



CROMWELLIANA

**The Cromwell Association
1974**

THE CROMWELL ASSOCIATION

President: Mr. MAURICE ASHLEY, D.Phil.(Oxon.), B.A.

Vice-President: THE LORD CARADON OF ST. CLEER.

Chairman: Mr. TREWIN COPPLESTONE.

Council:

Mr. ESMOND S. DE BEER, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A.,

The Rev. D. A. GREEVES, M.A., Miss J. S. HENDERSON,

Mr. R. HENDON,

Mr. F. E. LEESE, M.A., B.Litt., Mr. G. G. LILBURN, B.A.(Oxon.),

The Rev. ROBERT S. PAUL, M.A., D.Phil., Mr. A. W. SMITH,

Mr. R. E. SHERWOOD, Miss J. SOLOMON, M.B.E.

Hon. Secretary: Miss H. PLATT, B.A.

Combe Lodge, Ringley Park Avenue, Reigate, Surrey.

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. S. J. P. THOMAS, B.A.

Oak Lodge, Blanford Road, Reigate, Surrey.

THE CROMWELL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1935 by the late Rt. Hon. Isaac Foot and others to help to preserve the memory of Oliver Cromwell the great puritan statesman, and to encourage study of the history of the Commonwealth protectorate and its leaders. It is not a political organisation and its aims are principally historical and antiquarian. The Association has at present over 300 members. It is anxious to extend its membership in order to widen its influence and increase its work.

Since the Association has come into existence it has: —

1. Put up commemorative tablets at Dunbar, Edgehill, Naseby, Preston, Worcester, the Huntingdon Grammar School, and elsewhere, to mark the sites of Cromwell's victories or famous episodes in his career.
2. Helped to constitute a Cromwellian Museum at present housed in the Old Grammar School, Huntingdon. It arranges for lectures to be given, leaflets issued, etc., as required on Cromwellian subjects.
3. Established an Annual Service held on September 3rd each year, by Cromwell's Statue outside the Houses of Parliament, when the address is given by a distinguished Cromwellian.
4. The Association has also formed a small reference library from which books can be borrowed on written application, enclosing postage, from the Hon. Secretary, to whom communications and enquiries can be made.

The minimum annual subscription is ² £7.00. Life Membership £10.50.

(See note on page 13)

CROMWELL'S DAY, September 3rd, 1973

(The Address given by Lady Antonia Fraser at the Annual Commemoration Service held in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster)

I have taken as my theme this afternoon, on this his most auspicious day, the private greatness of Oliver Cromwell. This is not because I believe in any way that his private greatness eclipsed his public splendour. Not only do I esteem Cromwell among the greatest Englishmen, but carrying it a stage further, I also believe he can successfully beat off the claims of most other contenders, with the possible exception of Sir Winston Churchill. In quoting Milton's heroic sonnet, therefore, beginning *Cromwell Our Chief of Men*, for the title of my own biography, I was therefore attracted as much by the sentiment as by the language.

I have chosen my theme in the first place, because it was in the nature of a discovery for me, during my researches, to find that this man, so impressive in his public image, had a private greatness which as it unfolded was not less. That is a personal explanation. Secondly and more importantly, I consider that the private greatness of Oliver Cromwell has something to tell us about the public man, and his stature among his contemporaries. I am not trying to argue, of course, that the possession of a blameless, even exemplary and inspiring private life, necessarily implies the possession of an equally exemplary public character. History is far too full of examples pointing in the opposite direction. It is not a subject on which one can draw up a general law. But from the point of view of the biographer there is always so much to be learnt from the private life, particularly with regard to a character whose motives in public are frequently so obscure and unelucidated as those of Oliver Cromwell. This knowledge can be reflected in a new understanding of his outward career.

For one thing one can appreciate that Oliver Cromwell had great charm in his intimate relationships, a charm seen in his gift for friendship with a series of varied, stimulating and often controversial persons. One might cite the ebullient Roman Catholic Sir Kenelm Digby, even the Quaker George Fox. Any man who has very disparate types of friendships, and again one is reminded of the late Sir Winston Churchill who had the same capacity — one can be certain that he has got that interest in others of different opinions, that ability to tolerate in private what might be unacceptable in public, which amounts to charm.

Then there is Cromwell's knowledge of men and his ability to get along with his fellows, one quality which struck his contemporaries very forcibly, and must I think be reckoned with, not only in accounting for his political rise, but also in his generalship of the Army. It was his doctor, George Bate, subsequently turned a very hostile witness, who admitted, that "no Man knew more of Men". This talent contributed formidably to his formation of the New Model Army, just as his ability to act the good committee man before the outbreak of the war, assisted his political aspirations. For it is significant that Cromwell, unlike many men of future destiny, was able to act with others, and act the second in command, with great grace.

If one turns to other qualities, seen in private, which I believe to be an important rock in his whirlpool of activities, let us take first of all his relationships with women. Cromwell had the admirable capacity for

enjoying the friendships of women — intelligent lively women naturally — for it is into this pattern that I believe his friendship with the vivacious wilful Bess Countess of Dysart and the more spiritual Frances Lambert fell, certainly nothing more scandalous. Lady Ormonde, wife of the Royalist general, was also able to appreciate the courteous even witty side of the Protector's nature, as well as his mercy. And it was Lady Mordaunt, who when she went to plead for her conspirator husband, found the Protector able to play "the gallant so well that she believed he would have waited upon her the next morning, which she said he told her."

All this does not merely represent the kind of tolerance and appreciation of the world which I mentioned earlier. For Cromwell's attitude to women, particularly in his marriage, also represented that section of the community most in advance of their times on this subject, the Puritans. I refer to the values of Puritan family life. We are able to be well informed in theory on the tenets by which Puritan family life was lived, since the Puritans were in the habit of issuing a number of handbooks or guides to its proper principles. These books often ran through many editions and make the most enlightening reading. Above all one finds in them a feeling for the position of women, a respect for them, which was characteristic of the Puritans. Because they are physically weaker, says one handbook, they should not be considered morally weaker: In a lighter vein, Gouge, a sensible man if ever there was one, wrote in 1630 in his *Of Domesticall Duties*, what I think we should all agree today, that wife-beating was only permissible in self-defence!

This reverence and real respect of Oliver Cromwell for women is something which I believe emerges very strongly in his relationship with his wife. Poor Elizabeth Cromwell later received an extremely hostile press from the Royalists, but the real truth about her is that she made Oliver extremely happy. It was what we should call a good marriage. They were married altogether for nearly forty years, and during that time there is no record of any cross words between them, unless you count the rather delightful instance when Mrs. Cromwell ticks off her spouse for not writing more letters after Dunbar, saying she must have written three for every one of his. "I cannot but think that yours have miscarried" she adds sweetly. It is lines in this same letter which convey the full intensity of their married love: "Truly my life is but half a life in your absence. . . ." While for Cromwell's part, he was able to write to her after they had been married for thirty one years — "Thou art dearer to me than any living creature."

So Cromwell was lucky enough to have that most fortunate cornerstone for any public man, a happy marriage. But that was not the limit of his respect and care for women. His relationship with his mother, dying at the age of eighty nine in his own palace, was notably tender. Even though she did spend the last night of her life, according to Thurloe, lecturing him on the perils of ignoring God's will, he evidently adored her and was totally cast down by her death. Then he showed much gentleness and protective care to his brood of sisters — the widowed Catherine Whetstone adopted into his household before her remarriage, another sister sent £20 "in token of my love", his numerous nephews and nieces the subjects of his concern, and even the successful relationship with Sir William Lockhart owing something at its inception to his marriage to Cromwell's niece Robina. If we are to seek a psychological cause, all of this sprang originally no doubt from the early death of Oliver's father, so that from the age of

seventeen onwards, he had to adopt the headship of a totally feminine family unit. But the psychological significance of this role is I think even more important than its cause: Oliver's early role as protector to his mother and sisters enabled him to cultivate certain qualities as a father figure, which must have been inherent in him, and greatly added to his mastery as Protector.

Indeed, I hope I am not straying over far into the language of the 20th century, if I say that Cromwell both as a soldier, as a politician, and above all as Protector, owed something of his success to being a Father Figure. It was a point made in the oration at his funeral by George Lawrence. He referred to Cromwell among other titles as "A Captain, a Shield, the Head, the Heir of Restraint, the Breath of our Nostrils, an Healer, a Shepherd, a Father and Nursing Father, a Builder, a Watchman, an Eye, a Saviour, a Steersman and Rector. . . ."

Let us concentrate on the aspect as Father and Nursing Father. Here I think that the private life gives us a clue to what can only be guessed at in its entirety, the patriarchal impression which Oliver Cromwell created. As Robert Flecknoe, one of his earliest biographers, wrote: the government of the family has "a certain Analogy with the government of a commonwealth". A patriarchal quality is something in their leaders for which people search even today: certainly there is something primitive and deep in human nature which leads us to make that search. As leaders, I believe people will always tend to turn towards such, in spite of young meteors in the sky like J. F. Kennedy. We find in Oliver Cromwell from early on an exceptionally committed and loving father, and on the whole, considering his own eminence, a remarkably successful one. It is true that Dick fell into the common category of an eldest son who disappointed his father's expectations: Cromwell's eternal amazed discoveries that Dick was not exactly like himself arouse both our sympathy and our amusement. But in general Cromwell fulfilled very well the two preeminent duties of the Puritan father: to educate up his children to become godly and to make good — in the moral sense — marriages for them.

There is the charm of his care for Dorothy, his young daughter-in-law, worrying over her health when she has a miscarriage, his tender handling of the scrupulous Bridget, a "woman ever breathing after Christ" as one minister told him, but needing help in understanding her husband: there is his affectionate indulgence of Mary and Frances, his "little wenches" as he called them, the children of his later years, who like many such children were allowed pleasures which the elder ones were not. It seems likely that Cromwell played the non-speaking part of Jove in Marvell's masque at Mary's wedding to Fauconberg, a piece of patriarchal byplay, one cannot imagine happening in the 1640s.

But above all it is Oliver's relationship to Bettie, "Eliza, Nature's and his Darling" as Marvell called her, which brought out all the sweetness of his nature, and illustrates to perfection this fatherly quality in him. Bettie was sometimes the conduit for his mercy: it was Bettie who would come to her father and beg for the lives of Royalists. And it was above all with Bettie that Oliver endured that agonising corollary to so much human love, the loss of the beloved. Marvell's picture of her deathbed, the dying daughter and the distraught father, conjures up unforgettably the double torments of this devoted pair:

She lest He grieve hides what She can her pains
And He to lessen Hers his Sorrow feigns . . .
Yet both perceiv'd, yet both concealed their Skills
And, so diminishing, increast their ills. . .

And it was after the death of Bettie, so nearly allied to his own, that Oliver turned again to that text which had once comforted him so many years before after the death of his son Robert, which was in his own phrase like a dagger to his heart: from the fourth chapter of St. Paul to the Philippians, "Not that I speak in respect of want: for I have learnt in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound: everywhere and in all things, I am instructed, both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me". It was that phrase he loved. In his grief, the dying man repeated it often to himself: "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me".

So from the divine to the human: Oliver Cromwell's private life, his family life, that Puritan pattern of harmony, was in the midst of all his cares, preoccupations and ambitions, a source of strength to him. If it could bring him sorrow, it could also bring him fortitude. And therefore in all the arguments which have raged and will always rage — and it is right that they should do so — about this incomparable man, I think it is relevant also to consider the area of his private greatness, and conclude that it was not the least, and not the least interesting part, nor the least significant element in his character.

These private virtues of Oliver Cromwell were qualities which certainly had nothing superficial about them, but sprang from a true and deep goodness of nature, hammered out on the anvil of his conscience, by the hammer of his frequent self-examinations.

We shall never know whether the youthful Cromwell was in fact a prodigal waster of time and money in idle pastimes as the Royalists tried to pretend, although I am inclined to the view, like most historians, that the evils to which he referred after his conversion, were more of a spiritual nature. What is relevant is the fact that Oliver Cromwell, during the whole of his public life, presented the front of a virtuous man. It was no coincidence that during the Protectorate his enemies found it so difficult to attack him as a private individual. And this in itself was a source of strength, in the position of one who had no inherited aura of a royal dynasty to aid him in the establishment of his authority. Private vices are luxuries for any leader, but it is easier for the hereditary monarch to get away with them — let us face it, many of them have!

Cromwell's enemies however found themselves in a considerable difficulty in handling the problem of his upright personality in propaganda terms. The point has been well made by one historian that Cromwell was no Richard III who whether truthfully or not — I do not wish to tangle with the Richard III Society — offered certain opportunities of personal vilification. In his English love of field sports, his attractive love of music, unequalled in our leaders surely until the present time, his magnanimity to poets and writers, intervening for example on behalf of Cleveland, his tolerance of other people's pleasures, in every way Oliver Cromwell was the opposite of the stereotyped modern caricature of a Puritan. In short, as even the hostile Lucy Hutchinson had to admit, because he had much natural greatness, Oliver Cromwell "well became the place he had usurped."

Under the Protectorate, the emergence of this man of private rectitude and public strength in a position of solitary power, gave much impetus to growing feelings of acquiescence to its regime, on the part of many of those beneath his dominion. Marvell's unequivocal praise of Cromwell's stature as a man could not have been directed towards one whose private life offered a spectacle of scandal and a general lack of virtue. During all the attacks upon him, wrote Marvell to Cromwell:

Thou thy venerable head dost raise
As far above their malice as my praise
And, as the angel of our commonweal
Troubling the waters, yearly makst them heal.

I am aware, ladies and gentlemen, that Cromwell is far above my praise, a great deal farther I fear than Marvell, as he is certainly above the malice of those who still attack his memory. But I should like to feel that it is now our Society, who in this ceremony, acts as the angel of our commonweal, and troubling the waters with our ceremony, yearly makes them heal.

SIR WILLIAM WALLER — Roundhead General

(The Address given by Dr. John Adair at the Annual General Meeting of the Association, 1974)

"The Cromwell that might have been" is how Dr. John Adair described the subject of his address to the members of the Cromwell Association at the close of their Annual Meeting on April 18th, 1974. He was speaking of Sir William Waller who was born four years before Oliver Cromwell into a different class of society. Waller's father was the hereditary Chief Butler of England and Lieutenant of Dover Castle, and his son, William, went up to Cambridge at 14 years of age but left the University without graduating. Thence he spent time in Europe, notably Paris and Italy, and began a brilliant military career when he was caught up in the Thirty Years War, being responsible with Hopton for the rescue of the unfortunate Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia.

Waller returned to England, was knighted, married and settled down in Devon. Tragedy struck his young household. First his young son died at the age of 5, then his wife. He married again later, a member of Pym's circle, Lady Anne Finch, and by 1642 he was a successful commander in the Parliamentarian Army, capturing Farnham Castle, Winchester and Chichester; but at Edgehill his regiment was scattered. The following year he was Major-General of the Western Association and with 2,000 horse marched across England to Bristol, capturing Malmesbury, Tewkesbury and Chepstow, so that by the end of the Spring the whole of the West Country and Severn Valley were under Parliamentarian sway. Waller's victories came to an end in the summer next year when his old comrade Hopton, now serving under the King, contributed to the defeat of Waller's army at Roundway Down.

Waller came to London where he was hailed as a hero, in spite of his recent defeat, and in many quarters it was thought that Waller should have taken the Earl of Essex's place as Commander-in-Chief; But Essex's feats at Gloucester and in the First Battle of Newbury restored him to favour. Waller went off to Hampshire to fight his most brilliant campaign. In 1644

he inflicted its first severe defeat on the King's cavalry at the Battle of Cheriton. After Cheriton the Royalist strategy turned from attack to defence, and Oxford, the King's headquarters, was practically surrounded. The King however, broke out, and sought refuge at Worcester. Waller gave chase to the King, on the orders of Essex, and at the fight at Cropedy Bridge near Banbury, almost had him in his clutches, but again the King escaped. This advantage gained by Waller was not followed up by the Earl of Manchester, whose half-hearted prosecution of the war, culminating in the ineffectual Second Battle of Newbury, led to his denunciation by Oliver Cromwell, backed by Waller, and to the Self-denying Ordinance.

Waller and Cromwell fought together and appreciated each other's good points. Waller said of Cromwell that he did not show 'extraordinary parts' but as an officer he never disputed orders and was shrewd in his estimate of his colleagues' motives. In politics Waller was a moderate (in comparison to Cromwell) and was opposed to political rule by the Army.

On the Lord Protector's death Waller was approached by Royalists to give his support to the restoration of Charles II. This led to his arrest and imprisonment in the Tower for a short time, but he was soon freed and when Monck marched to London, Waller was a member of the Council of State.

After the Restoration Waller played no further part in politics but retired to Osterley Park where he died in 1668 in genteel poverty. His seemed an insignificant ending to such a considerable career as a soldier and politician; yet Sir William Waller lives on in history as an attractive personality, who cared deeply for the religion, laws and liberty of his country, and gave himself whole-heartedly in support of those principles he held to be right.

Further reading:

Roundhead General. The Life of Sir William Waller
(Macdonald 1969 — £2.50)

Cheriton: The Campaign and the Battle
(Roundwood Press, 1973 — £4.25)

Both by John Adair.

BOOK NEWS AND REVIEWS

Last year's *Cromwelliana* carried extracts from a work, published in 1659, in which the author, H. Dawbeny, described Cromwell as "our second Moses" and went on to draw what he called thirty "lively parallels" between Oliver and the first Moses. The subject of this issue is *A short critical review of the political life of Oliver Cromwell*, by the eighteenth century miscellaneous writer John Banks, published both in London and Dublin in 1739 at a time when the generality of historiographers were ensuring that the character of Cromwell should remain in the depths of the calumnious grave into which it had been interred some eighty years before. Like Dawbeny, Banks attempted a comparison between Cromwell and another historical figure. His choice was not Moses but a contemporary of Oliver's who was also his adversary, Charles I. This exercise does not occupy the entire work as Dawbeny's thirty "lively parallels" did but is confined to the last chapter of Banks' 272 page biography and consists of

only seven parallels, which in fact form part of a brief summary of Cromwell's character. "Since it has been customary, in order to raise our veneration of the royal sufferer, to contrast the character of King Charles I to that of Cromwell," writes Banks, "I shall take the liberty of comparing them, paragraph by paragraph, in such particulars as will admit of comparison." The following is the essence, after decoction as it were (but still in Banks' own words), of some of these parallels between Cromwell and Charles I.

In school acquirements the King seems to have been Cromwell's superior. And no wonder, since Charles was not only born the son of a monarch but of such a monarch as interested himself more in his great learning than in good government. However, if King Charles spoke several languages with a good grace, and had a more than ordinary skill in the liberal sciences, it is also certain that Cromwell had knowledge of the Latin and French tongues and could both speak and write them; that he was very well read in the Greek and Roman history, and not only respected but patronized men of genius and wit, whom he would take pains to seek out.

The strongest indication of Cromwell's great abilities was the knowledge he discovered of mankind. No man ever dived into the manners and minds of those about him with more penetration, nor sooner discovered their natural talents and tempers, than himself. If he chanced to hear of a man fit for his purpose, though never so obscure, he sent for him, suiting the employment to the person and not the person to the employment. Upon this maxim in his government depended in a great measure his success. Had King Charles followed it, and not trusted the management of his weightiest affairs to parasites and priests, his advocates would never have had that popular subject his martyrdom to harangue on, nor the usurpation of Cromwell to complain of.

King Charles' high opinion of the royal dignity, and the extraordinary qualities he assumed to himself thereupon, could not but hinder him from being an open and cheerful companion. Accordingly, we are told, he was of a grave and melancholic disposition. But Cromwell, at the height of his fortune, was very diverting and familiar in conversation when among his friends, though in public, for decorum sake, he was more reserved. On these occasions he commonly called for tobacco, pipes and candle, and would now and then take a pipe himself. But when business came upon the carpet he would pass from the relaxations to the most serious discourse and advise with his friends about his weighty and important affairs. Add to this that he affected, for the most part, a plainness in his clothes; but in them, as well as his guards and attendants, he appeared with magnificence upon public occasions.

I come now to that part of the parallel in which King Charles is thought by many to have had much the advantage, I mean sincerity. Cromwell indeed was a great dissembler. But was he greater than the man who deceived him? Must not every one who reads his history acknowledge that sincerity was not the favourite virtue of King Charles? I cannot help thinking that Cromwell had never been that finished dissembler as he afterwards appeared if the King first, and afterwards his own party, had not made it necessary to his preservation, which seems to be all he once aimed at. But when he had tried the experiment and found himself an over-match both for the one and the other, he pursued the principle till he arrived at the very seat of royalty.

King Charles, according to his advocate Lord Clarendon, was so great a lover of justice that no temptation could dispose him of a wrongful action, except it was so disguised to him that he believed it to be just. Could he be so great a lover of justice who suffered it to be daily perverted in the most notorious manner, by the Star Chamber and High Commission courts? I need not take much pains to prove that Cromwell was herein unlike King Charles since the worst of his enemies call him a lover of justice. Cromwell saw and judged for himself. If any action was disguised he knew how to unmask it, which he certainly did. Whatever arbitrary proceedings he has been charged with were only where his authority was contravened which, as things then were, it was necessary to have established in order that the law in other cases might have due course.

And if he claims this pre-eminence in the administration at home, what shall we say of his maintaining the honour of the English nation in foreign parts? By this it has been well observed he gratified the temper which is so very natural to Englishmen. Was it not an instance without precedent that in four or five years he should revenge all the insults on his country during a civil war, retrieve the credit that had been gradually sinking through two long reigns of near fifty years, extend his dominions in remote parts, acquire the real mastery of the British Channel, and in the end render himself arbiter of Europe? What shall we compare to this in the reign of King Charles or his father? Was the honour of the flag then asserted? Were we not duped, despised and insulted? But I have done with comparing persons between whom there is so little shadow of resemblance.

Edited by R. E. SHERWOOD

THE ROTA is a society formed for disseminating facsimile reprints of British tracts of the Stuart era (1603-1714) in the hope that these will prove appealing and useful to scholars in various disciplines. It is intended to be self-supporting rather than profit-making and to supply pamphlets cheaply enough to be used in teaching. The initial subscription was £1.05 or \$3.00 which included copies of the first two pamphlets selected; and a continued subscription of £2.05 each time a fresh set of pamphlets is published includes copies of such pamphlets. (Further details obtainable from Professor M. M. Goldsmith, Dept. of Politics, University of Exeter, Streatham Court, Rennes Drive, Exeter). The two latest pamphlets published are reviewed below:—

A COPY OF A LETTER (1656)

This is quite a revealing letter and deserves some careful study. It throws some light on the Puritan soldiers of the 17th century. The officer cannot secure an interview with the Lord Protector, and thus must address him in writing. His great fear is that the Lord Protector will take on the powers of a King. The writer is a Puritan soldier of an intelligent type and endowed with some education and knowledge of History — both of his own country and of foreign lands. He points out it is against the interest of a Monarchy to allow subjects to grow rich; and he goes on to say that the History of England under the Norman and Tudor Kings proves this. The Nobility and Merchants become rich and finally under the Stuarts the People challenged the Monarch. He cites Florence, abroad, as another example. Under a commonwealth there, it was wealthy with a good trained army; under a Duke a poor and weak state with a feeble army. He points out that the

rule of a Lord Protector will encourage the Lawyers and Divines to combine to subvert Liberty. The writer objects to the Instrument of Government as he assumes the members of the Council of State will be the creatures of the Lord Protector; likewise the Members of the Parliament could pass oppressive laws but not deal with removing abuses. He overlooked the fact that the Council had possessed considerable checks on the Protector's powers. He quotes the examples of the Graechi and of Sparta that Tyranny too long established can prove fatal to Liberty. For the Protector to rule well would even eventually be a danger to Liberty. He entreats the Protector to give up the idea of Government. He concludes that he and many other soldiers took up arms for Liberty and do not want to lose this. The main defects of the letter is its verbosity and its over-emphasis. The 17th century wording makes somewhat difficult reading. On the whole it represents the mind and thoughts of a Patriot of the Commonwealth.

S. J. P. THOMAS

"The Lost Sheep Found or, The Prodigal returned to his Father's house..." by Laurence Clarkson, 1660. Reprinted by The Rota, Exeter University 1974

This pamphlet, will be eagerly read by all who are interested in the netherworld of seventeenth century sectarianism and by anyone fascinated by the vagaries of human nature, for in it Clarkson (or Claxton in his own preferred orthography) relates frankly, even naively, his pilgrimage through the 'Religious Countreys' of his day. Born in 1615 into an Anglican family he describes how his parents forced him 'to read over the prayers in the Book of Common Prayer... till they have fallen asleep and myself,' and how he envisaged God as 'a grave, ancient, holy old man... sat in heaven on a chair of gold.' Revolting from this conventional background Clarkson moved to the 'more lively' doctrine of the Presbyterians and then to the Baptists. By now aware of his gift of prayer and preaching he made it in his own phrase 'a trade' and was frequently interrogated about his heretical opinions. Then came a moment of truth when 'I could not see but in the death of the Apostles, there was never since no true Administrator...' Preaching next at Canterbury he fell a not unwilling victim to 'a maid of pretty knowledge' but withdrew to a very congenial ministry at Sandridge (Herts). When this happy interlude ended he toured Herts, Beds and Bucks getting 'monies more or less' 'by my subtilty of reason'. Returned to London he fell in with an obscure group called 'My one flesh'. There he preached that 'none can be free from sin, till in purity it be acted no sin' and 'Sarah Kullin being present did invite me to make trial of what I had so expressed'. He accepted and found no lack of disciples willing to share in his theological demonstrations. He was now 'a Captain of the Rant' and justified his views in a pamphlet 'The Single Eye...'. His spirit was eager as ever but the flesh taught him the lesson that 'in a cook's shop there was no hunger'. He turned to magic and astrology but after failing to raise the Devil reached a new nadir of religious disbelief. From these depths he was raised by hearing of the restoration of authentic religious authority by a 'True Third Commission' (the others having been those of Moses and Paul) given by God to John Reeve. Reeve accepted Clarkson as a bishop under the new dispensation and for the rest of his life the wanderer was at rest. He died in 1667 a prisoner for debt having lent money to an unsound building scheme after the Great Fire. One hopes he died happy. Certainly in this pamphlet, which is not always easy to read and is in the style of its age somewhat repetitious in the theological sections, we have

a minor masterpiece of what we might call 'the religious picaresque'. It will also perhaps give us a greater insight into the difficulties faced by the grave and practical administrators of the Commonwealth who had to pick up the pieces when the happy Clarksons moved on ever in pursuit of some new mirage; and yet these same sectarians were the men, whatever their motivations were, who overturned the monarchy, raised England's Commonwealth and made it possible for Cromwell to scale his heights.

ALAN SMITH

CIVIL STRIFE IN THE MIDLANDS 1642-1651, by R. E. Sherwood.
Published Phillimore & Co. — £3.25.

No part of England suffered more, or for as long, as the Midlands during the English Civil War. This was because the region's strategic position and divided allegiance made it the debatable land of the Civil War — the debatable land on which the main field armies of the contending parties clashed in the struggle for national supremacy and over which Royalist and Parliamentarian fought for local predominance.

This book has a two-fold purpose. First, it gives, within a framework of national events, a connected account of the military events which took place in, and the part played by, the Midlands, during the English Civil War. Secondly, and more importantly, the book tells of the effect that the war had on the civilian population. Using the words of those whose story this is, it relates how the war led to the cessation of normal trade and the dislocation of the region's economy; and how the main field armies, as they moved about the region or passed through it, would pillage and exact tribute from friend, foe, and neutral alike. At the same time local armies, operating from castles and houses fortified for the King or Parliament, and which were sometimes only a few miles distant from each other, would indulge in the same despoilation and exact similar tribute from the population, many of whom were totally indifferent to the cause of either party and wished only to be left in peace.

CROMWELL — A PROFILE. Edited by Ivan Roots. Macmillan.
Not yet another biography, but a true profile; a carefully selected anthology of essays by international scholars of the period, through which Cromwell, the military genius, man of action, political colleague and chief of State is seen in outline against a backcloth of the political, social and religious situations which he dominated.

With an introduction and brief survey of Cromwell's life by the Editor, the Profile consists of ten essays covering vital aspects of the circumstances, contemporaries and consequent problems facing Cromwell as governor of the realm. Of these essays, Trevor-Roper's 'Oliver Cromwell and his Parliaments' is the longest and most detailed, and with Austin Woolrych's 'Cromwell and the Rule of the Saints', gives a depth of insight into the reason for the disappointment of Cromwell's hopes as a parliamentarian. Cromwell's relationship with Lambert is penetratingly discussed by George D. Heath III, and members of our Association will be glad to see Roger Crabtree's closely reasoned Prize Essay on Cromwell's Foreign Policy reprinted here to reach a deservedly wider readership. Each essay is complete in itself as a specialised study; taken together they highlight the 'unique personality, position and achievements', in face of tremendous odds, of 'Our Chief of Men'.

H.P.

NOTES and NEWS

INCREASE IN ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION: This question was fully discussed at the Annual Meeting in April and it was resolved that the subscription be raised to £1.00 per annum (Life Membership £10.50) with effect from the current year (1974/75). Members now paying by Banker's Order are asked to make the necessary amendment by advising their Bank to increase the annual payment to £1.00 **as from the next due date**. The Council of the Association regret this increase, necessitated by rising costs, particularly printing. Members on retirement pensions and students who feel the increased subscription is beyond their means, should make representations to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. S. J. P. Thomas, for consideration.

LOCAL GROUPS: Members in the Derby area have been meeting as a local group for some time now, and it is thought that other such groups might usefully be formed so that members could meet together for discussions, lectures, social events etc. in their own area, as a means of getting to know one another and introducing friends to the Association. Any member interested and willing to take the lead in forming such a group in his or her locality should contact the Hon. Secretary who would then pass on names of members in that particular area. The Rev. J. McGuire, The Rectory, Hot Lane, Biddulph Moor, Staffs, has already expressed willingness to hold a group meeting in his district, and members living in his vicinity should contact him if they are interested to back this project.

MILTON TERCENTENARY: A number of functions are already in process of arrangement to celebrate this occasion in November, viz:

- Nov. 9th Service in St. Giles' Church, Cripplegate at 3 p.m. Address by Professor Austin Woolrych.
Milton Historical Exhibition; Reading and Music — City of London School for Girls. Evening.
- Nov. 13th St. Giles, Cripplegate — 8 p.m. Seventeenth century Country and Folk Dancing, and Masque. Dolmetsch Historical Dance Society.
- Nov. 21st St. Giles, 7 p.m. Concert by Orchestra of Guildhall School of Music, including Handel's L'Allegro and 17th century organ music.
- November Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks. Week of Milton events organised by the Milton Trust.

Further details of the above or other events, from the Rector, St. Giles' Church, Cripplegate, London, E.C.2.

ANNUAL SERVICE — Sept. 3rd: Once again we shall be holding this Service in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster (see enclosed Notice) However, the Association has been directly approached by a representative of the Ministry responsible for the works that have caused the Cromwell Statue at Westminster to be inaccessible for so long, and advised that efforts are being made to return the site to normal before the end of this year. We believe that we owe this effort on the part of those concerned to representations made by the Minister for Employment, the Rt. Hon. Michael Foot, and are most grateful to him for giving time and thought to assist the Association in this way, in the midst of his other heavy duties.

BOOKS IN THE CROMWELL ASSOCIATION LIBRARY

(See item 4 — inside front cover)

Biographies

- Oliver Cromwell, the Man and his Mission. J. A. Picton 1882 (3 copies)
Oliver Cromwell. John Morley (3 copies)
Oliver Cromwell, his Life and Character. A. Paterson.
Oliver Cromwell. John Buchan.
Cromwell. Hilaire Belloc.
Cromwell. Eucardio Momigliano.
Oliver Cromwell. Maurice Ashley 1937 (2 copies).
Cromwell. John Drinkwater.
Oliver Cromwell. Frederic Harrison.
Oliver Cromwell. G. H. Clark.
Oliver Cromwell. D. E. Muir.
Oliver Cromwell. S. R. Gardiner. Paperback.
Oliver Cromwell, Heroes of the Nation Series. Chas. Firth (2 copies — 1 1st ed.)
Cromwell — Our Chief of Men. Antonia Fraser.
Oliver Cromwell — a History. Church 1898.
Life of Oliver Cromwell. Guizot.
Oliver Cromwell. C. V. Wedgwood 1973.
Cromwell — Great lives observed. ed. M. Ashley.
Oliver Cromwell — a Vindication. John Broome — booklet.
Oliver Cromwell and Abraham Lincoln. Isaac Foot — lecture (2 copies).
Oliver Cromwell — International Profiles. Peter Young 1968.
Oliver Cromwell and his Times. Peter Young 1962.
Oliver Cromwell and the English People. Ernest Barker (2 copies).
The Two Protectors — Oliver and Richard. Sir R. Tangye.
Oliver Cromwell. S. R. Gardiner 1899 calf bound.
Life of Oliver Cromwell. 1762 calf bound.
Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell and his sons. Oliver Cromwell (descendant) 1820 (3 copies).
Lives and characters of most illustrious persons died 1712 (including Mr. Richard Cromwell). 1714 (calf).
Anecdotes etc. relating to Oliver Cromwell and his family. 1763 (calf).
Some Pedigrees of the House of Cromwell. Lt. Col. L. Cromwell (privately circulated).
Memoirs of the Protectorate House of Cromwell. Mark Noble 1784 (Vols. 1 & 2).
House of Cromwell. J. Waylen 1880.
Cromwell — A Profile. ed. Ivan Roots 1974.

HISTORIES ETC.

- History of the English Revolution. Guizot.
History of the Commonwealth & Protectorate. S. R. Gardiner (3 vols).
Last years of the Protectorate. C. H. Firth (2 vols).
History of the Great Civil War. S. R. Gardiner (Vol. 2 only).
Cromwell's Place in History. S. R. Gardiner.
The English Civil War — Military Handbook. ed. Tucker & Winstock.
Regimental History of Cromwell's Army. Firth & Davies (2 vols).
Cromwell's Army. C. H. Firth (Paperback).
The Kings War. C. V. Wedgwood (Paperback).
The Kings Peace. C. V. Wedgwood (Paperback).
Trial of Charles I. C. V. Wedgwood (Paperback).
God's Englishman. C. Hill (Paperback).
Economic Problems of the Church — Whitgift to Long Parliament. C. Hill (Paperback).
The Interregnum — 1646 - 1660. ed. G. E. Aylmer.
Cromwell and the Roundheads. J. Wroughton.
The Civil War in Worcestershire. J. Bund.
The Civil War in Bath & N. Somerset. J. Wroughton.
Boston and the Great Civil War. A. A. Garner (Paperback).
Cambridge during the Civil War. F. J. Varley.
Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns. W. S. Douglas.
Bradford in History. H. Hird.
St. Andrews — Town and Gown. D. Young.

MISCELLANEOUS

- Burton's Diary. (4 vols).
Cromwelliana. 1810 calf bound (2 copies).
Protectorate Statutes. 1657 calf bound.
Portraiture of Oliver Cromwell. Pearson & Morant.
Numismata Cromwelliana — Coins, medals & seals. H. W. Henfrey.
Milton's Prose Works. (5 vols).
Waller's Poems. 1686.
Cromwell's Soldiers Bible. reprint 1895.
The Island (containing the Taverners Tale). F. Brett Young.
Oliver Cromwell — A play. John Drinkwater.
King & Parliament — Schools ed. Wakeling.
Oliver Cromwell — Ladybird book for children. du Garde Peach.
Oliver Cromwell — (for children). Estelle Ross.
Song of Noel. Poems. J. B. Fell.
Cromwell's Own. Fiction. A. Paterson.

- Letters and Speeches of O. Cromwell. ed. T. Carlyle (Vol. 2)
Letters and Speeches of O. Cromwell. ed. T. Carlyle (Vols. II and IV).
Letters and Speeches of O. Cromwell. ed. T. Carlyle. (1 vol. complete).
Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell. W. Abbott.
The Pilgrim Faith. P. Toon (Paperback).
Fair Sunshine — stories of the Covenanters. J. Purves (Paperback).
Col. Edward King. A. A. Garner (Paperback).
Thomas Carlyle. H. C. Macpherson.
Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution. W. Schenk.
John Wildman — Plotter and Postmaster. M. Ashley.
Cromwell and Communism. E. Bernstein.
Cromwell's Master Spy — biography of Thurloe. D. L. Hobman.
Charles II. M. Ashley.
Sundry Pamphlets — titles on application.

Books available to Members, but the personal property of the Hon. Sec.

- The Greatness of Oliver Cromwell. M. Ashley.
Oliver Cromwell and the Puritan Revolution. M. Ashley.
England in the 17th Century. M. Ashley (Paperback).
Cromwell and his World. M. Ashley.
Milton and his World. C. V. Wedgwood.
Charles and Cromwell. High Ross Williamson.
The Unknown Cromwell. E. H. Hayward.
The Lord Protector. R. S. Paul.
John Pym. S. Reed Brett.
Robert Blake. Curtis.
Milton and the Cavaliers. F. Boas.
Oliver Cromwell — childrens ed. Paxton Hood.
Oliver Cromwell. R. F. Horton 1904.
The Lord Protector. Play. H. Waine.
The Religion & Life of Oliver Cromwell. H. Lovell Cocks.
Rider of the White Horse. Fiction. R. Sutcliff.
The Orange Sash. Fiction. J. Dymoke.
Follow the Gleam. Fiction. J. Hocking.

Just Received

'Oliver Cromwell and Huntingdon', by the late P. G. M. Dickinson, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S. (completed before his death earlier this year and obtainable from Mrs. Dickinson, The Willows, Wyton, Huntingdon — 50p per copy).