

The Magazine of the Battlefields Trust and the Scottish Battlefields Trust

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VOLUME 23 / ISSUE 2 **AUTUMN 2018**



The Battle of
Auldearn
1645



Carham
Anniversary
1018–2018



The Forgotten
Fronts of the
First World
War



Battle of the
Standard
1138



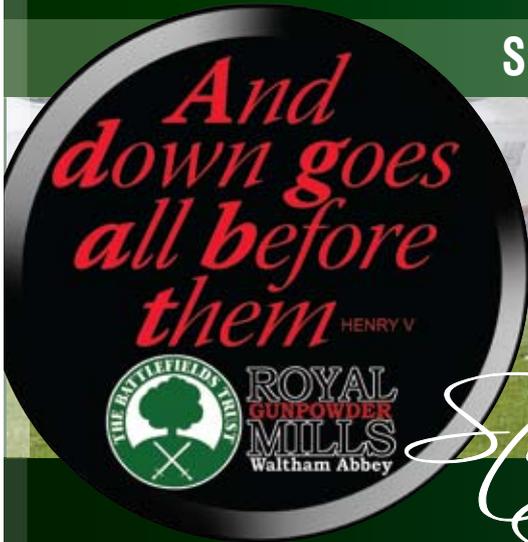
Second **Battle of Bosworth**

LETTERS • NEWS • WALKS • TALKS • EVENTS • BOOK REVIEWS



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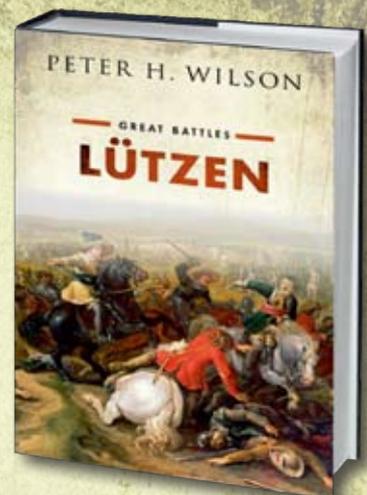
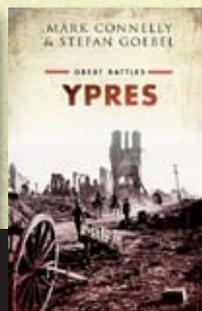
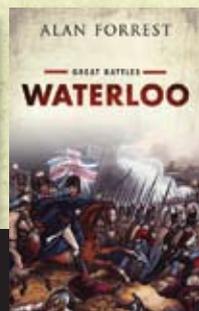
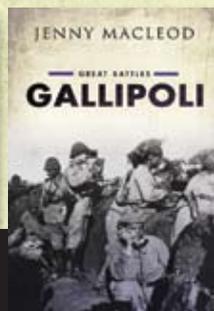
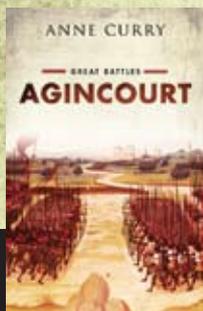
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Editors' Letter

We start this editorial with the disappointing news that the planning application on the registered battlefield of Bosworth for a driverless vehicle test-track has been allowed. Whilst it is an unsatisfactory outcome there have been some positives that have come out of the process as we describe in the Second Battle of Bosworth.

Disappointments aside, we commemorate the end of the First World War with a look at the forgotten fronts from John Ross and acknowledge the 880th anniversary of the battle of the Standard (1138) with an article by Geoffrey Carter. Duncan Cook provides us with an account of the battle of Auldearn in 1645, one of Montrose's famous victories. Clive Hallam-Baker gives a report on the commemorations at Carham in July that marked the 1,000th anniversary of the 'battle that decided the border'.

There are our usual news items – make a note of the date for the AGM and conference next year – and reviews of books that might find their way onto your Christmas list. The winter is always a quiet time for walks outside, but there's already a wide selection of study days and conferences planned for 2019 that may whet your appetite.

And remember, if you want to get in touch with us at the magazine, please email us at editor@battlefieldstrust.com, we'd love to receive your comments and suggestions about the magazine. If you want to share any of your battlefield-related photographs of walks or events, please email them to us as we'd love to see them and may feature them in a forthcoming issue.

Harvey Watson and Chris May

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Cover: The last charge of Richard III at Bosworth. Artwork by Graham Turner, from 'Bosworth 1485: Last charge of the Plantagenets', © Osprey Publishing part of Bloomsbury.

Article Submissions

Ideas for articles are welcomed.

To ensure that articles are not duplicated please contact us to discuss your ideas before putting pen to paper.

If you are sending in news items and details of events please note the following copy deadline:

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Copy deadline 15 December 2018

www.battlefieldstrust.com

Second Battle of Bosworth

Fighting to preserve a battlefield

On 25 September, Hinckley and Bosworth Borough Council planning committee decided to approve planning application 18/00425/FUL. This short, unassuming, sentence fails to capture the intense activity that had taken place over the previous month or so to protect part of the battlefield of Bosworth from destruction – a direct outcome of the application approval.

Late warning

Details of plans to build on battlefields are received by the Battlefields Trust Research and Threats Coordinator from a variety of sources. The Trust's network of battlefield representatives are our eyes and ears on the ground for registered battlefields in England and they provide a good early warning network when battlefields are threatened; local people are best placed to hear about local plans and communicate them to the Trust. Some local authorities, whom the Trust has dealt with in the past, have kept us on their database so that when a planning application affecting a battlefield is received, they contact the Trust. Finally, the Trust has a general email address that people use to warn the Trust of battlefield threats.



Heather Broughton



Richard III



Henry VII

It was via the latter means that Heather Broughton, who lives locally to Bosworth, sent the Trust a *Leicester Mercury* newspaper article on 22 August reporting that Hinckley and Bosworth Borough Council were set on 28 August to approve plans, drawn-up by the automotive company Horiba Mira, to build a £26m driverless car testing track on part of the Bosworth battlefield. Whilst the opportunity to comment had passed – as the application had been made in May – it nonetheless required an immediate response.

The Trust had recently formed a Battlefield Panel as an internal advice forum, so its members were informed of the development and the drafting of a strong objection to the proposal started, which was eventually submitted on 26 August. Looking at the papers associated with the planning application it became clear that Historic England, the statutory body for the protection of heritage in England, had said that the development would harm the battlefield, but that such harm would not be substantial.

This was important as, if the harm was substantial then the development would have to be 'wholly exceptional' as far as the planning rules were concerned.

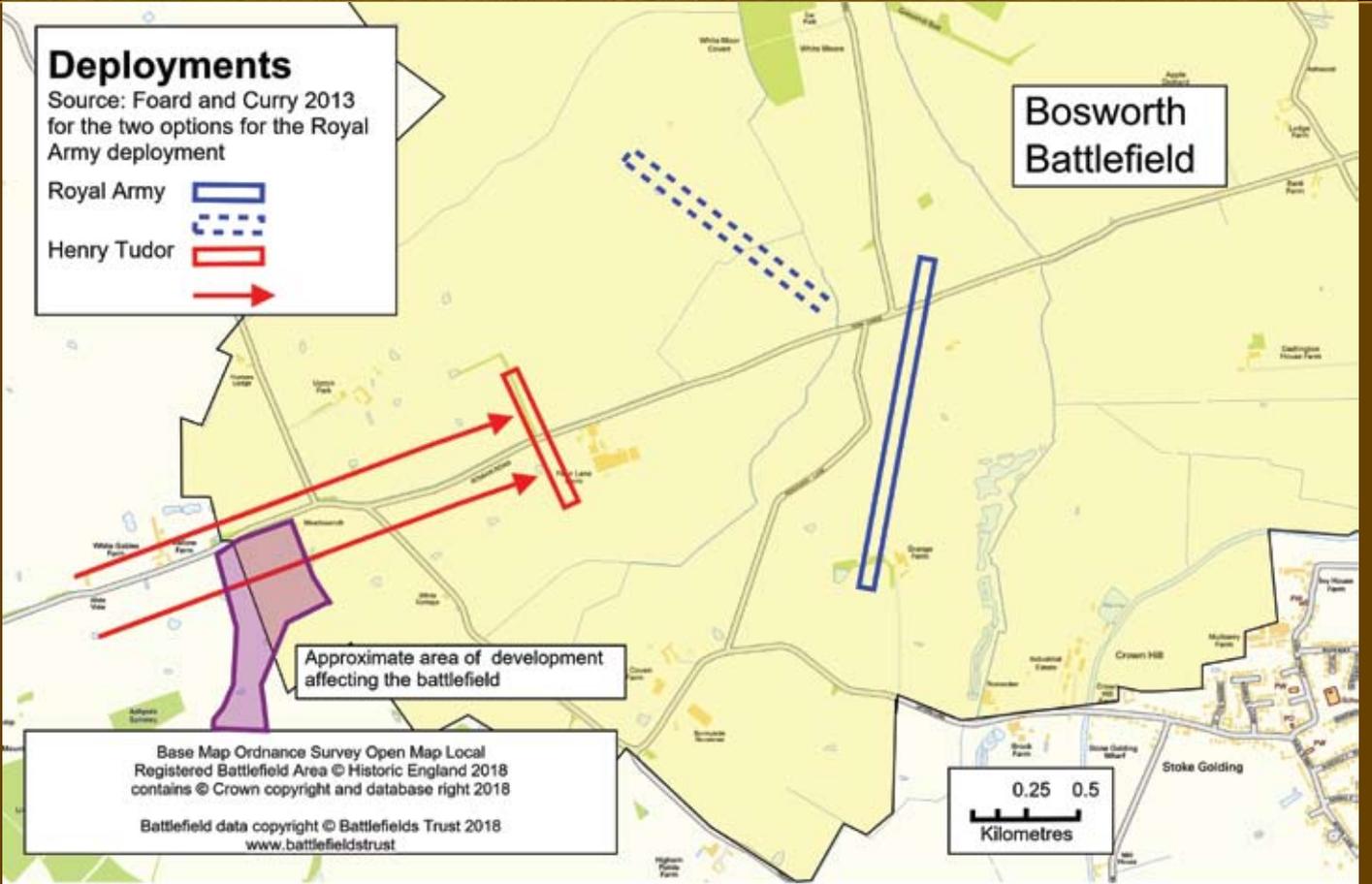
If the development caused less than substantial harm then the council could decide whether the development's harm to the heritage was offset by the public benefits it brought. Horiba Mira had already outlined the number of additional jobs that building the test-track would bring and the boost it would give to the local economy, so the public benefit case had been stated.

On 23 August the Richard III Society contacted the Battlefields Trust and we quickly began to work jointly on our opposition to the development. Julian Humphrys, the Trust Development Officer, started highlighting the threat on social media and we prepared a MailChimp newsletter for Trust members, which was issued on 24 August, asking them to write to Hinckley and Bosworth Borough Council and object to the planning application. A www.change.org petition against the development had also been started by Dianne Penn which quickly began to pick-up signatures.

The MailChimp message was seen by the Trust's Vice-President, Kelvin van Hasselt, who sprang into action, contacting the *Daily Telegraph* and the Trust's President, the historian, author and broadcast journalist, Michael Wood, who was on holiday abroad at the time.



View over the battlefield looking west from Richard's probable position – Photo by Richard Mackinder



Despite this, Michael quickly penned a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* which was duly published along with an article on 27 August, the day before the planning meeting, entitled *Battle of Bosworth Field: historians fight to stop construction of test-track where Richard III died*. This was also picked-up by social media and news of the threat spread further. Julian had separately spoken to Radio Leicester and ITV Central setting out the Trust's position and arguing that the application should be dismissed.

But would it be enough to persuade the councillors of the Hinckley and Bosworth Borough Council planning committee not to agree the application? This was a challenging situation. Horiba Mira had long-standing connections within the borough and with the council. It was also a major employer in the area and owned the land on which the test-track, if agreed, would be built. Finally, the government was funding half the cost of the project given its perceived value to the national economy. Historic England's advice had also effectively given the council a green light to

approve the planning application. It was therefore with some surprise, as well as satisfaction, that the planning committee voted 12–2 on the evening of 28 August to defer deciding on the application until the next planning meeting on 25 September.

The threat to Bosworth battlefield

What exactly was the threat to the battlefield? The map above shows the modern Ordnance Survey map with the likely deployment of the rebel and royal armies, the location of the proposed development and the approximate extent of the Historic England battlefield registration (in light yellow).

As can be seen the proposed development affects a relatively small area of the battlefield, but it is one of vital importance as it is on the line of advance of Henry Tudor's rebel army. The start of the arrows on the map marking Henry's advance is the location of a

ridge from where he would have seen the deployment of Richard III's army, and his subsequent tactical decisions would have been made based on what he could see from this point. Any future public view point which allowed the battlefield to be seen at this location would therefore be interrupted by the testing track.

In its advice to the local council, Historic England recognised the route of Fenn Lanes, the Roman road down which Henry advanced, as a 'key element' of the battlefield, but, for some reason, did not judge that it would be harmed by the development. This was unfortunate and the Trust disagreed with this judgement, not least because the substantial harm test which forces any development to be 'wholly exceptional' requires harm to occur to a 'key element' of a heritage asset. Having identified a 'key element' at Bosworth as the approach of Henry Tudor's army, Historic England did not then recognise the impact that the planned test-track would have on it.



View from Stanley's position looking west towards Henry's position – Photo by Richard Mackinder



The last charge of Richard III at Bosworth. Artwork by Graham Turner, from 'Bosworth 1485: Last charge of the Plantagenets', © Osprey Publishing part of Bloomsbury

The fight continues . . .

On the day following the planning committee vote, Radio Leicester aired an interview with a Horiba Mira spokesperson and preceded it with Julian's interview about the battlefield. The company was unhappy that a planning application that they had expected to be nodded through had been stymied, albeit temporarily.

With another month to work with, a small group within the Trust planned a strategy to put forward the case for battlefield preservation. This was to involve a challenge to the advice provided by Historic England, further publicity and a direct appeal to the Japanese parent company of Horiba Mira. On the latter point, a member of the Trust's Battlefield Panel had a US-based Japanese speaking contact who was asked to assist, though in the end we found

closer to home a Trust member who had studied Japanese and she helped instead. This involved carefully crafting the letter to be deferential whilst asking the Japanese company to be part of the solution to the problem. The letter also drew on the similarities between the battle of Sekigahara (1600) in Japan and the battle of Bosworth.

In a surprising development the council asked the Trust for input to support a site visit for the planning committee and for advice on archaeological remediation in the event the planning application was approved. We immediately asked to accompany the site visit, but this was refused on the grounds that the council's policy prevented this. Both sets of advice were however provided.

We also moved to an approach of dealing directly with planning committee members, whose councillor emails

were available on the Hinckley and Bosworth Borough Council website. Kelvin set up a couple of opportunities for planning committee members to walk the battlefield with an expert battlefield guide in the lead-up to the site visit and this offer was taken-up by some of the councillors. A counter to the advice provided by Historic England was also prepared, which put a different view on the points raised by Historic England. This was sent the planning committee members on the day before the site visit.

Whilst all this had been happening Bosworth author and Battlefields Trust Board member, Anne Curry, had written to the *Daily Telegraph* lamenting Historic England's decision to do away with its Battlefield Panel with the attendant loss of battlefield expertise which might have enabled better advice to have been provided on Bosworth.



View from Henry's position looking west towards Horiba MIRA property – Photo by Richard Mackinder

The Richard III Society had also been working hard to collect statements opposing the development from academics, authors and well-known actors, including Sir Mark Rylance, Robert Lindsay and Richard Armitage. One of the authors, Chris Skidmore, was also a member of parliament and he arranged a Westminster Hall debate in Parliament on the preservation of historic battlefields on 12 September. This event raised the profile of the campaign to prevent the development going ahead. Julian separately recorded a podcast about the battle and the threat to the battlefield with historian, writer and TV presenter Dan Snow and our friends in the American Battlefield Trust wrote to the council opposing the development, again extending the campaign's reach.

It was also important to keep Trust members informed of developments. News articles were published on the Trust website and two further email updates were sent. The first, on 3 September, explaining what had happened asked members to sign the www.change.org petition and write to their MP. The second provided a summary of what had happened and to thank members for their support. This email was distributed on the weekend

before the planning committee meeting in late September and by then over 15,000 people worldwide had signed the petition.

The close relationship between the council and Horiba Mira became clear when the Trust was informed on 11 September that the company was, that day, providing a briefing to the planning committee ahead of the planned site visit on 20 September. The Trust wrote immediately to the lead planning officer and council chief executive complaining about the lack of transparency, emphasising the importance of impartiality in public service and asking for an equivalent opportunity. The next day the lead planning officer offered to allow the Trust to accompany the planning committee on its site visit, despite having been told earlier that this was contrary to council policy. This was a small victory, but not equivalent to the briefing opportunity afforded Horiba Mira.

Battlefields Trust Trustee, Louise Whittaker, attended the site visit with the planning committee. With a representative of the Richard III Society, she also met staff from Horiba Mira who had requested a meeting.

At this meeting Horiba Mira provided an explanation of the proposed development and offered to work with the Trust and the Society on the presentation of the battlefield and archaeological mitigation if approval was given.

In advance of the committee meeting on 25 September, the Trust asked whether it could speak at the meeting, but was told by the council that their policy was that only one objector was allowed to speak for three minutes and that the Richard III Society had already taken the slot. We therefore worked closely with the Richard III Society to craft a statement that Richard Smith, the Society's representative and who is also a member of the Battlefields Trust, could use.

In the Trust's view, this failure to allow adequate opposition comment at the planning committee meeting was a clear example of how the council policy was stacking the odds in favour of the developer. It was a harbinger of other efforts that appeared to be in the same vein. The first was the introduction of a late paper by the applicant authored by an anonymous individual challenging the Trust's views on the harm to the



View from Henry's position looking south east towards Horiba MIRA property – Photo by Richard Mackinder



Richard III
boar badge



Henry VII groat



battlefield. This was only published shortly before the committee meeting, limiting our ability to respond and, ironically, given its title was *Battlefield Impact: Fact or Assertion*, contained some questionable assertions itself. The second was the replacement of absent committee members with substitutes who, when the vote was taken, all voted in favour of the planning application. Those with experience of planning committees in other boroughs have questioned the appropriateness of such practice.

Given this and the advice presented by Historic England it is unsurprising that the vote went 12–5 in favour of agreeing the planning application: a decision which meant that an important part of Bosworth Field had been lost to the developer.

Next steps

The only right of appeal in planning applications rests with applicants. The application could have been called-in and determined by the Secretary of State for Housing, Communities and Local Government, but this was an unlikely prospect given the development was part-funded by the government. Moreover, the call-in was only possible before the council's decision had been made. Separately, a complaint about the process could be made to the Local Government Ombudsman who could make a finding of maladministration, but this would not overturn the planning decision.

A Judicial Review is therefore the only way the decision taken at the planning committee on 25 September can be challenged. But this requires a court to accept that the decision taken was unlawful, perverse (i.e. no reasonable person could have come to that conclusion) or that the process followed was somehow flawed. The costs of launching a Judicial Review are also prohibitive. There is no legal aid and a losing appellant would probably have to pay two-thirds of the defendant's costs. Persuading Horiba Mira to change its plans would be the only other option which could save the threatened part of the battlefield. But achieving this appears unlikely.

Aside from looking at the limited options to overturn the decision, it is important for the Trust to look at wider issues that need to be addressed. A key priority is to ensure that the western edge of the registered area is extended to offer better protection to that part of the battlefield and the Trust will work toward this with Historic England.

We also need to undertake a 'lessons learned' exercise to feed into future campaigns, which we will start with a Trust officers' Skype meeting before Christmas and follow up at our annual officers meeting in January.

The Westminster Hall debate on 12 September raised the prospect of statutory consultee status for the Trust, something we are keen to pursue. As a first step we will write to the Secretary of State to establish the process. The

Trust's internal Battlefield Panel, which aims to provide expert advice for casework, met for the first time on 13 October and this will provide the Trust with the capacity to take forward this aspiration.

As a result of the Bosworth experience the Trust is convinced of the need to address the limits of the current planning and related heritage guidance in protecting battlefields. This will require a longer-term campaign focused on changing current policy and we are looking at the best way to take this forward with the idea that whilst Bosworth was a symptom of this problem, we must never let it happen again. This overall strategy along with continued engagement with parliamentarians on the specific Bosworth issue was agreed by Trustees at a Battlefields Trust Board meeting on 6 October.

The opportunity to use Bosworth as a case study for the lack of battlefield protection in the planning system is one of the two positives to come out of the campaign. The other is the way the Trust members and those from other like-minded organisations, particularly, but not exclusively, the Richard III Society, worked collaboratively in common cause against the proposed development. Whilst we may not have succeeded in saving Bosworth we have shown we are stronger together and look forward to working jointly with such groups in the future.



Possible site of Sandyford - looking west towards Henry's position – Photo by Richard Mackinder

2019 Annual Conference and AGM

The Battlefields Trust 2019 Annual Conference and AGM will be held at the University of Winchester over the weekend of 27–28 April 2019. The provisional programme will include a visit to the 1644 battlefield of Cheriton and a walking tour around Winchester's many military sites. There will also be talks on Anglo-Saxon warfare, sources for the English Civil War, battlefield archaeology at Stow and the role of military museums.

The full programme, accommodation details, costs and booking information will shortly be posted on the Trust website and published in the winter issue of *Battlefield*.

A Battlefield Panel for the Trust

Following a meeting with Historic England last year, the Trust has decided to establish a Battlefield Panel to consider battlefield threats (including planning application casework), to identify areas for battlefield research, liaise with heritage bodies, advise on candidate battlefields for registration and guide its research efforts. Hitherto this has been undertaken in a more ad hoc fashion by the Trust's officers and establishing a panel will offer better structure and governance.

The first meeting of the Panel took place on 13 October where it agreed terms of reference, was briefed on the nature and pattern of battlefield threats in recent years, looked at Historic England's battlefield registration review programme and the Trust's battlefield research activity. It also endorsed the need for battlefield protection in the planning system to be reviewed by the government in the wake of the decision to build a driverless car test-track on part of the Bosworth battlefield. The next meeting of the Panel will be held in March 2019.

Membership of the panel includes those with expertise in medieval and early modern warfare, arms and armour,

battlefield archaeology, the planning system and battlefield threats, research and designation work undertaken by the Trust.

The Trust sees the establishment of the Battlefield Panel as the first step on the way to becoming a statutory consultee for registered battlefields. Historic England's Battlefield Panel was subsumed into a wider cross-heritage sector group toward the end of 2015 and the Trust judged that it was important that a panel still existed which could provide expert advice on battlefield-related matters specifically.

Battle of Barnet Project



Since the very successful Medieval Festival in June, work has focussed on several themes.

On the archaeological front, over 1,100 artefacts, discovered during the digs so far, have been cleaned and conserved and returned to the museum to prepare for display. The finds cover a wide historical period, but late-medieval specific items are small in number.

Meanwhile, during September, further work, using ground penetrating radar assisted by Southampton University, has taken place seeking to identify the chantry chapel or any burial pits.



Photo display in the Spires Shopping Centre, Barnet, of some of the medieval finds.

The School Loans Box, having been successfully used at local primary schools, is now being trialled at secondary schools in the area.

The Battle of Barnet Project has submitted a progress report on the successful work to date to the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) and is now seeking to draw-down the second part of the HLF grant.

The Medieval Festival was so much enjoyed by people that it is now hoped to make this an annual event. A planning group has launched a crowd-funding appeal on social media and you can find out more and make a contribution at bit.ly/BMF-2019.

Mortimer's Cross Battlefield Project



This summer an aerial survey from Shobdon Airfield, courtesy of Swiftlightflight, provided an opportunity to look at the features in the landscape exposed by the dry weather. However, nothing of significance relating to the battle was observed this time. Landscape archaeology to uncover ancient clues as to how and where the battle may have been fought and document research into the battle is underway. Battlefield investigations led by Dr Glenn Foard, with their inherent uncertainties and potential, were begun this autumn.



Gary Ball, Mortimer's Cross Project Director, with a collection of battle-related arms and armour at Angelfest in Kingsland.

There are now a substantial number of volunteers who bring a host of skills to the project. Opportunities for volunteers to become involved will evolve gradually as the project develops. The initial talk and walk of the landscape for volunteers



Agincourt – the photograph shows the battlefield from the French side and the wind turbines would appear on the horizon.

by Dr Tracey Partida, Landscape Archaeology Director, is now fully booked; however, further landscape walks will be organised as more volunteers come forward. There are also opportunities in the pipeline to learn how to research documents. If you wish to be involved as a volunteer please contact the Project Director Gary Ball at mx1461cbap@gmail.com and let him know your particular area of interest in the project as it will allow us to direct you to the relevant volunteer opportunities.

The project was promoted at the Angelfest in Kingsland this August with opportunities to meet some of the team. Gary and Jan Ball displayed their fascinating battle-related weapons and medieval artefacts. Over 100 people visited the model of the battle in Kingsland Church, built and hand-painted by Martin Hackett, the well-known battlefield author and wargaming expert. The model contains thousands of accurate figures of the various factions who fought with the two armies and a plan of how the battle may have been fought. It will also be on show at the Medieval Fayre in Ludlow on 23–25 November.

The project still needs your help; please let us know if you have any stories about the battle or where the bodies might be buried, reported or actual finds, or related place names, as we are compiling a database to help the research. If you wish to receive project updates or have any information related to the battle, please contact Patricia Potheary at patricia@potheary.net or telephone 01568 708597.

Agincourt (1415) wind turbine threat

Plans have been developed to build wind turbines close to the battlefield of Agincourt, which will affect the views from, and of, this most iconic of conflict sites.

The wind turbines will be built in Teneur, Maisoncelle, Bealancourt, Auchy and Wamin and some will lie just to the west of an area of land believed by the French to be part of the battlefield, as highlighted by Dr Tim Sutherland in his chapter on the battlefield in the Anne

Curry and Malcolm Mercer edited book, *The Battle of Agincourt* (Yale University Press, 2015).

The France-based, Organisation for the Preservation, Promotion and Protection of the Battlefield of Agincourt, also known as Vent de Champ de Bataille, and formed in June 2018, is opposed to the wind turbines. It is urging those who agree with its opposition to sign the petition at www.change.org and also 'like' its Facebook page.

Vent de Champ de Bataille has also sought the Battlefields Trust support to counter this development and the Trust has written about these plans to the French ambassador in London and the president and prefect of the Region Hauts de France, in which the battlefield is located.

Culloden (1746) development threat

The threat to Culloden is covered in more detail in the autumn report of the Scottish Battlefields Trust on page 13 of this issue. However, we wanted to take this opportunity to remind you of the long-running campaign to oppose the building of houses within the Scottish Battlefield Inventory area for Culloden. If you are not aware of the campaign opposing the house building you can learn more and show your opposition by signing the petition at www.change.org. The page also provides details of who to write to in the Scottish government about this.

Threat at Tewkesbury (1471)

The Tewkesbury branch of the supermarket Aldi, has been given permission to expand their car park by fifteen spaces. At the planning committee meeting on 30 August, the application to extend Aldi's car park into an undeveloped area of the battlefield was passed unanimously. There was no requirement at all to undertake any archaeological investigation, or even a watching brief.

Although the supermarket was built on a brown-field site, the car park extension is onto a patch of land which has had

nothing done to it since it stopped being part of a field in the mid-seventies beyond having trees planted on it.

Historic England did not raise any objections and did not comment and the County Archaeologist considered that the 'site is unlikely to contain any significant archaeological remains. I therefore recommend that no archaeological investigation or recording need be undertaken in connection with this scheme.' This opinion appears to be based on previous archaeological investigations when the store was originally constructed.

Borough planning officers seem to have made no attempt to reconcile the detailed submissions from the Battlefields Trust and the Tewkesbury Battlefield Society setting out the history of the site with the County's opinion. This was effectively dismissed in the report to the planning committee, by saying that in response to the comments Historic England was consulted but did not wish to comment.

Efforts to save battle of Northam (1069) site

Following the controversial decision in June by Torrington District Council Planning Committee to push through a development of holiday houses on part of the identified site of the battle of Northam 1069 – the application has now been formally approved by the council.

Meanwhile efforts continue to gain a measure of protection for the remaining parts of the site through the emerging Northam Neighbourhood Plan. It is hoped that the neighbourhood plan will be adopted next year and will include policies to protect the rural gap between Appledore and Northam.

It is anticipated that development of the holiday housing site will be preceded by properly led and planned battlefield archaeology that may shed some light on the events of the battle of Northam. Under the circumstances, however, the 950th anniversary commemoration of the battle next summer will be muted and a planned full-scale re-enactment of the battle has been cancelled.



Peter Gaunt, Lizzie Holmes and Howard Simmons at the Richard Holmes Memorial Lecture



Tony Spicer of the Battlefields Trust, Professor Peter Gaunt, of the Cromwell Association and Cecil Duckworth of the Duckworth Trust at the unveiling.

Battlefields under threat

On 8 November, Historic England published its annual survey of heritage in England that it is at risk.

Included on the list are four registered battlefields, those at Newburn Ford (1640) near Newcastle, Braddock Down (1643) in Cornwall, Adwalton Moor (1643) near Leeds and Boroughbridge (1322) in North Yorkshire – 8.5 per cent of the forty-seven battlefields that are registered.

Most of the battlefields are threatened by development pressures, but at Braddock Down, where the risk is most acute as no mitigation plan seems to have been developed, the threat is from ploughing and its impact on two mounds on the battlefield and disturbance of any archaeology related to the fighting.

At Newburn Ford, the Trust's North-East region has been working with Historic England and the local council to develop a plan to reduce the risk to the battlefield, which will hopefully begin to be implemented in the coming year.

Against this background, the Trust has now written to the Historic England leads for Braddock Down, Adwalton Moor and Boroughbridge, to ask if similar Trust support would help address the threats to these battlefields.

For more information on the battlefields and a link to the Historic England Heritage at Risk register visit the Trust's website at www.battlefieldstrust.com/page48.asp.

Richard Holmes Memorial Lecture

On Saturday 13 October, it was the turn of the Battlefields Trust to host the tripartite Richard Holmes memorial lecture. The lecture is held annually and hosted alternately between the three organisations of which Richard was a staunch supporter: the British Commission for Military History (BCMh), the Guild of Battlefield Guides (GBG) and the Battlefields Trust (BT), in respect for the outstanding contribution made to military history and battlefield studies by Richard.

The National Army Museum, Chelsea, kindly provided the venue and the lecture was given by Professor Peter Gaunt of the Cromwell Association, titled *Regional Capital or Red Herring? Chester's role in the English Civil War 1642–46*. His excellent presentation looked at the role which Chester played from both royalist and parliamentarian perspectives and contrasted the (often startlingly different) priorities accorded to Chester by local commanders, by the regional war efforts and by the high commands in London and Oxford.

A good turn-out from all three organisations supported the event and Lizzie Holmes attended as a special guest.

Worcester confluence information board unveiling

'Worcester is unique among battles fought in England as being occasioned by a river crossing.' So wrote Alfred

H. Burne in 1950 in his book *The Battlefields of England* republished by the Battlefields Trust in 1996. After describing it as perhaps the most risky operation of war ever attempted by Cromwell and remarking that the whole affair was astonishing, he concluded by saying that if a memorial to the battle of Worcester (3 September 1651) was ever erected it should be sited on the eastern bank of the Severn, precisely at the spot where the bridge of boats was built.

The spot where the bridge of boats was built over the Severn can be identified from the sources; 'we built a bridge of boats over Severn between it and Tame [Teme]' (Cromwell), 'we laid a bridge over Severn in that place where the river Teame [Teme] runs into it' (Stapleton), and 'just where both rivers run into one' (Downing). It is there that the confluence information board now stands.

Many people have contributed to this effort. The main groups involved were The Battlefields Trust, The Battle of Worcester Society, the Cromwell Association, Betts Ecology, who own the land, and the Duckworth Trust, who built the structure. It was coordinated by the Battle of Worcester Partnership, which is a forum for parties interested in the battle of Worcester.

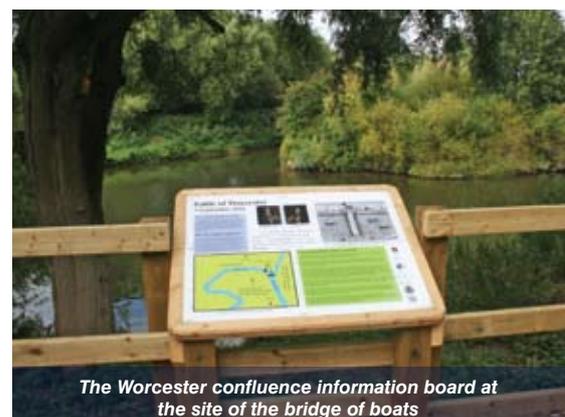
The board was unveiled on 2 September by Mr Cecil Duckworth before a well-attended and appreciative audience.

Homildon Hill interpretation board

On Friday 14 September, the 616th anniversary of the battle of Homildon



Braddock Down - under threat



The Worcester confluence information board at the site of the bridge of boats



Geoffrey Carter presenting the duke of Northumberland with his copy of the painting.



The unveiling of the Homildon Hill interpretation board. Geoffrey Carter, Clive Hallam-Baker and the duke of Northumberland.



Hill (1402), the Trust unveiled a new interpretation board on the site. The battle, which saw a Scots army, led by Archibald Douglas, 4th earl of Douglas, defeated primarily by English archers under the command of Henry 'Hotspur' Percy, was the subject of a detailed article in the autumn 2017 edition of *Battlefield*.

The board was unveiled by the duke of Northumberland in the presence of invited guests, who included representatives from Historic England, the Northumberland National Park, Northumberland Tourism and Northumberland County Council. An act of commemoration for those who fell in the battle was led by the reverend Suzanne Cooke of St. Mary's, Wooler.

A new picture of Hotspur receiving Douglas' surrender was commissioned from Paul Hitchin and framed copies were presented to the duke and to Jim Short, the landowner, who has been a keen supporter of the Trust's work at Homildon Hill.

Search for the *Regent*

Most people have heard of the *Mary Rose*, the famous Tudor warship, which capsized and sank off the Isle of Wight during a battle with the French in 1545. Few people, however, have heard of the *Regent*, which sank in even more dramatic circumstances in 1512 at the battle of Saint-Mathieu.

In August 1512 a joint French/Breton fleet was anchored off Brest, (Brittany was not an integral part of France at the time, but a semi-independent feudal

Duchy). The fleet was commanded by Vice Admiral Rene de Clermont in his flagship the *Louise*, the Breton squadron was commanded by one of Brittany's most famous seamen, Hervé de Portzmoguer, better-known as Primauguet, in his flagship the *Marie de Cordeliere*, described as 'the Great Carrack of Brest'. On 10 August 1512 the French were taken by surprise by the sudden arrival of the English fleet under the command of Sir Edward Howard, on board the *Mary Rose*.

The *Mary Rose* engaged the *Louise* and brought down her mainmast, after which the *Louise* and the rest of the French fleet fled into Brest. The French admiral was later accused of cowardice and removed from his command.

Their withdrawal was covered by the *Cordeliere*, which was grappled by the *Regent*, commanded by Howard's brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Knyvet. The two ships were firing into each other at point-blank range with English archers and French crossbowmen showering the decks with deadly missiles. Knyvet was cut in two by a cannon ball, whilst the *Cordeliere* was seen to be on fire with the flames soon spreading to the *Regent*. Suddenly the *Cordeliere* was engulfed in a massive explosion and the two ships, still locked in their deadly grapple sank alongside each other. The loss of life was appalling, it has been

estimated that over 400 English seamen were lost on the *Regent* whilst twice as many were lost on the *Cordeliere*. The last fight of the *Cordeliere* is well-remembered in Breton folklore and the legend grew up that Primauguet had deliberately blown up his own ship rather than see her captured by the English.

But no-one knows exactly where the battle of Saint-Mathieu took place and the search is now on for the two ships. The search is being carried out by experienced marine archaeologist, Michel L'hour, who is working on the theory that the battle must have taken place in waters to the north of Camaret, where the French fleet was anchored.

Tides and currents have been carefully recalculated and naval charts of the sea-floor re-examined. Diplomatic records in the UK are also being studied. Hundreds of Englishmen perished on the *Regent*, many from noble families and after the battle the bodies would have been washed-up on shore and given burial. There are bound to be requests from noble families in the archive for the repatriation of bodies. If these requests include the names of places and parishes it will give an important clue to where the battle took place.

The search for the ships continues.



The *Cordeliere* and the *Regent* at the battle of Saint-Mathieu by Pierre-Julien Gilbert.

Scottish Battlefields Trust

Autumn Report 2018

by Arran Johnston

This summer's campaign season has certainly been full. The battle continues at Killiecrankie (1689), under threat from the destructively designed dualling of the A9 carriageway. The commemorations at the community-run Soldiers of Killiecrankie event were given an added poignancy in July as a result.

Culloden (1746) has again hit the headlines, after groundwork began at the controversial Viewhills development on the northern side of the battlefield. The sad reality is that the attention comes too late to combat that specific development, all realistic options for opposition having been exhausted by public campaigners, international petitioners, and this Trust. The fight must now move to the proposals which have come in its wake, including a holiday development which this Trust has also opposed on the grounds of its impact on the battlefield. The renowned Jacobite historian, Christopher Duffy, has recently produced an excellent map to demonstrate the extent to which the deployment and combat areas extend beyond the land owned by the National Trust for Scotland. This latter point has often been lost, leading to misunderstanding in some quarters as to the proximity of development proposals to key areas of engagement. We continue to make the case for Culloden and to support others who have been doing so over the last few years, and there are promising signs that perhaps the message is starting to get through. The outcome of the Treetops holiday development is awaited with anxious eagerness, as it will be a critical test.

These high-profile individual cases continue to make the case that a Scotland-wide safeguard is required: a statutory provision which provides a mechanism for protection of our significant battlefield assets. The Scottish Battlefields Trust remains committed to fighting for such provision, and have been engaged with Historic Environment Scotland as they review their policies. That work is ongoing; in the meantime, we will continue to tackle every individual case on its merits. As ever, we rely upon receiving early notice of potential threats and encourage all our members to remain vigilant

in their area. Please contact info@scottishbattlefields.org.

Elsewhere we have been busy progressing positive developments. The anniversary of Dunbar (1650) was marked, despite appallingly authentic weather conditions, with a guided walk and wreath-laying ceremony. The route of the tour followed the line of the upcoming interpretation trail. We have been busily collaborating with Durham University's *Scottish Soldiers Project*, which is helping to drive interest in the Dunbar campaign right across the world. We are looking forward to building on this work as we begin planning a major event at Dunbar for September 2019. The Trust also recently attended the Old Musselburgh Club's commemoration at Pinkie (1547), where we also laid a wreath in honour of the fallen of that bloody day.

But the highlight of the year so far was our spectacular Prestonpans 1745 commemoration and re-enactment weekend in September. Our event was immediately preceded by a grand parade organised by our partners at the Battle of Prestonpans (1745) Heritage Trust, attended by clan chiefs and associations representing those raised by the Prince. The parade concluded with a commemoration service which saw the Lord Lieutenant and Provost of East Lothian each giving speeches and laying wreaths. This set the scene for the opening of the living history camps and arena displays of the main event. Our trustees were kept busy with all aspects of the happenings, whether commanding armies, commentating on displays, directing stewards or running wargames demonstrations. The public attendance broke all our records, and they were treated to arena displays including a recreation of the famous raising of the Jacobite standard at Glenfinnan, equestrian demonstrations

by British dragoons, and of course a climactic battle sequence. The re-enactors assembled from across the UK, many of them old friends of the Prestonpans commemorations. Two new books on the period were launched at the event; including *Better is the Proud Plaid* by one of our trustees, Jenn Scott. The weekend also saw the dedication of two new stone memorial tables in honour of those who fell in the battle.

This really was re-enactment at its best, and TV historian Mary Beard spent a day at the event to understand how effective it can be in encouraging interest in our battlefield history. Footage from her visit featured in her BBC2 programme *Front Row Late*. All who participated and attended appeared to agree that this was our most successful event to date, and there is much we can take from it as we work towards our Template for Scottish Battlefield Communities. The trustees are hugely grateful to all those who sponsored, performed or attended this year's East Lothian Battle Weekend.



Cavalry display at Prestonpans



Trust chairman, Herbert Coultts MBE, lays a wreath at one of the new memorials at Prestonpans.



Bonnie Prince Charlie and his Jacobite forces at Prestonpans.

The Battle of Auldearn

Montrose's greatest victory

by Duncan Cook

On 9 May 1645 Montrose galloped out of the mist on that Scottish spring day and reined in his mount in front of the Gordons. 'Come my lads, the MacDonalds are driving all before them!' And with a great roar the mass of Gordons charged forward to seal one of Montrose's greatest victories.

This is the stuff that legends (and movies!) are made of – the alleged highpoint of the decisive battle of Auldearn fought in the remote country of Morayshire just to the east of Nairn.

By mid-1644 the Scottish covenanters had sided with the English parliamentarians in what would commonly become known as the 'English' Civil War. The covenanters opposed the monarchy and did not recognise the church in Scotland, they were Presbyterians who recognised the old covenant, said to have been made between God and the Israelites in the Old Testament. Opposing them in Scotland were Charles I's forces led by the colourful James Graham, marquess of Montrose, who had raised an army of Irish regiments and Highlanders for the king. Montrose's forces had already tasted victory on 2 February 1645, when they achieved a complete victory over the Campbells under Archibald Campbell, marquess of Argyll, at Inverlochy. However, Montrose's attacks into the Lowlands of Scotland found the covenanters were too strong on their home ground and many of his Highland troops, as was their way, were drifting home.

Few, if any, Scots infantry wore armour at this time, jerkins and buff coats were the norm. Arms consisted of mostly pikes and matchlocks, cavalry usually relied on their pistols and carbines. Most covenanters were conscripts, and hence of an unreliable nature, though by 1645, the recall of some veterans from England had beefed-up their quality and perhaps the royalists were now facing a tougher job.

The royalist forces usually fell into three broad categories. Firstly, the casual marauders who joined in expectation of loot and plunder and who tended to melt away when times were quiet. Secondly, contingents from the western clans who joined mainly to fight the Campbells and therefore were primarily allies; and finally the best, who were the regiments raised in Perthshire by Patrick Graham of Inchbrackie and in Deeside by Donald Farquharson of Monaltrie. Most of Montrose's men were armed with swords or axes and the poorer men with dirks and bows. Generally speaking, the smaller the Highland contingent, the better armed they were.

To raise more men Montrose had headed for the north-east to raise the Gordons, who would build up his cavalry. The pursuing covenanters split their forces with a force under Sir John Urry (or Hurry as some historians record) sent north to follow Montrose. Urry was an experienced soldier who earlier on had deserted the English parliamentarians to turn royalist, but then had turned back again after the battle of Marston Moor. Urry's move north was spotted by Montrose as he now threatened Gordon lands and Montrose headed for Elgin, some 15 miles east of Nairn. Urry in response moved west to draw the royalists over. The scene was now set for a major confrontation.

Urry's strength was impressive, he fielded four or five regiments of foot under Loudon, Lothian, Buchanan and Mungo Campbell; the MacKenzies under the earl of Seaforth; levies under the earl of Sutherland; 800 other levies and 400 cavalry; in total around 3,000–3,500 men. In response Montrose was only able to field some 1,300–1,400 foot and 250 cavalry. Chroniclers vary on the numbers for both armies, as was common enough at this time, but Urry's main weakness was his unpredictable levies.

On 8 May, Montrose was camped at Auldearn, a small village just to the east of the town of Nairn. Auldearn in 1645, unlike today, was a village of cottages and yards straddling a north–south road whereas today the village runs along a west–east slip road that feeds onto the A96 Inverness to Aberdeen road at



James Graham, marquess of Montrose

each end. The village has grown over the centuries, primarily along this axis, to the east, so the battlefield is relatively untouched. In 1645, the village extended southwards from the twin mounds of a vanished motte and bailey castle and a steep hill crowned by the church. To the west the ground fell away to a boggy area fed by the Auldearn burn and its feeders enclosing a low raised area known as Garlic Hill. Today much of the area round the village is farmland and Garlic Hill itself has been bisected by the A96, but in 1645 it would have been covered with thick areas of furze and gorse and been much boggier in the hollows. It is still possible to find some areas much like this now, particularly around the burn to the south of the village.

As often happens with events from this time there are three views of the course of the battle. The generally accepted view, by S R Gardiner, was that Auldearn was an elaborately staged ambush with Montrose waiting in the wings to deal the death blow and certainly Montrose himself in his report to the king makes little mention of the holding action in the village and concentrates on his own dashing efforts. Hardly surprising from such a colourful character and the commander after all. David Stevenson's

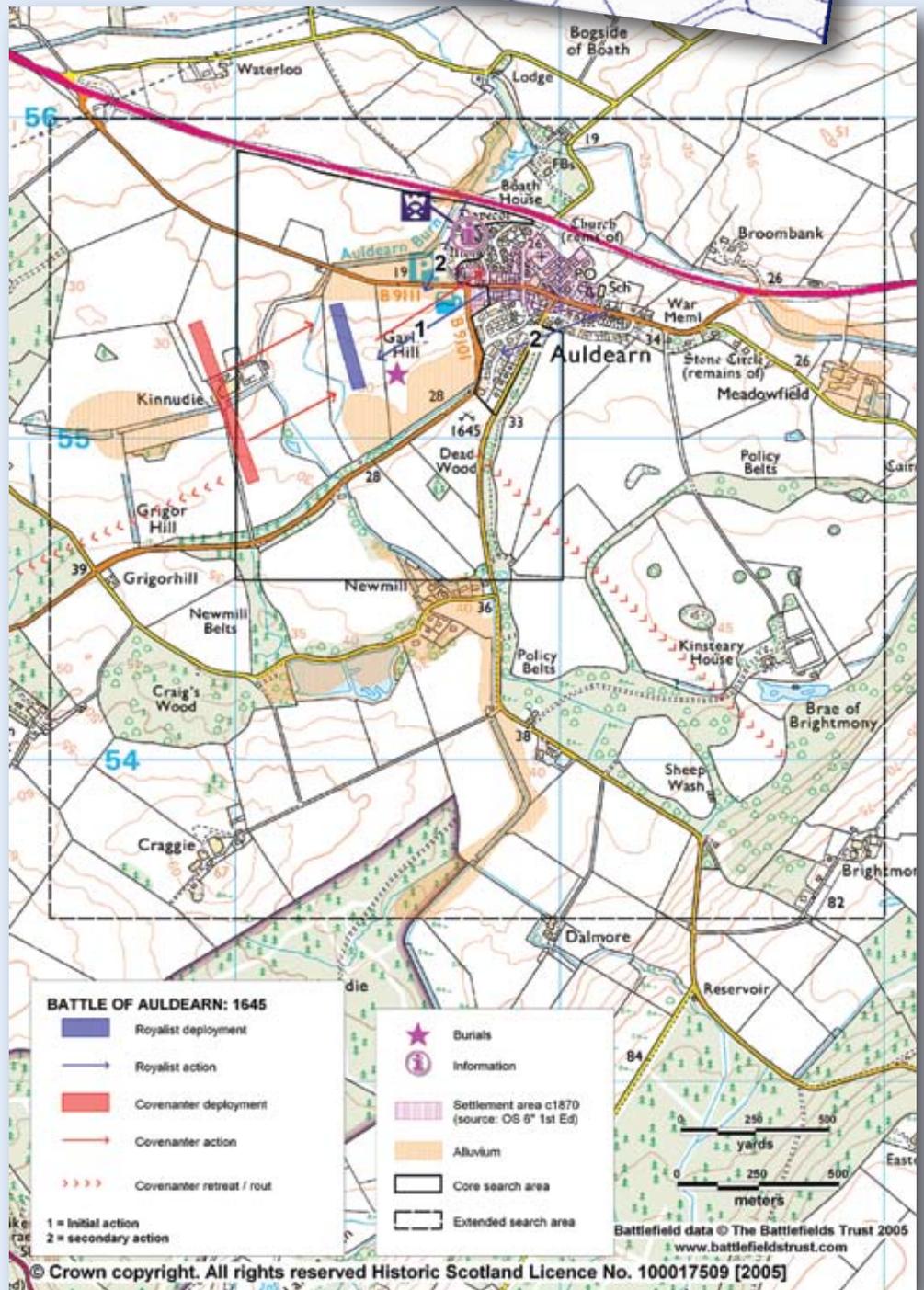


Archibald Campbell, 1st marquis of Argyll

account tends to favour a direct royalist attack through the village as being the deciding factor, and Stuart Reid tends towards a holding action to buy time for Montrose to assemble the killer cavalry blow. I leave the reader to decide and my interpretation features certain parts from all three accounts, and certainly the action can be interpreted all three ways.

Urry decided to surprise the royalists at dawn, leaving what artillery he may have had behind to speed his advance. However, on that damp spring morning, Urry decided, some four miles short of the village, to move north and get his men to clear the damp charges from their muskets. Rather than wait and clear the charges manually they decide to fire their muskets in an attempt to clear the damp powder and the element of surprise was lost. Scouts from Montrose's force hastened to raise the alarm. Urry's men moved across country and approached the village from the west. Many of Montrose's force had spent the night quartered over a wide area, in whatever shelter they could find, and hence the race was on to assemble a force to oppose the covenanters.

Alistair MacColla, bearing the royal standard, hurriedly deployed 500 men on Garlic Hill to the west of the



Map of Auldearn from the Battlefields Trust Resource Centre





View of Garlic Hill from the boggy ground to the west of the village.

village, and saw the covenanters, under Campbell of Lawers, climbing the western flank of the hill. In the mist and confusion that morning Lawers was unsure – could this be the whole royalist force? MacColla, outnumbered, was pushed back, losing three standard bearers, and Lawers followed up. Many chroniclers condense this early phase of the battle into a few sentences but no doubt it must have been a brutal, cautious advance on Lawers' part. What no doubt slowed the covenanters' advance was the boggy ground at the foot of the ridge bounding the village and a vicious firefight ensued with MacColla preventing further advance into the village itself.

Nathaniel Gordon, commanding Moneymore's regiment, occupied Castle Hill, a position of strategic importance that enabled them to pour further fire into the covenanters' flank. MacColla held his own, and many historians say he then attempted a counter-attack, but certainly his actions were buying time for Montrose to assemble the bulk of the royalist army. Whatever was the case, MacColla was eventually unable to hold the covenanters, and was forced into an organised retreat into the village fighting hand-to-hand and house-to-house.

This was the crisis point of the battle. What is important is that Moneymore's men still held Castle Hill and continued to pour fire into the covenanters, but

Gaelic chronicles highlight the brave events within the village. MacColla himself, reputedly, was attacked by pikemen jamming their pikes into his targe and he apparently broke two swords beheading his opponents. His brother-in-law, Davidson of Applecross, was cut down next to him and MacColla sought the shelter of a doorway followed by one of his men, Ranald MacKinnon. MacKinnon dealt with another pikeman and was then shot through both cheeks with an arrow and, attempting to draw his sword, found it was stuck in the scabbard! Both men managed to reach the shelter of the inside of the house and finally

behead a pikeman who attempted to force the door. Exciting stuff, and indeed worthy of legendary writing, but certainly the vicious fighting in the village and the royalists' grip on Castle Hill was deciding the outcome.

This is when, reputedly, the event highlighted in my introduction took place, and decided Urry's fate. Montrose is said to have spurred the Gordons forward from south of the village, routing Urry's outflanking cavalry who were attempting to negotiate the boggy ground. The more likely possibility is that with MacColla still holding his own, Montrose sent two separate flanking attacks to the north and south of the village and into the flanks of Lawers' struggling men. Whatever the case, it is likely that Urry's cavalry, panicked by the sudden appearance of these men, wheeled about to escape and crashed into their own infantry, effectively routing them.

Gordon's men, attacking from the south and screened by high ground, no doubt finished the job and soon the whole of the covenanter army were retreating back over Garlic Hill. The only covenanters to stand this onslaught were the Clan MacLennan, standard bearers to the earl of Seaforth – they were cut down to a man. And so began a merciless pursuit that lasted for 14 miles. The battle lasted most of the day and in the fading light, the Inverness road was mobbed with royalist cavalry in pursuit of covenanters. Montrose said his casualties were light, but even this would sap his weakening numbers. Urry, however, lost some 1,000 men. It was for Montrose, a somewhat pyrrhic victory, and, although he had crippled the covenanter threat in the north, he was unable to follow it up and retired eastwards yet again. Montrose's campaign continued for a short time, Urry would later turn coat

Scots covenanter musketeers (From the Battlefields Trust Education Resources Pack for Newburn Ford).



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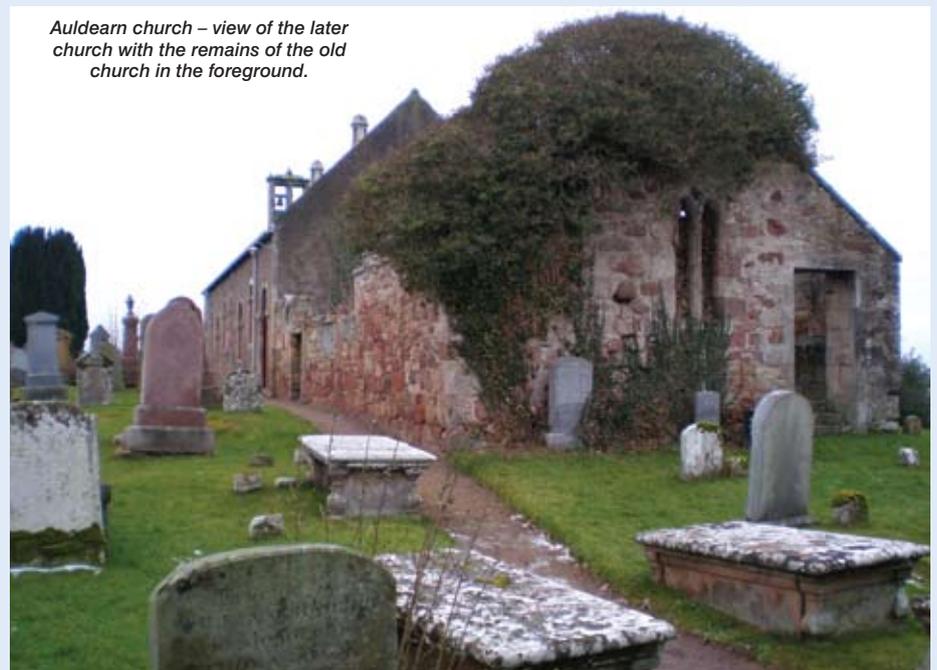
Boath doocot – view from below of the motte and bailey mound with the eighteenth-century doocot.

again and join Montrose, but soon the king would halt the fight and order all troops to lay down their arms. Montrose would flee abroad only to return four years later but his luck could only last so long and in 1650 he was executed at Edinburgh, ironically in the company of his old opponent Urry who was captured with him. The parliamentary cause would triumph north of the border as in the south, but not without some serious opposition by the king's man in Scotland.

The battlefield today

The battlefield is easily accessible by following the slip road off the A96 from Inverness to Aberdeen leading to the village of Auldearn. The slip road effectively bisects the battlefield passing close by Garlic Hill. Incidentally Garlic Hill has also been known as Deadman's wood (though pretty unwooded today) and is allegedly the site of a mass grave. As you approach the village it is easy to see the layout of the terrain and the way the village sits on raised ground to the east of the hill. The old motte and bailey mound is still present, now topped by an eighteenth century doocot (dovecote) under the protection of the National Trust for Scotland. You can park close by or in the car park of the Covenanters Inn and walk up to the doocot that gives a fine

view of the main area of fighting and has a good information board. Part of the old church from the period still stands and graves of the fallen reputedly lie within the graveyard along with a plaque commemorating some of the fallen officers. A fine lunch can be obtained at the Covenanters Inn close by, the barn section of which reputedly stood in 1645.



Auldearn church – view of the later church with the remains of the old church in the foreground.

The pipe pibroch, *Blar Alt Eireann* commemorates the battle.

If you'd like to visit the field, my company Timemasters (www.timemasters.co.uk) is intending to run a 'Whisky and War' tour of the area in early 2019. The 3–4 day tour will cover a guided tour of Auldearn plus a full tour of nearby Culloden battlefield, visits to two distilleries and various historical sites in the area. To receive more details of the tour please email Duncan Cook at duncan@timemasters.co.uk.

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Carham Anniversary

1018

Living history and re-enactment weekend

by Clive Hallam-Baker

After the ravages of the 'Beast from the East' which was followed by a cold, wet spring, the weather was always going to be a considerable concern for our long-planned Carham re-enactment weekend. However, the warm, dry, early summer gave us the ideal conditions for our event to commemorate the millennial anniversary of the battle of Carham. The site covered some 50 acres of pasture on the southern bank of the river Tweed, on the very border between England and Scotland, and close to where it is thought that the battle of one thousand years ago took place.

After many arrangements and much preparation, Friday evening saw the first arrivals on site and an authentic looking Viking village quickly started to grow. A separate modern camp appeared some distance away, and stalls and refreshment tents were being busily erected. Early Saturday morning and the place was transformed, and shifted one thousand years back in time. Gradually the first visitors arrived and the car park started to fill. The event opened with a service of commemoration conducted by the bishop of Berwick on the ground close to the parish church of Saint Cuthbert.

The Viking village now sprang fully into life. It was truly remarkable for the care and detail that the re-enactors had taken to assure authenticity. All the participants wore period costume, and answered only to their Viking names. How life was lived a thousand years ago

was demonstrated in many of the village tents and included displays of cooking, music, weaving, woodwork, weaponry and crafts. Modern utensils were banned from this area, although there was the occasional hint of a mobile phone! The village went as far as to boast its very own leper. Shrouded in grey coverall smock with her face covered so as not to offend, the poor re-enactor drew immense sympathy from concerned visitors, but she was viciously scorned and brutally driven away by all in period costume. However, this unfortunate re-enactor had to endure only an hour or so in this role before, in her next incarnation, she became a lady dressed in fine robes and jewellery.

An activity that caused great merriment and delight to all was the 'Kiddie-Vike'. Here youngsters, both re-enactors and visitors, were trained in the art of forming a shield wall, and then were encouraged to attack a make-believe foe of brave volunteers gleaned from the regular ranks of re-enactment warriors. Battle cries mingled with peals of laughter as the youngsters set about the adults with short wooden swords. In spite of their mail armour and much greater size, casualties amongst the adult warriors were heavy with hardly one surviving the encounter unscathed. The final roar of victory from the very small soldiers of the shield wall was deafening. Remarkably the adult casualties were able, and even more remarkably willing, to succumb to similar treatment in a further session later in the day.

A small distance away from the Viking village a number of refreshment stalls were set up and doing a roaring trade. The hot weather ensured that the beer

tent was well attended, but on the Saturday evening, although stocks were running very low, the re-enactors failed in their promise to drink the tent dry. (We had been forewarned of their liking for real ale and had taken the necessary precautions). The Battlefields Trust had their usual stall, expertly manned by Harvey Watson, Malcolm Eden and David Austin, and they successfully enrolled more than a dozen new Trust members.

The interval during Saturday lunchtime gave an opportunity for the Northumbria Ranters, a highly accomplished local youth orchestra, to entertain the crowd with melody, artistry and panache. During the Sunday lunchtime interval the Coldstream Pipe Band did the honours.

The main action of course took place in the battle area, which was a natural arena set below an ancient river terrace of the Tweed, and thus providing excellent viewing for the audience. The Viking warriors put on a series of displays starting with the use of the weapons of the day, spear, axe, sword, bow and slingshot. This was followed first, by one-on-one combat, and then skirmishes by small bands of warriors as they ranged around the arena looking for victims.

The battle that everyone was waiting for took place in the afternoon. Two distinct groups of warriors assembled in the village area, one representing the Scots and the other the defending Northumbrians. Both groups marched into opposite ends of the arena and moved into their battle lines. Missiles and insults were thrown at the opposing sides before each formed into the



The Kiddie-Vike



The leper

fighting formation of the shield wall with its tightly packed front line, with those in the ranks behind ready to fill the space should a front-rank comrade fall in battle. More spears, arrows and insults were hurled before one side took the initiative and made the move forward. Midfield this irresistible force met the immovable object of the opposing shield wall. The resulting conflict was impressive, noisy and ferocious. Axe split shield. Sword clashed on armour. Spear struck spear. Punches were not pulled.

At times it was difficult to remember that this was in fact all carefully choreographed; novice fought novice and expert was set against expert. Accidents were not entirely unknown, and although there were a few resultant bruises, only a couple of minor cuts were suffered and the re-enactors had their own paramedics on hand to repair the damage.

As was required for this battle the Scots won the day, Northumbria surrendered and the land north of the river Tweed was secured for Scotland. However, all was not yet entirely lost and the warriors decided on a replay, this time without an agreed outcome of who should be the victor. The second version of the battle followed similar opening tactics, but was even more intense. Remarkably, some who had been killed in the first battle had by now recovered to fight again, and perhaps take revenge and even the score. This battle lasted longer than the first and casualties were greater. When dwindling numbers and exhaustion finally took over there was perhaps a winning side, but it was not obvious which was victorious. But it just did not matter. The re-enactors were hot, tired and happy that their performance had been so brilliantly executed. The audience were enthusiastic in their applause and congratulated as many of the individual performers as they could. This was the culmination of a day unlike anything seen in Carham for a thousand years. But all was not over – the same would happen again on Sunday, the following day, and many came back to see the show again.

There is a short video of the Carham anniversary weekend event on the Battlefields Trust YouTube channel. To view the video, please visit <https://www.youtube.be/kRKIAAxtnVU>.



The Battlefields Trust stand



Aftermath with casualties



Melee



The Viking village



The shield wall

The Forgotten Fronts of the First World War

by John Ross



Field Marshal Viscount Edmund Allenby

This article looks at three campaigns away from the Western Front that involved substantial numbers of British and Empire troops. Whilst there are also others, space precludes coverage of them. In this article the campaigns covered are Italy, Palestine and Salonika.

Palestine

The Allied Supreme War Council had come to the belief that the Ottoman Empire could be knocked out of the war with campaigns in Gallipoli, Palestine and Mesopotamia (modern day Iraq); although Gallipoli was a disastrous failure.

In 1916 in Egypt, British forces gained a new commander, Lieutenant General Sir Archibald Murray, along with additional resources. By stages the mission of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force (EEF) evolved from a defence of Egypt and the vital link of the Suez Canal to an invasion of Palestine.

First, the Sinai Desert had to be crossed, a test of endurance as well as of engineering for the troops involved. Access to water dictated what could be achieved. Tens of thousands of camels and drivers were required to supply the thirsty soldiers, whilst a water pipe and a railway were extended to the borders of Palestine. A good example of the importance of logistics in war.

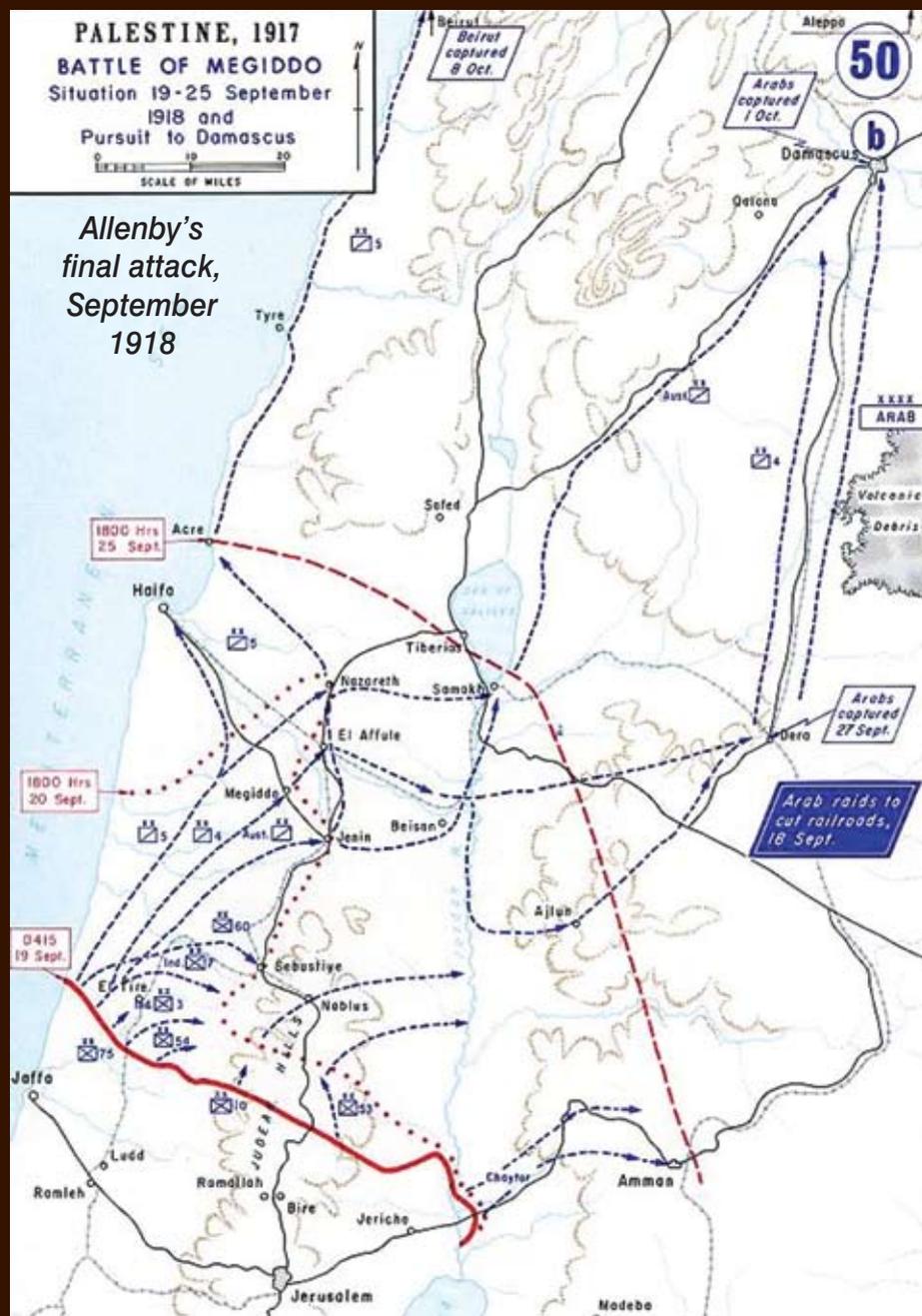


Lieutenant General Sir Archibald Murray

In early 1917, Britain seemed on the verge of knocking the Ottomans out of the war and was enjoying success on several fronts. On 11 March, General Maude's forces on the Mesopotamian front captured Baghdad. Two weeks later, Murray's advance force, having cleared Ottoman forces out of the Sinai, launched a lightning strike with infantry and cavalry against Gaza, the gateway to Palestine, which was occupied by the Ottoman Empire. The attempt to take Gaza, however, failed when Murray's commanders broke off battle with victory

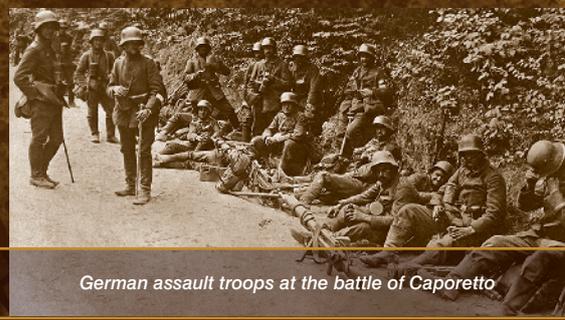
within their grasp. Encouraged by Murray's misleading report of the battle, London ordered another assault, but this second battle of Gaza (17–19 April 1917), a frontal assault with inadequate artillery support against strong defences, was a disaster.

The war now took a turn for the worse for the Allies, although more because of a downturn in Allied fortunes in Europe than because of Murray's failure to capture Gaza. Germany's resumption of unrestricted U-boat warfare took a





The victorious General Allenby dismounted, enters Jerusalem on foot out of respect for the Holy City, 11 December 1917



German assault troops at the battle of Caporetto

terrible toll on Allied shipping, which threatened Britain's ability to supply and maintain the other fronts.

Defeat of the Ottoman Empire

Murray's failure to capture Gaza led to his replacement by General Sir Edmund Allenby, a soldier of great vigour and imagination, who was able to create a personal bond with his troops. The government hoped to achieve a concrete victory to boost morale at home and gave Allenby the flexibility to advance on Jerusalem.

In October, when the weather was more favourable, Allenby made good use of his infantry and a large mounted force, which included many troopers from Australia and New Zealand, to break through the Gaza–Beersheba Front. And, after a difficult advance across the Judean hills, he walked through the Jaffa Gate on 11 December 1917 as the thirty-fourth conqueror of Jerusalem.

Convinced that neither side had the means to achieve victory in France in 1918, Prime Minister David Lloyd George sought to make Allenby's theatre the focus of his country's military effort. Germany's massive offensives closer to home during the first half of 1918, however, forced the government to recall most of Allenby's British soldiers

to France. Allenby, who retained his cavalry, received replacements for his infantry in Egypt from many sources, predominately from India, but also from many other diverse nations. Due to the focus on the Western Front, Palestine was relatively quiet during the late spring and summer of 1918 and Allenby concentrated on improving the Allied position.

Allenby returned to the offensive at the battle of Megiddo on 19 September 1918. With a decided advantage in manpower, artillery, air-power and morale, and assisted by Arab allies on his flank, he quickly destroyed the Ottoman/Turkish armies facing him.

Once the enemy front was broken, the EEF's cavalry dominated the campaign. Damascus fell on 1 October, Aleppo, the last city to fall in the campaign, on 26 October. Five days later an armistice with the Ottoman Empire came into effect. Since 19 September Allenby's forces had advanced hundreds of miles and netted over 75,000 prisoners.

The aftermath

The war ended with the British occupying the territory that was to become Iraq, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. With the Ottoman Empire destroyed, Russia paralysed by

foreign intervention and civil war, and French influence limited somewhat by their minor military role in the Middle East, Britain's military success made her the dominant power in the region. The resulting settlement, which fostered an instability that continues to be a source of conflict today, generated much controversy at the time and has continued to do so ever since.

Italy

Italy entered the war against Austria-Hungary in May 1915 and against Germany in August 1916. They had had limited success, hoping to gain territory in the South Tyrol and the Austrian Littoral with a surprise attack; however, the Italians were repulsed in the three battles of the Isonzo. In November 1915 they tried again in the fourth battle of the Isonzo, but this too ended in stalemate and the front soon bogged down into trench warfare. During the winter both sides rearmed and in March 1916 the Italians tried again in the fifth battle of the Isonzo.

Following this stalemate, the Austro-Hungarians began planning their own counter-offensive on the Asiago Plateau. Their objective was to break out into the Po valley thus cutting off the Italian army in the north-east of the country. However, this offensive failed, and throughout the remainder of 1916 further battles on the Isonzo took place all achieving very little. Although the Italians had some success in the eleventh battle of the Isonzo they were unable to exploit their gains as their logistics were unable to resupply the frontline troops. The Austro-Hungarians received reinforcements from Germany and this enabled them to plan and launch the battle of Caporetto (modern day Kobarid in Slovenia) in October 1917. The defeated Italians were forced to retreat to the Tagliamento river. They were also pushed back on the Asiago Plateau.

The Italian government appealed to the British and the French for help in line with agreements that had been reached at the Chantilly Conference in December 1915. The response was swift and decisive in order to ensure that the Italians did not withdraw from the war. The allies organised the Italian



The charge of the Australian Light Horse at Beersheba, 1917, by George Lambert



General Sir Herbert Plumer



Lieutenant General Frederick Rudolph Lambert

Expeditionary Force (IEF) to reinforce the defeated Italians. The first French troops arrived on 27 October 1917. The first British troops followed them after a few days.

The IEF consisted primarily of the French Tenth Army with the addition of the 12th Corps. They took up station around Verona. The initial deployment of XIV Corps under Lieutenant General Frederick Lambert, the earl of Cavan, was increased to five divisions and came under the command of General Sir Herbert Plumer. The Allied deployment allowed the Italians to start rebuilding their army and they were assisted by the British. The numbers of British troops in Italy peaked in January 1918 at 113,759 but at this time they concentrated on training the Italians and saw comparatively little military action.

The principal units in the British Expeditionary Force (Italy) (BEF(I)) were the 23rd, 41st, 7th, 48th and 5th divisions. The 5th Division returned to France on 1 March 1918, followed by the 41st Division in April due to the build-up of German forces on the Western Front. Command of the British forces reverted to Lieutenant General Lord Cavan and were renamed XIV Corps.

Once Cavan reassumed command the British divisions occupied new positions on the Asiago Plateau and the corps came under command of the newly formed Italian Sixth Army. The British now began an aggressive policy of raiding to harass the Austrians.

The battle of the Piave

The battle of the Piave river was the last military offensive by Austria-Hungary. A clear failure, the operation struck a major blow to the army's morale and cohesion and had political repercussions throughout war-weary Austria-Hungary. The battle signalled the end of its army as a fighting force and the beginning of the internal political collapse of the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was finally achieved at the battle of Vittorio Veneto four months later. The British corps held the Asiago Plateau with 48th Division on the left, 23rd Division on the right, and 7th



Battle of Caporetto



Battle of Vittorio Veneto

Division in reserve. The Austrian artillery opened fire at 3.00 a.m., however, as the guns were not properly registered the subsequent bombardment was not effective and British counter-battery fire dealt with many of the Austrian batteries.

The infantry attack commenced at 7.00 a.m., but the British had discovered the timing of the attack and were ready for it. On the right the 23rd Division successfully repulsed the attack. On the left, in the 48th Divisional area, the Austrians succeeded in gaining some 3,000 yards into the British positions. Successive counter-attacks enabled the line to be recaptured and stabilised. Further to the east the Austrians had

considerable success against the Italians, gaining bridgeheads on the Italian side of the Piave and over the next couple of days these were enlarged. On 17 June torrential rain washed away many of the Austrian bridges whilst bombing and shelling destroyed many more. By 23 June counter-attacks had forced the Austrians back across the Piave.

The Austrians had 69,000 casualties, whilst a further 50,000 were captured, the Italians lost 85,000 men. The British, on the Asiago plateau, had 1,500 casualties to the Austrians 2,500. During the following months the divisions continued their policy of



The Salonika Front



aggressive raiding capturing many prisoners. On 9 October Cavan assumed command of the newly formed Italian Tenth Army, comprising the British XIV Corps minus the 48th division which remained with the Italian Sixth Army on the Asiago Plateau. Cavan's other corps was the Italian XI Corps.

The battle of Vittorio Veneto

The Italian supreme commander, General Diaz, formulated a plan to go on the offensive which was to be spearheaded by the Tenth Army, who would cross the Piave and advance 12 miles to the Livenza river protecting the right flank of the other Italian armies.

The Piave at this time was in full-flood, it was about 1.5 miles wide and dotted with islands, the largest, the Grave di Papadopoli, was held by an Austrian outpost, this was captured by the Honourable Artillery Company (HAC), commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Richard O'Connor, who later rose to Lieutenant General in the Second World War. The Island was secured on 26 October after the HAC were rowed to the island in gondola-type boats crewed by Italian gondoliers. On the following day, the Tenth Army attacked and secured bridgeheads across the Piave. The Tenth Army was reinforced by the Italian 31st Division and later by XVIII Corps.

By 29 October all enemy resistance had crumbled and the Austrians were in full retreat. The Sixth Army, including 48th Division, were to hold the Asiago Plateau initially and then advance. On 1 November, 48th Division attacked, and by the following evening the division had crossed the Austrian frontier. When the armistice was signed with the Austrians on 4 November the division was 60 miles into Austrian territory.

Conclusion

The British and French timely intervention prevented the collapse of the Italian Army in 1917. They helped initially with training and re-equipping the Italians and restoring their morale. In the final battles the British army's

performance was out of proportion to its size on the Italian front. The British were fortunate in having two excellent commanders in General Sir Hubert Plumer, until March 1918, and then Lieutenant General the earl of Cavan.

Salonika

The Salonika Campaign, which is probably one of the least-known about, began on 5 October 1915 with the deployment of the 10th Irish Division and the French 156th Division to the port of Salonika (modern day Thessaloniki). The aim of the deployment was to deter the Bulgarians from joining Germany and Austria-Hungary. However, they were not deterred and declared war, mobilising to attack Serbia.

The attempt by the Anglo French force to assist the Serbians ended in failure and by December they were retreating back to Salonika. In January 1916 Allied forces were placed under command of General Maurice Sarrail, which reflected the French primacy of the operation.

By March 1917 the British held 90 miles of the front, including the key strategic position around Doiran. In April, Sarrail launched an offensive and in support the British Salonika Force (BSF) attempted to capture Bulgarian positions around Doiran. When the offensive failed both sides reverted to static trench warfare

which continued until the autumn of 1918.

In 1918 a new Allied commander took over, General Louis Franchet d'Espéry, who planned an offensive to break the stalemate. On 15 September French and Serbian divisions attacked the Bulgarians in the mountains west of Monastir at the battle of Dobro Pole. Within three days they broke through the defences and advanced north.

In support, the BSF and the Greeks again attacked the Bulgarians at the third battle of Doiran, but the assault, as on the two previous occasions, again failed. However, a few days after the battle, the British realised the Bulgarian fortifications were quiet and they advanced only to find the positions abandoned. The Serbs and French armies were advancing northwards towards Doiran following their victory at Dobro Pole. This prompted the Bulgarians at Doiran to retreat so that they would not be cut off from the rear.

The British were weary and pursued slowly, and the Bulgarian rearguard fought well enough to allow the rest of their troops to get away. The Allies continued to advance into Bulgarian-held territory and on 30 September, following the signing of the Armistice of Thessaloniki, the Bulgarians surrendered to the Allies in order to avoid occupation.

Conclusion

Both sides suffered from extremes of temperature in summer and winter and shortage of supplies. Disease was endemic. The BSF alone suffered 160,000 cases of Malaria. The BSF was not withdrawn until 1921.

Summary

Despite set-backs at various points, these three campaigns were all finally successful in helping to knock the Ottomans, Austrians and Bulgarians out of the war. Each campaign involved the deployment of large numbers of British and empire troops.



Battle of the Standard

by Geoffrey Carter

The battle of the Standard, also known as the battle of Northallerton, was probably the largest battle fought on British soil in the twelfth century. Pitched battles were not common in early medieval times; they were too unpredictable and the penalty for losing was always severe.

The battle was fought during that turbulent period in English history known as The Anarchy, 1135–54. After the death of his son, King Henry I had intended that his daughter Matilda should succeed him, but the idea of a woman ruling in England and Normandy did not gain the support of all of the nobility. Following Henry's death in 1135, his nephew, Stephen of Blois, seized the crown. As Matilda attempted to recover the throne England descended into civil war.

King David I of Scotland, Matilda's uncle,

rallied to her cause and was one of her most consistent supporters; however, he also had other objectives. He wanted to regain Carlisle and the surrounding territories that had been incorporated into England in 1092. From 1135 the Scots made a number of separate incursions into the north of England. These were not simply raids to destroy and plunder, that typified later Scottish invasions, but a conquest of the northern counties.

David's confidence grew as Stephen faced rebellion by Matilda's supporters in the south, and in the summer of 1138 the Scots invaded once more. This time there were two forces – one advanced along the west coast route, defeating an English army at Clitheroe in Lancashire, and the other along the east coast towards Newcastle. In July, Eustace fitz John, who held the important castles of Alnwick and Malton, defected to Matilda's cause and joined David. Bolstered by this English support the Scots called up further forces, turning this into a major invasion, and

besieged the castle of Wark amongst others. It is claimed that David brought together a force of 25,000 men, although medieval sources frequently inflate troop numbers. As David's army marched south they are said to have conducted systematic looting, including capturing peasants to take into Scotland as slaves. This prompted a decisive response from the northern English barons. King Stephen was campaigning in the south of England and so the responsibility for organising the defence fell upon his lieutenant in the north, Archbishop Thurstan of York. Thurstan was then aged about 70 and, although his skills were as an administrator and not as a field commander, he successfully promoted the action as a holy crusade against the Scots.

In the first week of August 1138 he began to assemble an army at York, with local levies and other forces instructed to assemble further to the north at Thirsk. On 14 August, the army marched north from York. Thurstan was too old and infirm to travel north himself and so



The Battle of the Standard by Sir John Gilbert





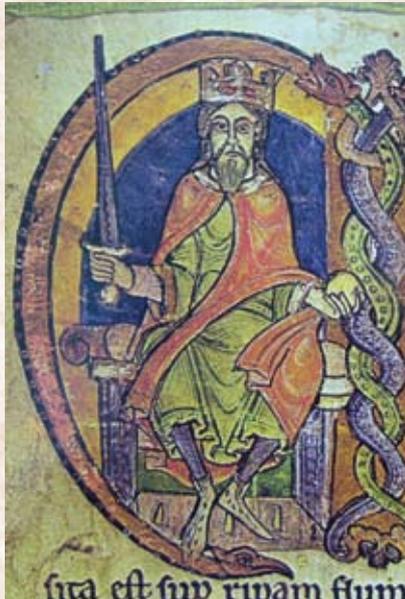
Empress Matilda

he sent his deputy, the bishop of Orkney, to accompany the army. The general muster of all the forces took place at Thirsk. There were two major Roman roads running north-south through Yorkshire and assembling the English army at Thirsk placed them in a position to counter the Scots whichever route they took.



Statue of Archbishop Thurston in York Cathedral

As usual, in early medieval warfare, attempts were first made to try to settle the issue by negotiation. Bernard de Balliol and Robert de Brus, who both held lands in Scotland and England and knew David, were dispatched to negotiate with the Scots. Ironically,



King David I of Scotland, from the Kelso Abbey Charter

although they were on the English side, descendants of both these men became future Scottish kings! They presented terms for a truce that had been sent by Stephen, who offered to recognise David's son Henry as earl of Huntingdon and Northumbria. But David rejected the terms and on 21 August the Scottish army crossed the river Tees.

The Scots probably advanced along the Great North Road and when this was reported by their scouts, early on the morning of 22 August, the English army marched north to counter. They bypassed Northallerton, perhaps using the route through Brompton village. Although now just a lane, this may have been a significant early medieval route which joins the Great North Road at the northern edge of the battlefield, two miles north of Northallerton.

The Scottish force seems to have been the larger, but at Northallerton, as so often in later campaigns, the Scots were unable to match the number of armoured troops that the English could muster. This was to prove their greatest weakness. Some 10,000-12,000 troops are claimed for the English army, including substantial numbers of armoured knights as well as many archers. It is said that the Scottish army comprised 25,000 men when it crossed the border but with those deployed in garrisons in the captured towns and

castles, and others involved in looting, there were perhaps some 16,000 men on the field at Northallerton. However, as all these calculations are based on the medieval chronicles they must be treated with care.

The command of the English army was possibly given to Walter Espec, sheriff of York, or William of Aumale, although on this the accounts are not clear. The barons in the region had gathered their followers, while Stephen had also sent Bernard de Balliol with a small body of knights to support the army. At Thirsk, the army was joined by Sir Robert de Ferrars, who had raised the nobility of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire to march north with him. The local militia had also been raised by the parish priests in the region, who led all the able-bodied men of their parish to Thirsk.

On the Scots side, King David was in command of the army supported by his son Prince Henry. Although the Scottish army had a small number of Anglo-Norman knights and men-at-arms with some Norman or Germanic mercenaries, the Scottish kingdom was still in the process of transformation. There was not the high level of central organisation seen in England that could produce large numbers of armoured knights and men-at-arms, wearing mail with a helmet, with large shields, an 8-foot lance and a sword.

The infantry forces from Galloway, described as Galwegians, possibly numbered as many as 7,000, armed with spears, about 12-foot long, and others with axes, possibly with a helmet and a small round shield of wood or leather. They are said to have considered themselves the best fighters in Scotland, but these unarmoured and ill-disciplined troops would be no match for the English archers and heavily armoured men-at-arms. There were also other similarly armed troops from the Highlands.

Very early in the morning of 22 August the English advanced to the battlefield first and chose their ground well. Two miles north of Northallerton they deployed to control the Great North Road (the modern A167) with the natural

An example of a medieval pyx as was used to make 'the Standard'.



The coronation of King Stephen.



had supposedly seen in Italy, where they were used in battle as the rallying point for city militia. Not apparently used before on an English battlefield, it is said to have comprised a mast of a ship set upon a wagon upon which were mounted a pyx (a small silver box) and two, or possibly four standards: the banners of St Peter of York, St John of Beverley, St Wilfred of Ripon and St Cuthbert of Durham.

The traditional location of the battle is between the two slight rises of Standard Hill, today both surmounted by farms of that name. However, recently identified field name evidence suggests that the English deployment, centred on the Standard should be placed some 300–400 metres to the south of the traditional site. This would put it immediately to the south of the area known as Scot Pits, where burials are recorded as having been found in the nineteenth century. This revised positioning does make sense. If the battle were fought as previously assumed, one is left to



Modern map of battleground area

protection of marshland on their left flank. The surviving name 'Cinnamon Farm' indicates this marshy land, which has since been drained. The ground they chose lay a little to the south of where the Brompton Lane joins the Great North Road. From here to the crossing of the river Tees was just eight miles to the north. The Scots marched south along the Great North Road until they found their way blocked by the English army.

As this campaign was being treated as a crusade against the Scots, a rallying point in the centre of the English battle array in the form of a Standard had been erected. It is from this that the battle gained its popular name. This was a continental practice that Thurstan



An image of the two army deployments. On the left is the 'traditional view' and on the right is the possible updated position.



The monument to the battle of the Standard.



wonder why the Scots dead were carried uphill back behind the English lines. It would be more usual for the dead to be buried where they fell – in the centre of where the main fighting had taken place. Yet another suggestion is that the English were aligned along Scot Pits, but in the absence of firm archaeological evidence then this all remains a matter of interpretation. There is certainly a good case for a project to look at this on the ground and to consider whether the registered area should be expanded to protect the site.

As to the deployment of the two armies, this has been interpreted differently by various writers over the years. Typically, medieval armies, both on the march and in battle array, were organised in three groups or 'battles'. Apart from one writer's rather bizarre interpretation with the English arrayed to the north and the Scots to the south, there are two alternative deployments given by modern authors. The Historic England registration report has the English deployed in a single body with just a small reserve to the rear protecting the horses, the majority of the baggage apparently had been left in Thirsk. The alternative deployment has the English in three lines, with archers, who were protected by dismounted men-at-arms, in the first line, a main battle with the senior figures and the knights centred on the Standard, and a small cavalry reserve, which also guarded the horses.

The Scottish army was deployed in four battles, according to most modern interpretations. However, they vary from a depiction of them aligned one behind the other to the plan followed by Historic England where they are deployed in a diamond formation. All are agreed that David with his reserve was at the rear, Prince Henry was on the right with one infantry wing and a small body of mounted knights, the Lothian troops on the left wing and the Galwegians in the centre. Initially David's battle plan had been to see his best-armed and armoured men take the fight to the English. But there was no love lost between the native Galwegian troops and the knights and their supporters from the increasingly feudalised lowland areas. Unfortunately, to maintain the support of the wayward Galwegian infantry, David had to give them the

honour of leading the attack, even though they had no protection from the English arrows and were no match for the well-equipped English men-at-arms. In this lay the seeds of David's dramatic defeat.

It was the Galwegians who launched the first Scottish attack in what appears to have been a somewhat ill-disciplined charge. A storm of English arrows blunted the Galwegian attack, because these Scottish troops were unarmoured. Indeed, so effective were the English archers that the Scottish infantry are described in the accounts as looking like hedgehogs as they retreated. However, some Galwegians did reach the English lines, and at least one section, possibly on the left front of the English battle array, was temporarily broken. But the English that wavered were supported quickly by other troops and the Galwegian attack was repulsed. After withdrawing the Galwegians made a second attack, but this met the same fate. Their commander was killed by an arrow and his men fell back in disorder. The second Scottish line now attacked but they too failed to break the English.

In what may have been a somewhat desperate attack, Prince Henry launched a cavalry charge from the Scottish right, with a few mounted knights. The heavily armoured cavalry with their lances broke through the English lines, but the men-at-arms again advanced to close the breach and so the Scottish infantry that attempted to support the cavalry attack were repulsed.

The Scottish cavalry, presumably now disorganised, were unable to capitalise on their success, and played no further significant part in the battle.

The Galwegian forces were already in flight, and the rest of the Scottish infantry began to follow suit with retreat turning into rout. David's rear-guard could do no more than provide a rallying point for the routed infantry and to protect their retreat from the field. After perhaps as little as two hours the battle was over.

The Scottish army suffered a dramatic defeat, but the contemporary claims of 10,000 or more killed have to be dismissed, though it seems fairly certain that the Scots lost far more killed and

wounded than did the English. The battlefield was however said to have been thickly covered with bodies, which, according to one account, 'were left unburied, and were eaten by the birds of the air and the beasts of the field.' There were also significant numbers captured, with supposedly some fifty Scottish knights taken prisoner and, customary for the period, held for ransom.

However many Scots were actually killed, the numbers of Scottish losses would have been much greater had the English forces staged a significant pursuit. They apparently did not, and it has been suggested that this was primarily because the majority of the English cavalry had dismounted to fight and cavalry was certainly the most important force in any rout.

Northallerton was a dramatic defeat for the Scots, but the English failed to capitalise upon it, at least in military terms. Soon after the battle the English levies were disbanded and only a small force was retained to reduce the castle at Malton, which was held by supporters of Matilda. Because of the continuing fighting between Stephen and Matilda, there was no major offensive to drive the Scots out of the northern territories.

Where then did this defeat leave David and his ambitions?

Stephen realised that he could not fight a war on two fronts and he needed to reach some sort of compromise with the Scots. This was achieved with the Treaty of Durham, which gave David's son Henry effective control of most of Northumbria. As the conflict in England twisted and turned so the position in the north grew more complicated. By the time that the civil war was settled with Matilda's son coming to the throne as Henry II of England, after Stephen's death in 1154, the reality was that Northumberland had been under the rule of the Scots without actually ever being a part of Scotland. By 1157 Henry II felt strong enough to reverse this position and took Northumberland back under his control from the 16-year-old Scottish king, Malcolm IV, in return for a few concessions. Of course, as we all know, this was far from being an end to things between the English and the Scots!

uniting behind the pretender Lambert Simnel and invading Ireland. But these forces under the earl of Lincoln were routed by loyal troops led by the earl of Oxford at Stoke Field, near Nottingham, on 16 June 1487. Stoke Field lasted longer and had more casualties than Bosworth, but yet it is largely forgotten. David Baldwin in this book, first published in 2005, attempts to rectify this imbalance.

He starts by summarising in the first 13-page chapter the thirty years prior to 1487 – a tough challenge which does not quite come to grips with the complex activity of those times. Next, the lead up to the battle is well covered, whilst the battle itself occupies less than ten pages. Thereafter, Henry's actions in pursuing or pardoning the rebels are examined, and there is a special focus on Lincoln's second-in-command, Lord Francis Lovell, whose fate after the battle remains surprisingly uncertain. The next chapter, somewhat unnecessarily, speculates on how history might have been different if the Yorkists had won. There follows a guided tour of the battlefield and lastly an evaluation of various historical sources.

The author draws extensively on the work of Polydore Vergil, Henry VII's court historian, but also considers other contemporary accounts and subsequent histories. Throughout he is careful to claim as fact only that which is beyond doubt, but in places this can make the text a somewhat dry read as the other options are also included. There are many useful illustrations of prominent participants, places, weaponry and other artefacts. Overall this is a well-balanced assessment of a battle which merits more attention in comparison with other Wars of the Roses engagements.

Review by Bill Griffin

The Oxford Illustrated History of The Third Reich

By Robert Gellately
Published by Oxford University Press, 2018
383 pages, including Appendix & Index,
HB £25.00
ISBN: 978-0-19-872828-3

The book is set out in a logical format with an introduction covering how Hitler rose from his humble beginnings to be overall leader of the Nazi party. This sets the scene for the following chapters written by different authors covering all aspects of the Nazi regime rise to power, offering a fresh approach to what is a complex history of the Third Reich.



It includes lots of propaganda images demonstrating the techniques used to seize power, with further content covering the Reichstag fire decree, anti-Semitic violence, boycotts, marches, politics including Potsdam day. There are also some interesting facts covered, such as the inmates of concentration camps, which were established as early as 1933, still being allowed to vote in elections, a little-known fact I am sure.

There is a wealth of information on how German architecture evolved over the period, covering the work of Albert Speer, Hitler's love of the arts, opera and architecture generally. A further chapter even talks about music of the period, covering the ban on jazz music in particular.

German economic challenges, which included plundering to support its needs, is also covered alongside a harrowing, if informative, chapter on the Holocaust shedding new light on the horrors of this episode in history. In the appendix there is a list of inmate numbers in concentration camps between 1934 and 1945. There is an overview of the war generally, productivity and access to resources and how the eventual strangulation of these brought an end to the Third Reich.

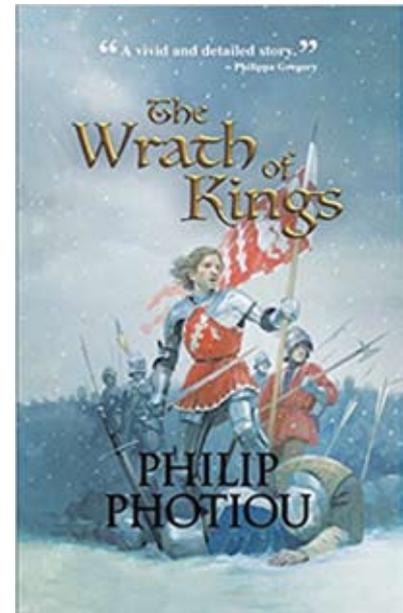
An interesting, detailed overview of the Third Reich covering areas not often touched in other publications. Highly recommended.

Review by James Hunwicke

The Wrath of Kings

By Philip Photiou
Published by New Generation Publishing,

2014
399 pages, SB £11.99
ISBN: 978-1-7850-7197-3



Battlefields Trust members may already know Philip Photiou for his excellent account of Plymouth during the Civil War, but he has now branched out into the field of historical fiction with this rigorously researched and robustly written novel of the Wars of the Roses. Beginning on the eve of Towton and ending three years later on the beach below Bamburgh castle, *The Wrath of Kings* tells the story of the adventures (and misadventures) of Philip Neville, a (fictitious) Yorkist knight and cousin of Warwick the Kingmaker.

In addition to his meticulous research, what makes Photiou's novel so worth reading is its gritty realism. He is at his best when evoking the blood, sweat and tears of fifteenth-century life, especially on campaign, and his depictions of the brutalities of medieval combat are nothing short of gut-wrenching. Anyone walking a medieval battlefield will benefit from reading it.

Review by Julian Humphrys

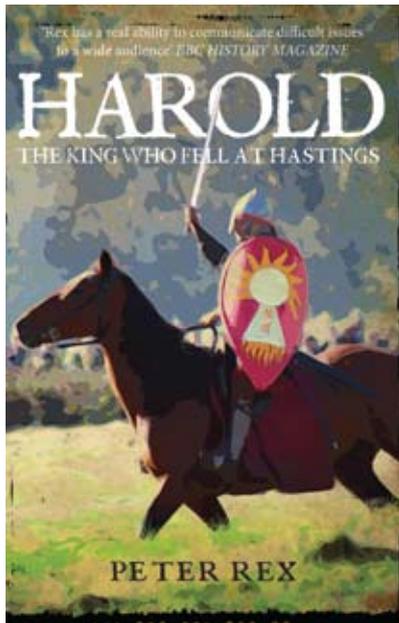
Harold

The King Who Fell at Hastings
By Peter Rex
Published by Amberley Publishing, 2017
119 pages, including Notes & Appendices,
SB £9.99
ISBN: 978-1-4456-5721-9

This book is not for the faint-hearted, nor for anybody who has only a passing interest in the subject. The author, now



sadly deceased, was an expert on the period covering 960–1066, with at least a dozen books to his credit, and his scholarship is to be greatly admired. Sadly, it does assume a degree of expertise in this early period of English history and a general understanding of the events and dynasties of the time. If you are not of that cohort this book is not for you.



Harold – The King Who Fell at Hastings tells the story of the last Anglo-Saxon king and his journey to the throne, succeeding Edward the Confessor, whose support he had garnered. The battle, which saw him lose his crown receives eleven pages of careful analysis and will be valued by military history aficionados. The book is well-written and the depth of the research is to be admired. However, the resulting intricate detail is more suited to academics specialising in Saxon history than to the casual reader. Trying to keep abreast of the multitude of Saxon and Scandinavian names is too much of a chore and an appendix featuring brief biographical details of the *dramatis personae* would have helped, along with a glossary of some of the more esoteric terms. The absence of maps, and particularly an index, is to be regretted, though possibly that is more to do with the publishers desire to keep the costs down than the wishes of the author.

If the Saxon period of English history is your passion then this is the book for you but if you are principally concerned with the battle of Hastings then I would turn elsewhere.

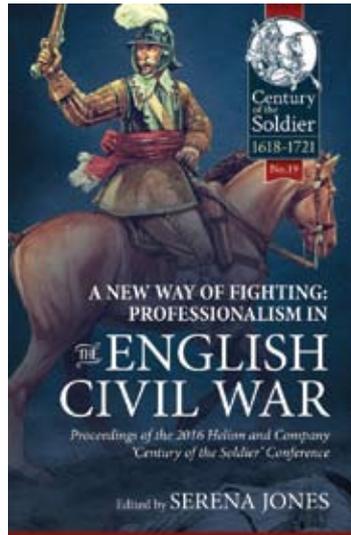
Review by John Crane

A New Way of Fighting

Professionalism in the English Civil War

Helion Century of the Soldier 1618–1721 Series No. 19

Edited by Serena Jones
Published by Helion & Company, 2017
119 pages, including Index, HB £25.00
ISBN: 978-1-911512-61-5



This book is a record of the 2016 conference on Professionalism in the English Civil War. It contains six monographs of various lengths, recording the presentations made. Of these six, two are also available in much expanded form as books within this same series (Serena Jones' work on Sir George Lisle and John Barratt's on the Northern Horse).

For those with a specialist interest, Simon Marsh's article on James Wemyss' innovations in artillery uncovers much information I had not previously encountered and presents it clearly and well. Two others deal with the Leicestershire Trained Bands and the Honourable Artillery Company respectively. The final one, by Professor Wanklyn, on the New Model Army and the end of the Republic, barely runs to nine pages. Herein lies the essential problem of the book. Although it contains much fascinating information, at 112 pages, it is hardly long enough to justify its hardback price of over £20.

The subject of the growth of professionalism is certainly an interesting one, but potentially also a vast one. Here the presentations only succeed in scratching the surface, almost tantalizing the reader. All the articles have interesting things to say on their particular subjects, but the book as a whole lacks a unifying

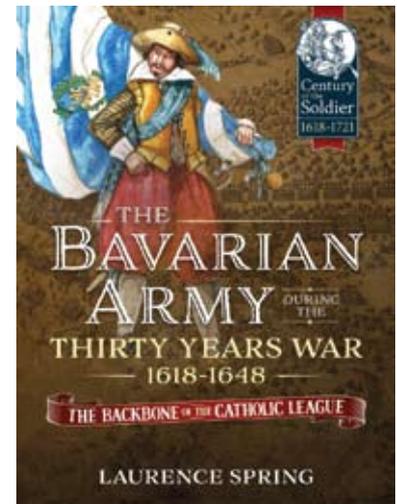
perspective. Given this, it would have benefited hugely from an overview setting the individual studies in their rightful context. Overall this is not a book for the general reader, and even the specialist may find their money better invested elsewhere within this series.

Review by Andrew Brentnall

The Bavarian Army during the Thirty Years War 1618–1648

The Backbone of the Catholic League
Helion Century of the Soldier 1618–1721 Series No. 15

By Laurence Spring
Published by Helion & Company, 2017
195 pages, including Notes and Appendices, HB £25.00
ISBN: 978-1-911512-39-4



Laurence Spring's book turns its attention to the Thirty Years War, and to one of its lesser-studied armies, the Bavarians. This is very welcome in itself, and, as one would expect from a professional archivist, it contains a wealth of first-hand source material which offers those glimpses which bring both period and subject alive. This is not confined to the Bavarians, but detailed information regarding other armies, such as the Swedes, is also included.

The book is sensibly organised into chapters scrutinising various aspects of the raising, training and equipping of the army, as well as how it was organised and maintained in the field, and the way that it fought. For those whose interest in this period is fuelled by wargaming, or by the painting of model soldiers, there is much here on uniform colours, which could vary from year to year, and the practice of wearing scarves, or sashes, to distinguish between armies, which will



aid in their endeavours. The chapter on tactics is particularly well-illustrated, and the author conducts the reader through the complex period drill manuals, and the sometimes acrimonious debates which they have engendered, with a steady hand. It is also admirable in being copiously footnoted, containing an excellent and comprehensive bibliography, and no less than three (places, people and general subjects) indexes!

Overall I found this to be a splendid book, packed with fascinating information, laid out in a logical and clear fashion, and I thoroughly enjoyed it.

Review by Andrew Brentnall

Peter the Great Humbled

The Russo-Ottoman War of 1711
Helion Century of the Soldier
1618-1721 Series No. 22

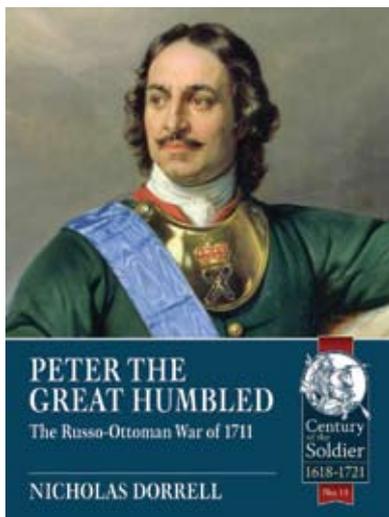
By Nicholas Dorrell

Published by Helion & Company, 2017

120 pages, including Appendices and

Index, SB £19.95

ISBN: 978-1-911512-31-8



To most UK readers the war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire at this time is little-known. However, the war was of great significance not only to countries such as Romania and Moldavia, but also Russia, which got off very lightly in the settlement which followed the crushing defeat Peter the Great suffered on the river Prut in 1711.

This book is very well researched, using a wide range of sources including non-English primary sources. It is lavishly illustrated by Maksim Borisov a talented artist and illustrator. Detailed commentaries are provided on the colour plates and there are also many photographs, colour, and black and white, line drawings and very

helpful maps.

The writing is clear, details the opposing commanders and armies (including details of uniforms) and then describes the campaigns on the secondary fronts, the Crimea, Ukraine and the Kuban, followed by a more detailed account of the main campaign in the Balkans. There is also a detailed analysis of the protracted peace negotiations which led to the Treaty of Adrianople in 1713, the generosity of which guaranteed the survival of Peter the Great.

My only criticism is that there are only occasional references to the wider international situation. In this area I would have welcomed a brief overview supported by a map or two; however, this is a minor point. The book is a highly readable account that covers the campaign from the waistcoat colours of Russian infantry to the failed diplomacy of Charles XII of Sweden. I thoroughly recommend it as an enjoyable antidote to anglocentricism.

Review by Ian Binnie

Malta 1940-42 The Axis' air battle for Mediterranean supremacy

Osprey Air Campaign Series 004

By Ryan K Noppen; Illustrated by Graham Turner

Published by Osprey Publishing, 2018

96 pages, including Index, SB £13.99

ISBN: 978-1-4728-2060-0



This recent addition to the new *Air Campaign* series covers the Italian and German attempt to gain air supremacy over Malta and the central Mediterranean.

Mussolini had long-held ambitions for Italy to be the dominant power in the Mediterranean, but Malta, a key British naval base, posed a threat to these

ambitions. As early as 1935 the Italian forces had started planning for an invasion of Malta, and in 1940 it fell to the Italian air force, the *Regia Aeronautica*, to gain air supremacy over the island.

The book recounts the story of the attack on Malta, from the initial Italian efforts, which failed to win air supremacy, to the Luftwaffe's blitz on the island, which might have succeeded in its objective had it been allowed to continue, and the final attempts towards the end of 1942.

This is a fascinating story that see-saws between the attackers and the defenders as to which side will gain air superiority. Although heavy at times, the attacks could never be sustained for long enough to achieve the desired objective of air denial to the British, consequently the Italians were never in a position to invade and forces on Malta continued to be able to disrupt the supply lines to the Axis forces in North Africa.

This is an informative and interesting account of the battle for Malta from the view of the Axis powers and provides a different perspective from the more usual accounts.

Review by Chris May

Some recent additions to the popular *Osprey Campaign* series have included the following titles.

Imphal 1944

The Japanese invasion of India

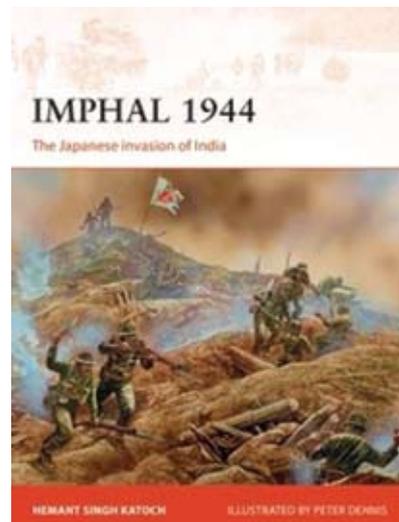
Osprey Campaign Series 319

By Hemant Singh Katoch; Illustrated by Peter Dennis

Published by Osprey Publishing, 2018

96 pages, including Index, SB £14.99

ISBN: 978-1-4728-2015-0



Walks, Talks & Special Events

Saturday 24 November 2018

Study Day – ‘And down goes all before them’ – Gunpowder weapons from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries

The Battlefields Trust in partnership with the Royal Gunpowder Mills at Waltham Abbey present a one-day seminar from 9.30 a.m.–5.30 p.m., on gunpowder weapons from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, entitled ‘And down goes all before them’, a quotation from Shakespeare’s *Henry V*. The venue will be the Royal Gunpowder Mills, Beaulieu Drive, Waltham Abbey, Essex, EN9 1JY. The day will include lectures, demonstrations of gunpowder weapons by re-enactors and tours of the Royal Gunpowder Mills. Speakers include Helen Adams, Richard Knox and Simon Marsh, with demonstrations from Rumford Artillery Group (part of Lord Fauconberg’s Household) of the War of the Roses Federation and Rawdon’s Regiment of the English Civil War Society. Cost for the day is £35.00 for Battlefields Trust members (£40.00 for non-members) and includes lunch and refreshments. For more information on the day, including the full programme and to book a place please visit the Battlefields Trust website Events page and click on the link to download details. For further information contact Harvey Watson at london.southeast@battlefieldstrust.com or telephone 01494 257847.

Saturday 24 November 2018

Battle of Naseby 1645

A Naseby battlefield visit (a mix of driving and ‘medium impact’ walking, depending on conditions under foot) with special access to Prince Rupert’s Farm paddock (royalist perspective) and – weather permitting (it is November) – walking from there to the Sulby Viewpoint. There will be weapon and equipment demonstrations from members of the Sealed Knot plus horsemen at Sulby and musket firing. There may be opportunities to explore areas of the fighting retreat but we may be limited by the weather and available daylight. The event is free to members of Northampton Battlefields Society, the Battlefields Trust and Friends of the Naseby Battlefield Project. Other visitors most welcome, but a donation of £10.00 per adult is requested to support the

Naseby Battlefield Project. Meet 10.30 a.m. at Naseby Church (NN6 6DA). For further information contact Simon Marsh at mercia@battlefieldstrust.com or telephone 07742 958888.



Naseby - Cromwell monument

Sunday 25 November 2018 and Sunday 2 December 2018

Battle of Bosworth 1485

A full tour of Bosworth battlefield with the latest interpretation based on recent archaeological finds and views of the battlefield from the viewpoint of all three protagonists, especially that of Henry Tudor which will not be possible if the western part of battlefield is built on in 2019. The tour will be guided by Richard Mackinder, who worked at the Bosworth Battlefield Visitor Centre for 26 years and worked with Glenn Foard on the

new interpretation in 2009. Meet at 10.30 a.m. at the Bosworth Battlefield Visitor Centre, Sutton Cheney, Leicestershire CV13 0AD for a two-and-a-half hour tour, and includes coach and briefing notes. The cost is £25.00 and is payable on the day. The Visitor Centre Tithe Barn will be open for Sunday Roast lunch at 1.00 p.m., if you would like to book lunch please indicate so the Visitor Centre can have some idea of numbers. To book your numbered ticket please email Kelvin van Hasselt – Founder & Vice President, The Battlefields Trust – at kelvin@afriabookrep.com or telephone 01263 513560 and provide your contact details including your mobile number. There is only room for fifteen participants on each of the tours. Tickets will be available on a first-come first-served basis.

Sunday 2 December 2018

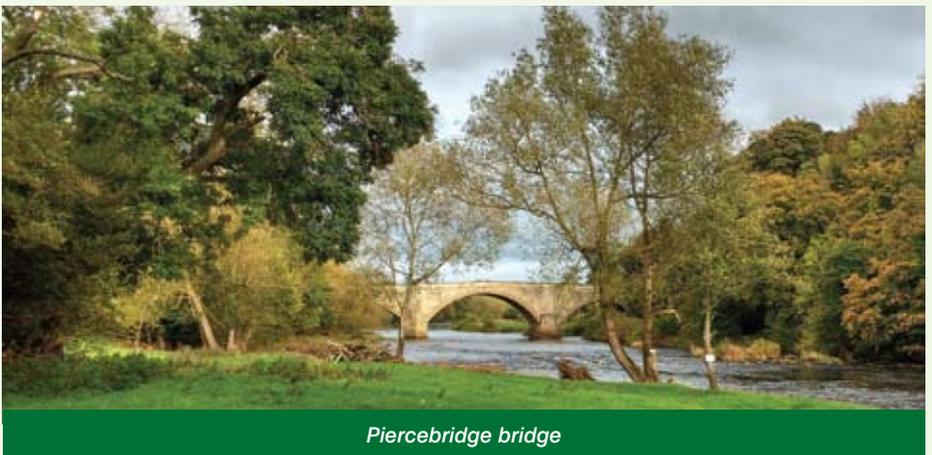
Battle of Tewkesbury 1471

Join the Tewkesbury Battlefield Society for a two-hour guided tour of the battlefield. Meet at 2.30 p.m. at The Crescent (GL20 5PD). The car park is signposted and adjacent. Contact Richard Goddard on email goddard961@gmail.com or telephone 07884 106549.

Sunday 2 December 2018

Remembering Civil War Piercebridge 1642

An all-day event from 10.00 a.m.–9.30 p.m. at the George Hotel, Piercebridge, commemorating the battle of Piercebridge on 1 December 1642, and in memory of royalist Colonel Thomas Howard and the soldiers of both armies. The day-time events



Piercebridge bridge



Mosquito at the de Havilland Aircraft Museum.

are free, but donations are welcome. Displays are from 10.00 a.m.–3.30 p.m. and include living history by the Newcastle Garrison, Cannon! Arms and armour object handling, model of the battle of Piercebridge, and history displays. There are battlefield walks at 11.00 a.m. and 1.00 p.m. At 4.00 p.m. there is a commemorative service at Piercebridge parish church. Evening talks are from 7.00 p.m.–9.30 p.m. Tees Valley Battles 1642–43 by Phil Philo of the Battlefields Trust followed by *Civil Insolencies* by Bob Beagrie, with live musical accompaniment by *Project Lono* – inspired by the battle of Guisborough 1643. Tickets are £5.00 in advance, £7.00 on the door. For further information and to book tickets contact Phil Philo at pphil1958@gmail.com or telephone 07585 905623.

Saturday 5 January 2019

Talk – Richard III and the Beauforts at Tewkesbury 1471

Authors Matthew Lewis and Nathan Amin will be talking about Richard III and the Beauforts at the battle of Tewkesbury. The talk starts at 2.00 p.m. in the Parish Room, Tewkesbury Abbey and will be followed by a question and answer session with both authors. Tickets are £7.50. Details on how to obtain tickets can be found on the Tewkesbury Battlefield Society website at www.tewkesbury.org.uk/talks-and-presentations. For further information contact Richard Goddard at goddard961@gmail.com.

Sunday 6 January 2019

Battle of Tewkesbury 1471

Join the Tewkesbury Battlefield Society for a two-hour guided tour of the battlefield. Meet at 2.00 p.m. at Abbey Lawn car park, Gander Lane, GL20 5PG. For more information contact Richard

Goddard on email goddard961@gmail.com or telephone 07884 106549.

Saturday 2 February 2019

East Anglia Study Day

The study day will be held at The Cedars Hotel, Stowmarket, Suffolk, IP14 2AJ. Price £20.00 and includes refreshments. (life members £10.00; non-members £30.00). A buffet lunch is available for an extra £10.00. Speakers include Harry Sidebottom (author of the *Warrior of Rome* novels and Fellow and Director of Studies in Ancient History at St Benets Hall, and Lecturer in Ancient History at Lincoln College), Dr Michael Jones on the fight to save Bosworth battlefield, and Geoffrey Carter 'It's Only A Field – Raising Community Interest in Historic Battlefields'. Please contact David Austin on daustin.bt@btinternet.com to book a place.

Sunday 3 February 2019

Battle of Tewkesbury 1471

Join the Tewkesbury Battlefield Society for a two-hour guided tour of the battlefield. Meet at 2.00 p.m. at Abbey Lawn car park, Gander Lane, GL20 5PG. For more information contact Richard Goddard on email goddard961@gmail.com or telephone 07884 106549.

Sunday 3 March 2019

Battle of Tewkesbury 1471

Join the Tewkesbury Battlefield Society for a two-hour guided tour of the battlefield. Meet at 2.00 p.m. at Abbey Lawn car park, Gander Lane, GL20 5PG. For more information contact Richard Goddard on email goddard961@gmail.com or telephone 07884 106549.

Sunday 10 March 2019

Proposed visit to de Havilland Aircraft Museum

In March 2017 the Battlefields Trust

organised a successful visit to the de Havilland Aircraft Museum at London Colney, Hertfordshire, AL2 1BU. It has been suggested that in 2019 we should pay a return visit. The de Havilland Aircraft Museum is Britain's oldest aircraft museum. It has more than twenty historic aircraft spanning some seventy years of the de Havilland Aircraft Company including three Mosquito fighter bombers – London Colney, has more 'Wooden Wonders' than any other museum in the world. As this would be a paid-for event (£17.00 per individual) it is dependent on the Trust having enough numbers interested in visiting for the museum to provide a group guide. Therefore, please can those members wishing to visit as part of a group express their interest. Numbers would, however, be limited to twenty-five places on a first-come first-served basis. The tour would begin at 10.30 a.m. and would last approximately two hours; people would then have free access to the museum. Tea and biscuits will also be available. Please can those members wishing to attend let Clive Hammersley know by **1 December 2018**, it can then be decided if a visit is viable and final arrangements can be made. Payment is not required at this stage, just an expression of interest. Clive can be contacted at clivehammersley@hotmail.co.uk. For further information about the museum please visit www.dehavillandmuseum.co.uk.

Saturday 16 March 2019

Battle of Boroughbridge 1322

Did Thomas of Lancaster, the classic over-mighty subject, finally overreach himself? Join Louise Whittaker to find out on a battle anniversary walk, lasting approximately one-and-a-half hours and covering 2 miles. Meet at 11.00 a.m. at the grassy area to the rear of Back Lane car park, Boroughbridge, YO51 9AT



Boroughbridge
Battle Memorial



(toilet facilities available in car park). For further information please contact Louise Whittaker at louise.whittaker83@ntlworld.com.

Sunday 24 March 2019

Battle of Stow-on-the-Wold 1646

Simon Marsh will lead a walk, lasting approximately two-and-a-half hours, across the field of the last battle of the first Civil War where Jacob Lord Astley's small royalist force was defeated by midland forces under Sir William Brereton. The walk will also include a discussion of the archaeological work underway at Stow to identify the location of the battlefield accurately. Meet in the public car park adjacent to the Tesco supermarket (GL54 1BX) at 10.30 a.m. For further information please contact Simon Marsh at mercia@battlefieldstrust.com or telephone 07742 958888.



Stow walk at the memorial.ww

Saturday 27 April 2019

Battle of Mortimer's Cross 1461

The Mortimer's Cross annual battlefield walk will take place on 27 April, final details have yet to be confirmed. For more information please contact Martin Hackett at hackett765@btinternet.com or telephone 07926 903020.

Saturday 27–Sunday 28 April 2019

Battlefields Trust Annual Conference and AGM

The Trust's 2019 annual conference and AGM will be held at the University of

Winchester. The provisional programme includes talks on Anglo-Saxon warfare, sources for the English Civil War, battlefield archaeology at Stow and the role of military museums. There will be a visit to the 1644 battlefield of Cheriton and a walking tour around Winchester's many military sites. The full programme and booking details will shortly be posted on the Trust website and published in the next issue of *Battlefield*.

Saturday 18 May 2019

Civil War Conference on the year 1643 (Part One)

The Battlefields Trust and the Friends of the National Civil War Centre present a conference, at the National Civil War Centre, Appletongate, Newark on the Civil War during the first half of 1643. Speakers will include Len Davies, Dave Cooke, Simon Marsh and Kevin Winter. Full details have yet to be finalised. Further information will be available in due course on the Battlefields Trust website and in the next issue of *Battlefield*.

Saturday 18 May 2019

Conference – Red Roses and Red Carnations

The Richard III Society Norfolk branch in association with the Battlefields Trust presents a conference at the Assembly House, Theatre Street, Norwich, NR2 1RQ, from 9.30 a.m.–5.00 p.m. Cost is £20.00 and includes refreshments but not lunch. Speakers include Frances Sparrow on 'The Kingmaker', Mike Ingram on the Battle of Northampton, Dr Michael Jones on The Black Prince – The Spanish Adventure 1367, Professor Anne Curry on The Battle of Agincourt and Glen Brooks 'Mud, Sun and Popycock' – the soldiers' experience from Spain to Agincourt. There are only 40 places available. To book, please contact Annmarie Hayek, 20 Rowington Road, Norwich, NR1 3RR or email annmarie@talktalk.net or telephone 01603 664021 and provide your details. Cheques to be made payable to the 'Richard III Society'. For direct bank transfers contact Annmarie. The programme may be subject to change if circumstances dictate. Unfortunately refunds cannot be issued.

Saturday 1 June 2019

Wars of the Roses Conference

A one-day conference on the Wars of the Roses, jointly presented by Strode College, the Richard III Society Somerset branch and the Battlefields Trust Wessex region. Venue: Glastonbury Town Hall BA6 9EL. Tickets are £26.00 from Strode Theatre Box Office on telephone 01458 442846.

Sunday 23 June 2019

Visit to Norman Cross

This is a joint event between the Battlefields Trust and the Waterloo Association. Norman Cross was the site of the world's first purpose-built prisoner-of-war concentration camp. It was constructed during the Napoleonic Wars near Peterborough and was an important prison and military establishment housing up to 7,000 French inmates. The site was a prefabricated structure most of which was demolished after the Napoleonic Wars although the Agent's House, straw barn and part of the perimeter wall still remain. The site was the subject of a Time Team excavation in 2009. Meet at 1.30 p.m. at Norman Cross Art Gallery, Norman House, Peterborough, PE7 3TB, for a two-hour tour run by the owner of part of the site and Paul Chamberlain who is the acknowledged expert on prisoners of war in the UK and advised on the Time Team dig. The tour examines the story of the depot, the lives of the prisoners, what remains of the site, and what Time Team found when they did their investigation. There will be a visit to the exhibition and a cream tea at the end of the tour. Attendees may wish to visit the Peterborough Museum beforehand to look at some of the fascinating models made by the prisoners. Price is £15.00 for Battlefields Trust members and £20.00 for non-members. To express your interest in attending please contact John Morewood at tjpp199@yahoo.co.uk.

Various Sundays

Battle of Towton 1461

Towton Battlefield Society carry out battlefield walks on two Sundays each month. All walks begin at 10.30 a.m. from the Rockingham Arms, Towton, car park LS24 9PB. Please only park in the car park if you are also visiting the pub. See www.towton.org.uk for further details of walks and other events.



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