the southern and northern limits of what were the field's main perimeters. These represent a much more natural evolution, are easily recognisable from aerial imagery, datable from the ground<sup>10</sup> and correspond with the perimeters of Radway field clearly mapped by the pre-enclosure survey.<sup>11</sup>

The rising ground and minor elevation which the Earl of Essex - Captain-General and Chief Commander of the Parliamentarian army - is believed to have largely or partially occupied, was once known as Bleadon - now partly occupied by a modern plantation called the Oaks - and is often considered to have been described at the time as a "little round rising hill".<sup>12</sup> This sizable swell in the land runs to approximately one mile in length and generally faces the slopes of Bullet hill (just north of Radway village), at a 90 degree angle to the Banbury road with a notable ridge curving back towards Little Kineton.<sup>13</sup> This swell of land tapers-out towards the Banbury road where it features several ripples and smaller branches or fingers and elevations to the north of the road. The highline is thought to have been "much nearer its military reverse slope".<sup>14</sup> Essex's position sits at the centre of the combined open fields, falls more sharply at its rear (when facing Bullet Hill) and overlooks the Tysoe parish boundary where an ancient field known as 'Kingemewolde' is believed to portray the hill as a 'wold' within its name.<sup>15</sup> This is of interest when matched with evidence that the early use of 'wold' generally once referred to open parkland type terrain with scattered concentrations of wooded areas.<sup>16</sup> Essex's wold is highest at the south (where the modern plantation of 'the Oaks' sits) before it dips slightly on route to its northern section.

There is evidence that adds detail to the general scene regarding areas which had already succumbed to owners or individual tenants establishing hedged enclosures. Contemporary accounts - which include descriptions of leaping over several hedges on route to engage the enemy and a near contemporary plan which included enclosures across part of the open field - all famously relate this open area of the plain being either flanked or encroached upon by smaller hedged enclosures. King James II, who was present at the battle as a child, would also later describe a small hedged enclosure, which appears to have been situated close to the centre of Radway field.<sup>17</sup>

*"There was between the Hill [Edgehill] and Town [Kineton] a fair Campaign [open expanse], save that near the Town it was narrow, and on the right hand [south] some Hedges, and Inclosures: so that there he [Essex] placed Musqueteers, and not above two Regiments of Horse, where the ground was narrowest; but on his left Wing [north] he placed a Body of a thousand Horse, Commanded by one Ramsey a Scots-man; [sic]"* History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England. Clarendon.

Professor Wanklyn, (2006), points out the probability of "poorer quality land on the western fringes, as indicated by later field and farm names such as Starveall, Moorlands and Hardwick Gorse".<sup>18</sup> And predating the battle, when the celebrated cartographer John Speed looked

down upon the scene from Edgehill in 1611, he wrote "the meadowing pastures with the green mantles [are] so embroidered with flowers that from Edgehill we might behold another Eden."<sup>19</sup>

With the exception of the enclosure act for Little Kineton in 1733, Sanderson Miller of Radway Grange (who arranged the enclosure act for Radway village little over a hundred years after the battle) was amongst the first to initiate a formal enclosure and was something of a pioneer in the region. Radway Field's enclosure would remain a rare example in the vicinity for many years making the conjoining Kineton and Radway fields not necessarily a strikingly lone remnant of a disappearing landscape. When endless Hawthorns were planted to create the new enclosure hedgerows, the Radway Field was lost forever, but with formal enclosure also came the right to dig perimeter ditches which would also transform drainage and alter the physical habitat further, leaving little evidence of any possible boggy areas.

The open and common field system of farming would largely survive unchanged through much of the 18th century but its clear that such tracts of land were not necessarily completely void of hedgerows or enclosures prior to this, as there's unequivocal evidence for the Little Kineton field - used for the battle and being the largest of two or three common fields around Kineton - featuring farming estates with extensive enclosure long before formal parliamentary enclosure.<sup>20</sup> Further evidence for enclosures, barns and mixed farming use in open common fields also exists throughout their history.<sup>21</sup>

### 3. Essex's hill:

*"Rebell's Army [Essex] down in the bottom by Keynton, which soon after began to draw up in battell in the plain before that village, but advance no further [sic]" King James II<sup>22</sup>*

#### 3.1 Gorse

Within the discussions of secondary sources there has often been speculation concerning how the actual landscape and terrain would have appeared during the battle which has included the occasional suggestion that parts - around Essex's lines - may have been scattered with furze.

For reasons seemingly known only to modern scholars of the Edgehill battle, wild growing 'Ulex europaeus' is nearly always referred to as furze, but to avoid any confusion, this prickly dense shrub is now much more commonly known as Gorse. Once harvested for burning or livestock feed, its shown to have been widespread across parts of Edgehill with one area named as 'Little Furze' in the Radway village pre-enclosure survey and three separate areas uppermost on its slopes, called 'The Lot Ground', representing where the local population would have once drawn lots to claim the right to harvest the plant each year<sup>23</sup> (or every few years). Even today this plant is clearly visible across Spring Hill - a little further south along the Edgehill escarpment at Sunrising - and is still managed and burned to limit its spread.<sup>24</sup> This native plant is captured in place names such as 'Furzen Close Lane' in Kineton,<sup>25</sup> Hardwick Gorse in the adjoining fields and 'Furzen Hufk Furlong'<sup>26</sup> on the north side of the Banbury road, and would have been partly in flower during the battle. It's most likely this woody plant that the Royalists burned to make fires<sup>27</sup> during the cold night that followed the battle, and Gorse stands can be burned in situ as the roots are known to recover.

Many examples of far ranging stretches of such growth are still abundant across the slopes and rolling valleys south of Ratley village close by, with some examples reaching well over 10ft in height. Its widespread presence is useful for visualising parts of the 'open field' and the scene across the Edgehill slopes, which during this time was also described as having thickets.<sup>28</sup>

One early 'Edgehill' author, Edwin Walford, writing in 1886 inadvertently informs us that "gorse" also "covers" parts of Bullet hill in its lower section of the hillside, during his visits.<sup>29</sup> In his 2nd edition, he doesn't reveal his sources, but also describes how the Parliamentary army had invested time to further strengthen their defensive position by the use of "the thick

growth of furze tied and wattled together on the gently sloping upland".<sup>30</sup> In this edition's preface he mentions "new facts" and inferences, which we might assume were offered up by local knowledge following the first edition, but however novel this suggestion appears, authors of 'Edgehill - The Battle Reinterpreted' (2004) do consider that this would have allowed for "Ludlow's confusion between bushes and hedges".<sup>31</sup>

When F. J. Hunt contributed her manuscript to the 'History of Radway' (1937) her text coincidentally also revealed that anyone tracing the parish boundary would "soon come through the gorse ([when] turning to right, by the [Battleton] Holt)" [sic], recording that the gorse bushes had healthily continued in this area well into the 20th century (just prior to industrialised farming).<sup>32</sup>

If further evidence were required as to the common presence of this vegetation around the slopes of the Parliamentarian's higher ground and its surrounding area then a document detailing the scene, less than 60 years after the battle, specifically records its existence and by describing areas simply as "furze", leaves us with little doubt.<sup>33</sup> A survey and sketch map of the Battle Farm estate made in 1701 clearly records the enclosure name of an arable field as Hawk Furze (just south west of the farm itself, near to the top of the hill).<sup>34</sup> But more conclusively, two more sizable areas - recorded as 40 acres at the time - running across its eastern side, and the flat areas to the east and south of the modern 'Oaks' plantation are assessed and specifically described as "furze" and "pasture & furze".

*"our [Royalist] Dragoons on our Right beat the Enemy from the Briars"*  
Sir Richard Bulstrode. Memoirs and Reflections

In addition to this, the document - which appears to capture a young farm continuing to evolve and is in a state of transition - also names the field which is simply described as being 'Furze' in quality, as 'Rough Piece' while an adjoining field is named as 'Lower Rough Piece'.<sup>35</sup> While this neighbouring field is then recorded as arable in the document, its name does suggest that it too had also once been rough furze and of being general pasture not long beforehand. All of these locations occupy the same areas targeted by many conjectures to be - or close to - the deployment positions of Essex's 'right'. These three to four areas alone cover around 135 acres and to a small degree the evident abundance of this vegetation makes it easier to imagine Walford's 'wattling' description and for rural soldiers with a whole morning and part of the afternoon on their hands, to be inspired by its profusion?

### 3.2 The top

*"not being able to break them [the Royalist Foot], we retreated to our former station".*  
Edmund Ludlow. Memoirs.<sup>36</sup>

Several springs, small pools, and marshy courses of water would also have long been features, as these are clearly recorded by 20th century large scale OS mapping, with four noted within the Battle Farm 1701 map.

Establishing an informed understanding and empathy for the general state, usage and evolution of the common fields in this area suggests that through their central region an open uninterrupted terrain persisted.

Studies concerning the battle have paid much attention to an old hedgerow, which the Victorian Reverend George Miller believed was influential in the action and describes it as running between Battle and Thistle farms.<sup>37</sup> It's confirmed that this hedgerow existed, but it has remained unclear and debated whether it predated the battle as Miller believed? He would also credit this hedgerow with being the only hedge to have existed between Radway and Kinton during the battle.<sup>38</sup>

From evidence provided in the Battle farm map of 1701, it becomes more likely that Battle farm, and almost certain that Thistle farm, did not exist prior to the event. (Battle farm was named after the battle and Thistle farm - where the old hedgerow led to - is simply described as 'New farm' in the 1701 document). This makes hedgerows in this immediate area less

likely around the time of the battle. The map does confirm the presence of Red Lane (or Road), as expected, which is believed to be an ancient route and in use during the battle, but this again challenges the likelihood of there having been a hedgerow predating this and crossing its route. With enclosures logically creeping into the open fields from their perimeters and where established hedgerows already provided natural foundations to link with, it is much more plausible that no such hedge existed across the top, or near the top, of this small hill the morning Essex and his men arrived.



Fig 1; Left: Modern satellite image. 2011. Right: Battle farm sketch map. 1701. (Letters provide position reference points between both images. 'B' also locates the Battle Farm buildings).

Miller's hedge (as it is sometimes known) is said to have been partially accompanied by a track from Thistle farm. The 1701 map highlights the continuation of Red Lane towards Radway, but omits any reference to the lane forking off towards 'New Farm' (later Thistle farm) as shown in later maps. This suggests the track linking Thistle farm with the Banbury road as likely to have been its original access and a minor detail further challenging the existence of a hedgerow here predating the farms.

The balance of probabilities and lack of any contemporary supporting evidence for a hedgerow having crowned Essex's hill during the battle (or noted as being to the rear of the Parliamentarian battalia in reference to traditional deployment conjectures), in itself helps convey an open hilltop adorned only with brushwood and gorse. If the farms weren't here during the battle (such as "New Farm" in the 1701 map), along with their plethora of enclosures, then it becomes even more difficult to imagine a hedgerow here. But evidence for dismissing this hedgerow, if it were needed, is provided again by careful map regression with the Battle Farm document. The hedgerow described by Miller traversed the hillside from Battle farm to Thistle farm and at one stage cuts across the present day triangular 'Graveground coppice' (Fig 1). The hedgerow is illustrated by Burne, who also inspected the

hedge, in his 1950 book<sup>39</sup> with a more detailed version recreated in the 2004 Edgehill study by Scott et al<sup>40</sup> but most helpfully, the hedgerow's route is clearly evident in aerial photography taken of Warwickshire by the RAF in 1947.<sup>41</sup> In the Battle Farm map, at the precise point where the hedgerow should continue across,<sup>42</sup> what is now the copse, the hedgerow curves purposefully S.E towards the route of the lane and appears to follow the lane's western edge for the remainder of the farm's territory. This feature is lost by the first edition 19th century OS maps, but at this time this detail illustrates a hedgerow which has been consciously planted, respecting the lane or track, and with the intention of defining the farm's territory and is not the signature of a hedgerow predating the farm's enclosures.<sup>43</sup> If the hedge had existed here prior to the farm it wouldn't have featured this design which establishes the hedgerow to have arrived *with* the farm and was not adopted *by* the farm. Establishing that the farm came after the battle also establishes that Miller's hedge came after the battle.

Ultimately there is no reason for a hedgerow to have existed here, but due to the area having been an open common field there is reason for a hedge *not* to have existed here. The Reverend, being a country man, no doubt could recognise a particularly old hedgerow, but the Battle Farm map of 1701 simply confirms that Miller's hedge was indeed an old hedge and probably first became established in the second half of the 17th century - which was prior to any of Miller's descendants living in the area - but which was still after the conflict.

As there is also no mention of such a hedgerow across the top, or side, of Essex's hill by any contemporary accounts, Reverend George Miller - writing in the very late 1800s - becomes the original source of information regarding this hedge, which he also cites as "the only hedgerow between the hills and Kineton"<sup>44</sup> during the battle and later confirms "between Radway and Kineton there was only one hedge till 1756".<sup>45</sup> By 1889 he attributes this assertion to "tradition" with no further reference to any supporting sources for this premise. (I believe he has confused local knowledge of the Parish hedgerow - discussed later - with his hedgerow; on Essex's hill). It appears that the coincidental halt of battle detritus finds falling short of a prominent old hedgerow - which linked the two farms - may well have influenced his interpretation that the fighting here must have in part been checked by the hedge.

No studies of the battle prior to Miller's introduction of there being "only one hedgerow" [between Radway and Kineton]<sup>46</sup> give consideration or mention to such a prominent or significant hedgerow. Walford (1886), Barrett (1896) or Beesley (1841)<sup>47</sup> show no such preoccupation with such a hedgerow or interpret that one, or only one, existed crossing the field or hill. This either places Miller as a sharper battle historian by reading the terrain and being ahead of his time or only highlights that Miller inadvertently creates the entire subject. Regrettably Miller's supposition regarding his hedge has inspired unnecessary confusion and deliberation for modern studies of the battle.

Relating perhaps to a more northerly region of Essex's small hill (and land ripples), the official Parliamentary account provides a contemporary description that the Parliamentary's left horse "advanced a little forward to the Top of a Hill", which for this region also does not suggest the presence of hedges:

*"our Left Wing of Horse ["our rear"] advanced a little forward to the Top of a Hill, where they stood in a Battalia, lined with Musqueteers [sic]".* Official Parliamentary Account.<sup>48</sup>

Clearly not conclusive, but there *is* a contemporary drawing of the action at Edgehill, which appears to be from a birds-eye perspective towards the rear of Essex's men and situated on a raised plateau of land; presumably the top - or near to the top - of Essex's hill? It shows infantry stationary behind a row of around 9 Parliamentary cannons firing from above both armies, whose main infantry are fully engaged on the slopes below and creating their own plumes of gun powder smoke. Cavalry are shown to be facing the cannons, upon the Parliamentary's left, while cavalry are seen in the distance (on their right) riding forwards, or to the rear of the Royalist's main body. The Edgehill escarpment is clearly seen in the distance (presumably trailing away south to Sun Rising Hill). While this illustration may or may not be factually correct in its detail or scales, whoever drew the scene was however clearly aware of the general topography. There are no hedgerows.<sup>49</sup>

*"they [the Parliamentarians] discharged at us three Pieces of Cannon from their left Wing, commanded by Sir James Ramsey, which Cannon Shot mounted over our Troops, without doing any Hurt..."* Sir Richard Bulstrode. Memoirs and Reflections.

### **3.3 The lower eastern slopes**

Modern maps still indicate the land around this region - around the eastern base of Essex's hill - as boggy and waterlogged and modern commentators have noted this.<sup>50</sup> However, the ploughing in this region (discussed next) would have helped with drainage at the time, and Wanklyn points out that no contemporary accounts of the battle mention boggy ground, but it is described in accounts for the battles at Marston Moor and Naseby.<sup>51</sup>

Peter Young & Richard Holmes describe in 1974 how this region, towards the Kineton side, was "very enclosed" and "with a number of small fields and orchards". As like Alfred Burne in 1950, they lament that "some copses that were present at the time of the battle have been cut down"<sup>52</sup> Obliging the 1701 Battle Farm map names three enclosures as Bushy Holt, Little Holt and Great Holt.<sup>53</sup> As like today, the ancient word of 'Holt' describes a copse, small wood or wooded hill, and has origins dating back to the Anglo-Saxons. Clearly in the Battle Farm map these areas are no longer listed as being wooded but their surviving place names provide compelling evidence for copses having once occupied these locations. With the woods having been felled during the young lifetime of the farm (or previous to the area being utilised as a conventional farm) this accommodates their existence for coinciding with the battle, and matching the descriptions given for this area of the landscape.

Bushy Holt occupies a position which part of Foard's 2009 suggested deployment positions for the Parliamentary infantry occupy. This could be resolved simply by the descriptive name, implying no more than a 'bushy' terrain, but curiously, this again invokes Walford's descriptions of Parliamentary's "wattling" gorse bushes.

The name given for 'Great Holt' likely reflects its relative size or possibly its earlier age, so it is also notable that no modern archaeological surveys have revealed musket balls or finds within this undisturbed area, but Foard (2004-2007 survey) found four bullets in a similar sized area to its north and a solitary bullet immediately on the southern edge of the adjoining 'Little Holt' footprint.<sup>54</sup> This supports the premise of the copses being present here during the battle and might also explain the strong curve at this corner of the farm estate on the 1701 map (and not the current right-angle for this corner of the later enclosure), indicating the wood predated the farm.<sup>55</sup>

The Battle Farm map also clarifies - if ever there was any confusion - that Battle or Battleton Holt, was created after the battle. It should also be noted that the area once dominated by Battleton Holt (as it now no longer exists) was presumably inspired due to the rounded bulge in ground height here. The most recent OS mapping (2006) still shows the raised contours this area once featured, before the ordinance depot works re-landscaped the area.<sup>56</sup>

The ancient fieldname of 'Kynghemedich' refers to a Tysoe field which describes the stream (and its 'ditch') forming part of the northern boundary of Tysoe parish<sup>57</sup> and still partly flows within the hedging and foliage of the old Little Kineton Field border, south and west of the modern Oaks plantation.

Conjectures which also include land to the south beyond the Radway field (towards the A422 in the Tysoe parish) recognise a more enclosed landscape by 1642, but a 1796 map for Oxhill (CR 1134/1), prior to enclosure of much of the parish, still shows significant areas of open land, while Yates's map (of 1787-1789) indicates lowland heath around the Kineton road and A422 crossroads as late as 1789.

## **4. The central area:**

### **4.1 Ploughed**

It's also understood that the large area where the battle was fought was made up of rough pasture *and* ploughed land, such as explicitly recorded 12 days after the battle by Edward Kightley - a Parliamentarian commander at the battle - when he described Royalist cannon shot which "fell 20 yards short in a plowed Land [sic]".<sup>58</sup>

The 18th century pre-enclosure survey shows that few hedged enclosures existed across Radway field even a hundred years after the battle. The deep earth corrugations of ancient ridge and furrow are prevalent throughout central England and particularly well preserved in this immediate vicinity and can provide convenient evidence of ancient strip farming. But while often assumed to always be medieval in origin, which they often are, it's also acknowledged that such field undulations may also have been formed more recently. Much of the ploughing evidence that remains (and captured in the RAF's 1947 aerial images showing some fields before modern industrialised farming) suggests that some areas of plough scaring is of the type prevalent in the 19th century. Even when successfully establishing which examples are wider (having used a broad rig), feature classic headlands and curves - indicating older ridge and furrow - it's impossible to confidently determine which specific eras they represent, which were in use at the time and where they have been ploughed out (destroyed). One simple source of confusion might be introduced by a particular landowner's preference for straight and ordered enclosures, confusing any dating potential further. At the heart of the battlefield, the 1940s construction of the Royal Ordnance Department depots, silos and railway has destroyed much of the landscape for dating and archaeological purposes, with further damage again caused in the 1990s. A history of the land function is obviously instrumental in helping determine ages and dates, but while there isn't a detailed tenure history for the use of this land, it is possible to draw general clues from wider topographical analysis combined with the few records available.

One straight forward feature of the battlefield's ploughed terrain is provided by the season, ensuring that any areas used for crops would have been recently ploughed and empty. For a cannon ball to land amongst such ploughed terrain it remains an enlightening thought to consider that ancient ridge and furrow was much steeper and larger when in active use. If landing amongst recently ploughed soil, it becomes easy to appreciate what the author of an anonymous but contemporary letter points out when he describes the King's artillery "for being so much upon the descent [of the hill] his cannon either shot over, or if short it would not graze [bounce/skid] by reason of the ploughed land".<sup>59</sup>

Tincey and Roberts in their Edgehill book of 2001 have already suggested an extensive area of ploughed land in their superb bird's-eye view battle plan illustrations of action and terrain. These maps show a large rectangular ploughed "field" squarely spanning Red Road - where the lane features a distinctive directional adjustment and where Graveground Coppice would eventually become established. This would also correspond with the observation made by Scott (et al) who mentions that within Graveground Coppice "there is ridge and furrow evidence of cultivation - the ploughed land which stopped Royalist cannonballs bouncing".<sup>60</sup>

The area covering the southern section, or quarter, of the suggested ploughed region is described as arable by the 1701 Battle Farm map with the adjacent area, which was called Bushy Holt (at its southern perimeter and south or west of Red Road) being listed as Pasture and Furze. These details appear to support the Tincey and Roberts depiction of where a region of ploughed land may have covered.

The area to become known as Battleton Holt is newly designated as 'Fox Covert' (added with pencil) on the 1701 Battle Farm map (presumably just prior to planting) and is described as Furze, which would have been established rough pasture.<sup>61</sup> North of the wood were, or are, the Grave Grounds. In 1841, in 'The History of Banbury', Beesley states: "Between the farm-houses, but in the last-named farm [Thistleton or Thistle: named as New Farm in 1701], are two grounds, one arable and the other pasture, called the 'Grave Grounds.'" Willes bushes are likely to have occupied the pasture area to the north east but the ploughed area might represent a continuation (in the direction of Edgehill) of the ridge and furrow observed within Graveground Coppice.

A precious photograph taken in 1922 - pre-empting the clearing of gorse and arable farming captured in the RAF 1947 verticals - records the scene now lost under the modern munitions bunkers at Red Road. Shown prior to modern industrialised farming, as well as demonstrating extensive gorse growth, the scene also clearly demonstrates no ridge and furrow. Only ant hills bring relief to the rough pasture in the field adjoining the north eastern edge of the Battle Holt. Conversion from strip farmed land, to pasture, would have preserved the ploughed corrugations, which confirms no ancient ploughing actively here.<sup>62</sup>

#### **4.2 The parish boundary**

The Kineton fields met with Radway field approximately halfway between the two settlements and sat either side of the modern civil parish boundary, which is still detailed in today's OS maps. The presence of a hedgerow subscribing to the route of this boundary is clearly illustrated in Radway's mid 18th century pre-enclosure map, (Fig 2) but one of its most conspicuous features is how approximately half of the boundary is free of hedgerow in one continuous section as it traverses the open field region. But the fortune of this boundary feature running directly through the very heart of the battlefield provides an important opportunity for establishing some key details.

As such boundaries - which didn't follow a natural feature such as a water course - were often marked by a hedgerow (with some older hedgerows even acting as and establishing political and territorial boundaries) then appreciating the age of this boundary provides vital clues for understanding the hedged terrain of 1642. Its well documented that three estates were held in 'Manor Radway' as early as 1086 and that King Edgar had granted 10 hides in 'Manors Kineton' 117 years prior to this<sup>63</sup> but tenth century charters for the parish actually and accurately describe this section of the parish boundary in detail, confirming its long origins.<sup>64</sup>

Remarkably the route for this section of the parish perambulations - which traversed directly across the central battlefield - also corresponds with the even earlier boundary of the Anglo-Saxon Mercian and Hwicce territories.<sup>65</sup> Evidence for dating these bounds (being the route of the parish boundary) across the edge of Kineton field is given by what 'The Place-Names of Warwickshire' affirms as being in "no doubt" that translations describe this boundary as the 'boundary of the Mercians'<sup>66</sup> with field names accurately and physically confirming this as the same boundary which survives today.<sup>67</sup>

The two field names - captured by George Salmon in his 1756 pre-enclosure survey - of 'Martlemore lays' and 'Martlemere Furlong' derive their names from the Mercian boundary they shadow.<sup>68</sup> The fields are still discernable in modern aerial images and broken remnants of their probable original dividing hedgerow are still present in Salmon's map, confirming, that at least one, will have at one time been enclosed, which also establishes that their parish boundary borders would also have once been hedged.<sup>69</sup>

*"The left Wing [of the Royalists] was opposed to the Enemies right, which had the shelter of some Hedges lin'd with Musqueteers" [sic].* History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England. Clarendon.

The, still, surviving remnant of faint reverse 'S' hedgerow - pointing towards the DSDA camp road of Liskeard road, nearby and to their north,<sup>70</sup> is also shown by Salmon and also demonstrates that a hedgerow would - at one time and as typically expected to - have lined the parish boundary for the remainder of the gap shown in Salmon's document.

Appreciating the historic age of this boundary, pre-dating the battle by at least a thousand years, helps substantiate the almost certain implication that any hedgerows along this specific and significant border, which are shown around a hundred years after the battle (in the 1756 map) will have also existed before the battle. The reliable presence of this hedgerow influences the reading of the battle (and clearly challenges the 'north to south' deployment conjectures from the early years of the 21st century).

The parish boundary hedge might at one time have presented itself as a natural and obvious candidate for the hedgerow which was described in the Official Royalist Account to have

crossed the field <sup>71</sup> as this description is occasionally interpreted to mean a hedgerow which crossed the field 'left to right' dividing the two opposing armies. This statement should be read to mean a, or any, hedge which encroached upon the general field. Appreciating this quote within the full context of the larger statement, avoids confused meanings:

*"It being perceived that the Rebels [the Parliamentarians] had placed some Musqueteers under a Hedge that crosst the Field, where the Encounter was to be made, that flanked upon their left Wing, there were some of the King's Dragooners sent to beat them off... [sic]" <sup>72</sup>*

We know that this longer description is referring to Ramsey's Musketeers, which lined hedges on the Parliamentarian's left flank, so when considering the "crosst the Field" quote in the company of its additional detail, it substantiates the more common and traditional interpretation, defined by 'flank' (and not parallel to the front lines). This coupled with the significant detail that the hedge "flanked upon their left Wing" makes it clear that the account is describing a hedge which generally crossed the flank of the battlefield in relation to the armies and their deployment lines. Foard, writing in 2005, believed around 300 musketeers were "positioned along the hedgerow to the fore and to the left", but including them to the fore might be assumed to have been inspired by his - now revised - conjecture of 2003. The modern revision of the battle's orientation now suggests this could mean a number of potential hedgerows in this relative vicinity, and its true location may yet influence deployment conjectures further; with the open field boundary hedgerow not naturally answering to the description.

There remains no contemporary account of a hedgerow impeding the centre of the Royalist's advance, but there are descriptions of the foot progressing steadily forward.<sup>73</sup>

*"his Majesty's Army was wholly drawn up in Battell, at which time they march'd on with a slow steady pace, and a very daring resolution. [sic]"* King James II.

There is little reason to suppose that around a kilometre of parish hedgerow which was allowed to disappear by the 18th century conversely will have been required in the 17th. A series of complete enclosures stacking northward along the surviving parish boundary hedgerow, shown in Salmon's map, quietly provide the most logical explanation for the hedgerow's maintenance along this section. It also becomes plausible that the absence of any parish boundary hedgerow along the remaining section - crossing Radway field - was to allow easy uninterrupted common grazing or access at one time and ultimately permitted the visualisation for a pitched battle here. An example of communal use of common land between villages is provided by neighbouring Chadshunt.<sup>74</sup> Notably, this central region, having been dominated at one time by open field strip farming and selions, did not require enclosure.

Considering Foard's 2009 suggestion of where the armies deployed (based predominantly on archaeological evidence) the absence of the parish hedgerow throughout this section (as shown in 1756) also supports Clarendon's description of Essex deploying in the section of open terrain "where the ground was narrowest"; making the alternative of the hedgerow having survived in full during the 1600s less conducive to Clarendon's description.

The seemingly pointless remnant of hedgerow and overshoot of the parish boundary hedge, passing the last enclosure (seen in the 1756 map), also indicates that the main boundary hedge predated the small adjoining enclosures and conversely also supports the original premise that the boundary was marked by a hedgerow along the parish territory. This chronology provides the most obvious and reasonable probability for the hedgerow network shown in this area by Salmon's survey.

The narrowed centre, free from obstructions and where there was likely no hedgerow during the battle, along with encroaching enclosures from south of the boundary where it joins Red road/lane, may have influenced Essex's unusual and uneven deployment.<sup>75</sup>

*"... so that there he [Essex] placed Musqueteers [on his right], and not above two Regiments of Horse, where the ground was narrowest;"* History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England. Clarendon.

### 4.3 Pit

Della Hooke in her 'Warwickshire Anglo-Saxon charter bounds' deduces that an ancient "foul pit" described in the Kineton tenth-century charters, "must have lain further along the boundary", south of the modern Banbury road.<sup>76</sup>

This presents a surprising potential corroboration of a seemingly forgotten detail recorded by, among others, John Langford in 1855, when he describes one of the mass grave sites in this locality as being where "there is a small wood, which at that time was a hollow, and there, for the most part, were buried the bodies of those who fell."<sup>77</sup> William Howitt in 1839 uses different language when he writes "The copse of fir-trees is said to have been a pit at the time of the battle, into which five hundred bodies were thrown".<sup>78</sup> "the slain were promiscuously thrown into a pit" is a description offered in 1821<sup>79</sup> while editions of Black's Guide to Warwickshire were still stating that "bodies were thrown into a contiguous pit, the site of which is marked by a clump of firs" later in the century.<sup>80</sup> Finally, by the close of the century 'Picturesque England' describes the spot as "planted with fir trees that have their roots in a deep pit, into which five hundred bodies were thrown."<sup>81</sup>

All of these descriptions refer to the mass burial site of Graveground Coppice (see Fig 1) and may explain why Della Hooke could not locate the ancient pit? Burne, writing in 1950, believed the actual location to be 30 yards east of the wood and 120 yards from the road.<sup>82</sup>

### 4.4 Radway brook

A notable tributary of the River Dene meandered south across the centre of the general battlefield - as it does today but before engineered improvements - roughly parallel with the parish boundary, and is featured regularly in the battle's secondary narratives. For some this provides a natural feature to divide the two armies as they retired in the field once night fell.

One detail within the 1756 pre-enclosure map indicates just how significant this water course would have been, as a ford ("Dogdaleford") is required and noted just south of where the parish hedgerow ends within Radway Field. Walford in his 1904 second edition mentions a ditch to the front of the Parliamentarians, and is likely to have been referring to the Radway brook, which he describes "with its wet clay banks".<sup>83</sup>

*"as it grew dark two Regiments [of Parliamentarians] at last made a stand; and having the Assistance of Cannon, and a Ditch before them, held us play very handsomely"*  
Official Parliamentarian Account.

A water course breaks east from the Radway brook and is recorded in Salmon's 1756 map to then fork again as if heading towards the north of the village and also running south west skirting the Langdon Lane. A water course running along the track holds the potential to be described as a ditch and both features could provide alternative locations when considering events.

I have interpreted the long straight feature to the east of the square 'bite' detour anomaly in the parish boundary within this region as shown in Salmon's 1756 map, to be an early manmade ditch (and not a hedge).<sup>84</sup>

### 4.5 Enclosures - north

*"They [the Parliamentarians] stood still all the while upon the hill expecting the charge so that we were fain to charge them uphill and leap over some 5 or 6 hedges and ditches."*  
Lord Bernard Stuart.<sup>85</sup>

The general area often labelled in 20th century OS maps as Radway Grounds next to the Banbury road and central to the battlefield, is loosely where the hedges described as being used by Ramsey - to line with musketeers - are often believed to have been situated. This is believed to be the vicinity of 'Radway Grounds' farm, which was only partially within the Radway parish<sup>86</sup> and it's the early fields of this enterprise which Lord Stuart may have

encountered.<sup>87</sup> The lands of this farm are also noted within A. Burne's 1950 publication, reaching as far south as where the parish boundary makes its square detour (and noting that the new spinney of 'Watts Bushes' still resided within it).<sup>88</sup>

*Royalist Calvary returning to the field after pursuing the Parliamentarian's left Wing "passed by the outside of our Rear [Parliamentarian] upon the left hand, went and Charged them with his Troop [Stapleton], and made them run [part of - regiment of foot]; but they finding a Gap in the Hedge, got away, and returned to the rest of their broken Troops".*<sup>89</sup>

Salmon's pre-enclosure map only details Radway parish and ends abruptly at the border with the Kineton parish, but tantalisingly there is a small but significant exception. On the western edge of the parish border, adjacent to the largest enclosure at the Banbury road, is a small spur of hedgerow pointing west. Using map regression and matching this with the 1940s aerial images, this detail exactly concurs with a hedgerow still in use in the 20th century and its line is still defined by a small modern plantation today.<sup>90</sup> The 1947 aerial photographs also capture strong and curving ridge and furrow within this enclosure (between the hedge and the road), providing another strong candidate for a contemporary enclosure to the battle. Its position also relates to the convention of enclosures being added to the perimeters of open fields first.<sup>91</sup>

In addition, tenth-century charters for Kineton also reveal related information when describing the parish boundary in this region. A recorded field name of 'Nibsbury' preserves the locality of an ancient barrow in the vicinity, but it also provides evidence of a field pre-dating the civil war considerably<sup>92</sup> with the likelihood of it having been enclosed by 1642. The enclosure still exists and nestles against, or close to, the Banbury road to its south while the battle's 20th century roadside monument sits opposite.<sup>93</sup> Its position is in close proximity to the enclosure hinted at by Salmon's western pointing spur of hedge, which makes it speculatively tempting to join these two areas of farming activity with more enclosures. This is certainly the region occupied by the 'Radway Grounds' farm and is the area once traditionally given as the prime candidate for the complex of Ramsey's hedges.

*"upon their [the Parliamentarians] right Wing were some Briars covered with Dragoons, and a little behind, on their left Wing, was the town of Keinton" [sic].* Sir Richard Bulstrode. *Memoirs and Reflections.*

A well-known document concerning studies of the battle is Bernard de Gomme's diagrammatic watercolour and battle plan of the Royalist deployment, 'Plane of the Battle of Etch Hill 1642'.<sup>94</sup> This invaluable document forms a cornerstone of Edgehill battle conjecture as it clearly conveys and lists the deployments of the Royalist army. Drawn by de Gomme - a Royalist engineer - and believed to have probably been transcribed from a rough sketch made by Prince Rupert (Royalist Cavalry/the General), as he did elsewhere. While elements of its military detail are debated, for these immediate objectives, de Gomme's plan also provides tantalising details of three enclosed fields lying ahead of the Royalist right wing, which corroborates the account in Lord Bernard Stuart's letter (of leaping 5 or 6 hedges). His precise plan - and as an engineer - depicts these enclosures very orderly and perhaps stylised with precise right angled corners but they do feature a stepping pattern of three enclosures spreading with each unit further 'to the left' across the Royalist's right horse. Whether these are actual enclosures or simply to suggest ad hoc hedges within this vicinity, it isn't clear. Modern archaeological surveys indicate a robust reinterpretation of Rupert's starting positions, which would suggest de Gomme's enclosures to either reside somewhere in the general vicinity previously and regularly considered to be the positions of the rebel musketeers (or topographical detail relevant to where the Royalists had originally intended to deploy?).<sup>95</sup>

*"the Wind was much for their [Royalists] Advantage, and they endeavoured to get it more; which to prevent, we were inforced to draw out our Left Wing to a great breadth, and by that means, before the Battel was done, gained it wholly from them. [sic]"* Official Parliamentarian Account.<sup>96</sup>

#### **4.6 Enclosures - south**

*"The left Wing [of the Royalists], Commanded by Mr Wilmot, had as good success [as the Royalist's right wing], though they were to charge in worse ground, among hedges, and through gaps and ditches, which were lin'd with Musqueteers [sic]"* History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England. Clarendon.

Outside of the Radway field and on the extreme left of the 1756 pre-enclosure map, George Salmon records the position of 'Pratts Barn' - conveniently next to Red Road/Lane - while, corresponding to the same area, the 1701 Battle Farm estate plan incorporates two enclosures - both south of the parish border and listed as being in "Tysoe" - not far from the barn as "Pratts Ground" and "Pratts Meadow". Pratt's barn seems to be a local landmark and relevant to Salmon's 1756 map, as the now well-known King's Leys Barn, isn't featured.<sup>97</sup>

The barn is situated outside of the Battle Farm land and over 600 metres from 'Pratts Ground' with land owned by a Mr Printree dividing them. The farm map also notes that the land which Pratts Barn occupies is owned by yet another individual, with land immediately neighbouring the Pratt Meadows, to their west, belonging to a Mr Blakeman.<sup>98</sup> This mixed picture of land ownership, with a reference to the 'Pratt' name appearing across it, strongly suggests the surviving place and barn names refer to a previous owner (or tenant). The scenario of one isolated meadow associated to the Pratt name and an estranged barn still known as 'Pratts Barn' 55 years after the Battle Farm map was drawn, helps establish that the surname of Pratt had previously been associated with this area of the landscape.<sup>99</sup>

The two Pratt meadows are highlighted as being in Tysoe, relating to the adjoining parish, are listed separately in the Battle Farm document and awkwardly connect with the farm by only a short section of an adjoining border, making their existence exclusive from Battle Farm possible and likely. These combined details suggest that these enclosures existed prior to Battle farm (which is estimated to have been established some years after the battle) and which in turn places the Pratt enclosures within the realms of being contemporary with the battle. Their position, adjoining the parish and open field borders is also conducive to the natural evolution of enclosures appearing from the edges. (The western edge of Pratt's meadow in the map also records the original meandering perimeter of Radway Field).

This reasoned inference inadvertently introduces an additional insight into the battlefield terrain in this region. Following the timeline logic and clues presented by the surname of Pratt it becomes plausible to establish the presence of Pratt's barn within the contemporary field of conflict. Such structures were present across this landscape, as that described later by King James II most probably concerning King's Leys Barn, just over 1.3 kilometres to the east, and isolated barns remained a common feature of the first series OS maps for the vale in the 1800s.<sup>100</sup>

*"seeing they [the Parliamentarians] were not strong enough to encounter with the King's left wing, and lin'd the bushes with some dragoons to make a shew [sic]"*.<sup>101</sup> King James II.

Versions of enclosures (lining the southern edge of Red Road from the parish boundary) are included by Pannett in his 1970s research/conjecture, and listed as ancient enclosures in the Battlefields Trust publication of 2005.<sup>102</sup> There is clear evidence for ancient farming through the series of modern enclosures leading towards the slopes of Edgehill, with a known field of ancient origin forming the surviving rectangular enclosure opposite the junction where King John's Lane joins Tysoe Road.<sup>103</sup>

Significant tracks skirting earlier fields in this area - between Lower Westcote Farm on the Tysoe road and the parish boundary - are featured in the first series of OS mapping (1834, sheet 53) and are unusual details within the neighbouring landscape; suggesting surviving headlands. G. Miller first highlights, and later elaborated upon by A. Burne, that numinous bullet and detritus finds from the battle had turned up around the Lower Westcote Farm area, which still sits upon a Bridleway. This Bridle path echoes a track - shown in the OS maps - which once crossed directly to Little Kineton and a concentration of finds at the farm may imply that the route and track was contemporary with the battle. Determining if these fields, running towards Edgehill and the former Westcote hamlet (on the hillside), were enclosed at the time of the battle may only be speculative.

With the accompanying evidence provided by the ancient Martlemore Lays enclosure - which appears to straddle Red road - suggesting that further enclosures continued south, skirting the parish boundary, a vivid picture of enclosures tracing the southern edge of the parish border - joining with Pratt's Ground and Meadow - becomes convincing.

*"a party of the enemy [Royalists] being sent to line some hedges on our right wing, thereby to beat us from our ground, were repulsed by our dragoons". Edmund Ludlow. Memoirs.<sup>104</sup>*

While local evidence for Anglo-Saxon activity here around 900 years earlier<sup>105</sup> and the strong curve of Martlemore Lays seemingly continuing onto and across the top of Martlemere Furlong - leaving the parish boundary - makes it possible to consider if these fields even pre-date this boundary,<sup>106</sup> there remains no absolute confirmation however that Martlemore Lays (or Martlemere Furlong) were still enclosed during the time of the battle. But due to their undisputed age being centuries older it might be reasonable to suspect that their associated hedgerows were at least largely dilapidated by the time of the battle, as they are shown to have mostly disappeared all together in the 1756 pre-enclosure map. The dramatic extent to which the majority of bordering hedges had been allowed to degenerate and disappear from all perimeters of Martlemore Lays by the mid 1700s, provides an indication that the hedge's demise had begun a long time previously. The fragmented state of the one remaining hedgerow also implies a natural or gradual decay and not a single purposeful act. This hypothesis also falls in with the logic of how the parish boundary hedge no-longer had any practical use in this area of the Radway field and was not maintained, allowing it to disappear. However, when considering Foard's 2009 battlefield deployment positions, it becomes compelling to reason that much of the Martlemore Lays hedgerows therefore had survived through this time and could well be the very hedges the Parliamentarians regularly describe as being lined with Dragoons.

There is also evidence of two or possibly three additional enclosures within the open field in this region which can simply be deduced. Referring back to the 1701 Battle Farm map, inspection of the field pattern and contours along the estate's south western facing perimeter confirms an exact match and unity with two enclosures, which are evident today, and in turn adjoin the original open field boundary hedge. Assessing the farm to have been established after the battle, it has clearly been appended to the perimeters of, at least, two pre-existing enclosures or designated fields. This rationale eliminates the lesser prospect of the farm having been laid out as an island directly within the open field. The 1947 aerial photographs show some evidence of strong historic ridge and furrow, clearly indicating land usage pre-dating the battle, and in turn suggesting that a perimeter hedgerow would be possible in order to keep roaming livestock out? These two/three enclosures present a realistic time-line match with the battle.<sup>107</sup> These relatively small details would, at one time, have been very significant in relation to traditional deployment conjectures and positions (such as Young's), but still serve to illuminate any cavalry movements around and through this region.

#### **4.7 The stacked enclosures - centre**

The presence of ridge and furrow would usually influence subsequent enclosure and which will have been added piecemeal prior to parliamentary enclosure. This can typically create formations assuming ordered rectangular shapes of around a furlong in length while fields predating ridge and furrow are typically irregular in appearance. Relative to the study of the Edgehill battlefield this provides a pivotal in-sight into features which combine to offer important clues for the chronological evolution of this immediate field network. The oblong rectangular enclosures recorded in Salmon's 1756 map - which stack 'north to south' along the eastern edge of the parish boundary hedge, provide succinct and striking evidence of enclosures being formed by grouping several open field strips.



Fig 2; Left: Modern Satellite image. Right: Part of G.Salmon's 1756 pre-enclosure map, showing the western border and parish boundary. (Letters 'A' & 'B' provide reference points between the two images).

They also generally represent where an important "small hill" or swell in the land runs from the current and modern tree plantations, southwards, through the stacked enclosures with the boundary loosely following the swell's highline. This natural drainage would be preferred for livestock and would contribute to explaining why the boundary hedge survived in this section. (Standing on the modern Yardley Chase Road (within the DSDA camp) - looking east - the sightline is obstructed and you cannot see the terrain over and beyond its highline).

These enclosures, while not displaying any ridge and furrow, do feature hedgerows with reverse 'S' patterns (running down slope, echoing a ploughing logic) and providing strong evidence that these furlongs were once ancient strips and ploughed. Professional archaeologist Glenn Foard observes an example of reverse 'S' hedgerow along one of these enclosures in his 2005 interim Edgehill survey report (and suggests therefore that it is probable that the hedge was one of only a handful of hedgerows which existed in the heart of the battlefield).<sup>108</sup> There are other neighbouring examples of this detail, which also indicate that these small enclosures were laid out along the furrow of an open field strip system.

The southern most example of such reverse 'S' hedgerows in this region - currently aligning with or pointing towards Aberfoyle Road (on the munitions camp) nearby - provides an interesting detail, as it does not feature in Salmon's 1756 survey.<sup>109</sup> This obviously demonstrates that this hedgerow was planted no earlier than the second half of the 18th century, but it was still influenced however by the presence of ridge and furrow. Closer inspection of Salmon's map reveals a long stretch of designated land running northwards through this area called 'The Lower Kinton fide [side] furlong'. As the map name describes - 'furlong' meaning 'furrow length' - its width does average a furlong, which is the typical measurement for ancient open field strips. This confirms ploughing activity here at one time,

but clearly questions the possibility of the stacked enclosures existing prior to the 17th century.

Within Salmon's map there is a small clue which hints at, or confirms, the likelihood of these smaller enclosed areas having been turned over to pasture and grazing; most probably as soon as they were created. Studying this primary source in detail, the pre-enclosure map features a small spur of hedge set at a right angle from the southern most horizontal (east to west) hedgerow, just before the parish boundary hedge makes a square 'bite' or detour.<sup>110</sup> This small detail illustrates that at one time a hedgerow had been used to create a particularly small square enclosure at the top of the 'bite' indent. At the northern end of these enclosures, next to the road, the map also shows remnants of a small drove way entrance made from the hedges.<sup>111</sup> These details suggest that these enclosures were used for livestock, and due to the hedgerow's evident demise at the smallest enclosure next to the 'bite' detour by 1756, it is also indicative of enclosures which probably and significantly predated the era in which the map was made. The significance of these spaces (and adjoining enclosures to their north) may only become truly relevant if/when alternative interpretations of the archaeology are proposed.

A square enclosure - which clearly exists today - has been cast at the northern most point of these stacked enclosures (adjacent to the road) in at least one and possibly two books in recent years to have provided Parliamentarian musketeers with hedgerow cover; forming part of their author's conjecture.<sup>112</sup> The southern boundary of this field would have provided Ramsey's musketeers with the cover he had planned for firing into the flanks of the Royalist Right-Horse during their expected charge. But Salmon's survey and map reveals that this field shape (with a southern hedge, forming a square shape) had not yet been created by the middle of the 18th century.

Largely within this general central area of the Radway field a distinctive long and slightly curving hedge line is depicted in the Salmon 1756 map, which essentially frames the Kerswell Quarter. In the modern day field and with the map's own reference to 'Ditch' (where the line reaches the Langdon Lane), the purpose of this feature is confirmed. But details recorded at the top of the map (associated with this feature), such as 'New Ditch Lower Furlong' and 'New Ditch Middle Furlong' suggest - when combined with its impressive engineering - that this feature is relatively recent and this conjecture opts to omit its accompanying hedgerows from its reconstruction of the battlefield terrain over a hundred years previously.

*"The night after the battle our army quartered upon the same ground that the enemy fought on the day before".* Official Parliamentarian Account.

## **5. The eastern end of the open plain:**

Captain Nathaniel Fiennes states twice that the Royalist army "placed" themselves in a "fair Meadow" and "at the foot of the hill", after he describes how most of their horse drew down "on their right hand" which indicates that most of the army descended via the easiest gradient of the hill and entered the field to the north of Radway village (and probably including areas further along the Kington/Banbury road). This description tallies perfectly with the numerous place names given to "meadow" and which still persisted in Salmon's 1756 map covering this region of the terrain as it stretched westwards towards the modern Langdon Lane. In addition, while not viewed as totally reliable, Henry Beighton's map (of 1728) does unequivocally describe the "King Charles I approach" as being directly along the Banbury Road as it leads down from the hilltop. His cartography detail also suggests that once the route commences across the open Radway field, it becomes little more than a minor rough track.

*Wilmot, Fielding and some other principal officers "were in the [Royalists] left Wing, with a Regiment of Dragoons, to defend the Briars on that Side..."* Sir Richard Bulstrode. Memoirs and Reflections.

Relating to the modern archaeological evidence of the battle the account by Bulstrode of Dragoons defending the 'Briars' on the left-wing clearly suggests that much of this region (between Martlemere Furlong and the main curve of Langdon Lane) was rough scrub land.

The coherent nature of this area of the open plain may also correspond with Bernard Stuart's contemporary description of the battle taking place in "Red horse field".<sup>113</sup> A barn in this vicinity was already recognised as being ancient in George Miller's time when he listed 'The King's Barn', in the late 19th century, as an object of interest.<sup>114</sup> Also noted in 1800s OS mapping by this name, it is in all probability and is almost certainly the same barn described by King James II some years after the battle, as the "small barn" which was "incompassed by a hedge" where he and his brother had sought temporary refuge during the battle.<sup>115</sup> Remarkably, the first edition OS maps appear to capture this detail, as does Salmon's 1756 document. The barn, now known as King's Leys Barn, is still recorded on modern maps (as a pile of modern rubble now covers - but still marks - the location).<sup>116</sup>

*"they [the Royal Princes and their entourage] drew behind a little barn not far distant from them, which was encompassed by a hedge. [sic]"* King James II.

This barn was also described as having been used as a makeshift field hospital, providing a rare example of a physical structure featuring within the events of an early modern pitched battle.

*"In this barn severall of the King's wounded men were then dressing, but the Enemy observing the King's men to be within the inclosure, drew immediately back without ingaging them [sic]"* King James II.

Across part of the meadow ran a small track from Bullet Hill directly to the barn, first described by Miller in 1889 and once known as King Charles Road. This was further clarified in 'History of Radway' (1937) and was later also included within the diagrammatic maps of Peter Young's 'Edgehill 1642' study.<sup>117</sup> This is further corroborated by the meaning of 'Ley' which means 'way' or a road. (Evidence for the route this track may have taken up the steeper section of the scarp still clearly exists through the, now, wooded hillside, leading towards the Camp Lane junction).<sup>118</sup>

Sir Richard Bulstrode stated: "When our Army [the Royalists] was drawn up at the Foot of the Hill, and ready to march, all the Generals went to the King (who intended to march with the Army) and desired he would retire to a rising Ground, some Distance from thence, on the Right, with the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York". The terrain traditionally answering to this description is the steadily rising slopes of Bullet hill, just north of the village at the northern most point of the escarpment. But the deployment conjecture suggested in 2009 indicates alternative small elevations near Nibsbury Field.<sup>119</sup>

The terraced slopes of Bullet hill were also the customary candidate to corroborate the description provided by a contemporary letter: "[The King] for being so much upon the descent [of the/a hill] his cannon either shot over, or if short it would not graze [bounce/skid] by reason of the ploughed lands".<sup>120</sup>

This region (eastern area of the open terrain) is also often cited as being where the Royalists were positioned at the end of the battle in many conjectures.<sup>121</sup> Edward Hyde (Earl of Clarendon) wrote of how the Royalists spent the night where they "had not the shelter of tree or hedge".<sup>122</sup>

Clarendon also adds "...and with his whole Forces [the King] himself spent the Night in the Field, by such a fire as could be made of the little wood, and bushes which grew thereabouts, unresolv'd what to do the next Morning [sic]". Contrary to local tradition, this suggests that the King did spend the night further up the slopes of Bullet hill, or on Edgehill, and "in the Field" is clearly out in the open and not quartered at a local residence or building?<sup>123</sup>

This one facet of the battle's narrative is intimately entwined with the most prominent feature of the landscape. When reading the contemporary - or near contemporary - accounts its striking how many indicate that the King (and/or his army) returned to the slopes of Edgehill or higher, after nightfall, which is in direct conflict with many secondary narratives, which seem to adopt local tradition or battlefield tradition and conventions of the time, instead?<sup>124</sup>

*"night approaching His Majesty gave order to retreat back to Edgehill". "and that their army [Parliamentarian] kept the field that night." John Belasyse.<sup>125</sup>*

*"we retired up the Hill, from whence we came down [...] For the King, with a great Part of the army marched that Night up to Wormington Hills, it being a hard Frost, and very cold." Sir Richard Bulstrode.*

*"as the darkness came on both Armys began to draw off, the Royalists to the browe of the hill, and the Enemy to Keynton [sic]". King James II.*

*"His Glorious Majesty having lain that night upon the top of Edge-hill". Sir Robert Walsh.<sup>126</sup>*

*"we [Parliamentarians] contented our selves to make good the Field, and gave them leave to retire up the Hill in the Night". Official Parliamentarian Account.*

The official Parliamentarian account introduces the potential for ambiguity regarding perhaps when the last of the Royalist "Foot which were not broken" eventually returned to the hill, with the suggestion that they only returned to the escarpment's crest at the very earliest of dawn twilight...

*"and so [we, the Parliamentarians] stood all that Night upon the place where the Enemy, before the fight, had drawn into Battalia, till toward Morning, that the Enemy was gone, and retired up the Hill".*

*"The King with the whole Body of the Horse, and those of the Foot which were not broken, quartered upon and on one side of the Hill, all that Night".<sup>127</sup>* This quote from the official Royalist's account might easily be interpreted to mean the gentler slopes which rise up towards, and include, Bullet hill, on the north side of Radway village, or even the northern facing edge of the scarp (looking towards Burton Dassett hills) as Richard Bulstrode states that the King headed even further to Wormington Hills for the night.

When viewing Knowle-end hill (which thrusts out to the north of the escarpment as it 'ends' and turns eastwards) and Bullet hill (featuring the terraces which face west, on the western face of the scarp) as if looking straight down and though the starting positions of the Royalist's battle arrays - as conjectured by the new battle orientation of 2009 - it becomes compelling, and almost obvious, how some of the accounts appear to describe the majority of Royalists withdrawing up the northern most corner of the escarpment (at the Banbury road vicinity) after the battle. Richard Bulstrode's description of the King with "a great part of the army" marching up to Wormington Hills that night, along with the Princes having been retired to Arlescote House earlier, keenly suggests that their route followed what is now the modern road or lane linking the Banbury road (B4086) with Arlescote village. This would also lead to the same positions where Royalists first observed Parliamentarian camp fires the previous evening. (First edition and modern OS maps show a track - still a Bridleway - heading up the hill from Arlescote).

## 6. North - the Kinton Fields

*"The enemy drew down the hill, and we went into the field near Keinton [sic]".  
Edmund Ludlow.<sup>128</sup>*

A. Burne the well-known military historian of battlefields writes of another author in his renowned work 'The Battlefields of England' (1950) when he quotes C.J. Ribton-Turner (Shakespeare's Land. 1893) who records "In the fields round the Battle and Thistle Farms, and especially in one on Battle Farm, called the Lower Bladon [sic], sloping towards Kinton, large numbers of bullets have been discovered". The Battle Farm map of 1701 now accurately locates this field for us as plot number 89 adjacent to the lane.<sup>129</sup> (But the field is not suggested as being enclosed during the battle).<sup>130</sup>

This larger area is dominated by the ancient Red Road (or Welsh Lane) which cuts-through from Little Kinton. Many modern conjectures, and even possibly Henry Beighton's map of

1728, suggest that the Parliamentarians approached the field largely along its route. Latter-day archaeological finds along its ditches and around the fields where it reaches Little Kineton appear to confirm its use and suggest that it was also used to vacate the scene.<sup>131</sup>

*"Col. Hollis's Regiment, it was not dismayed, but, together with the other Regiments of that Brigade, marched up the Hill, and so made all the haste they could to come to fight"* The Account of the Battel at Edgehill, Oct. 23. 1642. as publisht by Order of the Parliament [sic].

A rise in the land partly along the lane/track which forks off (or rather continues straight) from Red Road is known locally as 'Lucas's Knoll'. The region where this lane kinks strongly south is suggested by local tradition to be where Lucas rallied his Horse before pursuing fleeing Parliamentarians towards Kineton.<sup>132</sup>

The area within the common field between Little Kineton and Kineton, south of the river Dene and fords, may be the location described by Edward Kightley as Great Kings Field<sup>133</sup> and where Essex (and others) camped. Around this region smaller enclosures also surrounded the village and town. Modern metal detector finds suggest this may be the region (generally around the modern Kineton Sports Club fields) for much of the Parliamentarian baggage train or camp<sup>134</sup> and if this is correct, the place-name alone implies a larger than typical acreage. Kightley recites how the field is believed at the time to have witnessed a much earlier battle featuring King John, which would demonstrate a sizable landscape.

*"Staying in a little field with a way through"*. Captain Edward Kightley.<sup>135</sup>

While the Battle Farm map from 1701 dutifully names all the land owners neighbouring its perimeters (including their title of "Mr"), it is notable and informative that the one exception is to the north where the document simply states "Moore". Obviously describing the terrain, it also implies that the area of Little Kineton Field to the rear of Essex's left of centre infantry (when facing the battle) had remained free from any enclosure - being lowland heath - and would support unhindered action around this vicinity. There were no hedges to the west of Essex's hill or to the rear of his central battle array in this region.

Historic terrain research by Foard suggests where Kineton and Little Kineton fields met and can still be traced along the contemporary field boundaries running from the parish boundary, westwards, to the southern tip of Little Kineton village, representing the top third of the overall open fieldscape. (But it is not clear if this boundary was hedged and remains unlikely).<sup>136</sup>

Details revealed by the ballistics and weaponry usage in the systematic archaeological survey of the battlefield, reveal a credible route of Rupert's continued charge and pursuit directly towards Little Kineton and it is noticeable how a swell, or small highline, in the topography echoes this route through the three large fields currently covering the old Great Kineton Field.

## 7. The Edgehill escarpment

*"Whereupon great Preparations were made, and Precautions taken, for descending the Hill, which was very steep and long, and had been impracticable, if the Enemy [the Parliamentarians] had drawn nearer to the Bottom of it; but we saw by the Ranging their Army, that they intended to stay there for us, having a good Market Town by them, and not far from Warwick. In the first Place, it was resolved, that Collonel Washington, with his Regiment of Dragoons, should descend the Hill, and possess some Inclosures and Briars on the right Hand of our Army, and a forlorn Hope of Six Hundred Horse were ordered likewise to descend before the Army, and the Carriage Horses of the Cannon were put behind the Carriages, excepting a Horse or two before, and the Foot were ordered to descend as well as they could. [sic]"* Sir Richard Bulstrode. Memoirs and Reflections.

It's clearly documented from several accounts that the Royalist army initially observed their enemy from Edgehill and that they would eventually descend to the plain below during the early afternoon. The Royalist army did not formally deploy on the hilltop on the day of the battle, but it is noted that part of their army did so the following morning.<sup>137</sup>

It's well-known that the Edgehill escarpment remained un-wooded until Sanderson Miller, of Radway Grange, began his extensive planting and landscaping of the slopes along the hill in the mid 18th century. Holmes and Young (1974) reiterate the description given by George Miller - Sanderson's descendant - that a small wood did exist in the proximity above the Radway Grange during the battle.<sup>138</sup> There are occasional suggestions from secondary sources that the modern beeches are supposed to represent the King's troops, but this can only be assumption based upon Sanderson's habit of planting commemorative trees elsewhere.<sup>139</sup> (And if it were correct, it should be noted that the woods originally didn't extend as far north along the crest as they do today, as shown in first series OS mapping).

Standing at 212 metres at its highest point, in places the "hill" achieves surprising gradients of one in four, and along much of its width, now cloaked by the tree canopy, the gradient proves unexpectedly difficult. Several springs rise through the hill and such features lend their name to a stretch of the same scarp a little further south, near the modern A422. Here, Spring hill remains free of trees and presents a vivid example of how the Edgehill slopes will have appeared at the time. This, and the 18th century Radway enclosure map, illustrate that Edgehill would have featured prominent 'brakes' of gorse growth, as is still the case throughout the neighbouring slopes to the east.

The route traversing along the full length of the hill's crest is believed to have existed at the time,<sup>140</sup> while roads in the area which have known dates - such as the A422 at Sunrising Hill being completed in 1770<sup>141</sup> - are likely to have merely formalised earlier rough routes and tracks. But the lack of any quality maps, or roads, throughout the county certainly made navigation and progress difficult for both armies.<sup>142</sup> There is physical evidence still visible within the woods and immediately adjacent to the western edge of the modern road (B4086) as it curves and descends the hill, of a shallow but discernable track which may correspond to the original route down this hillside. While its width may not correspond with what's typically expected, its consistent width, its continued length and its surviving engineered banking are notable. If the planimetric measurements of Salmon's 1756 map are accurate for this hillside location, then careful map regression supports this.

Many conjectured narratives employ King John's Lane, south of Radway, which is still an active bridleway in use today - as it descends the hill towards the Tysoe Road - as likely to have been used by some of the Royalist army. One of the most respected works concerning the battle by Peter Young in the 1960s,<sup>143</sup> describes this route as: "track down which Royalist left would have descended the hill".

Bizarrely the Reverend of Radway, George Miller writing in 1896, indirectly attempts to eliminate this possibility. With his great grandfather (Sanderson Miller) having orchestrated the enclosure of Radway field in 1756, he might have been considered an authority on its history when he states: "Village lore and traditions require sifting before their truth and genuineness can be relied on. One or two errors connected with this locality need to be corrected. There is a road in Radway parish which is often called King John's Road. It is supposed that the King [John] came down the Edge Hill by it when he held his court at Kineton. In the first place, this road was only made when the parish was enclosed in 1756. Many alterations were made in the parish roads then, and especially in those on the hillside."<sup>144</sup>

'King John's Lane' or track (running up the hill)<sup>145</sup> does appear in maps made from 1787 to 1789, by William Yates & Sons, but does not appear in Henry Beighton's map of 1728 (while another nearby track on the hilltop's plateau does feature); both appearing to correspond with Miller's statement. Removing this lane from the 1642 scene would remove a significant element of common narrative and place further emphasis upon the contemporary account of most of the horse and seemingly all of the cannon descending at the northern section "on their right hand [side]".<sup>146</sup> However, just about every other source, whether referring to the battle or simply the area's general history, confidently interprets this "road" as ancient and the natural continuation of the route which continues to Little Kineton predominantly known as Red road.<sup>147</sup> But again, the modern archaeological evidence indicating the armies' true deployment positions makes the use of this route much more unlikely.

Centred on the hill stands the prominent castellated Radway Tower, designed and built by Sanderson Miller in the mid 18th century, and is partly famed for the local tradition of marking the spot where the King planted his standard before the battle. While there is evidence that local tradition existed to put King Charles on the hill near to the modern Edgehill (or Edge Hill) village or hamlet (where the tower is),<sup>148</sup> there is no contemporary evidence for Charles raising his Standard here<sup>149</sup> or for Sanderson's hexagonal round house folly successfully pinpointing the exact location, which is the sole assertion made by his great grandson - the Rev George Miller - in the late 1800s.<sup>150</sup> There's also evidence that Sanderson Miller's plans were influenced by the scarce availability of suitable land and not a known location for any tradition.<sup>151</sup> At the very best it might be interpreted that the original notion could feasibly have been to highlight the general centre of where the Royalist army was once believed to have occupied. But there is not a jot of evidence contemporary to the architect or the construction of the building to suggest this; or indicate any association to the battle.<sup>152</sup>

It's often noted that Sanderson Miller was also responsible for the accompanying shanty ruins, occasionally referred to as the 'arched wall'. But the site, on the opposite side of the road to his tower and Edge Cottage, already featured genuine 12th century buildings or ruins when he purchased it. Clearly inspired by these antiquated structures, Miller's acquisition of "Edge or Ratley Grange" came with the description of "the remains of the monastic grange" in the conveyance. While Miller is known to have dramatically embellished what there was, primarily with the arch, Jennifer Meir - writing in detail of Miller's work - describes "a large Gothic arch forming an entrance to the stables, above which was an oriole window, and beside the arch were the tumbledown remains of the old Grange, which Miller left to give verisimilitude to the supposed antiquity of the whole site".<sup>153</sup> Photographs survive illustrating this description with one in particular showing the surprising extent to which the stone structure continues, showing its significant height and substantial footing.<sup>154</sup>

Commentators have ignored the presence of stone buildings at this location during the time of the battle. Ratley Grange was used as an administrative centre (and formerly owned by ecclesiastical monks at Stoneleigh) and once loosely occupied where the current Castle Inn public house car park now sits. Sanderson Miller had purchased the ruins of this monastic grange at the same time as the land for his tower to compliment his shanty ruins castle theme (with his neighbouring cottage also designed with mock round tower bases) on the opposite side of the road. But importantly, parish records for the grange buildings showing them apparently still in use exist from the 17th century with some relating to the early 1600s. Situated only partly in the Radway parish and presumably after the Dissolution of the Monasteries - around a hundred years before the battle - it's ownership or use appears to have changed hands in 1609 "to Walter Palmer of Radway yeoman, and John Palmer his second son of the capital messuage [the main building of an estate and/or house in which the owner of the estate normally lives] and site of the grange called the Edge Grange, or Ratley Grange in Ratley".<sup>155</sup> Several records continue to illustrate activity and use through the early and mid 17th century. Even after removing Miller's additions and embellishments, the photographic and historic records supports a significant building or complex of buildings to have occupied this spot long before the arrival of Sanderson Miller and certainly contemporary with the battle.

Salmon's 1756 map shows the Rately Grange footprint and what would become the modern Edge Hill village or hamlet, along with several buildings, stretching well over 140 metres in length along the road.<sup>156</sup>

The slopes, directly above Radway Grange, are known to have once been occupied by monks - a small convalescent cell in the middle ages - who established a track here running down the hill directly to the village.<sup>157</sup> Evidence of this track survives within the present day grassed slopes and is probably due to modifications or enhanced surface work made by Sanderson Miller in the 18th century, but H.Rogers first observes its potential use for Royalists to have descended here, in his 1968 battlefields compendium.<sup>158</sup> The track appears to have been too steep to be used by horse or cart in the steepest section which traces eastwards to the hill's crest (now within the woods) perhaps even in Miller's time, but it presents a plausible route rarely considered.

*"[The King's army] began to descend the Hill, the Foot getting down several Ways which the Horse could not do, by reason of the Hill's Steepness"* Sir Richard Bulstrode. *Memoirs and Reflections*.

However, Wanklyn points out (in his 2006 book) that the often quoted statement attributed to Richard Bulstrode of the Royalist infantry "getting down several ways", when describing their descent from the hill, has been altered by an 18th century editor. Revealingly, when cross-referencing against the primary source, on this occasion the original wording refers to them descending Edgehill by "covered" and not "several" ways. This might possibly be interpreted as using safer, less visible, routes, logically to the north of the escarpment - around the Knowle end hill region - and appears to remove any confirmation (or assumption) that the Foot descended at more than one or separate locations, as often described by secondary narratives.

Relating to the lower slopes above Radway a member of the Warwickshire County Council's 'Archaeology Warwickshire' team tells me of an archaeological find (unrelated to the major archaeological survey) he knows of which provided evidence of case shot. This could possibly tie in with the potential theory that fire fights continued into the early evening as Royalists retreated in this vicinity.<sup>159</sup>

A little further south along the scarp the formerly larger hamlet of Westcote still survives as a group of modern buildings (Westcote Manor Farm), with aerial details corroborating this as one of Warwickshire's lost villages. With ancient fields and small enclosures still evident around its slopes it's even suggested by 1937's 'History of Radway' that it was almost destroyed by artillery during the battle, but more convincingly it is also the setting for the tale of a proud baker standing guard outside his shop protecting his wears after the battle.<sup>160</sup>

Between the Bridleway of King John's Lane and the modern village of Edgehill, stretching along the hill's sloping edge and close to the road is a stretch of land which is shown in Salmon's 1756 map as an enclosure called 'The Wood Close'. In the corresponding particulars recording the 1756 enclosure act for Radway this field is listed and described as an old enclosed ground. This would position it as almost certainly enclosed during the time of the battle and to have adorned the hilltop here when the army were making their preparations to descend.<sup>161</sup>

From contemporary accounts and some local tradition it appears that there was much Royalist activity around the northern end of the escarpment and around Knowle-end hill. From the Camp Lane junction spreading south towards Ratley was Ratley Common Field and it is this area which is occasionally (and should be) suggested as being where much of the Royalist army will have congregated while awaiting their instructions. Isolated within the centre of this field was the "ancient inclosed lands of W.Harrison called Wood Closes" and its 445 metre long enclosure is preserved in today's landscape.<sup>162</sup>

*"As soon as we came to the Top of Edgehill, which looks upon Keynton, we saw the Rebels Army drawing out, and setting themselves in Battalia" [sic].* Official Royalist Account.

The sweeping curve which the modern B4086 road largely follows, at the northern end of the scarp, appears to have been the main route for the Royalist Horse to the fields below. Regular statements referring to "marching" subtly corroborate this as there is nowhere else men could march or descend with any decorum.

*"he [the King] march'd down the hill [sic]"*. King James II.

*"the King's Forces march'd down the Hill [sic]"*. Clarendon.

*"[The King] marched downe the hill [sic]"*. Sir John Hinton.<sup>163</sup>

*"the Kings foot quitting the field, retreated towards that side of the hill, from whence his Majestie first marched downe to engage; upon which retreat your Majestie was unhappily left behind in a large feild [sic]"*. From the memoirs of the King's physician: Sir John Hinton.

A hilltop position might possibly illuminate a statement from a contemporary letter written by a Royalist at the battle: "The same night of the battle he [the King] made great fires in his quarters. The earl [of Essex] made none".<sup>164</sup>

Below, the village of Radway was tightly surrounded by scattered small enclosures.

## 8. Conclusion

*"our [Royalist] Army was drawn up at the Foot of the Hill".*  
Sir Richard Bulstrode. Memoirs and Reflections.

The extensive archaeological survey of the Edgehill battlefield and Foard's interpretation provides a major progression and new perspective of this important event and battlefield. With the fortune of a contemporary Royalist deployment plan, an unusually plentiful number of accounts from the battle's participants, a detailed pre-enclosure plan of the open field terrain, a largely un-molested battlefield and a case study in new battlefield archaeological methodologies, arguably more is now known of the "Kineton fight" than just about any other battlefield in Britain.

With a compelling revision in our understanding of perhaps precisely where the battle was fought a new era of narratives will perhaps usher in the vision of Royalists making their way much further down and along the Banbury road before heading into the fields to deploy. Or perhaps comment upon the etiquette of how Essex showed the Royalists where to deploy, with knowledge of the historic terrain suggesting that he used the spur of enclosures (Martlemore lays) on his right - *"where the ground was narrowest"* - to protect against the King's army outflanking him.

One curious detail hasn't escaped me. Oral tradition appears to have been correct when it preserved the memory of the most intense fighting between Battle and Thistle Farms (both now gone), but simply running in the opposite direction to how it would later be assumed.<sup>165</sup>

D. Harridence.

Curator of [www.battleofedgehill.org](http://www.battleofedgehill.org)

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As well as the sprinkling of contemporary quotes throughout the text, additional statements which related directly to the physical terrain include:

1. "towards the close of the day we discovered a body of [Royalist] horse marching from our rear on the left of us under the hedges, which the life-guard (whom I have then found) having discovered to be the enemy, and resolving to charge them, sent to some of our troops that stood within musquet-shot of us to second them; which though they refused to do, and we had no way to come at them but through a gap in the hedge, we advanced towards them" [sic]. Edmund Ludlow.
2. "when a body of horse appeared advancing towards us from that side where the enemy was. We fired at them with case-shot". Edmund Ludlow.
3. "when I was entering in to the field, I thinke 200 horse came by me with all the speed they could out from the battell" [sic]. Edward Kightley (Parliamentarian).
4. "our Left Wing of Horse ["our rear"] advanced a little forward to the Top of a Hill, where they stood in a Battalia, lined with Musqueteers". But "they wheeled about, abandoned their Musqueteers, and came running down with the Enemies Horse at their Heels" [sic]. Official Parliamentarian Account.
5. When quartered under Wormington hills: "when it was dark, we saw several Fires not far from us". Sir Richard Bulstrode (Royalist).
6. "our whole Regiment drew into the Fields". Sir Richard Bulstrode (Royalist).

## NOTES:

<sup>1</sup> 1950 and 1967 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Parliamentarians shown close and parallel to the parish boundary running across their width in front of their army. Foard/Pannett (Battlefields Trust document '371.pdf' dated and copyrighted 2003). Reproduced in Battlefields Trail (Edgcote, Cropredy Bridge, Edgehill) long-distance walk leaflet, copyrighted 2004. (Plus other literature by the Trust).

<sup>3</sup> Taken as orthodoxy by some publications including the 1995 'English Heritage Battlefield Report: Edgehill 1642' report: "A hedge ran across the right centre of the Parliamentary line, extending approximately between the present Battle and Thistle Farms". More details of these hedges contained herein.

<sup>4</sup> George Salmon's pre-enclosure survey/map.1756. Warwickshire County Record Office. CR1596/197. (Reproduced for the first time in full, at [www.battleofedgehill.org](http://www.battleofedgehill.org)).

<sup>5</sup> 'Battle Farm - In Hand'. Battle Farm Sketch Map. 1701. Birmingham Libraries & Archives. Z/2832. (Published for the first time at: [www.battleofedgehill.org](http://www.battleofedgehill.org)).

<sup>6</sup> "Farm house yards and gardens" are listed.

<sup>7</sup> Little Kineton was enclosed in 1733 (awarded). Great Kineton in 1791 (awarded).

<sup>8</sup> Reinterpretation of battlefield deployment orientation, and initial details of archaeology: Foard, G., The investigation of early modern battlefields in England, in *Schlachtfeldarchäologie: Battlefield Archaeology*, H. Meller, Editor. 2009, Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte: Halle, Germany. p117-125. "[...] This revealed the orientation of most scatters [of case shot] and suggested the approximate gun position, based on the experimental firing results. This case shot evidence proved critical in reconstructing the location and orientation of the original [positions] [...] The result has been the reorientation of the battle lines by 90 degrees from past studies based on military history alone, and to show exactly how the different elements of the action can be securely fitted into more than 5 km<sup>2</sup> of the landscape."

<sup>9</sup> The Place-Names of Warwickshire. (Gover & Others). 1936. Introduction. (Gover, Mawer & Stenton).

<sup>10</sup> Hooper's hedgerow dating technique - while controversial and approximate, it is thought to provide decent indications when dating within the last 1000 years.

<sup>11</sup> Today, northern edges of several adjoining enclosures, next to and north of the main B4086 road - either side of Bramley Road - with some sections on the northern side, now apparently deviate slightly from their original course. But still clearly detectable by wonderful deep etchings, scaring and remnants of water courses close by.

<sup>12</sup> I am unable to confirm this, but secondary sources regularly quote it, without citing its origin. (An anonymous newsletter or pamphlet of the time is presumed).

<sup>13</sup> Tincey & Roberts ably describe this hill as "a tongue of land at around 300 feet above sea level, which extends out towards Kineton, falling sharply to give the effect of a hill from that side. From the Radway side this area is also rising ground, although only by a few feet." 'Edgehill - 1642'. (2001). They continue, and describe how Ramsey's left-wing Horse was also positioned on a small hill.

<sup>14</sup> Edgehill - The Battle Reinterpreted. (Scott, Turton, Von Arni). 2004.

<sup>15</sup> The Place-Names of Warwickshire. (Gover & Others). 1936. p282.

<sup>16</sup> Change and Decay: The Warwickshire Manors of the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield from the late thirteenth to the late sixteenth centuries. Thesis by Penelope Jayne George Upton. 2002. p206. [www.Lra.le.ac.uk/handle/2381/8235](http://www.Lra.le.ac.uk/handle/2381/8235)

<sup>17</sup> These references are explored in more detail later.

<sup>18</sup> Decisive Battles of the English Civil War. (Malcolm Wanklyn). 2006.

<sup>19</sup> Atlas of Great Britain. John Speed. 1611.

<sup>20</sup> Battle Farm [in Kineton Field] is clearly recorded as an established farming stronghold in 1701. Birmingham Libraries & Archives. Z/2832.

<sup>21</sup> Contemporary accounts from the battle and settlement evidence.

<sup>22</sup> King James II's account: Life of James II. Published from the original Stuart MSS in Carlton House, ed. by T.S. Clarke, 2 vols. London, 1816.

<sup>23</sup> Sanderson Miller and his Landscapes. (Jennifer Meir). 2006. (Chapter 5).

<sup>24</sup> A photograph is shown in 'Edgehill 1642' (Brigadier Peter Young). 1967. Plate 18.

<sup>25</sup> Rambles Round the Edge Hills. (Rev George Miller). 1896. He had also confidently described the presence of "bush and furze" throughout Essex's positions and their position being amongst "the bushes", in the *Archaeological Journal* (Royal Archaeological Institute). 1889 (Vol 46).

<sup>26</sup> Salmon's map. 1756. Warwickshire CRO. CR1596. This suggests potential lowland heath along the Banbury rd, but this is not indicated in Yates's map (of 1787 - 1789) as stated elsewhere by an Edgehill author.

<sup>27</sup> The King spent the night on or near Edgehill "by such a fire as could be made of the little wood, and bushes which grew thereabouts". Clarendon. 'History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England'.

<sup>28</sup> Shakespeare's Country. (John Russell). 1942. p124.

<sup>29</sup> Edge Hill: the battle and battlefield. (Edwin Alfred Walford). 1886. 1st Ed.

<sup>30</sup> Edge Hill: the battle and battlefield. (Edwin Alfred Walford). 1904. 2nd Ed.

<sup>31</sup> Edgehill - The Battle Reinterpreted. (Christopher Scott, Alan Turton, Dr Eric Von Arni). 2004.

<sup>32</sup> History of Radway (Warwickshire Village History Society). 1937.

<sup>33</sup> Battle Farm sketch map. 1701. Birmingham Libraries & Archives. Z/2832.

<sup>34</sup> The centre of 'Hawk Furze' was approximately: LAT/LONG 52.13696, -1.49015. (No 95 in map. Fig 1). The document appears to capture a farm in transition, with the latest enclosure divisions updated by pencil, and the establishment of quality land slowly eroding the previous habitats, with the further 13 acres of 'Rough Piece' apparently having been recently added to the farm. The pencil updates may well have been added years later, emphasising further the duration of the place names and what they described.

<sup>35</sup> LAT/LONG 52.13212, -1.4872 and LAT/LONG 52.13600, -1.48384, respectively. Numbers 100 & 99 in the map (Fig 1) respectively.

<sup>36</sup> Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, 1625 - 1672.

<sup>37</sup> Battle farm (buildings): LAT/LONG 52.13840, -1.49032. Thistle farm (buildings): LAT/LONG 52.14229, -1.48434. G.Miller: *Archaeological Journal* (Vol 46), 1889. Illustrated Naval and Military Magazine, 1890. Rambles Round the Edge Hills, 1896.

- <sup>38</sup> Several publications and reports adopt the hedge's existence during the battle as orthodoxy, but one notable publication which doubts this is 'Edgehill - The Battle Reinterpreted'. (Scott/Turton/Von Arni). 2004.
- <sup>39</sup> Battlefields of England. (Colonel Albert Burne). 1950.
- <sup>40</sup> Edgehill - The Battle Reinterpreted. (Scott, Turton, Von Arni). 2004.
- <sup>41</sup> Sources of these images for the Edgehill area include: Warwickshire Historic Environment Record (HER), the Battlefields Trust website, and battleofedgehill.org.
- <sup>42</sup> Approximately LAT/LONG 52.13992, -1.48661. Fig 1: the north corner of No 96 in the map.
- <sup>43</sup> The track's indirect course will have evolved from the natural levels of the terrain.
- <sup>44</sup> Rambles Round the Edge Hills, 1896.
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid. Appendix. (He also stated "that there was only one hedgerow between Radway and Kineton" in his 1889 contribution to the Archaeological Journal. Royal Archaeological Institute. Vol 46. ). This 2011 terrain review establishes, beyond reasonable doubt, that the parish boundary hedgerow almost certainly existed during the battle, making Miller's *own* assertions define his own hedgerow as improbable.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid. He mentions this detail at least three times in his book and twice in the Archaeological Journal (Vol 46).
- <sup>47</sup> Edge Hill: the battle and battlefield. (Edwin Alfred Walford). 1886. Battles And Battlefields In England. (Charles Raymond Booth Barrett). 1896. The History of Banbury. Alfred Beesley. Published 1841. (p312).
- <sup>48</sup> Official Parliamentary Account: The Account of the Battel at Edgehill, Oct 23. 1642. as publisht by Order of the Parliament.[sic].
- <sup>49</sup> The precise origins of this drawing are unclear, and I am only aware of its reproduction in secondary sources. 'Edgehill 1642' (Tincey & Roberts), 2001, describe it as an "illustration of Edgehill from a contemporary newsbook". p 72. (Currently available online at <http://www.scribd.com/doc/59495382/5/THE-CAMPAIGN#page=74> although some of the finer detail is lost in this online reproduction). It seems it is part of the enormous and celebrated collection of pamphlets and newsbooks of George Thomason; available at the British Library. A larger version is reproduced in 'The English Civil Wars 1642 - 1651' (Peter Gaunt). 2003. p36.
- <sup>50</sup> On visits to this part of the battlefield during wet weather it is noticeable however how waterlogged this region becomes and this may have influenced the vegetation. Image: <http://www.battleofedgehill.org/images/edgehill/martlemore-lays-radway.jpg>
- <sup>51</sup> Decisive Battles of the English Civil War. (Malcolm Wanklyn). 2006.
- <sup>52</sup> The English Civil War. (Peter Young & Richard Holmes). 1974.
- <sup>53</sup> Battle Farm sketch map. 1701. Birmingham Libraries & Archives. Z/2832. (LAT/LONG 52.13600, -1.48384; 52.13134, -1.48472; 52.13228, -1.48277, respectively. Numbers 97, 101, 96, in the map - Fig 1 - respectively).
- <sup>54</sup> 2005 Edgehill interim report. Battlefields Annual Review. (Ed, Jon Cooksey). 2005. (ISBN: 1 84415 281 2). Also currently available from the Battlefields Trust website.
- <sup>55</sup> Approximately LAT/LONG 52.13224, -1.48138, and as seen in RAF 1947 aerial images.
- <sup>56</sup> LAT/LONG 52.13532, -1.48303.
- <sup>57</sup> The Place-Names of Warwickshire. (Gover & Others). 1936. (p282).
- <sup>58</sup> "A Full and True Relation of the great Battell fought between the King's Army, and his Excellency, the Earle of Essex, upon the 23 October last past..." [sic]. Letter from Captain Edward Kightley to his friend Mr. Charles Latham. London: November the 4, 1642. Thomason Collection, British Library, London.
- <sup>59</sup> Royalist letter: A private captain in Lindsey's regiment (True Relation). British Museum, Harl. MS. 3783, fo. 61.
- <sup>60</sup> Edgehill - The Battle Reinterpreted. 2004. p177.
- <sup>61</sup> Battle Farm sketch map. 1701. Birmingham Libraries & Archives. Z/2832. (Fig 1: No 97 in the map).
- <sup>62</sup> An image from 1922 clearly shows a comprehensive and thick spread of gorse across this area as described in 1937 and no ridge and furrow. (Francis Frith collection. Ref: 72078). (Also available to view at [www.BattleOfEdgehill.org](http://www.BattleOfEdgehill.org). A larger and high-resolution copy of this image is in the author's possession). The accurate placing of this scene is only possible after accurately locating the vantage point of a sister image - used as a commercial postcard - was first achieved as part of this study. For the first time these images now provide genuine informative value and are only now known to capture the fieldscape lost under the modern DSDA bunkers).
- <sup>63</sup> A typical source: The Victoria History of the Counties of England - Warwick. Vol 5 - Kington Hundred. 1949.
- <sup>64</sup> Warwickshire Anglo-Saxon charter bounds, Volume 10. Della Hooke. 1999. (p65).
- <sup>65</sup> The Place-Names of Warwickshire. (Gover & Others). 1936. (p272 & p282).
- <sup>66</sup> Ibid. p5 of Introduction chapter.
- <sup>67</sup> Warwickshire Anglo-Saxon charter bounds, Volume 10. (Della Hooke). 1999. (p65). "the line of demarcation separating the original Mercians from the settlers in the Severn valley" (p67). In researching how old this parish boundary was - in order to make informed and confident judgements concerning the terrain - this 2011 review was surprised to discover the boundary's significance. Not one published work relating to the battle has ever acknowledged this unexpected detail, which would and should clearly influence several elements of speculation concerning the battlefield landscape.
- <sup>68</sup> Having evolved from an intermediate form 'Merclumere' (circa 1265) and 'Martimow'. The fields are shown in the bottom left of Fig 2.
- <sup>69</sup> Approximately, the surviving remnants of hedge (in the 1756 map) which separated the two fields/enclosures ran north to south at: LAT/LONG 52.13415, -1.47666. (RAF 1947 aerials and an early 20th century postcard photograph - taken from Radway Tower - apparently shows the Martlemore lays parish boundary hedgerow to have been replanted - presumably following the ancient ditching).
- <sup>70</sup> LAT/LONG 52.13689, -1.47604. The reverse 'S' is better preserved by the RAF 1947 aerial images.
- <sup>71</sup> Official Royalist Account: "A Relation of the Battel fought between Keynton and Edgehill, by His Majesty's Army and that of the Rebels; Printed by his Majesty's Command at Oxford by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the University, 1642".[sic]. Peter Young (c1) suggests that the author was the now celebrated, William Dugdale who was present at the battle.
- <sup>72</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>73</sup> "whereupon our whole Army advanced in very good Order". Official Royalist Account.
- <sup>74</sup> "Chadshunt, is typical of a number of south Warwickshire villages, in that it was paired with another village", when sharing the same field systems. C.Dyer, 'Chadshunt', MSRG Annual Report 4 (1989), p35.

- <sup>75</sup> First discussed by G.Davies' 'The Battle of Edgehill', in *The English Historical Review*, 1921. Ed 36.
- <sup>76</sup> Warwickshire Anglo-Saxon charter bounds, Volume 10. Della Hooke. 1999. (p65). Or, (potentially also known as Wagtail's pit) "may have lain near the south-eastern corner of the [kineton] parish" (p67).
- <sup>77</sup> *Pleasant Spots & Famous Places*. (John Alfred Langford). Writing in 1855.
- <sup>78</sup> *Howitt's visits to remarkable places*. 2nd ed. (William Howitt). 1839.
- <sup>79</sup> *Warwickshire Delineated*. 2nd. 1821.
- <sup>80</sup> *Black's Guide to Warwickshire*. There are several updated editions - many using this statement. This quote is confirmed in the 1881 edition.
- <sup>81</sup> *Picturesque England - Its Landmarks & Historic Haunts*. (L.Vanlentine). 1893.
- <sup>82</sup> The distances provided by A.Burne in 'Battlefields of England' (1950) would point approximately to a LAT/LONG 52.13916, -1.48341 position.
- <sup>83</sup> *Edge Hill: the battle and battlefield*. (Edwin Alfred Walford). 1904. 2nd Ed. Its noted by Mary Harris (Unknown Warwickshire) in 1924, that the area still suffered "stiff clay, that takes as many as four horses to draw the plough".
- <sup>84</sup> Approximately: LAT/LONG 52.141576, -1.472946
- <sup>85</sup> Lord Bernard Stuart, letter. (British Museum). First printed by G.Davies' 'The Battle of Edgehill', in *The English Historical Review*, 1921. Ed 36.
- <sup>86</sup> *History of Radway* (Warwickshire Village History Society). 1937. p33.
- <sup>87</sup> It continued a long life: "Valuation of Radway Grounds Farm"; £918 in 1890. Warwickshire CR2433|31/349.
- <sup>88</sup> *Battlefields of Britain*. (A.Burne), 1950 - quoting C.J.Ribton-Turner (Shakespeare's Land), 1893. LAT/LONG 52.14171, -1.47700. Note - Watt's Bushes occupied, or was next to, Grave Field. In 1642 a Dr William Watts was Prince Rupert's chaplain, and is said to have accompanied him in 'all the battles which he fought with the parliamentarians'. This place name could clearly be related.
- <sup>89</sup> *Official Parliamentarian Account: The Account of the Battel at Edgehill*, Oct 23. 1642. as published by Order of the Parliament. [sic].
- <sup>90</sup> LAT/LONG 52.14591, -1.47760. This small spur detail is possibly featured as research produced for a historic terrain reconstruction by G.Foard illustrates this to represent the dividing boundary between the Great Kineton Field (north) and Little Kineton Field (south) - as publically displayed in Foard's 'Historic Terrain' information panel/card (No. 16), circa 2007-2008. (Although this detail is not featured in a future publication from 2009).
- <sup>91</sup> LAT/LONG 52.14787, -1.47874 (centred to the enclosure shown in the RAF 1947 aerial images).
- <sup>92</sup> *Warwickshire Anglo-Saxon charter bounds*, Volume 10. Della Hooke. 1999. (p65).
- <sup>93</sup> Approximate centre of field: LAT/LONG 52.15203, -1.48121. But Foard (2009) features a smaller version in the northern area of the current enclosure.
- <sup>94</sup> Copyright of the Monarch and is kept privately at Windsor Castle's Royal Library, but is reproduced by Peter Young (in his 'Edgehill 1642' book, with a larger version reproduced in the 1967 impressions).
- <sup>95</sup> *Ibid*. If de Gomme's depiction of the Edgehill scarp is not simply decorative ornament a tantalising possibility is indirectly presented by the modern interpretation of recent archaeological evidence (as the new orientation of frontlines are at 90 degrees to the scarp). De Gomme's plan - which is famously debated and also shows the Edgehill scarp positioned directly behind and parallel to the Royalist army - could in fact have been drawn *before* the battle as the original 'headquarters plan' (or later copied from a plan drawn before the battle, in the field, as expected) and illustrates the Royalist's original intentions *prior* to the Parliamentarians taking the initiative and deploying first.
- <sup>96</sup> *Official Parliamentarian Account: The Account of the Battel at Edgehill*, Oct 23. 1642. as published by Order of the Parliament. [sic].
- <sup>97</sup> *Warwickshire CRO*. CR1596. (Barn: LAT/LONG 52.13453, -1.47962). Birmingham Libraries & Archives. Z/2832. (Pratts Ground: LAT/LONG 52.12836, -1.48567. Pratts Meadow: LAT/LONG 52.12925, -1.48891. Numbers 105 & 106 in the map - Fig 1 - respectively).
- <sup>98</sup> This would be the same Blakeman family discussed by G.Miller. 'Rambles Round the Edge Hills. p58.
- <sup>99</sup> No satisfactory records relating to a Pratt family in this vicinity can be found.
- <sup>100</sup> The barn appears to have occupied almost the same location as the third and smallest of the mass graves, as described by secondary sources (Burne, and Ribton-Turner). This could raise the potential of the barn - as like with King's Leys Barn - being used by the fatally injured?
- <sup>101</sup> Another example of "shew" by King James II in the same document: "who commanded them do not first shew them the bad example". (Show).
- <sup>102</sup> Pannett: A specialist in topography - his Edgehill deployment and battlefield conjecture was first published in *The Battlefields Trust 2005 interim Edgehill report*. *Battlefields Annual Review*. (Ed, Jon Cooksey). 2005. (Also currently available to download from the Trust's website). A low-resolution terrain interpretation by Panter remains unpublished (with English Heritage).
- <sup>103</sup> LAT/LONG 52.12553, -1.46842. *Radway Reconstruction 1756 enclosure award*. (S.G.Wallsgrove). 1997. Warwickshire CRO. Z939(L). 'History of Radway'. 1937. p29.
- <sup>104</sup> *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, 1625 - 1672*. Ludlow's version of events and Parliamentarian success here are contested elsewhere.
- <sup>105</sup> Saxon burials from the Middle Saxon period were found at nearby Rately in 2011. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-coventry-warwickshire-15837458>
- <sup>106</sup> As an aside, the straight route of the boundary coincides with the western edge of Martlemere Furlong and appears to relate to the kink in Red road. The boundary route also kinks here (at the north eastern point of 'Martlemore Lays') and this appears to have been dictated by a small pond/spring (as shown in late 20th century OS large scale mapping) at this position. A photograph of this ancient boundary and the ancient Martlemore Lays field is inadvertently featured in 'Edgehill - The Battle Reinterpreted' (Scott/Turton/Von Arni). 2004. p110/111.
- <sup>107</sup> Approximate centre of three enclosures: LAT/LONG 52.13085, -1.4898, LAT/LONG 52.13275, -1.4923, LAT/LONG 52.13141, -1.4942. The estate plan informs us that in 1701 this section of land belonged to a Mr Whitehead. Two of these enclosures adjoin the enclosures named in the Battle Farm map as Lower Rough Piece and Rough Piece. Numbers 99 and 100 respectively.
- <sup>108</sup> Caption for Figure 5.
- <sup>109</sup> Centre of hedge: LAT/LONG 52.13988, -1.47335.

- <sup>110</sup> The small "spur" of hedgerow would have been here: LAT/LONG 52.14250, -1.47663.
- <sup>111</sup> LAT/LONG 52.14847, -1.47670.
- <sup>112</sup> LAT/LONG 52.14766, -1.47547. (Fig 2).
- <sup>113</sup> "A brief relation of the battle at Red horse field under Edgehill". Letter by Bernard Stuart - Commander of the King's Lifeguard. British Museum, London.
- <sup>114</sup> Chapter 3. End of the Radway & Radway Tower section. Rambles Round the Edge Hills. (G.Miller). 1896.
- <sup>115</sup> King James II's account: Life of James II. Published from the original Stuart MSS in Carlton House, ed. by T.S. Clarke, 2 vols. London, 1816.
- <sup>116</sup> LAT/LONG 52.13794, -1.46089. An archaeological dig confirmed its foundations: Two Men in a Trench 2. (Tony Pollard and Neil Oliver). 2003. They also describe how, with the use of metal detectors, they had "found the front line" and had determined the open space between enemy musketeers as they fired upon one another close to Graveground Coppice; but stick with diagrammatic deployment plans similar to Young (1967).
- <sup>117</sup> G.Miller: Archaeological Journal, 1889 (Vol 46 from p36). This lane is also depicted in a battlefield plan used as part of J.G.Grant's 1979 metal detecting survey (map 'C'), which overlays a John Bartholomew & Co map. (Origin unknown). Re: Warwickshire Historic Environment Record (HER): (No: 1198).
- <sup>118</sup> Local tradition marks a spot where the two Princes are said to have watched the battle which is close to where this track is said to have been. "he [the King] order'd the Duke of Richmond to carry them [the two Princes] out of the battell, & conduct them to the top of the hill" [sic]. (King James II). But the barn appears to have eventually become part of a farmstead, yard or small complex of buildings at one time and this track, or road, may still post-date the battle?
- <sup>119</sup> Memoirs and Reflections upon the Reign and Government of King Charles I. (Sir Richard Bulstrode). *Pub 1720*. There can be little debate concerning what he may have meant by right or left, when he confirms his logic again when correctly placing Sun Rising hill to his left: "Prince Rupert was resolved, that Monday Night, to go down the Hill, at a place called Sun-Rising, a Mile on our left Hand". 2009 suggestion: Schlachtfeldarchaeologie: Battlefield Archaeology, (Foard). Nibsbury Field, approx: LAT/LONG 52.15295, -1.4842.
- <sup>120</sup> Anonymous London Royalists letter. First published by G.Davis. 1921.
- <sup>121</sup> e.g. Edgehill 1642. (J.Tincey & K.Roberts). 2001. p83.
- <sup>122</sup> History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England: Begun in the Year 1641 by Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of Clarendon Vol 2, pt 1. (From p44).
- <sup>123</sup> Contemporary anecdotes all feature the King being on the hill the following morning. e.g. "The next morning King CHARLES sends for him to the top of Edge Hill" (Edward Walsingham's account). Only local tradition and secondary sources place him below, on the plain (in or near King's Leys Barn), during the night.
- <sup>124</sup> The 20th century myth of the King spending the night at King's Leys Barn is explored in depth in: Edgehill - Local Traditions. (Harridence). [www.battleofedgehill.org](http://www.battleofedgehill.org).
- <sup>125</sup> 'A Brief Relation to the Life and Memoirs of John, Lord Belasyse: written and collected by his secretary, Joshua Moone.' Begun in 1650.
- <sup>126</sup> Sir Robert Walsh. A True Narrative and Manifest. (1679).
- <sup>127</sup> Official Royalist Account: A relation of the Battel fought between Keynton and Edgehill. 1642.
- <sup>128</sup> Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, 1625 - 1672.
- <sup>129</sup> Approximate centre of what was the field: LAT/LONG 52.14290, -1.49354. (SP 348494).
- <sup>130</sup> Later metal detecting surveys also found many bullets in this area. Foard 2005.
- <sup>131</sup> Source: Volunteers from the 2004-2006 metal detecting surveys.
- <sup>132</sup> LAT/LONG 52.14452, -1.50592 (approx).
- <sup>133</sup> "A Full and True Relation of the great Battell" [sic]. Letter from Captain Edward. Thomason Collection, British Library, London.
- <sup>134</sup> As illustrated by Foard's 2008 'Conflict in the pre-industrial landscape of England' report. (Currently available at the Battlefields Trust website).
- <sup>135</sup> "A Full and True Relation of the great Battell" [sic]. Edward. British Library.
- <sup>136</sup> The boundary's definition is approximately - LAT/LONG: (52.14594628372646, -4771461486816406),(52.147263019082416, -1.4839696884155273),(52.14702600959185, -1.4840984344482422),(52.14536690783474, -1.4852142333984375),(52.14428714173986, -1.4853858947753906),(52.145261565953625, -1.488046646118164),(52.148922050193526, -1.4917373657226562), (52.14950137982909, -1.4928960800170898),(52.14881671672266, -1.4943981170654297),(52.14823737817863, -1.4948272705078125), (52.149238049111, -1.4986467361450195),(52.14886938348924, -1.500234603881836),(52.14881671672266, -1.5022945404052734), (52.149238049111, -1.5043973922729492),(52.149922705738554, -1.5061140060424805),(52.14994903847551, -1.5074872970581055), (52.14987004021792, -1.5106201171875),(52.150133367198194, -1.5129375457763672). Foard's 'Historic Terrain' information panel/card (No. 16), circa 2007-2008. (Although this detail is not featured in a future publication from 2009).
- <sup>137</sup> "and in the [Monday] Morning, as soon as it was Day, [we, the Royalists] drew half the Body of the Horse into Battalia, at the Foot of the Hill, and the rest of the Horse and the Foot on the Top of the Hill, where the Standard was placed". Official Royalist Account: 'A Relation of the Battel fought between Keynton and Edgehill, by His Majesty's Army and that of the Rebels'
- <sup>138</sup> The English Civil War. (Peter Young & Richard Holmes). 1974.
- <sup>139</sup> This is not mentioned in Miller's diaries, or by any descendants.
- <sup>140</sup> The Place-Names of Warwickshire. (Gover & Others). 1936. (p272). Gover suggests an ancient route ran from Stoneleigh through Ufton, Bishops Itchington and Knightcote, to Brailes. Apparently Dugdale refers to the red earth colour being visible ("which sheweth it self") from a good distance due to the road ascending up Edgehill: "neer the passage up Edg-hill" [sic]. (Radway - originally spelt Radweii or Radweia - is thought to derive from the words 'rod' meaning red and 'weia' meaning road).
- <sup>141</sup> [www.kineton.org.uk/plan/fullreport.PDF](http://www.kineton.org.uk/plan/fullreport.PDF) (pdf, as uppercase)
- <sup>142</sup> Edgehill and Beyond. (Philip Tennant). 1992.
- <sup>143</sup> Edgehill 1642. (Peter Young). 1967.

- <sup>144</sup> Rambles Round the Edge Hills. (G.Miller). 1896. (Appendix). Caution - his lone assertions concerning a single hedge which crossed the battlefield have caused confusion and debate.
- <sup>145</sup> The modern road/lane ends, and the bridle path begins its ascent, approximately here: LAT/LONG 52.124054, -1.466192.
- <sup>146</sup> "A Full and True Relation of the great Battell" [sic]. Captain Edward. British Library.
- <sup>147</sup> This is a surprising claim by G.Miller? A recent conversation with 'Warwickshire Archaeology' also expressed confidence concerning its likely age.
- <sup>148</sup> The History of Banbury. (Alfred Beesley). 1841. (Battle of Edgehill - p312).
- <sup>149</sup> There is one contemporary description which involves the King's standard marching with the army down the hill (Clarendon. Vol 2 pt 1) and one which states it was "placed" on the hill the next morning (Official Royalist Account).
- <sup>150</sup> Rambles Round the Edge Hills. (G.Miller).1896. Edwin Walford also states this, but only in his second edition of his Edgehill book, published in 1904 (and not the 1886 edition).
- <sup>151</sup> Sanderson Miller and his Landscapes. (Jennifer Meir). 2006. Meir informs us that Sanderson purchased a cottage, to demolish, with a small piece of land adjoining his property where it provided a level plateau for his designs (and where he'd site his tower).
- <sup>152</sup> There is a contemporary reference from the official Royalist account of the Standard being on the hill, but this relates to preparations the following day (Monday): "...and the rest of the Horse and the Foot on the Top of the Hill, where the Standard was placed". Also, construction of the building commenced in 1745 and not 1742 as occasionally claimed when attempting to associate the building's inspiration with the battle.
- <sup>153</sup> Sanderson Miller and his Landscapes. (Jennifer Meir). 2006.
- <sup>154</sup> Photograph: Warwickshire County Record Office. PH352/150/11. (Photograph, PH352/150/3, confirms its location).
- <sup>155</sup> Warwickshire County Record Office: Deeds relating to "Edge Grange", or "Ratley Grange", in Ratley (no ref) 1609-1734. Includes, L5/45 1609, and others.
- <sup>156</sup> John Ashby & Dan Batchelor also highlight, with photographs, in their book detailing the parish that 16th century cottages were clearly present. Ratley - The Story of a Warwickshire Parish. circa 2006.
- <sup>157</sup> Sources inc: Rambles Round the Edge Hills. (G.Miller). 1896. A History of the County of Warwick - Vol 5. (Ed. L.F.Salzman). 1949: "Edge Grange, on the slopes of Edge Hill".
- <sup>158</sup> Battles and Generals of the Civil Wars 1642 - 1651. (Colonel H.C.B.Rogers). 1968.
- <sup>159</sup> A full archaeological survey has not extended to the scarp.
- <sup>160</sup> History of Radway (Warwickshire Village History Society). 1937.
- <sup>161</sup> Ibid. Name listed in place-names mentioned in the Award. p31.
- <sup>162</sup> Radway enclosure award reconstruction. (S.G.Wallsgrave). 1997. Warwick County Record Office Z939(L). LAT/LONG 52.12645, -1.43745. (SP 386477).
- <sup>163</sup> Memoirs of Sir John Hinton. 1679. Physician to his Majesty.
- <sup>164</sup> Anonymous London Royalists letter. First published by G.Davis. 1921.
- <sup>165</sup> An account provided by a labourer on Edgehill, circa 1833. The History of Banbury. (Alfred Beesley). 1841. And quoted in: Highways and Byways in Oxford and the Cotswolds. (H.A.Evans). 1905.