

The Battle of Lansdown, July 5, 1643.

BY THE VERY REV. T. W. JEX-BLAKE, D.D.

(*Dean of Wells.*)

FROM the point of view of the battle, our excursion might have been taken in the reverse order. We then should all day have followed the Royalist line of advance from Warleigh, opposite Claverton, where our meeting ends to-night, with tea at Mr. Skrine's: should have taken northwards—as we presently shall take southwards—the Gloucester road: should have visited Marshfield, Cold Ashton, and Tog Hill, in that order, as did Hopton: should have charged down the broad slope, as the Royalists did, and up the northern face of Lansdown, till finally we surged, as the Royalists surged, over the breastworks of Waller, and stood, as we now stand, on the debatable ground left by Waller, and barely occupied by Hopton, at sunset, July 5, 1643.

The battle is interesting, not only as the first of two Royalist victories, just a week apart, of which the second was decisive, but also from the very high character of the three principal leaders, Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir Neville Grenville, Royalists, and Sir William Waller, the Parliamentarian. Also, the best generals yet discovered on either side were Hopton and Waller. Hopton was a Somerset man, and Sir Neville Grenville was Cornish; grandson of that Sir Richard Grenville who died at sea, riddled with wounds, fighting a Spanish fleet with only the little "Revenge."

The Civil War broke out August 22, 1642, and in October

of that year Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir Richard Grenville were in Cornwall together. May 16, 1643, they together won the battle of Stratton, near Sir Richard's Cornish home, Stow. Early in June they entered Somerset, joining Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford, at Chard: their combined forces somewhat exceeding six thousand men. Taunton surrendered to them, and Bridgwater; and Dunster Castle sent in its submission. Waller was now at Bath, with poor troops ill-provided. From Bridgwater the Royalists advanced along the Polden Hills, and made Wells their headquarters for eight or ten days. June 10 they drove back some of Waller's outpost cavalry down the road into Chewton Mendip; and June 12 another cavalry skirmish occurred near Glastonbury, also advantageous to the Royalists. Waller, who had Bristol to protect as well as Bath, knowing his troops to be weak, remained on the defensive and watched for his opportunity. The Royalists knew the easiest entrance to Bath was by the Warminster road, down the Avon valley; and moved from Wells under Masbury Camp to Frome westwards, and thence to Bradford-upon-Avon. Waller moved, with all his forces, to Claverton Down, close above the house of our President, Mr. Skrine, the present Claverton Manor; and also occupied Claverton village, and the then Claverton Manor House, close to the river; threw a bridge across the river to Warleigh, close to Colonel Skrine's present house; building a redoubt on the Claverton side to protect his bridge. Then he sent troops of all arms across to the downs of Warleigh and Monkton Farleigh; and now, whichever side of the river the Royalists might follow to Bath, Waller was ready for them. (See Map prepared by Mr. Bidgood from the Ordnance Survey.)

The Royalists drove the Parliamentary forces out of their ambuscade in Monkton Farleigh woods; but then for the first time, seeing Waller in force on Claverton Down, neither pursued their enemy far, nor endeavoured to enter Bath by the Avon valley. The next day they attempted early, but too late,

to seize Lansdown. Waller was there first, and his cannon played upon them in the valley beneath him. "About 1 p.m.," says Hopton, "we resolved of a retreat towards Marshfield . . . by 2 narrow lanes"—that would take them to the Bath and Gloucester road—"and so came that night safe to Marshfield."

Waller moved by an inner line, on a shorter curve, into Bath, where he could keep his troops together, with good food and lodging; and, early the next morning, had occupied Lansdown, a promontory three miles long, beginning just above the present Royal school for girls; about eight hundred feet above the sea, with an average breadth of five or six hundred yards, running first north-west and then north. There Waller raised, on the extreme northern end of Lansdown, breastworks of faggots and earth; sent cavalry down the slope, lighted upon some Royalist horse and drove them in. The Royalists retreated towards Marshfield, and then Waller charged them, rear and flank, uphill. Waller's best cavalry were five hundred cuirassiers, under Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, fresh from London, known as the Lobsters, from their bright iron shells. It is a mistake to suppose that they were the "Ironsides." It was Rupert personally, with the instinct of a true soldier, who called Cromwell personally, after his splendid charges at Marston Moor, "Lieutenant-General Cromwell, *alias* Ironside."

Out of Tog Hill, towards Cold Ashton, the Royalists retreated over the open unenclosed ground; but Prince Maurice turned his cavalry, supported on each side by musketeers, and drove the Parliamentary horse down Tog Hill, "cruelly galled in the bottom by the Foot." Then the Cornishmen, remembering their victory at Stratton, called out, "Let us fetch those cannon." Waller's cannon they meant, peering over the north edge of Lansdown. Sir Neville Grenville descended from Tog Hill, leading his pikemen in the centre, musketeers on the left, horsemen on the right, on the ground that suited them best. Five times they charged uphill, and five times were beaten

back. The sixth charge was successful; the Royalist foot leapt over Waller's breastworks, and their cavalry drew up upon Waller's ground. But of their two thousand horsemen only six hundred were in the saddle; and Sir Neville Grenville had fallen, mortally wounded, on the very brow of the hill. Waller moved off in good order, and drew up behind a wall, one third of a mile at most from the brow, making broad breaches in the wall, that his horse might charge through, and guarding the openings well with cannon.

"Indeed," writes the Royalist, Colonel Slingsby, "that General of the Rebels was the best shifter and chooser of ground when he was not master of the Field that I ever saw; which are great abilities in a souldier." "After dark the Royalists on the right wing crept into the many little pitts," still visible, betwixt the wall and the wood, and thence "cruelly galled them," says Colonel Slingsby. He adds, "We were like a heavy stone on the very brow of the hill, which with one lusty charge might have been rolled to the bottom." Before midnight Waller withdrew into Bath; and Slingsby says, "We were glad they were gone, for if they had not, I know who had within an hour." And the next morning, at eight, Hopton marched off to Marshfield, after an indecisive and most costly victory. On Tog Hill an ammunition waggon exploded, and "Hopton was sorely hurt in the face and eyes." He writes of himself, that, "having in the battell been shot in the arm," he here was "blowen up of gunpowder: very unfit to be removed." So at Marshfield they rested that night, July 6; marching to Chippenham July 7, when Waller moves, by Lansdown and Tog Hill, into their quarters at Marshfield that same day. The tide was turned. The country people, seeing the Parliamentary forces follow Hopton up, change sides. The Royalists can get, writes Slingsby, "neither meale nor intelligence: 2 necessary things for an Army." At Chippenham they rest 7th and 8th July; but on Sunday morning, the 9th, they were, says the Royalist Slingsby, "frighted thence by the enemy's neare approche: wee marched thence to Devizes."

Waller takes up a position on Roundaway Down, Monday, July 10 ; but the whole of the cavalry, under the Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice, escaped him, riding off to Oxford. The capture of Devizes seemed certain ; and Waller summoned the town, in which Hopton himself lay wounded, and short of matches and powder. But Hopton was full of resource : took the cords from under every bed in the town, beat them, and boiled them in resin, for matches. On the 13th Devizes was to be assaulted towards nightfall ; but about noon that very day, Prince Maurice appears as a volunteer, under Lord Wilmot, with fifteen hundred horse, having reached Oxford on the eleventh, and having left it that same night with Wilmot's reinforcements.

Waller at once moves to meet the new arrivals. Hazelrigg charges uphill, receives many wounds, and is routed. The Lobsters and other cavalry leap down the precipitous sides of the chalk down, "where never horse nor man went down or up before or since." Waller, on the verge of complete triumph, which incautiously he announced beforehand, retires to Bristol, his little army practically annihilated.

"Thou know'st, my son,
The end of war's uncertain."

NOTE : WITH APPENDIX. ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

In the British Museum is a small volume, from the Hopkinson Collection, "Gift of George III," entitled "Collect of Pamphlets, A^o. 1643," and labelled ⁶⁰117

The pamphlets are of great variety, bound up in order of issue. Among them is "Mercurius Civicus, Numb. 7," with a portrait of Waller. "William a Conqueror ;" "from Thursday, July 6, to Thursday, July 13, 1643." It says, "But the most remarkable and bloody encounter that hath been fought between two potent parties was on Wednesday, July 5, neere Tougg-hill, 2 miles from Marshfield, and 8 miles from Bristol ;

the name of the place doth well concur with the nature of the action” This news-letter ends with a piece of information, premature and erroneous: “Wednesday, July the eleventh. It is this day certainly informed, that Sir William Waller, since the late fight neer Marsfield hath taken the Earle of Craford and all his troops of horse at the Devises, in Wiltshire, who was sent by his Majesty to relieve Sir Ralph Hopton.” The volume contains another Parliamentary account of the battle of Lansdowne: “A true Relation of the great and glorious victory, through God’s Providence, obtained by Sir William Waller, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and others London. Printed for Edward Husbands, July 14, 1643.”

The same volume also contains “*Mercurius Aulicus* . . . The seven and twentieth weeke,” devoting nearly two pages to a good Royalist account of the battle. “On Wednesday, July 5, Sir William Waller advanc’d with his whole bodie upon the hither end of Lans downe, a place of very great advantage, whence he sent out a good Partee of Horse and Foot towards us, lyning the Hedges towards our champane; and there advanced a strong Partee of Horse under the protection of their muskettiers, and some of our Horse being drawn out within musket shot, retired in some disorder towards the Reere of our Foote; whereupon Sir Nevill Greenvill and Sir Nicholas Slayning’s Regiments of Cornish Foot advanc’d and bravely beat them out of the hedges, but our horse speedily rallied again and recovered their ground. Then a strong Partee of their horse drew into a large Field upon our left wing, which our Horse charged and entirely rowted, and our Cornish Foot drove theirs from Hedge to Hedge, through woodes and steepe Hills back to their main bodie, and at last forc’d them from the brow of the Hill which they had barrocadoed, and whereupon they had planted their Canon. The Rebels foot were absolutely routed . . . We are confident we kill’d many hundred of his men, having the Field, the Armes, Pillage, and all other signes of an absolute Victory.”

Two very spirited letters from Sir Ralph Hopton and Colonel Slingsby are referred to by Gardiner (*History of the Great Civil War*, vol. i, c. viii), and have been printed in full by our President, Mr. Skrine, from the Bodleian MSS. ("Letters illustrating the Battles of Claverton and Lansdown. H. D. Skrine. Bath Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Field Club, Jan. 11, 1887" pp. 170—9). They occur in the Clarendon MS. 23, fol. 53—87, containing No. 1738, in eight Papers. The first Paper, thirty-seven pages, is "Account of the affairs of the West, Sep., 1642—June, 1643." The second Paper, five pages, is "Coll. Slingsby's relation of the battell of Lansdowne and Roundway." The third Paper, four-and-a-half pages, is "The taking of Bristol. 26 July, 1643." The fourth Paper, twenty-three pages, is Hopton's own narrative: "From the uniting of the forces at Chard to the taking of Bristol by the Kinges Forces, middle of June to end of July, 1643." This letter will be printed in the Autumn by Mr. C. H. Firth, in a book he is writing for the Clarendon Press. To Mr. Firth's kindness I owe my knowledge of the letter from Edward Harley in the Portland MSS., and the reference to Mercurius Aulicus, for July 8, 1643.

Mr. Richard Foster, of Llanwithan, Lostwithiel, has procured me a copy of Waller's letter to Hopton.

Captain Edward Harley to Sir Robert Harley at Westminster.

1643, July 15, Bristol.—"Monday the third of July we heard the enemy began to advance from Froome . . . towards Bath; upon which we drew up all our horse and foot upon Clirkton (*i.e.* Claverton) Downe, fronting towards the enemy, and Colonell Burghill with his regiment of horse and some comanded foote advanced something neerer the enemy to make good a passe which led to Bathe, and this proved one of our greatest disadvantages, for we were not able to send seconds in time, so that party was forced to quitt the place to the enemy and our army to retreate to Bath. The next day we marched to a hill

called Lansdown towards Glostershire, where we continued all day in battaglia, the enemy being in the same posture upon a hill over against us. In the afternoon we saluted them with 3 pieces of canon, which they liked so ill they presently began to remove, and wheeling somewhat to the left marched to a town called Marshfield almost behind us. Wee fell upon their reare guard and beate them. Wednesday morning the enemy drew out towards us and presently began to retreate; which Sir William Waller perceiving he sent out a party of horse with musketers to fall upon them, which they did with very good success; but other parties of our horse being engaged in places of disadvantage were forced to retire to the hill which wee possessed. The enemy pursued hotly and got that ground where our ordinance was planted, but then our whole body of horse charged them with as much resolution as could be, and in particular Sir Arthur Heslrig and his regiment received there a push in the thigh with a pike. Our regiment charged twice, and in the second charge my bay horse was killed under mee, but I thank God brought me off well in this hot service. The enemy lost many of their bravest men, and the next morning it pleased God that most of their powder was blowne up, by which Sir Ralph Hopton and some others of quality were very sorely wounded.”—Hist. Com. Report on the Duke of Portland’s MSS., vol. iii, p. 112 (named by Mr. C. H. Firth, Aug. 10, 1895).

Extract from Polwhele’s “History of Cornwall,” vol. iv, p. 98.

To my noble friend, Sir Ralph Hopton at Wales.
(*i.e.* Wells).

Bath, 16 June, 1643.

SIR,

The experience I have had of your work, and the happiness I have enjoyed in your friendship are wounding consider-

ations when I look upon the present distance between us. Certainly my affections to you are so unchangeable that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship to your person; but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. The old limitation, *Usque ad Aras*, holds still, and where my conscience is interested all other obligations are swallowed up. I should most gladly wait upon you, according to your desire, but that I look on you engaged as you are in that party beyond a possibility of retreat and consequently incapable of being wrought upon by any persuasions. And I know the conference would never be so close between us but that it would take fire and receive a construction to my dishonour.

That great God who is the searcher of my heart knows with what reluctance I go upon this service and with what a perfect hatred I detest a war without an enemy. But I look upon it as *Opus Domini* and that is enough to silence all passion in me. The God of peace, in his good time send us peace and in the mean time fit us to receive it. We are both on the stage, and we must act the parts that are assigned us in this tragedy. Let us do it in a way of honour and without personal animosities; but whatever be the issue I shall not willingly relinquish the dear title of

Your affectionate friend and faithful servant,

W. WALLER.

All the chief authorities are referred to in Mr. S. R. Gardiner's *History of the Great Civil War*, vol. 1, ch. viii. Mr. Gardiner's account of the battle is condensed, but admirable.

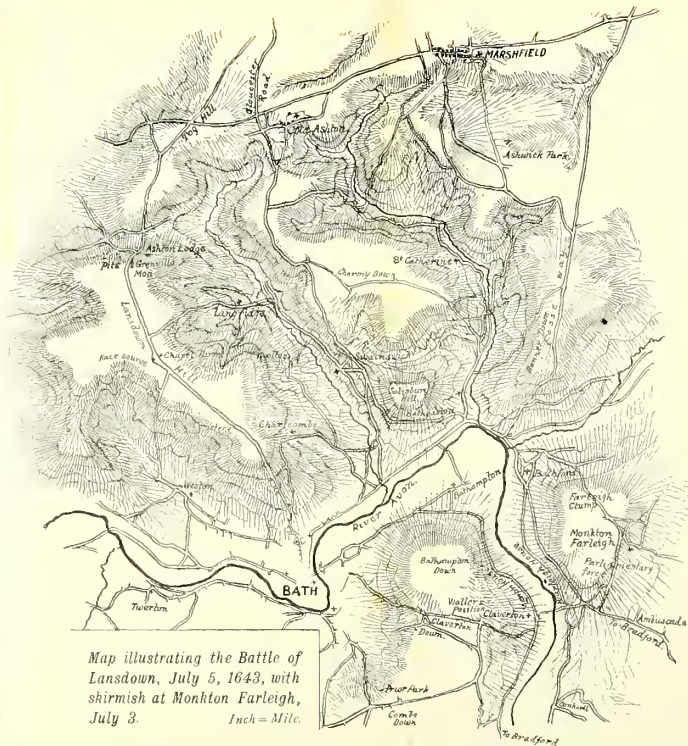
ations when I look upon the present distance between us. Certainly my affections to you are so unchangeable that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship to your person; but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. The old limitation, *Usque ad Aras*, holds still, and where my conscience is interested all other obligations are swallowed up. I should most gladly wait upon you, according to your desire, but that I look on you engaged as you are in that party beyond a possibility of retreat and consequently incapable of being wrought upon by any persuasions. And I know the conference would never be so close between us but that it would take fire and receive a construction to my dishonour.

That great God who is the searcher of my heart knows with what reluctance I go upon this service and with what a perfect hatred I detest a war without an enemy. But I look upon it as *Opus Domini* and that is enough to silence all passion in me. The God of peace, in his good time send us peace and in the mean time fit us to receive it. We are both on the stage, and we must act the parts that are assigned us in this tragedy. Let us do it in a way of honour and without personal animosities; but whatever be the issue I shall not willingly relinquish the dear title of

Your affectionate friend and faithful servant,

W. WALLER.

All the chief authorities are referred to in Mr. S. R. Gardiner's *History of the Great Civil War*, vol. 1, ch. viii. Mr. Gardiner's account of the battle is condensed, but admirable.



Map illustrating the Battle of
Lansdown, July 5, 1643, with
skirmish at Monkton Farleigh,
July 3.

Inch = Mile.

ADDENDA.

[The two letters referred to in the text (*p.* 44) are of such importance and local interest as to be exceptional. Notwithstanding their having been recently printed, it is thought to be desirable that they should have a wider circulation in the pages of these *Proceedings*, and especially for the benefit of the members of our own Society ; on this account, and by no means as a precedent, they are here reproduced. ED.]

Lord Hopton's Account of the Movements of the Royalist army, 1643. Clarendon MSS., 1738. (4).

Vpon Sunday, the 2nd July, the Army advanced to Bradford, where they had a passe over the River Avon at theire Com̄and, and were on either side within 4 miles of the Enimye's Quarters. The same night Sr Wm. Waller aduanced a great part of his Army, both Horse foote and dragoones over the River vnder Claverton-house, where besides the fforde, he had made a Bridge, and a Redoubte on his side to defende bothe, reserving the other part of his Army with his Ordnance in Battalio on Claverton-downe. With this part of the Army so drawn over the River, he advanced in the night and possest himselfe of the high-ground at Munckton-ffarly and layd an Ambuscade in a woodland-waldground in the ffoote of the Hill, and so in the morning he advanced strong Partyes of Horse ; vpon theire out guards of Horse, which being then strong and well com̄anded by Major Lower, he held them vp till the whole Army drew forth, which then in good order both Horse and ffoote advanced towards the Enimy.

The Cornish ffoote in an hower or two beate the Enemy out of their Ambuscade, and then both ffoote and Horse advanced vpon their maine-body on the topp of Munckton-farley hill, where they durst not to stande them and so they had the chace of them as farr as Bathe-Easton. In which chace and not before they discovered Sr Wm. Waller with his maine Body on the other side of the water on the topp of Claverton-downe with his Bridge and his worke before mentioned. Herevpon Prince Maurice turn'd the maine of the force of ffoote to gaine that pass which he did just as it was night, and so Sr Wm. Waller in the darke retreated into Bathe. By this time many of the Horse in pursuite of that parte of the Enemy that fledd the other way had passed into the ffields vnder Lansdowne close by Bathe, where about 12 at night it was considered by the officers there present, whereof the principle were the E. of Carnarvon, Lo-Mohun and Sr Ralph Hopton and Sr Nicholas Slañing, whither they should that night drawe to the topp of Lansdowne or not, and it was considered that they were there but a part of the Army, and that the rest of the Army being surprized by the night, after that dayes chace might not be in very good posture to receive concurrent orders; So they resolu'd to drawe back that night within Bath-Easton-bridge, and to advise with the Generall to quarter the Army in the best order they could, with a resolution to drawe out the next morning verie early to try if they could prevente the Enemy of that high ground of advantage, which the next morning early they endeavoured with a little more heate then was altogether expedient, for moveing verie early with all their Horse, ffoote, Cañon and Baggage towards Lansdowne, by that time they came to the foote of the hill, the Enemy, by the advantage of his neernes to it, was possest of the ground, and themselves with the whole Army, especially the Carriages which were most troublesome, engaged in a ffield just vnder them, out of which there were verie inconvenient wayes to retreat, to advance noe possibility, and to stay there least of all,

for the Enimye's Cañon played into them, and they had noe meanes to requite them. So about one in the afternoone the chiefe Cōmanders resolved of a retreate towards Marsfield, and cōmitted the order of it to Sr Ralph Hopton, who drawing vp the Army in the best order he could to face the Enimy, first sent of the Cañon and Carriages with convenient guards by the 2 narrow lanes that went from thence towards Marsfield, and presently after sent 1000 Muskettiers to line the hedges vyon the entrance of both those wayes, then he sent off the Army in parts, remayninge onely to hold vp the Enimy with a strong forlorne hope of Horse with which at last he marched off without any loss and drew a strong party of the Enimye's Horse within the Ambuscade of Muskettiers, which haveing tasted they quickly retired. And so the Army came that night safe to Marsfield sending out their Parties of Horse everie way to secure their Quarters.

The next morning earlie Sr Wm. Waller drew out his whole Army over Lansdowne to that ende which looks towards Marsfield and there vpon the verie point of the hill over the high way suddenly raysed breast workes with faggots and earth, and sent downe strong partyes of Horse into the field towards Marsfield, where they lighted vpon a party of Horse and beate them in. This roused the Army at Marsfield and so about 8 that morning being the 5th of July, 1643, all drew forth, and within verie short time a light skirmish was engaged with dragoones in the hedges on eache side ; But the chiefe Cōmanders of the King's Army considering that the continuing of that kinde of fight would be to little effect, but might onely waste their Amunition (whereof they had not plenty) drew off and retreated in Batalio towards their Quarter to Marsfield, which the other Army perceiueing tooke the courage to sende downe great partyes of arm'd Horse and Dragoones to charge them both in reare and flanke. Those that came vpon the reare vsed most dilligence and haveing left their dragoones in the ende of the Lane towards the field

charged verie gallantly, and rowted two Bodyes of their Horse, whereof the last was, by Prince Maurice his comānd to Sr Ralph Hopton winged with Cornish-muskettiers, who poore men (though the Horse were rowted between them) kept their ground and preserv'd themselves till the E. of Carvarvons Regiment of Horse was drawn vp to them. In the meane time Sr. Nicholas Slanning was comāded with two or three hundred Muskettiers to fall vpon the reserue of dragoones behinde them, which he performed verie gallantly and beate them off; And at the same time the Earle of Carvarvon with his Regiment and the forementioned Muskettiers charged the Enimyes Horse and totally rowted them. Presently after this appeared two great Bodyes of the Enimyes Horse advancing towards their flank, which indured a good charge of two bodyes of the Kings Horse and some volleys of Muskettiers before they brake, but at last were rowted and chased. And then the whole Army in the best order they could in that broad way that leads to Lansdowne advanced towards the Enemy sending out as they wente strong parties of Muskettiers on eache hand to seconde one another to endeavour vnder the Couvert of the inclosed grounds to gaine the flank of the Enemy on the topp of the Hill, which they at last did. But the Pikes and the Horse with the rest of the Muskettiers that advanced vp the broad way as the space would beare had much to doe by reason of the disadvantage of the ground, the Enimye's ffoote and Batteryes being vnder couvert of their breast-workes, and their Horse ready to charge vpon the verie browe of the Hill, where the Kings forces were five times charg'd and beaten back with disorder. There was Sr Bevil Grenville slayne in the head of his Pikes, and Major Lower in the head of a Partye of Horse, and Sr Nicholas Slanings Horse kild vnder him with a greate shott, and the whole body of Horse soe discomforted that of 2000 there did not stand about 600. Yett at last they recovered the hill, and the Enemy drew back about demi-culverin-shott, within a stone

wall, but there stood in reasonable good order, and eache part played vpon the other with theire Ordnance, but neither advanced being both soundly batter'd. So the night came on, and all things grew quiett, where Prince Maurice and Sr Ralph Hopton remayning in the heads of the Troopes all that night, aboute one of the clocke heard an advancing of Horse and ffoote, but without drum or trumpet and they presently received a smart vollye from the Enimye's Muskettiers, which was answered with the like, but being verie darke noe more was done and all things grew quiett againe. So after an howers silence the chiefe Coṁanders before mentioned rightly iudgeing that this might be the Enimye's parting blowe, gave a coṁon souldier a rewarde to creepe softly towards the place where the Enimye stode to bring certaine notice whether they were retreated or no, who found them gone. By this time it was towards breake of daye, and in the morning the Coṁanders founde themselves possest of the field and of the dead, and of 3 or 400 of the Enimye's Armes, and 9 or 10 barrells of theire powder, And so about 9 in the morning they retired with the Army to Marsfield, where they rested the next day, principally by reason of Sr Ralph Hopton, he having bin in begiṁing of the battell shott through the Arme and in the ende of it blowen vp with Gun-powder, and so was verie vnfit to be removed the next daye.

By Col. Slingsby. Events of the West, "After Stratton field to taking of Bristol." Clarendon MSS., 1738. (3).

"Then does the kings Army mooue first and marches to Bradford* within fower miles of Bathe : the next morning our

* Mercurius Aulicus . . . the seven and twentieth weeke p. 356. It was advertised this day, that Prince Maurice hearing of a Partee which Waller had sent out to obtaine a Passe over Bradford-bridge, not farre from Bath, sent out an answerable strength to deprive them of it. Who did their work so valiantly like men of courage that they did not onley gain that Passe for the Princes use, but killed neare an hundred of the Rebels, and drave the residue into Bath.

skoutts brought vs word that the Enemy was drawne into the field horse and ffoote in the middle way betwixt our quarters ; wee draw out presently and marche towardes the place, and finds them but a party and fixed vpon a ground of greate aduantage, yett from thence (though with a very hott dispute) they were remou'd with the losse of two small pieces, and neare 100 men. Wee possessing this ground discover'd the body of the Enemy drawne vp in batalia on the other side the Riuer and about two miles of ; thus had the shifting Rebell deluded vs one day with a party, hoping to make vs weary with dancing about him, or else to fight where hee pleas'd : vpon this wee were once resolu'd to marche directly vp to Lansdowne hill, but afterwards (considering the night approaching, the narrow and craggy passage vp the hill, with the aduantage theire horse might take vpon our Reare, who would bee more bold and troublesome hauing a good Towne for a retreat soe neare them) wee lay all night in the bottome close by the ffoote of the hill.

The next morning when day appear'd our Enemy did the like vpon the hill, who as with iudgement obseru'd our motion and discern'd our intention soe with greate industry and care labour'd all night both to preuent vs, and to serue himselfe of such an advantage : and indeede that Generall of the Rebells was the best shifter and chooser of ground when hee was not Master of the field that I euer saw ; wch are greate abillities in a Souldier.

Vpon this south side of Lansdowne hee shewes vs his whole body ; that day wee spent in looking vpon one another ; the Enemy veiwd our whole Army as it stood rang'd in the valley whose number could not then bee disguis'd, soe that it appear'd too big to invite him downe to fight ; towardes night wee marchd off the ffeild towardes Marsfeild, vpon our remoouall a lusty party of the Enemys horse falls on our Reare, who att first bred a litle trouble, but were att last repulsed with losse and shame.

That night wee lay att Marsfeild and next day fought Lansdowne batle the Rebells being then drawne vp vpon the North side of the hill."

After the Rebells are drawn out on the North side of the Hill.

Col. Slingsby's relation of the battle of Lansdown, July 5th, and that of Roundway, July 13th. Clarendon MSS., 1738. (2).

The night before the battaile att Launslowne the kings Army quarter'd att Marsfeild; in the morning betimes Waller sent a strong party of horse towardses our head quarter, who beate in all our horse guards, and alarum'd all our quarters: wee instantly drew into the feild and marchd two miles towardses Launslowne where wee could see the Rebells Army drawne vp vpon the top of the hill, he stood vpon a piece of ground almost inaccessible. In the brow of the hill, hee had raised brestworkes in wch his Cannon and greate store of small shott was placed; on either flanke hee was strengthned with a thicke wood wch stood vpon the declining of the hill, in wch hee had putt store of muskeiteires; on his reare hee had a faire plaine where stood rang'd his reserues of horse and ffootte; some bodyes of horse with muskeiteires hee bestow'd vpon some other places of the hill, where hee thought there was any accesse; thus fortyfied stood the foxe gazing at vs when our whole Army was rang'd in order of battle vpon the large Corne feild neare Tughill. In this posture wee continued about two houres; nothing passing but loose skirmishes vpon Tughill, betwixt a party of our vantgard and a party of horse and dragoones of the enemys sent downe the hill for that purpose. The kings Army found that the Rebells would not bee drawne to fight but vpon extreame aduantages; and therefore faced about and marched towardses our quarter in order as wee had stood wch the ground would admit of, being a continuing plaine large feild all the way to Marsfeild; when we had marched neare a mile the whole strength of

Waller's horse and dragoons descends the hill, and falls vpon our Reare ; wee faced about againe and aduanced vpon them endeavouring to regain our ground where wee were before rang'd : w^{ch} wee gott with muche difficultye and hazard, our horse receiving some dangerous foiles ; so that had not our ffoote bin excellent wee had certainly suffer'd theire : the Rebels horse not enduring our charges of horse and volleys of small shott that fell vpon them from our approaching bodys of ffoote, they retir'd themselues out of that feild ; but left all theire dragoons vpon the walls and hedges vpon the farre end of the feild neare Tughill from whence our ffoote beate them suddenly. The enemys horse being now forest into the laine that leads ouer Tughill to Lansdowne, were obseru'd to be in some disorder by reason of the narrow and ill passage. Prince Maurice therefore takes all our horse and wings them on both sides the laine within the hedges with small shott, and soe smartly fell vpon them, that some run in greate disorder ; but it seemes they had (like prouident souldiers) placed theire best horse in the Reare who being compeld, turnes about and fights desperately, and theire giues our horse another foile with the death of Major Lower, Major James and many others : but our horse being still assisted by the ffoote, att last beate them down Tughill, where in the bottom they were cruelly gall'd by our ffoote that then drew vp thicke vpon Tughill.

Now did our ffoote belieue noe men theire equals, and were soe apt to vndertake anything, that the hill vpon w^{ch} the Rebels stood well fortyfied litle without muskett shott (from whence they racked vs with their Cannon) could not deterre them ; for they desir'd to fall on and cry'd lett vs fetch those Cannon. Order was presently given to attempt the hill with horse and ffoote : greate partys of Muskeiteires was sent out of either of our wings to fall into those woodes w^{ch} flanked the Enemye, and in w^{ch} they had lodg'd stoare of small shott for their defence, the horse were to pass vpp the high way, but were att first repulsed ; Sr Beuill Grenville then stood on the

head of his Regiment vpon Tughill, who aduanced presently putting all his shott vpon his left hand within a wall, and cary'd with him horse on his right hand, the ground being best theire for horse, and hee himselfe lead vp his pikes in the midle: hee gain'd with muche gallantry the brow of the hill receiving all their small shott and Cannon from theire brest worke, and three charges of horse, two of wch hee stood; but in the third fell with him many of his men: yett had his appearing vpon the ground soe disorder'd the Enemy, his owne muskeiteires firing fast vpon their horse, that they could not stay vpon the ground longer; the Rebells ffootte tooke example by their horse and quitt their brestworks retyring behind a long stone wall that runs acrosse the downe; our ffoote leps into their brestworks; our horse draws vp vpon their ground: our two wings that were sent to fall into the two woodes had done their businesse and were vpon the hill as soone as the rest.

The Enemy (observing our ffront to enlarge it selfe vpon the hill, and our Cannon appearing their likewise) began to suspect himself, and drew his whole strength behind that wall, wch hee lined well with muskeiteires, and in seuerall places broke down breaches very broad that his horse might charge if there were occasion, wch breaches were guarded by his Cannon and bodyes of Pikes.

Thus stood the two Armys taking breath looking vpon each other, our Cannon on both sides playing without ceasing till it was darke, Leges and Armes flying apace, the two Armys being within muskett shott: After it was darke there was greate silence on both sides, att wch time our right wing of shott got muche nearer, their army lodging themselues amongst the many little pitts betwixt the wall and the wood from whence wee gald them cruelly.

About 11 of ye clock we receiu'd a very greate volley of small shott but not mixt with Cannon by which some of vs judg'd that hee was retreating, and gaue this att his expiring;

but the generall apprehension through our Army was that the Enemy had intention to trye a push in the night for their ground, wch they had soe dishonorably lost ; for wee were then seated like a heauy stone vpon the very brow of the hill, wch with one lustye charge might well haue bin rowl'd to the bottome.

It was not long before wee knew certainly that they were gone. att their departure they left all their light matches upon the wall and whole bodys of Pikes standing upright in order within the wall as if men had held them ; wee were glad they were gone for if they had not I know who had within an hower ; but indeede had our horse bin as good as the Enemys the rebells had never gone of the feild unruin'd. We kept the feild till it was day light and then plundered it, and sent severall partys of horse seuerall waies, att whose returne we were inform'd that the Enemy was in Bathe : at eight of the clocke we marched of towards Marsfeild. Upon Tughill one of our ammunicion waggons tooke fyer, blew up many men and hurt many ; especially my Lord Hopton ; Major Sheldane dyed the next day and was much lamented : this disaster encourag'd the Rebells and discourag'd vs. Our horse were bad before but now worse, our ffoote drooped for their Lord whom they lou'd, and that they had not powder left to defend him, for as I remember we had then but nine barrells left : that night wee quarter'd att Marsfeild, being Thursday, the same night the enemy drawes out of Bath up to Lansdowne againe ; the next morning being friday we marched to Chippenham, the same night the Enemy steps into our quarters att Marsfeild, and now the Country seeing him following vs begins to disert vs ; soe that wee could gett neither meale nor intelligence, two necessary things for an Army : wee lay att Chippenham two nights, but were on Sunday earely ffrighted from thence by the Enemys neare approache ; wee marched to Deuizes.