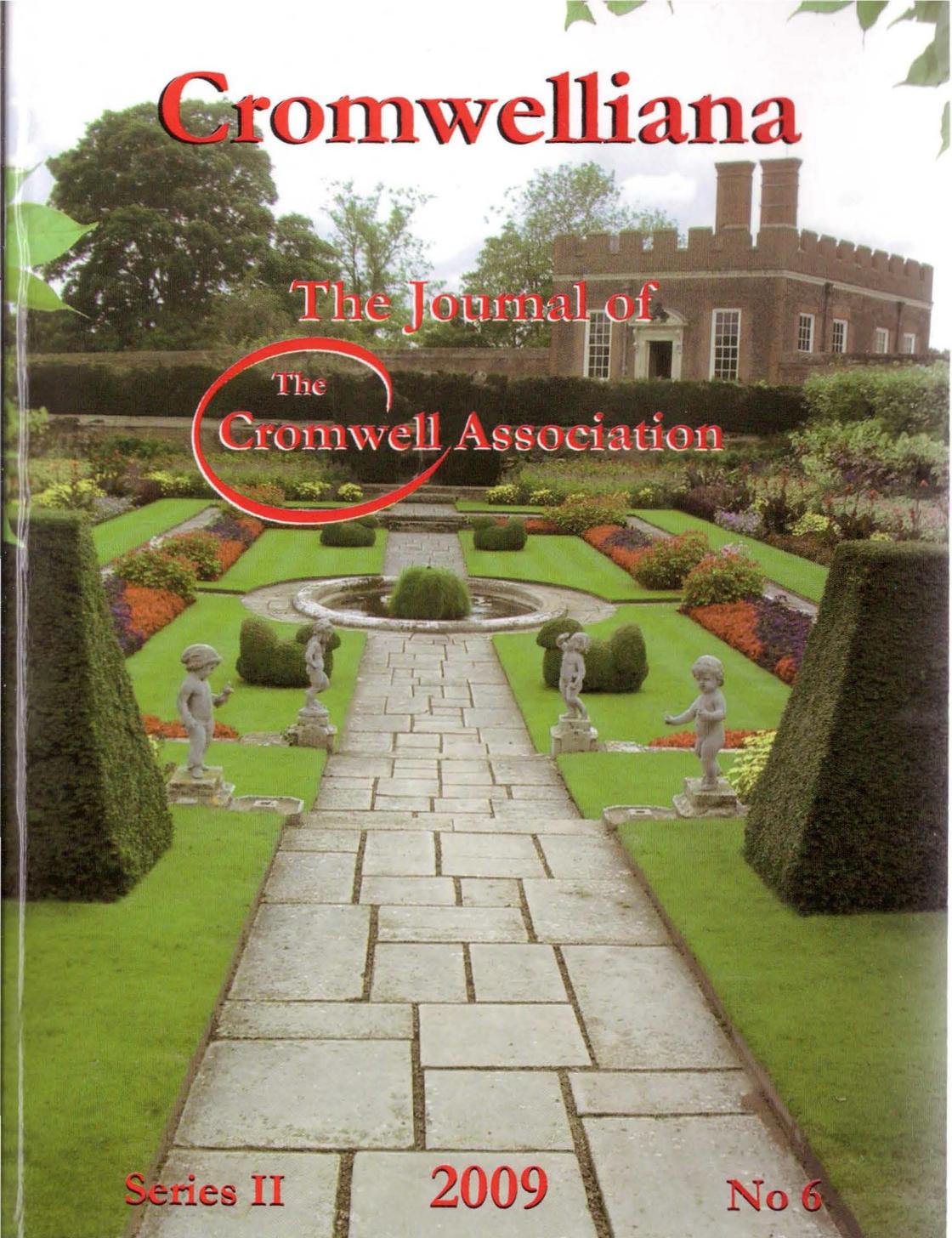


Cromwelliana

The background of the cover is a photograph of a formal garden. A wide, paved stone path leads from the foreground towards a circular fountain in the middle ground. The garden is meticulously maintained with green lawns, colorful flower beds, and several white statues of cherubs. In the background, a large, imposing brick building with crenellated rooflines and two prominent chimneys is visible under a cloudy sky.

The Journal of
The
Cromwell Association

Series II

2009

No 6

The Cromwell Association

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THE CROMWELL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1937 by the late Rt Hon Isaac Foot and others to commemorate Oliver Cromwell, the great Puritan statesman, and to encourage the study of the history of his times, his achievements and influence. It is neither political nor sectarian, its aims being essentially historical. The Association seeks to advance its aims in a variety of ways, which have included:

- a. the erection of commemorative tablets (e.g. at Naseby, Dunbar, Worcester, Preston, etc);
- b. helping to establish the Cromwell Museum in the Old Grammar School at Huntingdon;
- c. holding two annual meetings, one the now traditional memorial service by the Cromwell statue outside the Houses of Parliament, the other a business meeting at which the Council presents a report on its year's work for discussion by members. At both, an address is given by a distinguished Cromwellian;
- d. producing an annual publication, *Cromwelliana*, which is free to members;
- e. awarding an annual prize for work on a Cromwellian theme;
- f. maintaining a small reference library for the use of members;
- g. supporting the formation of local groups of paid-up members of the Association meeting for study or social purposes;
- h. acting as a 'lobby' at both national and local levels whenever aspects or items of our Cromwellian heritage appear to be endangered.

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CROMWELLIANA 2009

Editor Jane A. Mills

CONTENTS

Editor's Note	2
Cromwell Day Address 2008. The 350 th Anniversary of Oliver Cromwell's Death By Professor Barry Coward	3
The Culture of the Cromwellian Court By Dr Patrick Little	11
A Door of Hope is Open By Professor Peter Gaunt	30
Cromwellian Britain XXII: Hampton Court Palace By Lee Prosser	49
Writings and Sources XII: Inventory of 1659 By Lee Prosser	61
Overseas Despatches IV: The Waiting Game: Cromwellian Diplomacy: The Foreign Experience By Dr Kirsteen MacKenzie	95
Select Bibliography of Recent Publications	111
Book Reviews By Professor Ivan Roots, Dr Patrick Little & Professor Martyn Bennett	122

ISBN 0-905729 21 8

EDITOR'S NOTE

This edition includes papers that were presented at Hampton Court Palace Day School to mark the death of Oliver Cromwell.

Lee Prosser, Curator – Historic Buildings at Historic Royal Palaces, has expanded his talk on Hampton Court Palace and it is reproduced in the Cromwellian Britain section. I would also like to give special thanks to Lee for allowing us to publish the Inventory of 1659 with an introduction, in the Writings and Sources section. This is very important as the Inventory has not appeared in print for a hundred years.

The cover images were taken at Hampton Court Palace by the editor. The image on the front cover is of the Pond Gardens and the Banqueting House. On the back cover is a detailed image of the Astronomical Clock made by Nicholas Oursian, Devisor of the King's Horologies.

CROMWELL DAY ADDRESS 2008, THE 350TH ANNIVERSARY OF OLIVER CROMWELL'S DEATH¹

By Professor Barry Coward

It is, of course, a great honour to give this address on this special day – the 350th anniversary of the death of the great man whose statue towers above us. The time I've been given is not very long to do what I want to do, which is to speculate about what Oliver Cromwell's thoughts, as he lay on what proved to be his deathbed, might have been about what he had achieved as Lord Protector of Britain and Ireland. I say 'speculate' and 'what his thoughts might have been' quite deliberately, because there is no direct evidence of what he was thinking. Frustratingly, the source material about Cromwell's last months of life is very sparse, and there is no record of him telling anyone what was in his mind at that time. But I think it is legitimate to speculate what his state of mind was at the end of his life, basing one's speculations on the few shards of evidence that exist and also on one's knowledge of his character from times about which source material is more abundant. And essentially what I want to do is to tell you why my speculations on this topic lead me to a very different conclusion than that come to by those who have portrayed Cromwell at the very end of his life as a man who was totally disillusioned and beaten down by setbacks, especially the failure of the second Protectorate Parliament that ended in February 1658, and a man who had now abandoned his visionary aspirations to bring about change in the country. As Ronald Hutton puts it:

As the summer drew on, it became obvious that the disappointment of the spring had not just stunned Cromwell, it had broken him. His health had been vulnerable for years, especially at times of pressure, so that he had been ill during a long part of the Scottish war (in 1650-1) and during the kingship crisis of 1657. In mid-1658 [Hutton continues] he gave observers the impression of being a sick man, long before any physical disease settled upon him. His handwriting turned into that of a geriatric, and when a fever did take hold of him, in August, he showed little will to live.²

Now, that's a perfectly tenable viewpoint and might well be right. However, I don't think that it is. I think that when Cromwell died 350 years today his mood was much more optimistic and up-beat than that.

THE 350TH ANNIVERSARY OF OLIVER CROMWELL'S DEATH

Now I do concede that Hutton's depiction of Cromwell in his last days of life is not wholly wrong. Cromwell had suffered from quite serious illnesses during his life, and he had been very unwell for weeks before he died, possibly accounting for the fact that between January and September 1658 he attended only 19 meetings of the protectorate council. The accounts of the illness that eventually killed him, perhaps malaria contracted in the fens of his native East Anglia or in the bogs of Ireland in 1649-50, make clear the draining effects it must have had on his constitution and morale. Contemporaries called his illness 'a tertian ague', which, according to those who saw Cromwell in August 1658, caused the Protector to suffer from frequent violent fits. On 30 August 1658 Thurloe said that these fits had been going on for two weeks, and that, worryingly, Cromwell had now 'a double tertian, having two fits in 24 hours, one upon the heels of another'.³ His death at between 3 and 4 p.m. on 3 September, that is exactly 350 years ago to the very hour, must have been the climax of weeks of physical bombardment of that kind.

During that time, too, he clearly had much to be depressed about apart from the effects of his own illness. On 6 August came the news of the death of his favourite daughter, Elizabeth, a time when his own illness became really serious. As Dr Thomas Clarges put it on 1 September: 'His disease is a double tertian ague, which at this season, in a person of his age and constitution of body (being much distemper'd by his late grief and melancholly, besides his other infirmities) is a very violent companion'.⁴

During the preceding few months had come news too of dispiriting political events, not only the failure and end of the second Protectorate Parliament in February, but also an army petition later that month accusing Cromwell of backtracking from the Good Old Cause and (what must have been shattering for Oliver) it was signed by six soldiers, including William Packer, commander of his own regiment of horse. Nor was there much evidence that most of his fellow countrymen had become any more enamoured of Cromwell's driving desire to bring about a moral godly reformation than they had been when they had shown their distaste for it in the elections to the second Protectorate Parliament in August 1656 when the agents who had been given the job of bringing about that reformation, the Major Generals, and their allies were decisively rejected. Nearer to home, too, within his own counsels there were signs of open fractures between so-called civilian and military Cromwellians, with both groups pressing him to make a decision about who should succeed him when he should die. It's a

THE 350TH ANNIVERSARY OF OLIVER CROMWELL'S DEATH

scenario that you might think bears a passing resemblance to the depressing one faced currently across the road by the incumbent of no. 10 Downing Street. Why, then, do I think that, in the face of all this, Cromwell as he lay on his deathbed was not a broken man, whose reforming aspirations and hopes for the future had drained totally away?

In large part I've come to this view because of my reading of many other low points in Cromwell's life before 1658 when he had faced a barrage of setbacks, personal and political, and yet had responded to them with remarkable resilience. Cromwell was an emotional man capable of massive mood swings that have caused some to think he was a manic depressive. I think that's carrying the volatile nature of Cromwell's character too far. But he was capable of being caught in moods of dark depression.

There are many examples of this in his life, but let me just take one to illustrate my argument. This is Cromwell's dark mood in January 1655, when he faced a barrage of personal and political disasters not unlike those of 1658. For many weeks in October 1654 his health had been seriously damaged by a fall from his horse in Hyde Park when a pistol went off in his pocket. Shortly after that his beloved mother, who had lived with him and his family in Whitehall and at Hampton Court, died. To these personal setbacks was added the crunching disappointment of the hostile reaction of MPs in the first Protectorate Parliament and from those outside it to his aspirations for tolerance for a wide variety of Protestant groups, like the Baptists. In the face of all this Cromwell's mood sunk. How do we know? Well, there's a fascinating letter that Cromwell wrote in January 1655 to an old army friend, Lieutenant-Colonel Timothy Wilks, in which Cromwell laid bare his doleful feelings:

Whosoever labours to walk with an even foot between the several interests of the people of God for healing and accommodating their differences [he wrote] is sure to have reproaches and anger from some of all sorts...this is much of my position at the present, so unwilling are men to be healed and atoned [by which, as our minister today in his academic capacity has persuasively argued, Cromwell meant, 'so unwilling are men to be healed and atoned' i.e. united].

But typically, even at low ebbs like this, Cromwell did not give in totally to despair. Always he could see silver linings, shafts of hope, that helped him

THE 350TH ANNIVERSARY OF OLIVER CROMWELL'S DEATH

get out of the black pits of depression. In that same letter to Wilks he wrote, after bemoaning his difficulties, that

The Lord will not always let it be so. If I have innocency and integrity the Lord hath mercy and truth and will own it. If in these things I have made myself my aim, and designed to bring affairs to this issue for myself, the Lord is engaged to disown me; but if the work be the Lord's... He will make His own councils stand; and therefore let men take heed lest they be found fighters against Him.⁵

As I say, this episode is far from unique in Cromwell's life or indeed in the lives of other godly people at this time. I think that these mood swings from black depression out of which he was lifted by moods of optimism and hope by the belief that God would help him is a characteristic that Cromwell had in common with most men and women who shared his godly mentality. These people saw themselves as an embattled minority charged by God with bringing about a godly reformation in the face of constant opposition or disillusionment of the majority. This was to be expected and so caused them only temporary moments of being dispirited. More strong were the galvanising effects of opposition and setbacks which strengthened them in their determination to press on with the godly cause, as Cromwell and those around him did, sometimes with great ruthlessness, in the months after the dissolution of the first Protectorate Parliament in January 1655.

For that reason I would be surprised if Cromwell had allowed his disappointment and pain at his own personal and political sufferings in the summer of 1658 to drown or extinguish his hopes and overall optimism. Indeed there are a few shards of evidence that show that Cromwell in 1658, before he became finally bed-ridden by 'the tertian ague' in August, was not in any mood to do that. Typical of Cromwell's fighting mood earlier that year is the meeting he had with 200 army officers in the Banqueting Hall in Whitehall when he confronted them, in the wake of Packer's resistance to him, to come into the open if they shared Packer's views. There is only a brief report of Cromwell's words:

Gentleman, [he said] we have gone along together, and why we should differ now I know not. Let me now entreat you to deal plainly and freely with me, that if any of you cannot in conscience conform to the now Government, let him speak, for now it hath pleased God to put me in a capacity to protect you and I will

THE 350TH ANNIVERSARY OF OLIVER CROMWELL'S DEATH

protect you. And he drank to them, and many bottles of wine were then drunk but no reply [was] made.⁶

Nor was he in any mood to give ground to his civilian supporters who urged him to ditch the army and put himself in their hands and in the hands of a new parliament. In June 1658 a committee was set up to consider calling a new parliament and significantly it had a heavy representation of military Cromwellians who would have opposed that idea.

So, I rather suspect that in the weeks before he died, as at many times before, Cromwell saw signs, glimmerings of hope, that God would continue to help him through the difficulties. Indeed amongst many other possible reasons why Cromwell did not rush to name Richard Cromwell as his successor (a fact that is one of many Cromwellian puzzles) is the danger Cromwell perceived that by doing so he would appear to be guilty of looking after the selfish interest of the Cromwellian family and thus be in danger of incurring God's wrath. Cromwell really did fear God, but he also believed that, if God's displeasure was not incurred, then God would propel him and the godly cause forward. That this was in his mind as he lay in his sick-bed is shown by an account of one of his doctors, which I was reminded of by our chairman, Peter Gaunt, a few days ago. As Cromwell lay there in August 1658 flattened by the news of his daughter's death and his own sickness, he asked for an 'honourable and godly person' to read to him a piece from the New Testament, the fourth chapter of the epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, especially chapters 11 to 13. He was said to be particularly struck by verse 13 in which Paul says that 'I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me', which had an uplifting effect on Cromwell. The doctor in his later report wrote of Cromwell that, after hearing the verse, 'faith began to work and his heart to find support and comfort, saying this to himself, he that was Paul's Christ is my Christ too, and so drew waters out of the well of salvation'.⁷ My belief is that this was the thought that dispelled the gloom 350 years ago today and caused the adrenalin of optimism to course through him.

I hope that that interpretation is correct. But, even if it is not, it would be a pity to end this commemoration of the anniversary of Cromwell's death on a note of disappointment and failure. Clearly Cromwell as he lay stricken by what was to prove his last illness must have been disappointed by the slow progress towards his hoped-for godly reformation. But he cannot have been unaware of what he and his regime had achieved. Clearly with time running

THE 350TH ANNIVERSARY OF OLIVER CROMWELL'S DEATH

out I won't be able to deal with these achievements in any depth, but I think that on this day of all days they need at least a mention.

I also think that, before mentioning them, I need to make two vital points. One is that not all Cromwell's achievements accord with present-day liberal values. A prime example is the Cromwellian legacy in Ireland that led to what proved to be a long-term transference of social and political power in Ireland from the Irish Catholic landed elite to the Protestant landed and mercantile classes. This was brought about by ruthlessly successful policies that are explicable in a contemporary context but which are not part of the Cromwellian legacy I admire. And two, that, admirable as were many other Cromwellian achievements, they were not brought about by an idealist saint but by a man who had in the 1640s and early 1650s become a master of all the dark arts of political skulduggery and spin, and sometimes by the use of force and by a disregard for the rule of law. 20 April 1653 and his treatment of those who opposed him in 1655 are evidence of that. Too often Cromwell has been seen as a hero or a villain, a saint or sinner. He was neither. He was a much more complex man than labels like that make him out to be. He was a man who (Eisenhower-like) used his military reputation to send him to the top of the greasy pole of politics and who then used every ounce of political skill and cunning to keep himself there. But (and here is the pro-Cromwellian point) he wanted power not for its own sake, not for the self-glorification of himself and his family, or to impose a military dictatorship on Britain. He wanted it to bring about change. As I've said, his central aim of bringing a godly reformation was a dismal failure. But in other respects (and he ought to have taken consolation from that 350 years ago today) he had had some startling successes and voiced aspirations that still have the power to inspire us (or at least me) today.

For the sake of brevity and clarity, let me put these aspirations and achievements into two categories that Cromwell himself devised. On 3 April 1657, in a speech to a parliamentary committee, he talked about 'the two greatest concerns that God had in the world'. One was for what he called 'the civil liberties and interest of the nation'; and the other was the cause of 'religion, and the preservation of the professors thereof, to give them all due and just liberty, and to assert the truths of God'.⁸

I'd argue, given more time, that in both those respects Cromwellian Britain saw massive strides forward, and also that Cromwell's words and decisions on both subjects provide lessons for us today.

THE 350TH ANNIVERSARY OF OLIVER CROMWELL'S DEATH

Under the first heading, Cromwell's rule provided internal stability, the defeat of terrorist threats, the union of the British Isles for the first time ever under one government, and a successful role for Britain on the international stage. The mechanism that allowed that to happen in terms of state finance and military reorganisation was not capitalised on by Charles II and James II but it was one that was used and refined by this country's rulers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries enabling Britain (for better or worse) to rise to Great Power status in the world, a position it was to occupy until the twentieth century, when it was given the coup de grace in 1956. The Oliver Cromwellian input to this emerging pattern of state formation was to stress the importance of having constitutional protection of what he called 'civil liberties' by three of four (using his terminology in 1654) 'fundamentals' of good government: government by a single person and parliaments, frequent elections to parliaments, and the shared control of the army by the single person executive, the Lord Protector, and parliaments. In other words by 'civil liberties' Cromwell meant 'parliamentary liberties'. And the aspiration to protect those liberties was embodied during the Protectorate in the only written constitutions that to date this country as ever had. Put that together with Cromwell's calls for legal and educational reform, the rooting out of corruption and his ringing calls for social justice (the most inspirational being his assertion after the battle of Dunbar in September 1650: 'If there be any that make many poor to make a few rich that suits not a Commonwealth⁹) and you have a set of aspirations for 'civil liberty' that are still relevant today.

Equally inspirational is Cromwell's campaign for religious liberty, which was the fourth of Cromwell's 'fundamentals' of good government. Of course, as I've said, it met opposition at the time; nor was it campaign for 'religious toleration' as we commonly define it now; nor was it a campaign that produced what Cromwell wanted since it led to the proliferation of diverse and varied religious groups, Baptists, Independents, Congregationalists and opened up (what Cromwell did not want) divisions between Protestants that foreshadowed the 'Church' versus 'Chapel' gulf that scarred English society and politics in succeeding centuries. That was (for Cromwell) an unintended legacy. His intended legacy was to maintain a unified English national Church, together with a much greater tolerance of the views of others; to curb the intolerance of those who (as he put it) 'put their fingers upon their brethren's consciences, to pinch them there...what greater hypocrisy than for those who were oppressed by the Bishops [of Charles I] to become the greatest oppressors themselves, so soon as their yoke was removed'.¹⁰ That

THE 350TH ANNIVERSARY OF OLIVER CROMWELL'S DEATH

Cromwellian plea for tolerance and understanding of the views of those you do not share is surely one that ought to have resonance today.

Cromwell died 350 years ago today. He was not a plaster saint, an idealist untainted by use of cynical, low political cunning and sheer military muscle and legal chicanery. Far from it. But against that need to be set two points. First, Cromwell had idealistic aspirations for the good of his country and its people and it is probable that at his death he had not abandoned these aspirations; and, second, some (if not all) of these aspiration and some of his achievements deserve commemorating today as being truly admirable. And that is what will be in my mind as I very shortly lay a wreath by the statute behind me.

Notes.

1. This is a slightly longer version of the address I gave on Cromwell Day, 3 September 2008. I have included references only for direct quotations.
2. R. Hutton, *The British Republic 1649-60* (Basingstoke, 1990), p. 77.
3. Thomas Birch, ed., *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe* (7 vols., London, 1742), vol. 7, pp. 363-64.
4. *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 369.
5. W.C. Abbott, ed., *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (4 vols., Cambridge; Mass., 1937-47), vol. 3, p. 572.
6. Ivan Roots, ed., *Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1989), p. 193.
7. Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 4, p. 867.
8. Roots, *Speeches*, p. 116.
9. Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 2, p. 325.
10. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 586.

Professor Barry Coward is Emeritus Professor of History and Fellow of Birkbeck, University of London. He recently retired as President of The Cromwell Association, in order to pursue personal projects. He has a forthcoming book (with Professor Peter Gaunt) *English Historical Documents 1603-60* (Routledge, 2009).

THE CULTURE OF THE CROMWELLIAN COURT

By Dr Patrick Little

On 18 April 1656 the London bookseller, George Thomason, acquired a new pamphlet that had been 'cast about the streets'. Entitled 'The Picture of a New Courtier', it was a satirical attack on the Protector and his government, in the form of a dialogue between a court servant, 'Mr Timeserver', and his opponent, 'Mr Plain-heart'. At one point in their argument, Plain-heart told his counterpart that the regime 'is very crasie and will not continue long', provoking a long lament for the things that would be lost. 'Alas, alas' bemoaned Timeserver,

what will become of my dear Master, when his Kingdome is weighed in the Balance and found to[o] light? who will have the fine Houses, the brave Parkes, the pleasant Fields and delightful gardens, that we have possessed without any right, and built at other mens cost, who shall enjoy the delight of the new Rivers and Ponds at Hampton Court, whose making cost vast sums of money, and who shall chase the game in the Hare-Warren, that my dear Master hath inclosed for his own use, and for ours also that are time-servers? Oh how shall we be able to see our pleasant things taken from us, to be employed to better uses & all our pleasant songs turned into mourning, & in Whitehall shall sound no more the Trumpet, Harp, Lute and Organ, besides other instruments of Musick in which we took much delight; those will then be taken from us... What cause shall we have to curse our Court Chaplaines, which sewed pillows of security under our arms, as if we should never be moved?... and always rancked us amongst the Saints, as if we had been really godly; and as they tickled our ears with these sayings, even so the Confectioners with their sweet meats, and delicious Wines did please our palates; besides all our other dainty dishes, fitly composed for carousing gallants, and dainty Ladies: Oh what will become of this courtly brood, when a Common-wealth will be in fashion?²¹

Historians, following Timeserver, have started to recognise the importance of the protectoral court to our understanding of the Cromwellian protectorate as a whole, and this paper is in essence a survey of work published in the last few years, which has taken forward the initial

investigations undertaken by Roy Sherwood in earlier decades,² in an attempt to provide an insight into the culture of the court of Oliver Cromwell, and to place it within its English and European contexts. Instead of looking at the structures of the court, its personnel, or its political significance, the topics addressed here are architecture and art, music and literature, fashion and sport. Any unevenness is in part caused by the incomplete nature of the task in hand. For example, it would be interesting to explore the role of the Protector and his courtiers in encouraging scientific research, or the place of the protectoral chaplains and the nature of religious life at court, and much more needs to be done about the way in which foreign courts – especially that of the French king – influenced developments in England. Although what follows is an interim report, I think there is enough material now available to draw some conclusions, however tentative.

I

Any student of the period will know that the early Stuarts are closely associated with innovations in architecture – not least the Palladian style typified by the work of Inigo Jones – and, in the case of Charles I, with the collection and appreciation of fine art. The puritans, by contrast, are usually seen as the agents of destruction, whether the ruining of churches and slighting of castles in the 1640s, or the sale of the 'late king's goods' from 1649. Some historians still peddle the line that artistic pursuits were in some way the sole preserve of the royalists, and even emphasise that the down-at-heel court in exile was a vibrant cultural epicentre, rather than being a parasitical poor relation, humoured by the courts of France and Spain. Recent research, notably the work of Paul Hunneyball, has corrected our focus, however, and it is now possible to consider the role of the protectoral court in the fields of architecture and the visual arts more clearly.

When considering the architecture of the Cromwellian court, we immediately come up against a major obstacle: there was little, if any, new building by the protectoral government, and the palaces of Whitehall and Hampton Court, where Protector and his family resided, were no exception to this.³ Yet the lack of new building should not lead us to conclude that the régime had no interest in state architecture. As Paul Hunneyball has discovered, the summary accounts of Cromwell's surveyor-general, John Embree, between 1653 and 1658 show that he spent the vast sum of almost £55,000, or nearly £11,000 per annum, which was almost the same as the money spent annually by the Royal Works between 1615 and 1640.

Furthermore, there was a definite peak in expenditure between November 1654 and November 1656, when £29,500 was spent – 'almost exactly the total cost of constructing the Banqueting House at Whitehall, the Queen's House at Greenwich and the sumptuous chapel at Somerset House, the three most expensive royal projects of the early Stuart period'. Furthermore, this spending was spread over far fewer properties: whereas the Stuarts had had to pay for the upkeep and refurbishment of numerous minor palaces and houses, the protectoral court was concentrated at Whitehall and Hampton Court, with St James's Palace and Somerset House acting as subsidiary houses in the capital.

Without detailed accounts it is impossible to know how this money was spent. A large chunk may have gone on repairs made necessary by the years of disuse (and perhaps misuse) since Charles I left London in January 1642; and the costs of returning Whitehall, in particular, to a state worthy of the regal establishment of the new Protector may have been sizeable. (It was only in April 1654 – four months after the foundation of the protectorate – that the Cromwell family finally moved into the former royal apartments, despite the frantic efforts of Embree and his department.) The bulk of the money spent at Whitehall was probably lavished on interiors, especially the state apartments, as we shall see. There is a clearer picture when it comes to Hampton Court, where the replacement of leaky roofs was a priority, as was work on the water supply, including the digging of the Heron and Leg of Mutton ponds in what is now Bushy Park. The gardens at Hampton Court were also repaired and improved by the Protector. The classical statues that had stood in the privy garden were returned, and other areas restored, but 'Cromwell was not satisfied with merely turning the clock back', he wanted to make the palace gardens better than ever. In March 1656, for example, the huge marble fountain was brought from Somerset House to form the centrepiece of the privy garden. Created for Charles I in the 1630s by Hubert Le Sueur to a design by Inigo Jones, this fountain comprised scallop basins and scrolls, sea monsters ridden by bare-breasted nymphs and boys holding dolphins, and was topped by a statue of the nymph Arethusa – or more properly, the goddess Diana. This 'Diana Fountain', on a new base, can still be seen in Bushy Park. Originally, it was surrounded by other classical figures: bronze statues of Venus and Cleopatra (now in the Orangery) and marble statues of Adonis and Apollo. Paul Hunneyball concludes that: 'by returning the statues and adding the fountain, the lord Protector did more than simply bring Hampton Court back up to the

THE CULTURE OF THE CROMWELLIAN COURT

standard of his London palace. In effect, the privy garden now represented a revival of the most advanced horticultural taste of the 1630s court.'

As the palace buildings were refurbished and their gardens made resplendent, the interiors were also restored and updated, at considerable expense. The wardrobe keeper, Clement Kinnersley, had a budget independent from John Embree's, and he was also capable of spending at an astonishing rate, getting through over £12,000 between February and November 1654, for example. His purchases included a bed 'after the Indian fashion' for Hampton Court, and what looks like a pier table and pier glass flanked with torchères, for the state bedchamber in the same palace, to name but the most fashionable examples. Most of the furnishings used by Cromwell's court were taken from the old royal collection – a good slice of which (perhaps as much as £48,000 worth) had been reserved from sale in the early 1650s, with further items being repurchased thereafter. Whitehall appears to have been the priority. It was here that the grand state occasions were held, including formal receptions of ambassadors, and the royal hangings (made for such state rooms as the Banqueting House) were brought back into use. Some tapestries designed for Hampton Court or Somerset House were now taken to Whitehall, and the surviving paintings from the royal collection were also displayed there, including works by Titian and Gentileschi. Once again, we know much more about the interiors at Hampton Court, and as this palace was used as an informal private retreat for the Protector and his family, these are perhaps more revealing of the artistic tastes of Cromwell's inner circle. Like the Diana fountain, these might raise questions as to the extent to which religious puritanism equated with cultural austerity. As Paul Hunneyball has argued,

Cromwell must have consciously decided to have his private study and bedchamber decorated with those costly and beautiful hangings of Vulcan and Venus, which in essence retold a sordid tale of adultery among the classical gods. Indeed, one wonders what [strict puritans] would have made of the tapestries in the Paradise Room at Hampton Court, which celebrated the Triumphs of the Seven Deadly Sins. Cromwell's collection of paintings also contained some curious items. It is perhaps not entirely surprising that images of the severed head of St John the Baptist and Goliath struck a chord, while a set of recent French royal portraits was probably retained for diplomatic purposes. However, some of the lord protector's allies might well have had reservations about the

THE CULTURE OF THE CROMWELLIAN COURT

Gentileschi picture of 'Besabe [Bathsheba] washing herself', Andrea Schiavone's 'Madonna and Child with St Elizabeth,' or Luca Cambiaso's 'Assumption of the Virgin Mary'.⁴

It is tempting to read more into this than the evidence will bear. Although it is abundantly clear that Cromwell actively encouraged the changes at Hampton Court (and probably at Whitehall too), and that he took an interest – even a delight – in the trappings of power, the dividing line between personal taste and public display was always a thin one. Cromwell, as head of state, needed to impress. Foreign dignitaries had to be entertained, domestic petitioners received, political supporters and opponents mollified. When it came to the palaces, the protectoral court adopted royal precedents and absorbed new fashions, but there were limits. To take one important example, the rising star among English architects, John Webb, was not employed by the regime: his royalist past ruled him out. Instead, lesser men such as Edward Carter or Peter Mills were called upon to design the new houses of the Cromwellian circle: Forde Abbey in Dorset (the seat of the attorney-general, Edmund Prideaux) or Thorpe Hall near Peterborough (owned by Cromwell's cousin and confidant, Oliver St John) or Wisbech Castle (the new mansion of the secretary of state, John Thurloe). But the fact that fashionable new houses were being built for such men is in itself worthy of note. The appetite for architecture was clearly there among the courtiers, and there are strong indications that this visual aesthetic was something they shared with the Protector himself. It is interesting to speculate how far Cromwell's own schemes for the palaces inspired others in their building projects; and there certainly seems to have been a close connection between the re-establishment of lavish public and private apartments at Whitehall and Hampton Court and the collections of statues and paintings build up by prominent courtiers such as Philip Sidney, Viscount Lisle, in this period.⁵ One wonders how far the court also influenced the sort of conspicuous consumption noted by Linda Levy Peck and others, which is usually associated with the beginnings of empire and the rising wealth and influence of London as a centre for luxury goods and furnishings.⁶ Cultural influences are often hard to define, but just as the Cromwellian court was open to outside ideas, it is perfectly possible that it was capable of propagating those ideas to the wider court circle and beyond.

II

In the mind of extreme puritans, music was second only to stage plays as the activity most likely to lead to sinful thoughts.⁷ The Westminster Assembly's

THE CULTURE OF THE CROMWELLIAN COURT

catechism famously condemned 'lascivious songs... dancings and stage plays'. In reality, the picture was a little less clear. While lewd songs were definitely out, dancing was a borderline case, depending on the context. Courtly dancing was allowed if it was decorous rather than boisterous: in the words of one Cromwellian courtier, dances 'being modestly and moderately used... [were] things indifferent, and not unlawful in themselves'. Church music was more problematic, as it smacked of popery. Choirs, organs and anthems were all condemned in the 1640s, and the impact of the suppression of cathedral choirs and the chapel royal would have a serious affect on music-making during the interregnum. There is more to music than the offerings of the greenroom or the vestry, of course, but, like the appreciation of art and architecture, this has tended to be seen as the preserve of the royalists. One historian, keen to identify a royalist 'counter-culture' in England in the 1650s, argues that music was a key 'consolation' that could be practised in private, and was thus 'politically safer' than more open expression of dissent.⁸ Whatever the truth of this, we should not conclude that Cromwell and his courtiers all had a tin ear.

In the public sphere, music was everywhere. One marked difference between the protectorate and the commonwealth that preceded it was the elaborate music that suddenly appeared at state functions. Before 1653 the emphasis was on drums, trumpets and cannonades; by April 1654, by contrast, it was necessary to entertain the Dutch ambassador with music during the feast and instrumental and vocal music during the intimate banquet that followed. (Trumpets and drums were presumably left at the door.) A similar reception was laid on for the French ambassador a year later, with 'wonderful vocal and instrumental music' during dinner. Anniversaries were also marked with music, notably Cromwell's great day of thanksgiving, 3 September, which in 1656 was celebrated with a six-part verse anthem in Oliver's praise, composed by his master of music, John Hingston, with words by the court poet, Payne Fisher. This was evidently an ambitious piece, with six singers and six instrumentalists, playing the kind of anthem that is usually associated with Charles II's chapel royal. As in so many other matters, it seems that in music, Oliver got there first. The entertainment laid on for parliament in February 1657 was also stunning, including 'rare music, both of instruments and voices, till the evening', described by one observer as 'exquisite'. By this stage, Cromwell had at least eight full-time musicians at court, and he could call on numerous others, whether unemployed royal servants or cathedral choirmen, visiting

THE CULTURE OF THE CROMWELLIAN COURT

professionals, or good amateurs from London and elsewhere. In fact, it is not clear that the musicians involved in the royalist 'counter-culture' were not the same ones playing for the Protector's state occasions. The marriage of Cromwell's daughter Frances to Robert Rich, the grandson of the earl of Warwick, was followed by celebrations that included '48 violins, 50 trumpets' and (shockingly) 'mixt dancing' until the early hours. This may have been an exaggeration, of course, but there is no doubt that the court could muster a large ensemble when it needed to.

The Cromwellian court also enjoyed music in private. It has long been conceded that Oliver himself liked music (indeed, it is seen as one of his redeeming features) but this is usually characterised as small-scale. According to the royalist, Anthony Wood, Cromwell enjoyed private concerts arranged by his master of music, who had trained two boys to join him in singing 'Mr Deering's printed Latin songs for three voices', and instrumental music known to have been played to him was also quite modest, involving one or two violins, a small consort of viols, or a small wind band accompanied by an organ. Organs were installed at Hampton Court and (probably) Whitehall, being brought from such places as Magdalen College, Oxford, and Exeter Cathedral. Other organs were kept in situ, and their players' salaries continued. Composers were also given encouragement by the wider court circle. Henry Lawes was encouraged to come to music meetings also attended by prominent courtiers; Nicholas Lanier, formerly Charles I's master of music, may have received patronage from Viscount Lisle; another composer, Nathaniel Ingelo, was employed by the ambassador to Sweden, Bulstrode Whitelocke, and through him the protectorate secured the services of yet another, Benjamin Rogers. There are also signs that new musical influences were being embraced, with Italian airs gradually being replaced (according to one source) by music influenced by French composers, and the newly fashionable violin easing out the more traditional consort of viols.

At the most intimate level – that of the Protector's own family – we know that music played an important part. Cromwell employed his own 'virginal musician', Mr Farmulo, and when a prominent Scottish politician visited Hampton Court in 1657, he arrived 'just while my lord and his lady was at their music'. The Protector's younger daughters both received singing lessons, and it was entirely appropriate that at the private wedding of one of them, Frances, to Viscount Fauconberg, in 1657, the entertainment took the form of a musical dialogue, sung by a choir of boys and men, with words by

THE CULTURE OF THE CROMWELLIAN COURT

Andrew Marvell. In the words of one historian, this last occasion marked 'the revival, albeit in extremely shadowy form, of those magnificent masques which had helped to make the courts of the first two Stuarts among the most extravagant in Europe'.⁹

III

While the musical culture of the protectoral court, with its mixture of public display and private performance, its links to the wider musical world and its flair for innovation, can be recovered in detail, the role of literary culture in court life is much more difficult to define. Recent work, including a new book by Blair Worden, sees literary figures such as John Milton and Andrew Marvell as slightly detached from the regime.¹⁰ Milton was a committed republican, who worked for the protectorate but did not approve of it; Marvell was more favourable, but his work is often tinged with irony and equivocation. Lesser literary figures included the young John Dryden, the unofficial laureate, Payne Fisher, the former royalist, Edmund Waller, and the ubiquitous George Wither. Hacks there were aplenty, including some with genuine literary flair, such as Marchamont Nedham, but their work, like that of some of their more erudite colleagues, often shaded into propaganda. Indeed, it is the functional, overtly political, nature of much of the literary output of this period that makes it so difficult to analyse in cultural terms. Edward Holberton's book on the poetry of the protectorate shows what can be done, but even he portrays the connection between the Cromwellian state and literature as fragile, as monarchical precedents were politically charged, and 'reviving courtly forms' could be very 'problematic'.¹¹ Generally, it is difficult to escape unfavourable comparisons between the protectoral writers and their more accomplished royalist counterparts, those who had the leisure to pen poems and plays (even though they could not often afford to publish them or have them performed) and the general feeling that the court of Charles I in particular had outclassed anything that Cromwell could manage. As usual, the emphasis is more on what Cromwell and his allies banned – notably stage plays – while the positive developments are seen as political rather than literary in motivation.

Yet even when it comes to stage-plays, there are signs that strict disapproval was softening during the protectorate, with the impresario, Sir William Davenant, being able to push the boundaries to a surprising degree. Davenant's 'moral representations' – attempts at 'reformed operatic drama',

THE CULTURE OF THE CROMWELLIAN COURT

with singing and scenery but not movement – had initially been promoted as a form of political education, to encourage former royalists to embrace the regime and its imperial ambitions; but his restrained 'entertainment' soon gave way to more elaborate productions, *The Siege of Rhodes*, and then, in 1658, to *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*. The political slant remained, but there was also innovation, and, as Edward Holberton emphasises, the last production 'catered to the new taste for variety: it included tumbling, juggling, and acrobatics'.¹² These were similar in many ways to the masques of the Caroline court, but there were differences, not least the fact that these new shows were performed in public, rather than for a private, courtly audience, and in musical terms they were brand new. Indeed, *The Siege of Rhodes* is 'generally regarded as the first English opera'.¹³ Despite their popular venues, the new shows were not entirely divorced from the Cromwellian court. Davenant sought – and apparently received – patronage from major figures at court, including John Thurloe, Bulstrode Whitelocke and the Protector's serjeant at law, John Maynard, and there was no official disapproval of his efforts until after Oliver's death.¹⁴

Alongside Davenant's productions, a very positive aspect of literary culture can be discerned within the Cromwellian court itself, based on that most royalist of themes, the rural idyll. The pastoral tradition in this period is most closely associated with Charles I and Henrietta Maria, for whom poetry and oration, masque and anti-masque, alongside the physical realities of gardens and parks, represented the triumph of order (royal or divine) over unruly nature. As Kevin Sharpe has argued, there is a 'deep yearning for rural simplicity' that 'runs through all the court culture of early modern England',¹⁵ and when it comes to the 1650s it is usually seen by literary scholars as 'characteristically an instrument of the royalists'.¹⁶ Yet it was precisely this sort of imagery that came to Cromwell's lips in February 1658, when he claimed (not altogether convincingly) that 'I would have been glad, as to my conscience and spirit, to have been living under a woodside to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than to have undertaken such a place as this'.¹⁷ Oliver used rural expressions in other contexts, and similar language occurs in the private correspondence of his courtiers.¹⁸ What gave a twist to this sort of statement was that it was well known that the Protector had once been a 'working farmer' himself. Thus the pastoral and georgic forms had a piquancy, even a credibility, during the protectorate, and this formed an interesting contrast with the artificial, make-believe pastoral world of the Caroline court.

THE CULTURE OF THE CROMWELLIAN COURT

There can be no doubt that those involved in celebrating and publicising Cromwell were aware of the importance of his rise from rural obscurity to military and political power. For Marvell, writing in 1650, Cromwell had responded to his nation's call, and emerged

... from his private gardens, where
He lived reserved and austere,
As if his highest plot
To plant the bergamot.¹⁹

In the same year, Payne Fisher, in his poem *Marston Moor*, uses far more bucolic comparisons, as Cromwell on the battlefield behaves

Not unlike a Husbandman, who goes
Through all the fields, with his sickle mows
The riper Corne, and the first Grass for hay...
Where ere he comes making an open way,
Alaies those Plants which did so glorious stand,
Like to dead stubble, on the mowed land...²⁰

(This last image perhaps reflects Cromwell's own comments after the battle that 'God made them as stubble to our swords', and it also echoes Marvell's series of pastoral poems voiced by a 'mower', rather than the usual shepherd.²¹) In his *First Anniversary* of 1655 Marvell also draws direct parallels between Cromwell and Farmer Gideon (who 'did from the war retreat'); and Edmund Waller's *Panegyrick* of May 1655 makes the even more flattering comparison between the Protector and the great King David, 'Borne to command, your Princely virtues slept,/ Like humble David, while ye flock he kept'.²² Again, the emphasis is on Cromwell's rural origins, his response to the call when the nation was in danger, and his refusal of the highest office when it was within his grasp. The full pastoral idyll, in its classical rather than biblical context, appeared in November 1657, when Marvell's two songs, performed at the marriage of the Protector's daughter Mary to Viscount Fauconberg, presented the bride and groom as Endymion and Cynthia, and Cromwell himself as another familiar character, Menalca.²³ As one of the singers, Hobbino, assures his fellows,

Fear not; at Menalca's hall
There is bays enough for all.
He, when young, as we did graze,
But when old, he planted bays.²⁴

THE CULTURE OF THE CROMWELLIAN COURT

Here planting the bays of victory has replaced the husbandry concerns of the young Cromwell. The imagery of Cromwell as a tree – whether olive, bay/laurel or oak – was by now a commonplace, and would reappear in Marvell's *Poem upon the Death of the Lord Protector*, in which the house of Cromwell is seen as an oak tree (the new *Royal Oak*?):

Not much unlike the sacred oak which shoots
To heaven its branches and through earth its roots,
Whose spacious boughs are hung with trophies round,
And honoured wreaths have oft the victor crowned.
When angry Jove darts lightning through the air,
At mortals' sins, nor his own plant will spare,
(It groans, and bruises all below, that stood
So many years the shelter of the wood.)
The tree erewhile foreshortened to our view,
When fallen shows taller yet than as it grew.

And after the storm comes the peace of 'many ages hence', enjoying the Cromwellian legacy in pastoral style:

As long as rivers to the seas shall run,
As long as Cynthia shall relieve the sun,
While stags shall fly unto the forests thick,
While sheep delight the grassy downs to pick.

Such rural imagery thus had an edge, a relevance, during the protectorate, which may have helped to overcome any residual 'awkwardness' caused by the appropriation of forms familiar from the Stuart court. Indeed, it could be argued that there had been a distinct progression from the Caroline form, rather than merely the slavish copying of it.²⁵ The same point could be made about Sir William Davenant's 'reformed' drama, which, in its efforts not to offend puritan sensibilities, was the occasion for a genuine innovation, introducing the first operas to England.²⁶ More needs to be done on all this; but there is growing body of evidence to suggest that the literary culture of the protectoral court – or at least some aspects of it – complemented the vibrant architectural, artistic and musical cultures already discussed.

IV

So far we have looked mostly at high culture – art, architecture, music and literature – but there were many other aspects of the culture of a court, and the Cromwellian court was no exception. Two areas that have been explored

THE CULTURE OF THE CROMWELLIAN COURT

recently are what one might loosely call 'fashion' and 'sport', and these provide an interesting complement to the rather more highbrow subjects that we have surveyed so far in this paper.

The first point to make about the fashions in dress – both male and female – at the Cromwellian court is that they were certainly not puritanical.²⁷ To take but one example, that of the courtier and politician, Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, whose personal accounts survive, we find that instead of sober, unadorned clothes, in the spring of 1658 he bought 'three vermillion waistcoats', and had a suit of drugget cloth with two coats to match. This suit had '10 dozen of gold and silver buttons' while the coats had a further six dozen 'large silver and gold buttons', and the whole ensemble was trimmed with '16 ounces of rich silver and gold frost work lace', ten yards of black ribbon and twelve yards of ribbon of other colours.²⁸ A few months later, Broghill acquired another suit, this time with four dozen buttons and thirty yards of ribbon, and including a very fashionable 'strait coat' (or close-bodied coat) with 24 buttons; and Broghill also bought a 'laced coat' made of silk with 'three rich laces in a seam'.²⁹

Nor was it just the top courtiers who were dressed to kill. Their servants were also kitted out in gorgeous apparel. Again, Broghill is a good example. On 30 April 1657 he was billed for four livery uniforms for the servants who would attend his new coach. The clothes comprised a suit and a cloak for the coachman and two footmen, and a suit and 'laced coat' for the postillion. Each suit was made of scarlet cloth lined with white, and between them used 42 yards of silver lace, with 'loop lace' for the doublet collars and the sleeves of the coachman's coat. The knees of the breeches had twelve yards of 'tenpenny broad ribbon for knots' and each man was provided with a hat with a silk hatband. Broghill's servants, with their scarlet suits and cloaks with silver buttons, lace and ribbons, were a potent status symbol, and they may have been intended to reflect their master's personal style of dress, with its emphasis on gold and silver lace and buttons. The mention of 'vermillion waistcoats' might even indicate that bright red was a favoured colour for Broghill as well as his liveried servants.³⁰ We do not know whether Broghill was wearing a periwig at this stage; but he certainly had one by the time of the Restoration, when he had his portrait painted.³¹

There are numerous other examples that could be cited: Charles Howard, captain of Cromwell's lifeguard until 1656, dressed very fashionably, as did

THE CULTURE OF THE CROMWELLIAN COURT

his servants; and we know that Howard was wearing a wig as early as 1652; Edward Montagu sent his cousin, Samuel Pepys, shopping for stylish French coats for his sons in November 1656; Dr John Owen, Cromwell's vice-chancellor at Oxford, was said to dress like a dandy with 'breeches set round at knee with ribbons' and 'as much powder in his hair that would discharge eight cannons'; the portraits of the comptroller of the household, Philip Jones, and of Oliver's confidant, Oliver St John, show men comfortable with flamboyant styles of dress; Cromwell's son-in-law, Robert Rich, wore a periwig at his wedding in November 1657. Equally, the portraits of leading women at the Protector's court, notably his daughters Elizabeth Claypole and Frances Bellasyse, show them in costumes that look identical to those worn by the ladies of Charles II's court in the early 1660s. And what of Protector Oliver himself? Here the historical record is less clear, with contemporaries reporting either his plain style or that he wore 'a rich scarlet cloak' or 'mourned in purple (as is used by persons of his quality)', or, indeed, that he 'has introduced the Spanish habit and port' to his household. The suit he wore for the wedding of his daughter, Frances, in 1657, was made of 'uncut velvet' in 'the Spanish fashion'. There are also good reasons for seeing his personal servants, like those of Lord Broghill, dressed very much *à la mode*.³² This is perhaps rather surprising, given the popular image of the puritan, and of Cromwell himself, but it shouldn't be. As Aileen Ribeiro has pointed out, it is almost impossible to tell someone's politics, or their religious beliefs, from the clothes they wore. Clothing was about status, not opinion, and it would have been most surprising – indeed, in the eyes of foreign visitors, rather shocking – if the Cromwellian courtiers did *not* dress to suit the lavish surrounding of their court.³³

The refashioning of the Cromwellian courtiers also changes our view of how the court itself was linked in with the wider world. It is high time that we discarded the myth that elaborate fashions were the realm of the royalists, who used their clothing to create a common identity, and as a statement of their distance from, and loathing of, republican rule. It has been argued that royalist fashions formed part of a counter-culture, centred on London, which also involved musical entertainments and the patronage of the arts – things that Cromwell and his puritanical friends were, of course, supposed to disdain.³⁴ Even more enlightened historians talk in terms of a 'deregulation' of fashion during the 1650s, in the absence of a royal court, with the London merchants and their royalist customers leading the way in creating ever more outrageous garments of a sort that would

THE CULTURE OF THE CROMWELLIAN COURT

become familiar in the 1660s.³⁵ The examples provided suggest that the picture is a lot more complicated. Not only was flamboyance not the province of the royalist alone, there was a court – protectoral, not royal – which was quite capable of moulding tastes in clothing just as it did in art or architecture. More research is needed, but I get the impression that the Cromwellian court was just as close to the City of London as any previous royal court. London was still the main source for luxury goods, and of the loans to pay for them. And we know that there were plenty of rich men in the City quite prepared to fund the Cromwellian regime even if they disagreed with its politics; furthermore there were those like Sir Christopher Packe who were active in their support of the protectorate.³⁶ The notion of ‘deregulation’ may prove just as false as the idea that Oliver and Co. dressed in nothing but plain clothing and always wore tall black hats.

The Cromwellian court and high fashion may fit together uneasily in the public imagination; and the same could be said about sport. After Christmas, the most famous victim of the ‘rule of the puritans’ was horse-racing. Again, this has been accepted uncritically by historians eager to find a royalist ‘counter-culture’, emphasising the ‘continuity’ of the old ways and providing the gentry with social gatherings that increased their sense of common identity,³⁷ but as with fashion (or music, art and literature) there was nothing intrinsically royalist about the turf. It is true that racing was banned in England in July 1654, and that this ban was renewed until the beginning of 1657; but thereafter the ban lapsed, and was brought back only with further fears of royalist plots in April 1658. In Scotland there were similar bans; but in Ireland racing continued unabated, and we know that Oliver’s son, Henry, attended race meetings. This was not just Henry’s eccentric whim: Oliver’s own horse raced on Banstead Downs (near Epsom) in March 1654, just before the English ban came into force; and his son, Richard, gave £30 to the city of Winchester for a racing cup in April 1657, when the ban was in abeyance.³⁸ Other evidence survives to show that outdoor sports were pursued with enthusiasm by the Protector and those around him: falconry, a pastime beloved of Oliver, experienced a renaissance during the 1650s; and hunting, especially at Hampton Court, was a highlight of a Cromwellian ‘weekend’.³⁹ Despite moves to ban sporting meetings where sedition was suspected, there was no official disapproval of sport as such. Oliver told parliament in September 1656, in response to popular complaints that ‘we cannot have our horse-races, cock-fighting, and the like’, that ‘I do not think these are unlawful, but to make

THE CULTURE OF THE CROMWELLIAN COURT

them recreations, that they will not endure to be abridged of them, is folly’.⁴⁰ In moderation, such pursuits were fine by him.

Whether Oliver’s own interest in horse-breeding could justly be described as ‘moderate’ is another matter. As with the royal art collection, the stud of Charles I had been sold off by the commonwealth authorities after 1649, and it is usually said that Cromwell’s interest in horses was purely to provide his cavalry with good mounts. The duke of Newcastle, an acknowledged expert on horse-flesh, dismissed the republican period completely, saying that ‘the men that did govern in those days were not so curious as the great lords and great gentry were heretofore, neither would they be at the cost’.⁴¹ Yet the sources show that as Protector, Oliver spent vast sums acquiring some of the most exotic animals to put to stud in his stables. In 1655, for example, the resident in Leghorn in Italy spent over £700 on two stallions and four mares of the breed known as ‘Neapolitan coursers’, and that does not include the costs of shipping them to England and the wages of the Italian grooms employed to keep them in good condition on the voyage. Like many equine connoisseurs, Cromwell was also keen to import Barbary horses, seen as the best bloodstock to breed race-horses. Again, money was no object, and Oliver did not want to follow the usual practice of buying from the continent: instead he wanted the genuine article from North Africa, including one mare acquired in 1657, who was ‘never shod till she came hither’ and who was described as ‘not for the saddle, but for breed, if she proves to his highness’s liking’. The most exotic of horses was (and is) the Arabian. Few Englishmen in the early seventeenth century had even seen one, and it was only with the defeat of the Turks at Vienna in the 1680s that Arab blood entered the national stock. Yet Cromwell knew all about them; and he wanted some. Again the Leghorn resident was the agent, and from 1655 he made every effort to get round the strict rules prohibiting their export from Syria. One Arab was brought from the continent in October 1657, courtesy of the navy, but as with the Barbs, Oliver wanted them from source. The Levant Company was asked to use its influence in the middle east – in yet another indication that the Protector and the London merchants were not exactly at arm’s length – and it was stipulated that the horses in question ‘must be of no mean or ordinary breed, but such a race as may prove acceptable, and be a fitting return to his highness’s motions’, as it was intended ‘to furnish England with a breed of that kind’. This latest grand scheme failed, as it proved simply too difficult to acquire the animals in war-torn Syria, but the intention is of tremendous

THE CULTURE OF THE CROMWELLIAN COURT

importance, as it shows not only that Cromwell was intent in resurrecting a royal court, he wanted to innovate, to out-do not just the Stuarts but also the princely courts of Europe.

V

When the various aspects of court culture are drawn together, it is possible to make some tentative conclusions as the nature of the Cromwellian court as a whole. Broadly, it can be seen that the protectoral court was re-established along very similar lines to those of the early Stuarts, and that its cultural features were also similar. There were elements that were distinctive, and we have surveyed those in some detail above. Interestingly, with the exception of stage plays and church music these developments do not appear to have been in reaction to the perceived corruption and ungodliness of the royal courts; rather, they were attempts to bring the court up to date, whether in line with continental fashion or in competition with it. Further research is needed into how far the protectoral court was indeed influenced by foreign tastes – and we may find that cultural innovations associated with Charles II and the returning royalist exiles after 1660 were in fact well established in the previous decade. One might point to the extravagant clothing styles or musical forms; but it might also be argued that the scientific revolution marked with the foundation of the Royal Society was well underway during the protectorate. Crucially, the Cromwellian court was distinctive because of what it did not do. Perhaps the biggest absence was the army. Instead of adopting a martial culture, Cromwell seems to have been at pains to keep the armed forces at a distance from his court. Few courtiers were soldiers, and the court itself was overtly civilian in its tone.⁴² Yet there were also marked differences from the Stuart courts. The contrast with the court of Charles II could not be stronger. Lasciviousness, drunkenness and decadence seem to have been entirely absent from court between 1653 and 1659; nor did Cromwell's establishment suffer from the frigid detachment and starchy hypocrisy seen under Charles I. Elegance, virtuosity, connoisseurship were all there, but it was all done with a degree of taste. Moderation was the watchword; and it is perhaps in this overall moderation, rather than any of the specific policies, that revealed the godly morality underpinning the outward show of the protectoral court.

New research may well refine or overturn my conclusions, but the general impression that the Cromwellian court was impressive, but not excessive, will surely stand. This was certainly the opinion of contemporaries. Richard Flecknoe, writing in 1659, praised Cromwell for his restraint in 'avoiding all

THE CULTURE OF THE CROMWELLIAN COURT

superfluity in a state, where superfluity is counted magnificence; living in the condition of a prince with the moderation of a private man; and free from all vice, even in an age when he is counted a good prince who is not altogether vicious [sic].⁴³ Samuel Pepys, who had witnessed both the glory days of the 1650s and the degeneracy of the 1660s at first hand, came to agree with Flecknoe. In June 1667, as Britain faced humiliating defeat in the second Dutch War, Pepys noted in his diary that he and a friend had spent the evening in Vauxhall Gardens, 'reflecting on the bad management of things now compared with what it was in the late rebellious times, when men, some for fear and some for religion, minded their business; which none now do, by being void of both'.⁴⁴

Notes.

1. *The Picture of a New Courtier* (18 April 1656), pp. 13-14. For Thomason's copy see British Library, TT, E.875(6).
2. Roy Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell* (Willingham, 1977); idem, *Oliver Cromwell, King in all but Name* (Stroud, 1997).
3. This section is based on Paul M. Hunneyball, 'Cromwellian Style: the Architectural Trappings of the Protectorate Regime', in Patrick Little, ed., *The Cromwellian Protectorate* (Woodbridge, 2007). I am grateful to Dr Hunneyball for permission to paraphrase his important article here.
4. Hunneyball, 'Cromwellian Style', p. 72.
5. See Hilary Maddicott, 'A Collection of the Interregnum Period: Philip, Lord Viscount Lisle, and his purchases from the "Late King's Goods"', 1649-1660', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 11 (1999).
6. See Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (Cambridge, 2005).
7. This section is taken from Patrick Little, 'Music at the Court of King Oliver', *The Court Historian*, 12 (2007).
8. Derek Hirst, 'Locating the 1650s in England's Seventeenth Century', *History*, 81 (1996), pp. 374-75.
9. Sherwood, *Court of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 144.
10. Blair Worden, *Literature and Politics in Cromwellian England: John Milton, Andrew Marvell, Marchamont Nedham* (Oxford, 2007).
11. Edward Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate: Culture, Politics and Institutions* (Oxford, 2008), p. 144.
12. Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate*, pp. 137-38, 147; see also D.B.J. Randall, *Winter Fruit: English Drama, 1642-1660* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1995).

THE CULTURE OF THE CROMWELLIAN COURT

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 147-49; *Oxford DNB*, 'Sir William Davenant'.
14. *Oxford DNB*, 'Sir William Davenant'; Little, 'Music at the Court of King Oliver', p. 183 and n.
15. Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, 1992), p. 170.
16. Randall, *Winter Fruit*, p. 187.
17. Ivan Roots, *The Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1989), p. 189.
18. See for example Peter Gaunt, ed., *The Correspondence of Henry Cromwell, 1655-1659* (Camden Society, 2007), p. 414; Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 54, fo. 76v.; Longleat House, Whitelocke Papers 19, fo. 31r.
19. 'An Horatian Ode', lines 29-32. Blair Worden sees this as a monarchical image, as the bergamot pear was 'the tree of kings'; but I think it can be both (see Worden, *Literature and Politics*, p. 89).
20. Quoted in Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven, 1994), p. 285.
21. W.C. Abbott, *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (4 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1937-47), vol. 1, p. 287; see note in Frank Kermodé and Keith Walker, eds, *Andrew Marvell* (Oxford, 1990), p. 295.
22. [Waller] *A Panegyrick to my Lord Protector* (1655), p. 7; also *ibid.*, p. 5; see also Worden, *Literature and Politics*, p. 95. For a general treatment of these poems see Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate*, chapter 4.
23. Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate*, chapter 6 is essential reading here, and my aim throughout this section is not to counter his analysis but to suggest another strand that might be added to it.
24. 'Two Songs', second song, lines 13-16. There may have been a humorous element to this 'masque', as Hobbinol was also the 'rustic swain' and dupe of Robert Cox's droll *Oenone*, published in 1656 (Randall, *Winter Fruit*, p. 151). For the wider context see Patrick Little, 'Oliver Cromwell's sense of humour', *Cromwelliana* 2nd ser. 5 (2007).
25. Edward Holberton (see especially in *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate*, pp. 151, 162, 206) takes a more pessimistic line, seeing Cromwell as ill at ease with his role, and the regime as decidedly uncomfortable with the monarchical forms it was forced to adopt.
26. Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate*, pp. 146-51, 206.
27. The next few paragraphs are based on Patrick Little, 'Cromwell's "Gay attire"', *History Today*, 58 (9) (September 2008). I shall return to this theme in a full-length article in due course.
28. Petworth House Archives, Orrery MSS 13192 (1658 bill).
29. *Ibid.* (1658 bill).

THE CULTURE OF THE CROMWELLIAN COURT

30. *Ibid.*, (30 April 1657 account).
31. Reproduced as the frontispiece of Patrick Little, *Lord Broghill and the Cromwellian Union with Ireland and Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2004).
32. These examples are discussed, and in some cases illustrated, in Little, 'Cromwell's "Gay Attire"'.
33. Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England* (New Haven, 2005).
34. Hirst, 'Locating the 1650s', pp. 369-70.
35. Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction*, pp. 199-203.
36. The City was also busy resurrecting and promoting its civic identity at this time: see Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate*, chapter 2.
37. Hirst, 'Locating the 1650s', pp. 370-72.
38. For details see Patrick Little, 'Uncovering a Protectoral Stud: Horses and Horse-breeding at the Court of Oliver Cromwell, 1653-1658', *Historical Research* (forthcoming).
39. See Patrick Little, 'Cromwell and Falconry', *Cromwelliana*, series 2, no. 5 (2008); also *Historical Manuscripts Commission, 7th Report* (London, 1879), p. 460 and Gaunt, ed., *Correspondence of Henry Cromwell*, pp. 75-76, 197 (on hunting with dogs).
40. Roots, *Speeches*, p. 105.
41. William Cavendish, *A New Method and Extraordinary Invention to Dress Horses* (1667), p. 61.
42. See Andrew Barclay, 'The Lord Protector and his Court', in Patrick Little, ed., *Oliver Cromwell: New Perspectives* (Basingstoke, 2008), pp. 204, 210.
43. Richard Flecknoe, *The Idea of His Highness Oliver, late Lord Protector* (1659), p. 67.
44. Robert Latham, ed., *The Shorter Pepys* (London, 1987), p. 783 (entry for 3 June 1667).

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'A DOOR OF HOPE IS OPEN':
THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND LEGACY OF
OLIVER CROMWELL'S PROTECTORATE.

By Professor Peter Gaunt

Gentlemen,

You are met here on the greatest occasion that, I believe, England ever saw, having on your shoulders the interest of three great nations, with the territories belonging to them. And truly, I believe I may say it without an hyperbole, you have upon your shoulders the interest of all the Christian people in the world; and the expectation is that I should let you know...the occasion of your assembling together at this time...

After so many changes and turnings which this nation hath laboured under, to have such a day of hope as this is, and such a door of hope opened by God to us, truly I believe, some months since would have been above all our thoughts...¹

These are Oliver Cromwell's first formal words welcoming and opening the first parliament he summoned as head of state, as Lord Protector of a united – albeit imperfectly united – commonwealth of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, on 4 September 1654. They reflect his confidence and optimism at this early stage of his Protectorate, his sense of solid achievement and his belief that the country had turned a corner and had set out on a more positive and productive path since the new regime had been inaugurated just nine months before, on 16 December 1653, under the terms of a new written constitution. Though the sense of optimism apparent in this speech did not long survive and the Protectorate soon became mired in difficulties, the regime itself lasted for around five-and-a-half years, rather more than the lifespan of a modern British parliament, surviving Oliver's death on 3 September 1658 and continuing for a further eight months under his elder surviving son and heir, Richard, through to spring 1659. Richard's government, and with it the Protectoral regime as a whole, formally ended when he signed a letter of resignation dated 25 May 1659, though in practice its power had ceased a little over a month before, in a military coup which forced the dissolution of Richard's one and only Protectorate parliament on 22 April and which gave real power to a clutch of senior army officers. They used that power to establish or re-establish a string of very different

'A DOOR OF HOPE IS OPEN'

regimes, whose shortcomings paved the way for the Restoration of traditional monarchical government barely twelve months later.

It is, therefore, quite possible to portray the Protectorate as a whole as a rather shallow, transitory period, as a regime whose early optimism soon turned to dust, which put down few roots and which quickly departed leaving only the slightest of legacies, as just one of a succession of regimes established by the army during the eleven years of the republic to serve as a respectable civilian front for military rule and to promote the army's policies, regimes which were duly removed by the army when they fell short of military hopes and aspirations and which were all condemned, negated and rendered irrelevant by the Stuart Restoration of 1660. But that dismissive assessment of the Protectorate is altogether too limited, too negative and fundamentally wrong. The Cromwellian Protectorate was not only the most durable, stable and powerful regime of the eleven years of the republic or interregnum but also the regime which put down the deepest and most lasting roots, which came closest to establishing a workable non-monarchical constitution and government and which, in some areas though not in others, left durable achievements and a legacy which long survived the deconstruction and reconstruction of the Restoration and which helped, directly or indirectly, tangibly or intangibly, to shape modern Britain.

We cannot assess the achievements or legacy of the Protectorate without first being clear about the foundations upon which the regime was built. What did Oliver and his supporters, principally the members of his executive council which was to oversee government down to the meeting of parliament in late summer 1654, inherit from the earlier republican regimes of the Rump and the Nominated Assembly when they took power in December 1653? In his speech at the opening of his first Protectorate Parliament, already quoted, Cromwell went out of his way to stress the chaotic and dangerous situation which the Protectorate found at the end of 1653, portraying a nation in a state of political, constitutional and moral collapse, without any respect for social or religious order, where rights and property had been trampled under foot, where the true faith was falling victim to shocking blasphemies, wicked sins and open contempt for the Lord, truly a broken society. Divisions and dissent at home, Cromwell told MPs, had been compounded by lurking enemies abroad and by the dire threats to the republican cause arising from the wars into which the previous regimes had foolishly and needlessly stumbled, leading to the

isolation of the British republic in a hostile Europe. He spoke emotively of 'everything almost grown arbitrary', of magistracy being 'trampled under foot, under despite and contempt by men of Levelling principles', of how affairs were akin to biblical warnings about 'the lot and portion of the last times' and 'the latter days' of an antichristian state, of good people being led astray and deceived by 'the mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy', of 'carnal divisions and contentions amongst Christians', of 'swarms' of Jesuits and other Catholics waiting to pounce upon a distracted nation and of

the nation rent and torn in spirit and principle from one end to another after this sort of manner I have now told you – family against family, husband against wife, parents against children, and nothing in the hearts of men but overturning, overturning, overturning, a scripture very much abused and applied to justify unpeaceable practices by all men of discontented spirits – the common adversary in the meantime he sleeps not, and our adversaries in civil and spiritual respects did take advantage at these divisions and distractions...²

Employing noticeably colourful language, Cromwell was painting a presumably deliberately heightened and stark image of a chaotic inheritance at the end of 1653, better to stress and amplify the reported restoration of order and sound policies in domestic and foreign affairs which his Protectoral government had already achieved since coming to power, the next topic covered in his speech of 4 September 1654. In reality, he was hardly being fair to the Rump and Nominated Assembly here, nor was he being accurate in his assessment of the Protectorate's inheritance in December 1653.

The Protectorate inherited from the earlier republican regimes a large, well-equipped, experienced and efficient army, numbering around or a little over 60,000 men; at the end of 1653 roughly half of them were stationed in Ireland, with around 18,000 in Scotland and the remaining 12,000 or so scattered around garrisons and key strongholds in England and Wales. The Protectorate also inherited a large, newly-expanded, modern and formidable navy, comprising around 180 front line ships. It inherited peace and stability at home, in England and Wales, for despite all the political uncertainties of 1653 and the constitutional upheavals of the spring and of mid December, there was no sign that this had triggered or was about to trigger riot, rebellion or large-scale disorder – not a dog barked. To the north and west,

by the end of 1653 Scotland and Ireland had both been efficiently and brutally reconquered by English and Welsh troops and the main opposition to English dominance and military rule had already been quelled and broken. In terms of religion, by the end of 1653 Protestant plurality had been firmly established and any prospect of undermining that plurality by forcing all to conform to and to worship within a single state church, whether Anglican or Presbyterian, seemed far distant. Although in his speech of 4 September 1654 Cromwell chose to highlight them as dangerous bogeymen who roamed abroad, in reality by late 1653 the heyday of the Fifth Monarchists, the Levellers and the Diggers too had passed and the main radical groups were in decline.

On the other hand, there were some real problems which the Protectorate did inherit at the end of 1653, some alluded to in Cromwell's speech of 4 September 1654, others quietly passed over. Although the republic possessed a generally efficient financial system, raising large sums of money and providing an income over £2 million and perhaps approaching £2.5 million per year, this was still not enough to cover expenditure, principally the huge military budget; thus the Protectorate inherited accumulated debts and an annual budget which was in deficit. In part related to these financial worries, the Protectorate also inherited a commercial and naval war with the Dutch which, despite early victories at sea, was by December 1653 rumbling on disruptively but unproductively, apparently achieving little and with the navy unable to deliver a killer blow. Although it was showing no signs of leading onto civil unrest, there was continuing political and constitutional uncertainty in the wake of the ejection of the Rump, the last shred of a regularly elected parliament, and the failed attempt via the Nominated Assembly to establish a new regime which fought shy of elections and which lacked any form of mandate or clear approval from the population at large – as indeed did the newly-established Protectorate itself, a regime and a constitution stitched together in shady, smoke-filled rooms by the senior army officers. While supplying military prowess and ensuring security and obedience, the army was also a source of tension, a very powerful stakeholder within the parliamentary cause which had its own military and material needs but which also favoured a much wider political and religious programme; its very presence, its costs and its policy aspirations might all-too-easily lead to confrontations with more cautious, conservative and overtly civilian strands within the regime. And despite the lack of open and active resistance, the Protectorate also inherited a growing body of

'A DOOR OF HOPE IS OPEN'

disgruntled, disenchanted, alienated – royalists who could not be won over to any alternative regime and who longed for the return of the Stuarts, moderate parliamentarians, the so-called Presbyterians, removed directly from office by the parliamentary purge of December 1648 or otherwise disenchanted by the events of winter 1648-49, the pure republican commonwealthsmen who favoured power resting with the people's elected representatives in a supreme House of Commons and who were duly stunned by the removal of the Rump in spring 1653 and the radicals and millenarians who pinned their hopes on the godly Nominated Assembly and who bitterly regretted its induced and assisted suicide in December 1653. All these disenchanted and alienated groups, together surely making up a clear if not overwhelming majority of the population by mid December 1653, were part of the Protectorate's mixed inheritance.

During his five years or so at the helm, as Lord Protector and head of the Protectoral regime, Oliver Cromwell seems to have had a range of goals and objectives and he moved or was pulled in different directions at different times. There is no single policy document, no single speech, whether dating from the beginning of the Protectorate or from later in its lifespan, which neatly sets out the objectives of the Protectoral regime in a comprehensive and consistent manner. We look in vain, for example, for a clear lead given by Cromwell, either as part of the inauguration ceremony of 16 December or over the opening weeks of the new regime, giving a clear and reasonably detailed insight into the course he was setting as the new head of state. True, there is the oath which Cromwell took in the course of the inauguration ceremony, in which he indicated that he had accepted his new office in order to ensure 'the settlement of these nations upon such a basis and foundation as by the blessing of God might be lasting, secure property and answer those great ends of religion and liberty so long contended for' and that in pledging to obey and uphold the new written constitution he would also 'to the best of my understanding govern these nations according to the laws, statutes and customs, seeking their peace and causing justice and law to be equally administered'.³ Five days later, on 21 December, Cromwell reportedly made 'a sweet speech' to his new councillors, urging them to 'act for God, and the peace and good of the nations; and particularly recommended to them to consider and relieve the distress of the poor and oppressed'.⁴ But these early statements by Cromwell, with more than a touch of motherhood and apple pie about them, hardly amount to a clear and lucid account of the policies and policy objectives which his new

'A DOOR OF HOPE IS OPEN'

government would pursue. In fact, we have accounts and texts of no major public speeches delivered by the new Protector during the opening months of his regime; the earliest major recorded speech is that of 4 September 1654.⁵ Instead, it is from this parliamentary speech and from later speeches and pronouncements, made to parliaments, to assemblages of army officers and at other public events, between autumn 1654 and spring 1658, that historians have to assemble Cromwell's stated goals and policy objectives as Lord Protector. The result is an incomplete, complex and apparently shifting mosaic.

As Protector, Oliver Cromwell had different and sometimes potentially or actually conflicting objectives and was pulled in different directions. On the one hand, he was military Cromwell, the man who had risen to power on the back of military success and as a triumphant senior officer, since summer 1650 lord general and commander-in-chief of the parliamentary forces. Ultimately, he relied upon the continuing support and loyalty of the army to guarantee order, stability and respect, to sustain his Protectoral regime and to bolster his power and position as head of that regime. Despite his own repeated claims that he would not woo the army – 'I never courted you nor never will', he snarled at a group of officers at the end of February 1657 in the course of a bitter exchange⁶ – in practice he took care to cultivate the continuing support of the military, holding regular meetings and dinners with senior officers, refreshing shared memories of the great hardships and great victories of the war years, renewing pledges of mutual support to live and die together. As well as the velvet glove, there was the iron fist, for to the end Cromwell was very quick to stamp down on any signs of subordination within the army, even amongst senior officers or in his own regiment, purging, ejecting, occasionally exiling or imprisoning dissident officers. But he also took careful note of the army and the army's aspirations, ensuring that the military's objectives were addressed, not merely in order to retain the trust and loyalty of the soldiery but probably also because he viewed it as God's army, as a reservoir of godliness, the body employed by God to save, secure and advance the godly cause during the 1640s and through which the Lord continued to work to reveal His divine will. Accordingly, Cromwell felt a continuing need to pay heed to and to act upon the aspirations and opinions coming from the army, as they would have at least an element of God's will about them. Thus during his Protectorate, Cromwell generally worked closely with the army, ensuring that as far as possible not only its material needs – pay, supplies, indemnity,

care of the maimed and of military widows and orphans – but also the broader reformist agenda favoured by many in the army – the securing of liberty of conscience and the rolling programme of moral or godly reformation – were addressed, advanced and met. At times during his major state speeches, at times during his Protectorate – perhaps especially during the period 1655-57, from defending the army's position by dissolving the first Protectorate Parliament in January 1655, the army's crushing of the royalist rebellions of the spring, the establishment and operation of the system of the Major Generals in England and Wales, the repercussions of the Western Design and the launching of war against Spain, the decision to call the second Protectorate Parliament and the management of the elections, through to the debates on the continuation of the Major Generals and on the kingship issue, leading up to the eventual decision to reject the offer of the crown in spring 1657 – Cromwell seemed particularly close to the army or at least particularly attentive to the military agenda.

But on the other hand, Cromwell also seems to have been keen to project the traditional and civilian aspects of his regime, to lay aside his military trappings and to be seen in civilian garb, as a non-military head of an essentially non-military regime which increasingly adopted traditional, even semi-monarchical forms, images and practices. Hence the moves to restore a semi-traditional and balanced form of government, with the reappearance of an executive council and of elected parliaments, to trim the size of the army – shrinking from around 60,000 to a little over 40,000 by the time of Oliver's death – especially in England and Wales, where the number of regular troops may have fallen to little more than 10,000 by late summer 1658, and as a consequence to reduce the level of the direct and regular taxes, the assessments, and so begin the move to restore the traditional, pre-war, low-tax style of government. At times during his major state speeches, at times during his Protectorate – perhaps most noticeably while working in harmony with his second Protectorate Parliament, allowing the militia bill and with it the system of the Major Generals to be rejected, flirting with the idea of restoring monarchy and taking the crown as part and parcel of the new non-military and parliamentary constitution which he clearly favoured – Cromwell seemed particularly close to civilian politicians or at least particularly attentive to the civilian agenda.

Clearly, there could be and sometimes were tensions, conflicts and contradictions here and a balance had to be struck. While the Protector and Protectoral regime clearly made great and probably growing efforts to

project a civilian face and to adopt traditional and civilian forms, the military could never be ignored or relegated. Cromwell could not go too far in reducing the size of the army and thus of the military budget, and although he and his council were probably over-ambitious in halving the rate of assessments in England and Wales during the opening eighteen months of the Protectorate, thus exacerbating the weak financial position inherited in December 1653, the military budget remained both a heavy drain and a firm block upon moving very far towards restoring a traditional, low-tax style of government. Equally, although the Protector clearly felt strong ties to parliament and equally clearly felt much happier in holding power from spring 1657 under a constitution approved and endorsed by the people's representatives in parliament than he had been governing under a constitution which rested on military authorship and support and had no wider approval – which, indeed, had been snubbed by parliament in 1654-55 – Cromwell could not drift too far from the army and the military agenda. Had he done so, he would have risked losing the essential prop holding up his government, office and power and of going off message and distancing himself from the godliness and the conduit of God's will which the army represented. Nor is there any clear sign, despite the long indecision over the kingship question in spring 1657, that Cromwell ever seriously contemplated moving very far from his army. The continuing attention to military affairs during the closing years of his Protectorate, the brief but revealing accounts of meetings between Cromwell and the army officers in 1657-58 – almost like an old, long-wed couple, occasionally bickering and falling out but almost immediately realising that they had gone too far and falling over themselves to reaffirm their mutual affection in order to restore the close, comfortable, harmonious relationship which they both enjoyed⁷ – point to a Protector and an army who remained tied to each other to the end. If Cromwell wanted and needed the army, the army in turn wanted and needed him – he was far and away the best deal on offer to them and all but the most zealous or hidebound officer knew it.

These sometimes divergent strands of policy were overlain and complicated by another contrasting set of goals, which might crudely and simply but with some accuracy be labelled 'radical' and 'conservative'. Radical Cromwell was a man fighting to secure and enhance liberties, to promote a programme of reform which would cement liberty of conscience, extirpate sin, eliminate the worst social and judicial inequalities and injustices and thus win God's blessing and enable His chosen people to leave the wilderness and enter the

promised land. These themes emerge in many of Cromwell's major speeches as Protector, but were perhaps expressed in fullest and most ringing terms in a speech he made to a parliamentary committee on 3 April, at the time he was mulling over the proposed new constitution and the offer of the crown:

I must needs bear this testimony for you, that you have been zealous of the two greatest concernments that God has in the world. The one is that of religion and the preservation of the professors thereof, to give them all due and just liberty, and to assert the truths of God, which you have done in part in this paper and referred to be done more fully by yourselves and me hereafter. And as to the liberties of men professing godliness under a variety of forms amongst us, you have done that which never was done before, and I pray God it may not fall upon the people of God or any sort of them as a fault if they do not put such a value upon what is done as never was put upon anything since Christ's time for such a Catholic interest for the people of God.

The other thing cared for is the civil liberties and interests of the nations, which although it be and indeed ought to be subordinate to a more peculiar interest of God, yet it is the next best God hath given men in the world, and better than any words, if well cared for, to fence the people of God in their interest. And if any one whatsoever think that the interest of God's people and the civil interest are inconsistent, I wish my soul may not enter into his or their secret.

These are things, I must acknowledge, Christian and honourable, and are provided for by you, both like Christians, men of honour and Englishmen; and to this I must and shall bear my testimony, while I live, against all gainsayers whatsoever. And upon these two interests I shall, if God account me worthy, live and die. And I must say, that if I were to give an account before a greater tribunal than any that's earthly, and if I were asked why I engaged all along in the late wars, I could give no account but it would be wicked if it did not comprehend these two ends.⁸

Conservative Cromwell was the man 'mightily taken with the word settlement' as he told a parliamentary committee less than three weeks later, on 21 April 1657, a desire to put aside and behind the divisions of the war

years, to chart a new way forward which would restore as much as possible of the pre-war forms and styles, which would build a new consensus and harmony based upon inclusive and often traditional ways – though, as he was careful to point out, in the process conserving and embracing the new liberties which the war had secured, suggesting that even when stressing or pursuing the more cautious line of policy, he never abandoned or greatly demoted his radical, reformist ambitions. Thus he went on to tell the parliamentary committee on 21 April that settlement had become the prime objective:

I think he is not worthy to live in England that is not [taken with settlement]. I will do my part so far as I am able to expel that man out of the nation that doth not affect of that in the general to come to a settlement. Because indeed it is the great misery and unhappiness of a nation to be without it; and it is like a house and much worse than a house divided against itself, it cannot stand without settlement... Settlement is the general work now, that which will give the nation to enjoy their civil and religious liberties, that will conserve the liberty of every man and not rob any man of what is justly his. I think, I hope those two things make up settlement. I am sure they acquit us before God and man, who have endeavoured, as we have done, through some streamings of blood to attain that end.⁹

So where did these various military and civilian, radical and conservative imperatives lead Oliver Cromwell (and his colleagues) during his Protectorate and what had been achieved by the time of his death? In what ways and to what extent had the 'streamings of blood', all the military and political conflicts and exertions, led on to clear and solid achievements? In terms of the military arm, Cromwell retained tight control over and the overwhelming loyalty of the army throughout his Protectorate, an army which although slowly reduced in size over the five years of Oliver's regime, was still large, potent and widely respected – indeed, some of its greatest military feats and victories occurred in the closing eighteen months of Oliver's rule. The navy had been maintained, with new vessels replacing aging ships from the old pre-war ship money fleet; that Cromwell took a keen personal interest in this process is suggested by the fact that, weekends at Hampton Court aside, just about the only occasions upon which Cromwell is recorded leaving London as Protector were to visit the Thames-side shipyards in and around Woolwich to view the building or

launching of new ships. In both Scotland and Ireland, tight, effective, military-backed English rule had been maintained, albeit at a high military and financial price, though the drift to restore some elements of traditional civilian government, of 'normalisation', had been maintained in both countries, with a return of more normal town and county administration in some areas and of local and central justice; however, the proportion of the native populations who benefited from such policies continued to be very different, with a drive to pardon, win over and include a large proportion of Scots, even former royalists, but with the majority Irish Catholic population remaining firmly excluded from pardon, reconciliation or inclusion in Ireland. Abroad, the Protector had maintained an active, interventionist and expansive foreign policy, establishing an array of military and diplomatic alliances, making peace with the Dutch in 1654 but then deliberately pursuing an aggressive and probably avoidable war with the Spanish both in the Caribbean and, closer to home, on land in the Low Countries in alliance with the French. Again, this policy brought considerable and if anything growing military success in the course of Oliver's Protectorate, and with it both respect and additional territories abroad, though they too came at a heavy financial price.

At home, within England and Wales, the regime had been strong and secure, with very little organised disorder or open opposition; most conspiracies were nipped in the bud and those that did come to fruition attracted very limited support and were easily contained and crushed. Liberty of conscience for Protestants had occasionally been shaken but seemed strong and secure, with considerable freedom in religion, while new procedures had been put in place early in the Protectorate to ensure the quality of a reconstructed state church, a loose Cromwellian church settlement in which Oliver seems to have taken a keen personal interest. On the other hand, godly reformation and the extirpation of sin had made only erratic and limited progress, and despite the boost given by various reformist ordinances in 1654 and by the work of some of the Major Generals in 1655-56, the reformation of manners won support from only a patchy and small minority and generally encountered indifference, evasion or opposition. Although the regime never defaulted or went bankrupt and to the end was maintaining an effective and successful war, the Protectorate's financial position, weak from the outset, deteriorated markedly during the years of Oliver's rule. The costs of the military budget, of the wars and of maintaining control over Ireland and Scotland,

compounded by the political decision taken by Cromwell and his council early in the Protectorate to court popularity by cutting the main direct taxes, meant that by 1657-58 the regime was probably carrying an annual deficit approaching £0.5 million and an accumulated debt of around £2 million, getting on for a full year's income. The revised constitutional settlement of 1657, replacing the fairly naked military basis of the Protectorate with a constitution endorsed by parliament, was achieved only by restricting parliamentary liberties – most notably through the mass exclusions at the beginning of the second Protectorate Parliament – and in the wake of new security measures – most notably the restoration of tight censorship of the press and the various restrictions brought in by the system of the Major Generals in 1655-56. Moreover, it was born out of and itself spawned continuing constitutional uncertainties, divisions and conflicts – over the title of the head of state, the role and power of the executive arm, the role and composition of a second parliamentary chamber and the continuing Scottish and Irish presence in the 'British' parliament – which continued to bubble up in 1657-58, which derailed the second session of that parliament and which were unresolved at Oliver's death. Above all, perhaps, Cromwell's relations with his Protectorate parliaments reveal continuing and unresolved problems at the heart of the regime. It proved impossible to establish a productive and working relationship with any fairly freely elected and unpurged House of Commons, even one from which royalists had been excluded. Both of Oliver's Protectorate parliaments were angrily dissolved at the conclusion of sessions which produced no legislation and ended in deadlock and collapse. If Cromwell's first words to his Protectorate parliaments, quoted at the outset, are redolent with optimism, thoughts of good works nearly completed and expressions about doors of hope opening, his very last words to a parliament, uttered at the conclusion of his angry dissolution speech of 4 February 1658, were marked by an altogether different tone. Having berated MPs for attacking the constitutional basis of the regime and creating fresh divisions, he snarled, 'I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I do declare to you here that I do dissolve this parliament. Let God judge between you and me'.¹⁰

Chickens came home to roost during the short and troubled Protectorate of Richard Cromwell, which was soon mired in difficulties. This occurred not because Richard was a fool or incompetent; contemporary accounts make clear that he had considerable charisma and charm, with good interpersonal skills, and he generally responded well to the circumstances in which he found himself, making nicely judged responses; often with a good line of

self-deprecation and humility, and effective speeches, such as the clear and crisp oration with which he opened his one and only parliament. It occurred not because he lacked good advisors or because, as some historians have suggested, his council was hopelessly divided and hamstrung by the gulf between military and civilian members or between committed parliamentarians and ex-royalist converts taken on board by Oliver; from such limited evidence as survives about the operation of Richard's Protectoral council, it appears that it continued to work quite effectively and certainly by 1658-59 was a reservoir of considerable governmental experience and wisdom. It occurred not because Richard was (politically or administratively) lazy or completely bereft of relevant experience – from such evidence as survives it appears that he was reasonably active as an MP in 1654-55 and 1656-57, he certainly played an active role after he succeeded his father as chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1657, he attended his father's Protectoral council frequently from his admission late in 1657 until his own succession as Lord Protector and he was assiduous in taking his seat in and attending the new parliamentary second chamber during the brief and unproductive second session of his father's second Protectorate Parliament in January and February 1658. It did not even occur solely or directly as a result of the regime's financial position; certainly, Richard inherited a fairly dire financial situation in September 1658 and this was one of the main reasons why he and his council decided during the autumn to call another parliament to meet in January 1659, but money was found to maintain the government and its policies, although military pay had fallen into arrears this alone did not appear to be leading to great unrest or an imminent mutiny and the expensive and generally successful foreign policy of his father was continued, with further successes on land and at sea.

The real and principal problem proved to be Richard's lack of standing in the army. Although technically appointed by his father as colonel of a cavalry regiment in 1657, in reality he had no serious military experience. From very early in his Protectorate, it was clear that the senior officers did not trust a young man who had no military pedigree, no grounding in the civil wars or the parliamentary cause of the war years, a man who although clearly possessed of a strong faith – that comes out in his letters and to some extent in his speeches – had none of the obvious and abundant visible godliness of his father, a man who the army suspected of not being 'one of us', of not being truly committed to the army and the army's agenda. The military declarations of support during the autumn, the pledges of loyalty

received when Richard addressed meetings of officers, at least some of whom had been urging that he appoint a military man as commander-in-chief rather than retain that place himself, indicate that even at that early stage of his government things were going badly wrong – they have modern parallels with football managers being given a vote of confidence by the club's directors, they smack of cabinet colleagues rallying to Ian Duncan Smith or Gordon Brown, signs of weakness and danger not of strength. Thus his attempts further to civilianise the regime, his support of a parliament which was not notably sympathetic to the army agenda, his ambivalent response in April 1659 when parliament attempted to curb the costs, size and power of the army led to a parting of the ways. In the crucial power struggle the army overwhelmingly rallied to its long-established generals, not to young Richard, and although there was something of a long-drawn-out goodbye from the coup of 22 April to the letter of resignation of 25 May, in reality the fall of the Protectorate in spring 1659 was remarkably swift and easily achieved. Acquiescence, which the Protectorate had received aplenty, was not active support, and in the face of army intervention, little could be or was attempted to prolong or revive the regime.

So lastly, what of the legacy of the Protectorate? What changes did it effect which survived both the fall of Richard and the Restoration of the Stuarts? What roots did it put down which endured to bring forth further crops? Clearly, any attempts to explore the Protectorate's possible legacy encounter a number of problems at the outset. Three such problems might be mentioned here. Firstly, historians are divided in their assessments of the consequences and legacy of the entire period 1640-60 and in identifying the key revolutionary turning point(s) of the seventeenth century. For some, the mid seventeenth century did see a revolution, with profound and lasting consequences, while others suggest that the clock was turned back in and after 1660, that the changes of the mid-century were swiftly undone and that the real revolution, the profound changes which survived and lasted and lived on to shape the modern state, occurred in and after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Secondly, and arising from this, some historians try to hedge their bets and talk of seeds sown during the 1650s which then lay dormant for two or three decades, only to flourish again in and after 1688. In this way and using these rather airy horticultural images, some historians have conceded that while many of the policies and achievements of the Protectorate were undone around the time of the Restoration, clear precedents had been set and issues which had arisen during the 1650s

continued to lurk out of sight for a generation to be pursued afresh or reactivated after the fall of James II. In some cases, a continuum can be traced – the Protestant plurality of the 1650s never completely undone by attempts after 1660 to restore enforced conformity to a single state church, with clandestine and persecuted nonconformist groups surviving and continuing questions about the wisdom of the new religious policy, clearly leading to a very different and more tolerant religious settlement after the Glorious Revolution and to the Toleration Act of 1689. In other areas, the links are far less tangible – while it may be suggested that the active foreign policy of William III and Anne and their willingness to commit English forces to major wars on the continent owed something to the expansionist foreign policy of the Cromwellian Protectorate, the two periods were separated by nearly thirty years during which Charles II and James II returned to the Stuarts' traditional low-key, non-interventionist foreign policy and clear links or bridges between the 1650s and the period after 1688 in foreign policy are hard to discern. Thirdly, we need to distinguish the legacy of the Protectorate, the consequences of the policies and achievements of Oliver and Richard Cromwell and their governments between December 1653 and spring 1659, from the wider consequences and legacy of the mid seventeenth century as a whole and of the wider civil war period. Thus, for example, it could plausibly be argued that England and Britain as a whole underwent a military revolution in the mid seventeenth century, a crash course in acquiring and employing the new arts of war and the new weaponry, the type of military revolution which some historians have discerned in large parts of continental Europe in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. However, this sudden adoption of new military ways and its later consequences and repercussions in England and Britain clearly sprang from the war years of the 1640s, not from the years of the Cromwellian Protectorate. Similarly, the imposition of much heavier and more efficient taxes, including the regular assessments and excise duties, and the resulting very substantial growth in government income, date from the 1640s and the new heavier exactions imposed by both sides to fund their war efforts rather than from the 1650s.

So to what can we point as possible legacies of the Cromwellian Protectorate? Clearly we cannot point to a continuing British unity – the enforced unity of the 1650s was undone at the Restoration – nor to a continuing role for a standing army and a large military presence – most of the parliamentarian forces were disbanded after the Restoration. The

centrality of the state's navy, which certainly was retained by Charles II, is not a legacy of the Protectorate alone, for Cromwell had merely continued the strong navy and active naval policy inherited from the earlier republican regimes, and they in turn had inherited a powerful navy from the civil war fleet, which itself was based in large measure upon the potent royal navy built up by Charles I on the back of ship money during the 1630s. Similarly, it has already been suggested that the heavier and more efficient taxes imposed by the Protectorate, largely retained and continued by post-Restoration governments, did not originate in the period 1653-58 but clearly and directly sprang from the financial innovations of the war years. While we might look to broader developments, such as a greater awareness of liberty and of public opinion, the emergence of a two-party political system and the shift in power from head of state to parliament, such strands are far from easy to document or to pin down as a clear and unbroken legacy of the 1650s and if they were, indeed, consequences of the events of the mid seventeenth century, it is more plausible that they emanate from the period as a whole rather than from the years of the Protectorate in particular. It has already been argued that an expansionist foreign (and colonial) policy and the willingness to commit English forces to overseas wars, including major land wars on the continent of Europe, may more plausibly be presented as a legacy of the Cromwellian Protectorate, but that it is an uncertain legacy and one whose links to such policies when they re-emerged after 1688 are intangible and unproven.

There are, however, some clearer and more specific legacies of the Cromwellian Protectorate. The Protectorate set a precedent in producing greatly improved milled coins struck in dies worked in a mechanical coining press, introduced into the Tower mint by Peter Blondeau in 1656, rather than the much cruder hammered coinage which had been the normal type of English coinage;¹¹ although there was some return to inferior hammered coinage for a brief period after the Restoration, from 1663 the new and improved machine press die technique was adopted as standard. While the Rump and the Nominated Assembly had sought to reform the postal service, it was the Protectorate which grasped the nettle and established a rationally-planned and efficient state post office and postal system, a system which demonstrated its worth and was largely retained by the succeeding monarchical regimes. Again, while the policy of dispossessing and transplanting many Catholic landowners in Ireland and granting land in Ireland to Protestant incomers had been established by the earlier

republican regimes before December 1653, it was the Protectoral administration in Ireland which completed the transplantation and which oversaw much of the redistribution of land, leading to profound changes in the religious, socio-economic, political and landed make up of the country, changes which were not reversed at the Restoration and which, for good or ill, endured to shape modern Ireland. Although Dunkirk, acquired by the English from the Spanish as a consequence of the successful Anglo-French campaign against Spain in the Low Countries, was swiftly sold to France by Charles II, the Protectorate's acquisition of Jamaica proved far more durable and also far more valuable to succeeding generations. And lastly, while the fragmentation of Protestantism had occurred well before December 1653 and the policy of liberty of conscience was also well established before the advent of the Protectorate, the regime's firm defence and promotion of that liberty from 1653 to 1659 and its efforts to extend that liberty, to enshrine it within the constitution, laws and church settlement and to defend those who took advantage of that liberty, did much to ensure that the vicious and nasty attempts after the Restoration to enforce renewed conformity to a single state church proved unworkable and led on both to the granting of official, legal toleration to Protestant nonconformists from 1689 and to the enduring Protestant plurality of the modern state.

In his speech opening his first Protectorate Parliament on 4 September 1654 Oliver Cromwell had spoken optimistically about doors of hope being open, of top stones being placed on the edifices of state.

We are thus far through the mercy of God. We have cause to take notice of it, that we are not brought into misery; but, as I said before, a door of hope is open. And I may say this to you; if the Lord's blessing and His presence go along with the management of affairs at this meeting, you will be enabled to put the top-stone to this work and make the nation happy'.¹²

The optimism of September 1654, of the opening nine months of the Protectorate, had been severely dented by the failure of the first Protectorate Parliament. Oliver and his son after him had discovered that government could be a messy, dirty business, with compromises, set-backs and half achievements. The door did not stay fully open, the top-stone was probably never laid as Cromwell hoped and intended it should be. But the Protectorate did enhance and strengthen the parliamentary cause, many of its achievements were not entirely reversed or eradicated at the Restoration

and it did initiate, develop or promote several lines of policy which, often for good, sometimes for ill, survived the overturnings of 1659-60 and of the Stuart Restoration of 1660 and endured to help shape not only the post-Restoration state but also modern Britain.

Notes.

1. Ivan Roots, ed., *Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1989), pp. 28-29.
2. All the quotations are from the speech of 4 September 1654, *ibid.*, pp. 30-35.
3. *A catalogue and collection of all those ordinances, proclamations, declarations etc which have been printed and published since the government was established in his Highness the Lord Protector* (1654), pp. 22-23.
4. C.L. Stainer, *Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1901), p. 122.
5. We know of a handful of speeches made by the Protector between January and July 1654, to ministers, to English and foreign diplomats, to civic dignitaries, but all appear to have been quite brief or at least only very brief and bland accounts of their contents survive. See Stainer, *Speeches*, pp. 122-26, 437-41.
6. P. Gaunt, ed., *The Correspondence of Henry Cromwell, 1655-59* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 216.
7. Thus while often recounting Cromwell's angry meeting with the army officers at the end of February 1657, historians often ignore or underplay the events of the first week of March, as recounted in two newsletters found in Clarke's papers: 'this day they [the officers] sent a committee to wait upon his Highness to assure him of their satisfaction in his Highness and of their resolutions to acquiesce in what he should think to be for the good of these nations...' and, in more detail, '...I doubt not but you have heard that of late there hath been among the officers a tender sense of the present public transactions, which occasioned the address of many officers of the army to his Highness, who (having received much free entertainment) were emboldened to improve his Highness's leave by a second address, which was done the last Thursday by about nine or ten of their number, who were chosen by the rest to represent their thoughts and desires in some better composure than could be done by so many together, which was presented both modestly and freely and as acceptably received, wherein my Lord was pleased to use such tender and plain discovery of his constant regard to his army and the ancient cause of the honest people under his government and gave such Christian assurance thereof that

'A DOOR OF HOPE IS OPEN'

amounted to a large satisfaction both to them and to the council, to whom those officers did yesterday make their reports...'. C.H. Firth, ed., *The Clarke papers* (4 volumes, London 1891-1901), vol. 3, pp. 93-96.

8. Roots, *Speeches*, p. 116.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 144-45.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
11. There had been limited and not very successful attempts to produce die-struck milled coins during the reigns of both Elizabeth I and Charles I, but hammered coins remained the norm down to the Cromwellian period.
12. Roots, *Speeches*, p. 39.

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CROMWELLIAN BRITAIN XXII:
THE PALACE OF THE REPUBLIC
HAMPTON COURT PALACE, SURREY

By Lee Prosser

In Hampton Court, Henry VIII created an enduring tradition of royal splendour, a distinct English Renaissance style and a vehicle for the display of kingship and royal power. A deep bond with the compelling personalities of the Tudor dynasty has ensured its survival in recognisable form from a clutch of royal residences which once studded the river Thames and nearby counties. Today, it is universally familiar because of the widespread fascination with Henry VIII and a long tradition as a destination for day-trippers. The Hampton Court which exists today, however, differs in many respects from its Tudor appearance, but for over a century after Henry VIII's death almost nothing changed from the complex as it was first conceived.

Cardinal Thomas Wolsey purchased a manor house on the site and from 1514 transformed it into a princely residence of such extravagance that it was said to out-shine the king's own houses. Just before his fall, it was conveyed to Henry VIII, perhaps in a futile attempt to stave off disgrace following the failure by the king to divorce Catherine of Aragon.

Henry soon set to work adding extensive new ranges in several directions to accommodate lodgings and offices for a new and expanded court apparatus. To the north, new kitchens with their ancillary service rooms were provided, including a buttery, pastry, confectionery, spicery and the accounting offices and lodgings for various officials. Beyond the great gatehouse to the west, so-called houses of offices kept some of the more noxious activities of the kitchens at a distance. On the east and north, under the auspices of Henry and Anne Boleyn, extra galleries and rooms were built around a new courtyard, with tennis courts and bowling alleys added for sport and pastime. In the last great campaigns of rebuilding in the mid-1530s, the Great Hall and chapel were augmented and made yet more magnificent, while new lodgings were constructed for Henry's long awaited heir.¹ Today, some of these greater state rooms survive, while the kitchens have been returned to their earlier appearance, but the privy lodgings, the private rooms and galleries where much of the drama of court was played out, are for the most part lost, having fallen prey to Sir Christopher Wren and his

THE PALACE OF THE REPUBLIC

remodelling for William and Mary at the end of the seventeenth century. The lost areas can only be reconstructed with difficulty, but orders for their fitting up and eye-witness accounts of later travellers confirm the magnificence which formed the setting for the court.²

By the end of his reign, Henry had built up a series of sequential state apartments in the French manner, comprising separate privy and presence chambers for the king and queen, galleries for exercise and the display of tapestries and paintings, as well as more intimate rooms including a library which later contained a collection of heirlooms and curiosities. Often these chambers were lofty, with full height windows coloured with heraldic badges and wainscot panelling setting off elaborate plaster ceilings decorated with antique-work and mythological scenes. Gilding and colour seem to have permeated the building. Even to alight on one room reveals the sumptuous wealth which so overwhelmed contemporary visitors. Overlooking the south gardens, the Paradise Chamber was described as 'so named for its truly vast profusion of different gems of fabulous value' which had a canopy of state framing a Garter emblem studded with diamonds beneath a ceiling adorned with a carved representation of the planets, gilded and dressed with antique work.³ Add to this the tapestries and carpets for which Henry was renowned and a table cloth embroidered all over with pearls and precious stones, and the picture is one which can barely be appreciated today.

Research has shown that much of this rich extravagance, as well as the many furnishings and more personal items, survived with little change into the mid-seventeenth century.⁴ This is evident in the close similarities between the lists drawn up for the disposal of the late king's goods in 1649 with the comprehensive inventory made on the death of Henry in 1547.⁵ King Henry was an exception, however, and his profligate expenditure was not matched by his successors. Elizabeth spent money only occasionally and similarly James I was content to make only the most minor alterations. By the reign of King Charles, expenditure had declined so much that only basic maintenance seems to be recorded, as the political situation placed ever-increasing burdens on the king's ability to finance large projects. Even after the flight of the king in 1647, however, the building was diligently maintained with its furnishings and works of art kept safe and clean by the official Wardrobe-keeper, William Smithsby.

THE PALACE OF THE REPUBLIC

The palace escaped damage during the conflict, and the only serious intervention was the defacing of the chapel in 1645, during the absence of the king. Sir Robert Harlow was responsible for the destruction of the altar and rails, the removal of the carved stalls and 'popish pictures' and the breaking of the windows, which depicted the crucifixion and royal portraits.⁶ The organ was also removed, the walls whitewashed and the fittings replaced by a preaching box and simple benches or forms. Though austere, these sat incongruously beneath the vaulted and painted ceiling, with its gold stars and trumpeting cherubs, which survives today.

Immediately after the execution of the king, there was no immediate decision favouring disposal or retention. In September 1649 the first inventory was drawn up, but this was not completed until the following month, by which time the disposal of contents had already commenced.⁷ The sales were soon halted, showing a determination that the palace should be retained for official use, and in the ensuing three years, the Council met there several times, while more goods continued to be reserved for state use. Financial difficulties may have forced a reconsideration, as another bill authorising the sale was passed in December 1652 and another survey taken and completed by the following April.⁸ This was drastic, envisaging the demolition of the palace because the very bricks and mortar were valued separately at almost £8000. A few discrete areas were reserved for conversion into modest mansions but much of the complex was destined for destruction. Just two weeks later, the palace was specifically exempted from the proposal. However, in August, Colonel West, chairman of the Committee for Raising Monies, persuaded the Commons to return the palace to the market yet again. With this vacillation, a distinct division of opinion may be discerned, or perhaps a political solution was being sought to justify retention of the palace. A compromise was proposed by Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who suggested that Hampton Court might be swapped for New Hall in Essex, a building which had been sold to Cromwell for 5 shillings, but the proposal was dubious and not pursued. Meanwhile, the estates were portioned up and sold off, though the principle that Cromwell needed a country residence close to London seems to have been established and was quietly advocated.

Cromwell's installation as Lord Protector in December 1653 hastened events, with Hampton Court and other palaces reserved 'for the maintenance of his state and dignity'.⁹ The alienated estates needed to be repurchased at great expense, but a large number of hangings and

furnishings had already been set aside, while the value reserved on behalf of the council and Cromwell himself grew to from an initial apportionment of £10,000 to £53,000. The value of these possessions is clear in the wealth of the inventory, though no monetary assessments are given.

The Protectoral court, its structure and workings have been examined elsewhere, though the documentary evidence provides slender pickings.¹⁰ The offices of the King's Works, which usually provide historians with information about repairs and rebuilding at the royal palaces, had become moribund by the late 1640s, and detailed record-keeping disappears completely. The well known brief visit by the Swedish ambassador and occasional favourable and hostile reports afford important, if brief and unrepresentative glimpses of life at Hampton Court, but do not reflect daily routines or good supporting evidence for an established court ritual. The inventory, by contrast, provides information about the appointment and disposition of rooms and the peopling of the palace. It could be inferred as making statements of taste and provides a peek into rooms for which no eyewitness account is otherwise preserved.¹¹

As with many typical household inventories of this kind, the surveyors progressed from room to room in several distinct phases, firstly examining Cromwell's rooms and those of lesser officials or family members, before turning to storage and service areas. The gardens also formed an important component, with banqueting houses and garden furniture included. There are clearly omissions, however. No rooms are attributed to the Lady Protectress for example, though among furnishings stored in the wardrobe, several are noted as matching those in 'her highness' closet', which is otherwise untraced. Other lodgings are listed only as single rooms when they must have formed larger suites. Several shortfalls can be filled by inferring occupation in this way. Clearly then, the inventory is not a complete list, but drawn up for the singular purpose of establishing the ownership of goods. As such, where rooms have no contents, they would not be expected to appear, nor where possessions within them belonged neither to Protector nor State. In this way large areas of the palace escaped scrutiny, but their absence cannot be construed as evidence for lack of use or occupation.

The sequence conforms to what is known of the geography of the Tudor and Stuart palace, which has been reconstructed over many years of detailed research. Beginning in the Great Presence Chamber, it moved along the

north of the Cloister Green Court (today's Fountain Court) through the Queen's range, dealing with Cromwell's own rooms before passing through the king's old rooms on the south. While the Queen's remained in active use, here the sequence had been broken up for various uses, with the King's Cabinet appropriated for Cromwell's daughter Frances, for example, and other rooms lying empty or in use for servants or officials. A single room from the Duke of Richmond's suite, which may have lain close to those of the king, was used by Mary, but she is likely to have occupied the entire apartment. After passing through the spacious Prince's lodgings, most likely to have been on the north, the inventory deals with extensive suites of rooms for Philip, Lord Jones, Cromwell's Comptroller, who occupied the former Lord Chamberlain's suite and then into rooms appointed for the cofferer and other servants. Finally, the extensive contents of the various store houses or wardrobes are listed. These most probably lay within surviving spaces on the north side of Base Court, where the Tudor removing wardrobe was to be found. Finally, the gardens, the kitchens and related offices were included. These can be traced with greater accuracy in the surviving ranges of the palace.

The allocation of specific areas may have been deliberate. For his personal use, Cromwell deferred the use of the rambling apartments on the south and west, latterly occupied by Charles I, and instead took over the Queen's apartments overlooking the east front and north side of Cloister Green Court, which were more coherent and may have undergone a degree of modification for Henrietta Maria a few years before. The symbolism is also evident. Charles's State Bedchamber was left empty and other rooms which had been the setting for court rituals were taken over as bedrooms for minor officials or pressed into more utilitarian uses. There would be continuity only in the most general sense, with no legitimacy derived from the trappings and rituals associated directly with the fallen king.

Cromwell's own apartments were divided into distinctly public and private realms, occupying the former Great Presence Chamber, Privy Chamber, Drawing Room, a Balcony Room overlooking the courtyard, the Rich Bedchamber and the Queen's Dressing Room. These were grand in proportions, and both the décor and layout imply their continued use as formal, state rooms, used for receptions or meetings. The Supping or Withdrawing Room was richly appointed, with the adjoining Balcony Room serving in a more modern capacity as a drawing room, with a couch and elbow chairs of crimson velvet and cloth of gold.¹² Couches in particular are

rarely listed elsewhere and so assume greater significance as a measure of status when mentioned. The adjoining Rich Bedchamber is also particularly illuminating because it clearly formed the climax of the sequence, retaining all the sumptuous paraphernalia of display implying that the Protector maintained the regal customs of distinction in which the State Bedchamber was the epicentre of power. Hung with tapestry and floored with Persian carpets, the bed was 'of rich incarnadine [a flesh or pink-coloured] velvet embroidered very rich with gold and silver' and was dressed with feather plumes. Gilt stands, an ebony-framed table and other furniture completed an extravagant suite. Most of these pieces are noted as belonging to Cromwell.

Moving through the Queen's Dressing Room brought the visitor to a series of smaller and more modestly appointed rooms on the east front, comprising Cromwell's private bedchamber and dressing room. Here there was no gold, but tapestries of Vulcan and Venus, 'ungodly and carnal' according to Ernest Law,¹³ a small couch with stools and chairs of light-coloured damask. No bed is described, and may have been removed to the wardrobe after Cromwell's death. Adjacent was a dressing room, furnished with an old cupboard and a few other modest sticks.

The enigmatic Paradise Chamber, lying at some distance, was also considered part of this suite, though now lay unfurnished except for tapestries, its fabulous jewelled table cloth having been sold off in the first wave of disposal.¹⁴ A notional gap between the dressing room and Paradise might be inferred as housing the private rooms of the Lady Protectress. All were connected by a long gallery, in which Mantegna's 'Triumphs of Caesar' were displayed. These had been reserved almost from the start and represent one of the strongest indicators of the Protector's taste, though early in Cromwell's reign they had been removed to the Mortlake tapestry works for copying and had only recently returned.

The king's apartments to the south had been divested of much grandeur. The exception was a room 'appointed for strangers', presumably state visitors, containing a bed embroidered with needlework of 'poetical fancies'. Other rooms, such as the King's Dressing Room, were given to the Lord President, while the focal bedchamber lay stripped and bare, and might have escaped the inventory all together if not for andirons and a fire shovel lying in the grate.

In other respects, there was distinct continuity of allocation. Several apartments were given over to the successors of previous occupants; the Lord Chamberlain's passing to Philip Jones, while Claypole was given his predecessor's apartment as Master of the Horse. Others were divided as single rooms to accommodate other members of the court, including servants. Service areas also continued to be used. The kitchens functioned with a full complement of equipment. The need to cook for large numbers of people spilled over in the scullery and comptroller's kitchen, while the pastry, flesh larder and brewhouse were all stocked to serve a large household. There are other areas of which no mention is made, however: offices around Master Carpenter's Court, Base Court lodgings and others on the west, though these may have been used occasionally and furnished from the wardrobe when required.

Great numbers of items were kept in the upper and lower wardrobe, in effect store houses for fabrics and furniture, and this allows some consideration of the range and value of the materials found in the palace. Textiles undoubtedly form the bulk of the inventory. Of these, the tapestries were clearly paramount, for they included several of the great sets commissioned by Henry VIII and Wolsey, which remained at the palace until their temporary removal for sale after 1649.¹⁵ By 1654, over a thousand pieces had been disposed of by the state, including some of Henry's most important sets, but a glut caused by so much appearing on the market at once meant that many of the more important pieces remained at Hampton Court, until Cromwell's assumption of the Protectoral dignity put a halt to any further disposal. Those reserved and used have significance in their own right, including the sets known as the 'Old and New Law', the 'Antiques', the 'Story of Tobias' and the 'Seven Deadly Sins', but others of equal importance were in the event sold.

The range of other textiles is impressive. The inventory notes the differences with great diligence, as this was a measure of value and status. Cloth of Gold appears in several places, though cloths of estate under which the king sat had been deliberately sold, and any residual pieces with royal arms, crowns and monograms also seem to have been disposed of. Other expensive cloths include damask and sarcenet, a thin, transparent silk, and great numbers of embroidered cloths and velvets, often worked with gold or silver thread. Painted cloths, which often formed a cheaper imitation of tapestry or Arras, adorned the banqueting houses. Further down the scale, heavier woollen cloths such as baize, kersey and perpetuano are found, with

THE PALACE OF THE REPUBLIC

cheap linsey woolsey, serge and other general worsted cloths known as 'stuff', dressing walls or used as the more utilitarian lining to beds and curtains. Many of these hangings formed matching component parts of bed dressings, wall hangings, curtains and upholstery, which came in a wide range of colours. It also seems that the wardrobe stored a number of broken up suites of furniture, of which only certain parts were being used. Carpets, including many which belonged to Cromwell, also feature highly, both of Turkey work, possibly used as table carpets, and Persian floor carpets and rugs.

The use and deployment of the tapestries is interesting for the subject matter – mythological scenes are particularly stimulating as a choice for future discussion, but for the most part, the vast quantities of textiles and furniture described throughout the inventory are more difficult to assess in relation to the Protector. How much had been selected for him or commandeered by greedy relatives or officials is impossible to establish.¹⁶ However, within the gardens, the specific appropriation of important items of statuary, combined with the expense and difficulty of transportation to Hampton Court, speaks more compellingly of Cromwell's personal taste and his desire to create a regal setting.

Henry VIII's gardens at Hampton Court had been conceived as a fantastic arrangement of railed beds, carved beasts set up on posts, elaborate topiaries and flower beds focussed on the Privy Garden to the south of the palace, with a smaller Mount Garden adjoining. This had at its centre a circular banqueting house raised up on a mound, crowned with an onion dome. Smaller banqueting houses also lay along the enclosing wall. The form of the Tudor layout was maintained with great care into the 1620s, until it was partly replaced by Charles I with parterres in a more contemporary manner with a new bowling green.¹⁷ Under Cromwell, a new layout was established, and statuary deliberately appropriated from the royal collection to adorn the new garden. A brass statue of Arethusa, which had been commissioned from Le Seuer by Henrietta Maria, was set up with four others, of Adonis and Apollo, the Venus de Medici and Cleopatra, which were formerly recorded at Greenwich and which had earlier been sold and needed to be re-purchased.¹⁸ The deliberate choice of these mythological figures, as well as determined efforts to acquire them, illustrate the importance of the iconography, which is directly paralleled by the subject-matter of the tapestries. The nakedness of these new figures was evidently offensive to

THE PALACE OF THE REPUBLIC

those of a more conventional puritan disposition, and prompted a famous admonition by a certain Mrs Nethaway, who, writing to Cromwell, asked that 'this one thing I desire of you – to demolish these monsters that are set up as ornaments in the Privy Garden'.¹⁹

As conspicuous as the inventory is for the richness of its contents, it is also notable by its absences compared to the contents just ten years earlier. Not a single easel painting is listed, in contrast to over 300 which had hung in the palace in 1649.²⁰ Nor is a single book listed. There are no clocks, nor other horological instruments of high value, nor ceramics, weapons, or musical instruments listed, apart from a few stray pots stored in the wardrobe and the organ in the Great Hall. A few gaming boards such as billiard tables are noted and throw light on recreation within the palace, but all the diversity of Charles I's collection, which included cherished heirlooms and rarities remaining from Henry VIII's time had gone. The plate, too, which would be piled up in extravagant displays on dressers or buffets, had been consigned to the Tower for recycling into coin, leaving no fine tableware for use or show. Why so many rich textiles were retained, when these too were a saleable commodity, may reflect an image of palace and Court which Cromwell hoped to project. The furniture, though a necessity, is less diverse and more functional; fewer chests or trunks, cabinets, mirrors and other luxuries, though they are still present in moderation. Objects with specific royal associations or iconography were disposed of, but the windows of the palace and the painted, decorated ceilings and friezes must still have shone with such imagery. The overall impression is thus of a reduced, paler Hampton Court, but nonetheless a palace which retained much in its regal setting and meaning.

Why Hampton Court was chosen, when most other royal palaces were sold outright or allowed to fall into fatal decline, remains a puzzle. The palace was by no means the only possible contender, nor the most convenient, or the most up to date. Yet it was in a good state of repair and it is hard to escape the conclusion that Cromwell undoubtedly liked it. It was also a symbolic place, redolent of power, stateliness and as the Venetian ambassador put it, 'departed greatness'.²¹ How it was used is also revealing. Given a choice of many hundreds of rooms in subsidiary lodgings throughout the palace, the most richly appointed state rooms in the Queen's suite were selected for the Protector's use. This choice has a parallel at Whitehall, where Cromwell initially used a series of more modest apartments near the Cockpit but later, after installation, moved to the

sumptuous rooms of the former privy apartments.²² The amassing of possessions, the use of the rooms and their magnificence speak of increasing aggrandizement as the Protector became more kingly in his behaviour. Yet this was clearly not the stultifying and cultivated surroundings which Charles I knew, but seemingly a much less formal environment, where the emblems of monarchy had been set aside, but where the dignity of the state continued to be expressed.

Cromwell's legacy at Hampton Court is an intangible one. Mantegna's Triumphs of Caesar and several great Henrician sets of tapestries remain at the palace, yet these had a prior link with the building of much greater antiquity. The garden statues can also be seen as a connection and an intriguing reflection of the Protector's taste. Perhaps it is the survival of the palace itself which is a more enduring symbol. In 1659 the puritan impetus remained strong. With Cromwell dead, the parliamentarian Sir Henry Vane once again advocated the sale of the palace. Colonel Edmund Ludlow, a critic of both Charles I and Cromwell, recorded his words. Such places, he noted, 'might justly be accounted amongst those things that prove temptation to ambitious men, and exceedingly tend to sharpen their appetite to ascend the throne'.²³ Just as the visitor in the present day is seduced by the weight of history and the symbolism the palace expresses, so too perhaps was Cromwell. The inventory adds texture and colour to that thought, and gives a very different impression to the usual image of the dour, monochrome Commonwealth of England.

Notes.

1. Much of the evidence has been collated and presented in Simon Thurley's *Hampton Court: a social and architectural history* (New Haven, 2003), following detailed analysis in various volumes of Howard Colvin's *A History of the King's Works*, (London, 1975 and 1982).
2. These include various German princes and travellers from the 1580s: see Paul Hentzner *Journey into England in the Year MDXCVIII* (Reading, 1809), Thomas Platter's *Travels in England, 1599*, ed. Clare Williams, (London, 1937) and the Duke of Stettin's visit of 1602, transcribed in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, new series 6 (1892). Particularly illuminating is the experience of a Moravian nobleman, Baron Waldstein (see below).
3. *The Diary of Baron Waldstein; a traveller in Elizabethan England*, translated by G.W. Groos (London, 1981), p. 82.

4. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, chapter 8, pp. 119-28 deals extensively with the protectoral court, though the inventory is only briefly mentioned.
5. See D. Starkey, ed., *Inventory of Henry VIII* (London, 1998) and Oliver Millar, ed., 'The inventories and valuation of the King's goods', *Walpole Society*, 43 (1970-72).
6. *Perfect Occurrences of Parliament; and chief collection of letters from the Armie (1645), the 41st week, 29 September 1645*. See also Simon Thurley, 'The Stuart kings, Oliver Cromwell and the Chapel Royal 1618-1685', *Architectural History*, 45 (2002), pp. 218-50.
7. British Library, Harleian MS 4898.
8. Transcribed by Ernest Law, *The History of Hampton Court Palace* (3 volumes, London, 1885-98), vol. 2, pp. 258-71.
9. *House of Commons Journal*, volume VII (1651-59), p. 404.
10. See Thurley, *Hampton Court*, pp. 125-28.
11. Wren produced only an outline drawing of these areas to be destroyed, see *Wren Society*, volume 4, p. 15.
12. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p. 128.
13. Law, *Hampton Court Palace*, vol. 2, p. 180.
14. The famous pearl-encrusted table-cloth was sold to Edmund Harrison, the king's embroiderer, and was returned to Charles II at the Restoration.
15. See T.P. Campbell and P. Thomas, *Henry VIII and the art of majesty. Tapestries at the Tudor Court* (New Haven & London, 2007), where the tapestries are dealt with in great detail.
16. After the Restoration, the former Lady Protectress was found to have stored large quantities of possessions in a warehouse. Though she claimed that they had belonged to the Protector, she was forced to return much; see the *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 7-14 May 1660.
17. See Sir Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden* (London, 1984).
18. These latter statues were, it seems, originally sold to Mr Latham and Captain Stone, and had to be exchanged for goods in kind, to secure them for the Protector. Le Seuer is usually credited with these pieces, but Fanelli may also have been responsible. Venus and Cleopatra can still be seen in the Lower Orangery at Hampton Court. Apollo and Adonis are lost, while Arethusa stands in nearby Bushey Park, atop a later fountain.
19. Quoted in Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell Our Chief of Men* (London, 1973).
20. One possible exception, apart from the Mantegnas, is a large picture of 'horns of Amboise' noted in the Prince's Gallery.

THE PALACE OF THE REPUBLIC

21. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, XXIX (1653-54), p. 202.
22. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p. 98.
23. *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, quoted by Law, *Hampton Court Palace*, vol. 2, p. 200.

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WRITINGS AND SOURCES XII: THE INVENTORY OF 1659

By Lee Prosser

Nine months after Cromwell's death and in the unsettled, final year of the Commonwealth, the Council of State, fearful of the possible looting of Hampton Court Palace and poaching on the estate, ordered an inventory to be taken. At that time the palace remained as one of the few royal houses unscathed by the Civil War and Interregnum, but was soon considered for disposal and sale as it had been ten years before. For a brief period it had served as the Protector's country residence but documents tracing this crucial time are slender and afford only the briefest glimpse into the set-up and working of the Protectoral court. The inventory is thus a significant source for the period. It was published in 1898 in Ernest Law's history of Hampton Court, but this book is now scarce and long out of print. It is re-published here with corrections, to allow wider reconsideration of the palace at this important period.

First published by Ernest Law, in his *The history of Hampton Court Palace*, volume 2, appendix C (pp. 277-308) from the original in the National Archives (TNA SP18/203, ff. 67-81). The original has been checked against Law's transcript for accuracy. The only major discrepancy was an inconsistency in transcription of the eccentric use of capitalisation and lack of punctuation, which Law added. This has been omitted, to make this version more true to the original. Law distinguished Cromwell's personal goods with an asterisk, where, in the original, state property is marked by line in the left margin. Law erroneously continued this to include the garden furniture, statuary and kitchen equipment. This has been corrected, though his use of an asterisk is retained where correct.

For the Right Hon^{ble} the Councill of State

In obedience to yo^r Hon^{ble} Order of the Eleventh of June instant Commanding us to repaire to Hampton Courte and to take an Account of the Goods in the Howses there soe as there bee noe Imbezillment of them and likewise to take notice of such Servants as there remaine alsoe to take care of the Watercourses and Rivers and Certify the state of the whole of yo^r Hon^r with our opinion what servants are fit to bee continued for looking to the house and what is fit to bee done therein.

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

We doe humbly Certify that wee found in severall Roomes these the particular goodes in this Booke mentioned, as followeth :-

In the Greate Presence Chamber.

- *Nine peices of Tapestry hanginge of Ahaeshuerus and Esther
- *One Turkey Carpett five yards long
- *One Turkey Carpett Three yards and a halfe long
- *Three Spanish Tables
- Twelve back stooles of guilt leather and one Elbow Chaire
- One paire of Andirons wth double brasses.
- One paire of Creepers, fire showell, and Tongs wth double brasses
- One Spanish Table

In the Privy Chamber

- *Nine pieces of Tapistry hangings of the old and new Law
- *One large fine Persian Carpett
- Eighteene back stooles and one elbow Chaire of a Cinamon colour Cloth
- One large joynd table

In the Supping Roome or Withdrawing Roome

- *Five peices of Tapistry hangings of the Morians
- Twelve back stooles of guilt Leather
- fower Spanish Tables
- Three leather Carpetts
- Two Courtines of greene bayes for the wyndowes
- One paire of Andirons wth double brasses
- One pair of creepers, fire-shovell, Tongs and Bellowes

In the Ballcony Roome

- *fower peices of rich Arras hangings of y^e History of Tobyas
- *One Couch & two Elbow Chaires } of Crimson velvett

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

- *Six back stooles } imbroidered wth
- *One long seate wth a Cushion } cloth of gold
- One fine persian Carpett
- Three window courtines of red bayes
- One Spanish Table

In the Clossett next to itt

- Two wyndow Courtines of red cotton
- One paire of small Andirons wth Creepers
- One Joynd Table

In the Rich Bedchamber

- *five peices of rich Arras hangings of the Antiques
- *One peice of the like Arras of Æneas
- *One large persian Carpett under the bed
- *One Bedsted with a Sackcloth bottome
- *The furniture of rich incarnadine velvett imbroidered very rich wth gold and silver conteyning
- *Three Courtines } of the same velvett,
- *fower cantoones } and imbroidered
- *Deepe vallons and bases } suitable to the said bed
- *fower Cupps }
- *One french Carpett }
- *Two Elbow Chaires }
- *Six back stooles }
- *The Ceeler and head cloth of the said bed is of rich cloth of gold, with inward vallons, cases for the posts and lynnyges of the courtaines and Cantoones all of the same
- *Two large wyndow courtines of scarlet cloth lyned wth crimson Taffety and laced about wth gold and silver needle worke lace like Acorns

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

*One small Spanish table
 One large feather bed and bowlster
 One canvas Materis
 One holland quilt
 One paire of blankets
 Three large courtins of scarlet bayes being a case about the Bed
 One paire of rich guilt Stands and a table suitable
 One large Looking glasse in an Ebony frame
 One pair of Andirons wth double brasses, and creepers fire shovell and Tongs suitable
 The chaires, Stooles, Tables and Stands are covered wth scarlet bayes
 fower plumes wth red and white feathers
 One counterpane of white sattin quilted wth silke of several collo^{rs}

In the late Queenes Dressing Roome

*Three peices of fine Tapistry hangings of Vulcan and Venus
 *One peice of Arras hangings of Lazarus
 One Elbow Chaire }
 Fower back stooles } of white cloth of Tissue wth
 One footstool } covers of scarlet Bayes
 One paire of Andirons wth double brasses and creepers fire shovell and Tongs suitable
 One paire of Bellows
 One small Screene
 One fine counterfeit Ebbony Table
 One paire of Stands of counterfeit Ebbony

In his late Highnes Bedchamber

*five peices of fine Tapistry hangings of Vulcan and Venus

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

Two wyndow courtines one of Scarlet bayes th'other of Sarge
 One small Couch }
 Two Elbow Chaires } of sky collour Damaske
 fower back stooles } and cased wth watchet Bayes
 One carpet
 One black Table wth a turn'd frame
 One paire of Andirons wth double brasses
 One paire of Creepers wth firehovell and Tongs
 One paire of Bellows

In his Dressing Roome

*One old Coberd
 One Spanish Table
 Two small Turkey Carpetts
 One paire of Andirons wth double brasses
 One paire of Creepers and fire shovell, Tongs and Bellows
 fower back stooles of Turkey worke

In Paradiice Roome

*Seaven peices of rich hangings of Arras, of the tryumphs of the Capitall Sinns
 *One peice of the like Arras of Meleager
 *One chimney peice of Arras of Tobias
 Fower Courtines of watchet Bayes
 Two paire of Andirons
 One paire of Creepers

In the long Gallery

*Nine peices of painting of the Tryumphs of Julius Cæsar done by Andraea Montanea

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

One small Billiard board
One paire of Andirons
One paire of Creepers

In a syde Gallery adioyning

One Billiard board
One paire of Andirons

In a small Closett in the lady Faulconberges lodgings formerly the Duke of Richmonds

The Closset hanged about wth old greene perpetuano
Two back stooles }
Three folding stooles } of old greene cloth
One footestoole }

In the Lady Frances lodgings formerly the late Kings Cabinet Roome

*Five peices of Tapistry hangings of Meleager
*One peice of tapistry hanging of Sorteene
One feather bed and bolster
One holland Quilt
One paire of Andirons wth double brasses
One paire of Creepers and fire shovell, Tongs and Bellows
Two wyndow Courtines of red bayes

In a Roome appointed for Strangers

The roome hang'd with 44 panes of Crimson velvett and cloth of gold.
One Bedstead wth a furniture of needle worke of poeticall fancyes cont:
double vallons, Testor, headcloth and fower Courtines of greene sattin
branched wth flowers of gold and silver
One elbow Chaire
Two backstooles of needleworke suitable to the bed

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

One long Seat for a cushion
One long Cushion }
One square Cushion } of green cloth of gold
One footstoole }
One Counterpane of greene sattin quilted wth gold twist
One large feather bed and bolster
One Canvas Materis, a holland Quilt, and a paire of blanketts
Seaven guilt cupps ans seaven plumes of feathers
Three courtines of scarlet bayes
One small Turkey Carpett and a looking glasse
One paire of Andirons
One paire of creepers, a fire shovell, Tongs and a paire of bellows

In the L^d Presidents Roome formerly the late Kings Dressing roome

Two wyndow courtines of watchet bayes
One paire of Andirons
One paire of Creepers, fireshovell, Tongs, and Bellows

In the next roome for a Servant

One halfe headed bedsted
One small feather bed and bolster
One paire of blanketts and a rugg
*One old Table
*One furniture for a bed of stripe stufte that came from Sweeden

In the late Kings Bedchamber

One paire of Andirons and a fire shovell
One paire of Tongs and paire of bellows

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

In a little Roome adioyning

One halfe headed bedsted
One small feather bed and bolster

In the late Kings Wthdrawing Roome

*Two peices of rich Arras hangings of the Antiques
*One peice of Arras hangings of Meleager
*Two old Court Coberds
*One small peice of Tapistry of the Cardinals Armes
One large Spanish Table
One new Turkey Carpett
Eight backe stooles of Turkey worke

In the Ministers roome formerly for private Oratory

The roome hang'd round wth strip't stuffe
One bedsted the furniture of liver collour Sarge Cont: Courtines vallons and Counterpane
Two folding Stooles }
Two back stooles } suitable to the Bed
Two small Carpetts of strip't stuffe
One feather bed and bolster two blankets and a rug
One paire of Andirons wth creepers, fireshovell and Tonges

In the late Kings privy Chamber

*fower peices of rich Arras hangings of y^e history of Tobias
*One peice of Arras of Meleager
*One large elbow Chaire of crimson velvet
Three spanish Tables and two Turkey Carpetts
Two large courtins for y^e wyndow of sad collour bayes
Fower back stooles of Turkey worke of flower potts

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

In the late Kings presence Chamber

*Three peices of fine old hangings of the Tryumphs
*Two peices of the like stuffe of ye Cardinals Armes
*One Turkey Carpett
five Spanish Tables
One large Turkey Carpett
fower wyndow courtines of sad collour bayes
Eightene backstooles of Turkey worke of flower pottes.
Two paire of Andirons
One paire of Creepers, fire shovell and Tonges

In the late Princes Gallery

One hundred Twenty and seaven hornes of severall sorts of Beasts
One picture of a large paire of hornes from Amboiz
Twelve branches for Candles

In the late Princes Bedchamber

*Six peices of good old Tapistry hangings of Sorteene wth y^e Cardinals armes
One standing bed sted the furniture of needle worke being y^e labours of Hercules Cont: Testor, head cloth, and double vallons.
Fower Courtines of purple cloth of gold bodkin lyned wth greene and white damaske.
One Counterpane of Crimson sattin quilted wth gold twist
One elbow Chaire }
Three back stooles } of needlework suitable to the Bed.
One footstoole } This bed brought out of Scotland
One seat for a long Cushion
One large feather-bed and bolster

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

One Canvas Materis and a holland Quilt
 One paire of blanketts
 One large foote Carpett and a small Carpett
 Seaven guilt Cupps and seaven plumes of feathers
 One paire of Andirons
 One paire of Creepers, firehovell, Tongs and bellows
 One small Table

**In the two next Roomes being the late Princes Wthdrawing Chamber
 and Dressing roome**

Two paire of Andirons
 Two paire of Creepers wth fire shovell and Tongs
 Fower new back stooles of Turkey worke
 One Spanish Table

In a Clossett in the passage to the Tennis Courte

The roome hang'd wth french greene Sarge
 Two elbow Chaires }
 Two back stooles } suitable
 Two square Cushions }

In the Nursery att the end of y^e said Passage

The roome hang'd round wth strip't stuffe
 One Carpet of the same
 One small Table
 Fower leather Chaire
 One elbow Chaire } of red Say belonging to a bed in the wardrobe
 Three back Chaires }

**In the lodgings formerly Duke Hambletons, late Lord Clapooles as
 Master of the Horse (vizt.)**

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

In his Bechamber

Two paire of Andirons
 One paire of Bellows

In his Dressing Roome

One elbow Chaire } of cloth of silver rased wth velvet & cased
 fower back Stooles } wth red bayes
 One paire of Andirons and one fire shovell

In his wthdrawing Roome

One large Couch }
 One elbow Chaire } of yellow cloth of gold and cased wth red
 bayes
 Three back stooles }
 One paire of Andirons
 One paire of Creepers, Fire shovell, Tongs, and Bellows

In a small Clossett adioining

The Clossett hang'd wth liver Collour sarge

In his Dyning roome adioyning

Twelve back stooles of Turkey worke
 Three Spanish Tables and two small turky Carpetts
 fower wyndow Courtines of greene bayes
 One paire of Creepers, fire shovell and Tongs

In another Dyning Roome adioyning

*Six peices of y^e old Tapistry hangings of the Amazons or Hypolite
 *Two old Turkey Carpetts
 One Couch }
 Six back chaires } of Turkey worke
 Six high stooles }

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

Two Spanish Tables

Three wyndow courtins of Strip't stuffe

Three peices of strip't stuffe under y^e wyndowes

In another Roome adioyning

One wyndow Courtine }

One peice under the wyndow } of strip't stuffe

One paire of creepers fire shovell Tonges and bellowes

In a roome next to it for Servants

One bedsted the Courtines of linsey woolsey and narrow vallons of Damaske

One small featherbed and boulder

One paire of blanketts and a rug

In a Clossett in the late Kings private Oratory

Two strip't Courtines

*One old Spanish Table

In a little Roome adioyning

*Three old Coberds

*One settee

*One old Table covered wth greene cloth

In the Comptrowler Co^{ll} Jones lodgs, formerly the Lord Chamberlines

One roome hang'd round wth liver collour Sarge

One standing bedsted the furniture of like Sarge cont: fower courtines, head cloth, Testor & Counterpane wth fower cups

Two elbow Chaires }

Five folding stooles } suitable to the hangings

One Carpett }

One Featherbed and bowlster

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

One paire of blanketts and a rugg

In a roome adioyning

*One feather bed and boulder

*One paire of blanketts and a rugg

In his Withdrawing Roome

*Two peices of Hercules

*One peice of Tryumphs of Tapistry hangings

Two Deale Tables

In his Dyning Roome

Two dozen of Turkey worke Chaires

Two Spanish Tables

One side Table of Deale

In a Roome for Servants adioyning

Three long formes of Deale

One large Table standing on Tressells

In a roome for Servants above Staires

One standing bedsted wth stript stuffe furniture

Two square Stooles }

Two Chaires } suitable to the Bed

One featherbed and boulder

Two blanketts and a rug

*One Table and a Coberd

In y^e la: Clapools nursery, being parte of the Armory

The roome hang'd round with strip't stuffe

**In Mrs. Grinawayes chamber, gentlewoman to the Lady Faulconberge
being parte of the Armory**

The roome hang'd round wth greene and yellow strip't stuffe

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

One standing bedsted the furniture of greene Sarge cont: fower courtines,
head cloth and counterpane

One feather bed and boulder

One downe pillow

Two blanketts

One Carpet of strip't stuffe

**In a roome below Staieres where Mrs. Faircloth lay formerly the late
Lady Denbighes**

*One standing bedsted, y^e furniture in the Wardrobe

*One bed

One bowlster, two blankets and a rugg

Two folding stooles }

Three Chaires } suitable to the said Bed

One Spanish Table

One Dressing Table

In the next Roome for a servant

One halfe headed bedsted wth a Canopy of grene and yellow strip't stuffe

One featherbed and bowlster

One blanket and a rug

In a Roome adioyning

Two Spanish Tables

In Mad'mozelle Durett's Roome

The roome hang'd round wth strip't stuffe

One standing bedsted wth furniture of the like stuffe

Two Elbow Chaires }

Two Square Stooles } of the same stuffe

One side Table

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

In the La: Denbyes chamber late M^r: Claytons

One brasse figure of Mercury

**In the Roome where the young lady Cromwells gentlewoman lay
below staieres**

One bedsted

One Table

**In a roome below staieres where the Servants Dyne, formerly called the
vestrey**

*five tables and Eight formes

In M^r Maidstones lodg's, formerly the Earle of Hollande

One halfe head bedsted wth a Canopy of greene Sarge edged wth guilt leather

One canvas and one fustian Quilt

One bolster and a pillow

Two blankets and a rug.

In the Blew Roome

Six back Chaires of Turky worke & one Spanish Table

One p^r of Andirons & Creepers wth brasses a p^r of Tongs & bellows

*One carpet of Crewell

In his Dyning Roome

five Spanish Tables

Tenn back Stooles and a high stoole of Turky worke

One paire of Andirons, fire shovell and Tongs

In the lower Wardrobe

One standing Bedsted the furniture of gold collour damaske cont:

Fower Courtines and double vallons }

Testor and headcloth } suitable to the bed

One Carpet and fower Cupps

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

fower Courtines of gold collour bayes being a Case about the Bed
 One Case for the Carpet of the like Bayes
 One Counterfeit Ebbony Shelve
 Fowre peices of greene Taffety hangings lyned with Sarge for a Closset and
 a wyndow Courtine of the same
 One standing Bedsted the furniture of sky colloured Taffety and
 imbroidered wth silke and gold after the indian fashion lyned with sky
 colloured Sarsnet cont:
 Testor and head cloth }
 Double vallons }
 four Courtines } suitable to the Bed
 One Counterpane }
 fower Cupps & 4 plumes of Feathers }
 One Carpett and a screene cloth
 Three Courtines of watchet bayes being a Case for the Bed
 One peice of the like bayes to cover the screene cloth
 Two small looking glasses, one of them being broke
 One standing Bedsted the furniture of a sad collour and imboridered wth
 silke in Trailes and flowers cont:
 fower courtines single vallons and Carpett suitable
 The Testor headcloth and single vallons being of clouded Taffety
 The Courtines lyned wth the same and a Counterpane
 Fower cupps and fower sprigs of silke to stand upon them
 And a Cyprus Chest that this bed lyes in
 *Two fine persian Carpetts Eight yards long a peice
 *One Turkey Carpett five yards long
 *One Turkey Carpet fower yards and a quarter long
 *One Turkey Carpett Three yards ½ long

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

*One Turkey Carpett Three yards long
 One Turkey Carpett Three yards long
 One Turkey Carpett fower yards ½ long
 One Turkey Carpett three yards ½ long
 One Turkey Carpett three yards long
 Three Turkey chest Carpetts two yards long a peice
 Two small Carro Carpets one yard and three q'ters long a peice
 Three small yellow ground carpetts for syde Tables
 *One red and two blew Sarge Sweede furnitures for Bedds
 *One strip't stuffe Sweed furniture for a bed
 *Two old footstooles of cloth of gold
 Six Cushions of cloth wth red leather bottomes
 One furniture for a bed of strip't stuffe used for the Lord Richards ladyes
 gentleman usher
 One furniture of liver colloured Sarge belonging to a bed M^r faircloth lay in
 One led collour Sarge furniture M^r Lockeire lay in
 One piece of grey strip't stuffe hangings that hang'd M^r Lockeire's roome
 Greene Sarge hangings y^t hang'd M^r fairclothe roome
 Two Courtines of greene kersey edged a bout wth guilt leather
 One furniture of red Say for the Lord Richards nursery used
 One peice of strip't stuffe with pillars y^t hang'd the same roome
 One furniture of stript stuffe used for y^e Comptroul: Butler
 One furniture of strip't stuffe wth hangings to the roome of the same used
 for the L^d Richards lady's gentlewomen
 One furniture of strip't stuffe wth hangings to y^e roome of the same used for
 y^e L^d Richards gentleman
 Two back Chaires and fower stooles to the furniutre of the aforesaid two
 roomes

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

One bundle of strip't stufte hangings used in the roome where the Doctours lay
 One peice of strip't stufte hangings that hang'd another roome for Mr Faircloth
 One furniture of a liver collour Sarge used for y^e lady Clapoles gentlewomen
 One back stoole and two square stooles of the same
 Nine courtines for wyndowes }
 Two peices to hang under wyndowes } of Strip't Stufte
 Seaven small Carpetts }
 Two small Carpetts of greene Sarge belonging to Mr Faircloth
 One peice of strip't Stufte that hanged a Closset for Auditor Barrington
 *One needle worke Carpett five yards long
 Two Chaires of sad collour cloth
 Twenty and two chaires and two high stooles of Turkey worke
 Fower peices of Tapistry hangings of David & Abigaill
 Two peices of Tapistry hangings of the old & new law being parte of the Suite y^t hangs in y^e late Queenes privy chamber
 Five pieces of old Tapistry hangings of the prodigall Sonn
 One small peice of Arras hangings of Æneas
 One peice of Tapistry hangings of Meleager
 Three fustian Quilts and one small holland Quilt
 One round downe bolster
 Nineteene feather beds and boulsters wth paires of blankets and ruggs
 One old feather bed and bolster
 Five small feather beds and boulsters wth paires of blanketts & ruggs
 One canvas Materis belonging to the red Say bed
 Thirteen canvas Materisses wth feather boulsters and ruggs

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

Five pairs of small blanketts
 *Three old cloth blanketts
 *Two small feather beds and boulsters wth paires of blankets and ruggs
 *fower~~ty~~ forty Chaires and fifteene high stooles of Russia leather
 *five blew Courtines of Linsey Woolsey
 *Eleven downe pillowes

In the upper Wardrobe

fower Elbow Chaires } of gold collour damaske and cased wth
 Six back Stooles } yellow bayes suitable to y^e furniture
 One footstoole } in y^e low^{er} wardrobe
 One small Couch } of greene Taffety and cased wth greene
 One Elbow Chaire } bayes being suitable to y^e greene
 Two low Stooles } taffety hangings in her late Highnes
 Two Cushions } closet
 One small Table of Counterfeite Ebony
 Two large Tables and a hanging Shelve of the same
 Nine Cushions of turky worke bottomed wth red leather
 One large China Jarr
 Two small Jarrs of purslane
 One wanscot Table to the gold collour damaske bed
 One Cabbinet and frame of Speckle wood
 One small wanscott Chest of drawers
 Tenn pairs of black stands

In the late Queenes Oratory where M^{rs} Blowfeild lay

One small standing bed the furniture of greene Sarge cont:
 Testor and head cloth

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

A Counterpane }
 Fower Courtins } suitable to the said Bed
 One Carpett 4 Cupps }
 Two back Chaires }
 One small feather bed & boulder
 One paire of blanketts and a downe pillow
 One wainscot Table and two Deale tables
 One small back stoole of Calves leather
 One Deale pressé for Clothes
 *One presse of wanscot covered with printer's leather
 *One Courte Coberd

In Mr Cofferers mans Roome

One Sweed standing bedsted the furniture of Red Sarge Cont:
 fower Courtines and a headcloth wth a buckram Testor
 One featherbed and boulder
 Two blanketts and a rugg
 One Spanish Table and one half-headed bedsted

In a roome formerly the Ury

One large Deale Table

In the Great Hall

Value about 300^{li} }
 which was } One large Organ and a Chaire Organ
 Oxford } Brought from Maudlin Colledge in

In the Roome over the Lower Wardrobe

*One standing Bedsted the furniture of watchet velvett Cont:
 *Testor & headcloth }

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

*Three Courtines }
 *fower Cantoones }
 *fower Cupps }
 *One Counterpane }
 *Double vallons } of the like velvett and laced wth gold and silver
 lace
 *One Elbow Chaire }
 *Two high stooles }
 *One foote stoole }
 *One square Cushion }
 *One long cushion }
 *One long seate to lay the cushion on and fower plumes of feathers
 One large feather bed and boulder
 One Canvas materis
 One paire of blanketts
 Two Deale Tables

In M^{rs} Waterhouse Roome formerly the Queenes Robe Roome

The Roome hang'd around wth french greene Sarge
 One standing bedsted the furniture of greene Sarge Cont: testor, headcloth,
 double vallons, fower Courtines, fower cupps and one counterpane.
 One carpett }
 Two backstooles } suitable to the said bed
 fower folding stooles }
 One feather bed and boulder and a Downe pillow
 One paire of blanketts and a rug
 One small wanscot Table

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

In the Roome adioyning

One halfe headed bedsted

*One Spanish Table

In Co^l: Will: Cromwells lodgs. Formerly Sr Math: Listers

*One halfe headed bedsted

*One Table and a long forme

*One Courte Coberd

**In M^r How the Ministers Withdrawing roome, formerly Secretary
Windebanks**

The roome hang'd with hare colloured striped stuffe

One carpet of the same

five back Chaires and one high stoole of russia leather

One Spanish Table

In M^r Hows Bed-chamber

The Roome hang'd round with grey strip't stuffe

One standing bed the furniture of the like strip't stuffe

Cont: single vallons, Testor, headcloth 4 Courtines and a Carpet

One feather bed and bolster

One paire of blankets and a rug

Two back stooles and two folding stooles of Sarge

In the next Roome for a servant

One halfe headed bedsted

One small feather bed and bolster

One paire of blanketts

**In a roome formerly the late Kings gentleman ushers, late M^r
Robinsons, yeoman of the Race**

One halfe headed bedsted

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

One feather bed & bolster

Two blankets and a rug

In a roome formerly the Signett office late Doctour Clarkes

One half headed bedsted

One Deale Table and a forme.

In a roome formerly the late Queenes gent: late M^r Jones the Carvers

Two backstooles of russia leather

One Deale Table

In a roome formerly for the late Kings robes late M^r Birds.

One halfe headed bedsted

Two formes

One Courte Coberd

In a roome formerly the L^d Treasurers bedchamber

One greate Deale presse

One half headed bedsted

One paire of iron Doggs

One greate firehovell

**In a Roome formerly the Bishop of Canterburyes late the Lady
Clapooles Nursery**

Seaven peices of Tapistry hangings of Artimesia

Eight peices of Tapistry hangings of Orlando

One large persian Carpett seaven yards long lyned wth blew linnen.

One square old turkey cutt Carpett

fower Elbow Chaires

fower backe Stooles } of sky colloured taffety imbroidered wth
silke

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

One large Couch } and gold after the Indian fashion, and
 cased wth
 One long Seate } blew bayes suitable to y^e furnitue in the
 lower
 One Cushion } Wardrobe
 One footstoole }
 fower elbow Chaires } of sad collour cloth, imbroidered wth silke
 in
 fower folding stooles } trayles and flowers and cased wth sad
 collour
 One footstoole } bayes suitable to y^e Bed y^e lyes in the
 Cyprus
 } Chest in y^e lower wardrobe

One large looking glasse in an Ebbony frame wth a string of silke and gold

One wanscot Table and one Spanish Table

One greene thread plush Stoole

One Canvas Materis and a holland Quilt

One fine Downe bed and bowlster

One paire of Spanish blankets

One large feather bed and bowlster

One canvas Materis and a holland Quilt

One paire of Spanish blankets

In the Laundry

Three halfe headed bedsteds

Three feather beds and bouldsters

Three paire of blanketts and three ruggs

Three Downe pillowes

Three iron grates and two Coppers

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

In the two Porters lodges

Two halfe headed besteds

Two feather beds & bouldsters

Two paire of blanketts & two ruggs

In M^r Kerbyes roome yeoman of the winecellar

One halfe headed bedsted wth rayles

One furniture of red Sarge Cont. fower Courtines, a headcloth and a testor
 of buckram

One feather bed and boulder

One blanket; a rug; and a Downe pillow

Two stooles of russia leather

One Deale Table

In M^r Drewer the Granary mans Roome

One halfe headed bedsted wth rayles

One Sweed furniture of strip't stuffe cont: three Courtines a headcloth and a
 testor of buckram.

One feather bed and bowlster

One paire of blanketts and a rug

Two backstooles and one high stoole of russia leather

In Robert Dobsons roome, one of the grooms of y^e Stables

One halfe headed bedsted

One canvas materis and a feather bowlster

One paire of blankets and a rugg

In Thomas Beards roome, another of y^e Groomes

One featherbed and bowlster

Two blanketts and a rugg

In the Dairy Maids Roome

One half-headed bedsted
 One feather bed and bolster
 Two blanketts and a rugg

In the L^d Claypooles mans Chamber

One standing Bedsted the furniture of pink colloured Sarsnet Cont. headcloth and Testor, three Courtines fower cantoones, fower Cupps and fower spriggs of silke, one Counterpane and Eighteene silke strings wth tassells to tye up the courtines

Two Elbow Chaires }
 Two back Chaires } suitable ot the bed and cased with pink
 collour'd bayes

One foote stoole }

Two long Seates }

One carpet of the same

Three Courtines of bayes being a Case about the bed

One Elbow Chaire of lemon collour sarsnet wth a fo^t stoole

One long Seate and Cushion of the same cased wth yellow bayes

One featherbed and Boulster

One holland Quilt and Spanish blanket

Two wyndow Courtines of pink collour bayes

One turky foote Carpett five yards long

One standing bedsted wth a furnture of liver collour Sarge lyned wth lemon collour Sarsnet Cont: Testor and headcloth and counterpane of the like Sarsnet, as alsoe inward vallons of the same, fower Courtines and outward vallons, one Carpet and fower Cupps of the same

One elbow Chaire }

Two back stooles } suitable to the bed

Fower folding stooles }

One featherbed and bolster
 Three blanketts and one holland Quilt
 One long black hanging shelve for books
 One looking Glasse
 One ordinary blanket
 One wanscot Table and one Deale Table

Memorandum

Where the lynes are drawn in the margent those goods by the wardrobe keeper are said to belong to his late Highnes

In the Banqueting house in the Mount Garden.

Twelve wainscot Scollop Chaires wth backs

Eight peices of grotescoe painting on Cloth wth Sheilds, over them

Two peices of the same over the doores

One large Concave Sundiall of Stone

In the great Banqueting howse below there

A marke head and a scollop basin of white marble

One large ovall Table of blacke and white marble

In the Privy Garden.

One brasse Statue of Venus }

One brasse Statue of Cleopatra } wth fower pedestalls of stone

One white marble Statue of Adonis } under them

One white marble Statue of Apollo }

One large fontaine of blacke marble wth a curbe of Eight Cants about it of the same marble lyned wth lead

fower scollop basins }

fower Sea monsters } of brass about the fontaine

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

Three Scrowles }
fower boyes holding Dolphins }
One large brasses Statue on the top of the fountaine called Arethusa
fower large flower potts of lead
One large bench of Oake the backe lyned wth Deale
five stone rolls wth fower iron frames
fower large backe seates of Deale and one old one

In the Cloyster Courte

One Stone roll wth an iron frame

In the Bowling Greene

Two large Seates wth Covers of Oake and Deale
Two greene back seates of Oake
One stone roll wth an iron frame
One large wood roll wth a wood frame
One large Horizontall Dyall of brasses wth a pedestall of carved stone

In the Moate Garden

One stone roll wth an iron frame

In the Chappell.

A pulpitt standing on a table of Deale
Twelve long formes

In the Antichappell.

A Cedar planke Eight foote square lying on two formes

In his late Highnes Kitchin

Six very large copper pottes tin'd
Two of a smaller size tin'd
five brasses kettles tin'd wth iron feete to them

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

Two greate copper pans to boyle fish in
Two very large Gridirons
fower large iron dripping panns
Three iron Trewetts
Six stoving pans of Copper tin'd
fower pudding panns
five large brasses peices with holes in them to take fish out of y^e pans
One long Copper wth a false bottom to boyle fish in
Three greate frying panns
Eleven brasses flat dishes tin'd over
Nine spitts
Three brasses Scummers and one brasses ladle
Eighteen wooden trays
Five cleavers or chopping knives
Eleven small molds or pattipans
One paire of large iron racks
One Copper to boyle meate in covered wth lead

In a Roome at the end of the Wardrobe

Fowerteene paire of Andirons wth double brasses
Nine paire of iron Creepers wth brasses, and 11 p^r wthout brasses
One paire of greate iron doggs
Twenty two fireshovells wth brasses
Seaven plaines fire shovells
Three greate fire shovells
Three paire of plaines Tongs
Tenn paire of ordinary bellowess

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

One paire of the best bellowes
 Nine Spanish Tables
 fower Joyned Deale Tables

In the Scullery

Twelve large pewter Dishes }
 Fowerteene lesser Dishes }
 Nine Dishes of a third size }
 fifteene Dishes of the fourth size }
 Sixteene Dishes of the fifth size } of Pewter
 Two dozen of Trencher plates }
 Two pastey plates }
 Six pye plates }
 five saucers }
 Two stoole panns }
 Two dishes tin'd }
 One Scummer } of Brasse
 Two Coppers }

In the Comptrouler's Kitchin

One very greate pott }
 Three other greate potts }
 Two greate panns }
 Eighteen panns or Cullenders }
 Two peices to take up fish }
 Six dishes & Eight tin'd Chaf^{ns} } of brasse
 fower sauce panns }
 Two Scummers }

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

Two ladles }
 One mortar }
 One large frying pann }
 Two dripping panns }
 Twenty Spitts }
 One large fireshovell } of Iron
 One peale & one pestle }
 One paire of greate racks }
 Two gridirons }
 One Cisterne covered wth lead }

In the Pastrey

One large pott with a Cover }
 fower Chafors }
 Eight greate dishes tin'd }
 Eight small pans tin'd }
 Sixe large Covers }
 One mortar }
 Three greate Ladles }
 Two little Candlesticks } of Brasse
 Six greate Collenders tin'd }
 Two greate pans wth covers tin'd }
 Seaven greate saucepans tin'd }
 Two lesser sauce pans tin'd }
 Fifteene saucers tin'd }
 Two greate Scum^{ers} & two small ones }
 Fower peales }

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

One pestle }
 One raker } of iron
 four screu'd Candlesticks }
 Two Chopping Knives }

In the flesh Larder

One large Cisterne for water }
 One brine Cisterne } covered wth lead
 One powdering place }
 fower large Dressors of Elme set on tressells
 One paire of scales wth waights weighing two hundred

In the Brewhouse

One Copper
 One mash tun, and underbacke
 One Guill tun and two upper backs

Store Cisternes

One large Store Cisterne in the Privy Garden which serves the greate
 fountaine there
 One large Cisterne neere the Square stone Courte that serves the fountaine
 and Maze there
 One large Cisterne in the Kitchin Garden to serve the Kitchin and Offices
 on that side

In the Howse Maids Roome

Twenty Stoole pannels }
 fowerteene Chamber potts } of Pewter
 Eight pewter Basons }
 Two Cisternes }

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

In the Grooms of the Chambers Roomes

Twenty two large Candlesticks }
 One perfuming pott }
 Twelve branches for Candles } of Brasse
 One warming pann }
 Seaventeene paire of tin'd Snuffers
 Thirteene pewter Candlesticks
 One halfe headed bested
 One Spanish Table

May it please yo^r Hon^{rs}.

As to the other partes of yo^r Hon^{rs} order vizt:

That wee should take notice what Servants remaine at Hampton Court, as
 alsoe care of the Watercourses and Rivers.

Wee humbly certify

That M^r Kenersley (as we are informed) was of late ordered to bee
 Housekeeper, as well as Wardrobe keeper there, under whome there are
 these Servants (vizt)

Richard Marriott } who looketh to the wardrobe and house.
 John Clemente } Porter of the foregate of the house.
 Robert Blanch } Porter of the gate that leads into yo^r Paddock
 Course.

As to the safeguard of the goods in the house, wee humbly conceive it
 necessary for the present to continue as yet these two men untill the goods
 by yo^r Hon^{rs} order shalbe otherwise disposed of.

Gardiners Tobyas Yates
 John Darley.

THE INVENTORY OF 1659

As to the watercourses and Rivers wee humbly Certifye that there are severall pipes broken that lead from Coome parke hill and Hampton Towne unto the house alsoe y^e River hath been turned out of its course by severall p'sons for private use & likewise stopt by weeds which wee are now clearing to supply the park and ponds for the preserving of the fish.

Lastly though the parkes were not mentioned in yo^r Hono^{re} order for our Inspection, yet the Comon wealth having a considerable Interest there, wee humly certify./

That in the House parke the number of Deere are computed to bee about Seaven hundred

And in Bushy parke about seaventeene hundred, greate and small – And of Red Deere about thirty.

The servants relating to those parks being as following

M ^r Place}	Ranger to both the parkes./
Keep ^{rs} of y ^e House p ^r ke	{ Charles Daine { William Myles.
Huntsman {Thomas Lovell }	formerly under-keeper of Richmond parke
Keep ^{rs} of Bushy p ^r ke	{ Richard Browning } These have had { William Howling } of late two men allowed und ^r them.

C. Denely. John Embree.

Sert^t at Arms

'THE WAITING GAME'
CROMWELLIAN DIPLOMACY: THE FOREIGN EXPERIENCE

By Dr Kirsteen M. Mackenzie

I

In October 1654 Pierre Chanut, the French ambassador in Holland, wrote to Antoine de Bordeaux, the French ambassador in England, 'you are already so accustomed to patience, that six months or more or less will not cause you to wonder'. He continues, 'I know not whether it is not for me to complain of the tediousness of your treaty'.¹ Chanut was commenting on the length of time the Protectorate was taking to conclude a treaty with France. He also inferred that these delays were to be expected and were very much part of the diplomatic process in England at that time. Indeed, these delays were experienced by many of the diplomats who came to court the Lord Protector. However, historians working on Cromwellian diplomacy have, for the most part, neglected this aspect and have focused instead on the 'assertiveness' of Cromwellian foreign policy and debated whether Cromwell had sacrificed the economic welfare of the nation in order to pursue an outdated religious idealism,² although Michael Roberts has briefly discussed diplomatic delays in his essay on 'Cromwell and the Baltic' and these problems are also partially discussed in Korr's study of Anglo-French relations in the 1650s.³ Arguably, for foreign ambassadors, one of the most marked features of Cromwellian diplomacy was not its assertiveness nor even its religious overtones but the length of time it took the English regime to negotiate with foreign dignitaries. Due to lack of space, this article will principally focus on the Dutch, Venetian, and Swedish ambassadors to England.

As Michael Roberts observes, notable delays took place during England's negotiations with Swedish ambassadors regardless of any personal favouritism which the Protector had for Sweden.⁴ The Swedish foreign ministers, Peter Julius Coyet and Christer Bonde, were in England between March 1655 and August 1656 to negotiate a treaty between Charles X, King of Sweden, and the Lord Protector, a whole year and a half. As will be seen later, this was a comparatively short time compared to many other ambassadors who sought to negotiate with Cromwell,⁵ but by Swedish standards the tardiness of Cromwellian diplomacy was unacceptable. Bonde exclaimed, 'I think that there can scarcely be any place where it is more difficult for a great minister to act than here; for he is cut off from all contact with those whose word carries weight in the government'.⁶

'THE WAITING GAME'

His colleague, Coyet, had arrived in England in March 1655 and caught a glimpse of what was to come. He noted that because of Penruddock's Rising, Nicholas De Bye, the Polish ambassador, could not see the Protector because Cromwell was busy with domestic troubles. Likewise, the French ambassador, Bordeaux, was delayed. In response, Bordeaux threatened to leave and return home unless he received an audience. Coyet interpreted this as a political move by the French to put pressure on the English to concede to French demands whilst the Cromwellian regime was backed into a corner. The English regime did not rise to the bait and duly gave the French ambassador an audience after the rising was over. Coyet, an amused observer, soon realised it was not so entertaining when it came to his turn to negotiate with the regime. His initial impressions of the Cromwellian government were good. He was impressed by his first audience with the Protector; he had arrived in style in the Protector's own coach drawn by six Oldenburg horses and found the Protector very friendly towards the wishes of Sweden.⁷ However, as negotiations proceeded there were clearly some issues that amused and perplexed the Swedish ambassador. In a letter addressed to the king of Sweden from the Protector, the king had not been given his full title. Coyet was unable to accept it and the English regime was embarrassed and apologised for any offence caused. The letter was referred back so that changes could be made. Coyet was highly amused that this very simple matter could not be done quickly and to push it along he went to see John Thurloe to gain assurances that the letter would be completed and that the mistake would never happen again. Indeed, in 1654 Cromwell had been slighted in this same way by Charles X, when his first letter to the Protector did not have the correct title. Coyet did not see England's mistake as revenge for Sweden's faux pas but that an 'overworked' regime was struggling with its day to day business 'upon which their whole welfare depends'.

All this confirms the impression stated by Barry Coward that the regime was 'under siege' from enemies on all sides; the domestic situation was so unstable that foreign diplomacy became a secondary priority.⁸ Coyet tried to make the best out of the situation and took an active approach whereby he pestered the regime daily and eventually he did receive his audience. He observed that if he was not persistent he would achieve very little. He noted how the emissary from Siebenburgen had only intended to stay in England for nine to ten days, but ended up being grounded in England for nine weeks.⁹

'THE WAITING GAME'

Christer Bonde came to London as formal ambassador in July 1655 and again, like his colleague, his first impressions of the regime were good. However, Bonde subsequently experienced the frustrations in dealing with the Cromwellian Protectorate causing his faith and patience to ebb away. In September 1655 he lodged a complaint regarding the tardiness of negotiations, as it had been a fortnight since he had last met with the commissioners for negotiating the Anglo-Swedish alliance. He realised that Cromwell was reluctant to be lured into an alliance with Sweden which meant clashing with Sweden's Baltic rivals, the Dutch. Cromwell had just concluded a peace with the Dutch, but it was an uneasy one which, if broken, Cromwell feared the Dutch would back a royalist invasion from the continent. Bonde eventually received his private audience with Cromwell. He believed the Protector took notice because England needed Swedish support against Spain after the failure of the Western Design.¹⁰ To Bonde, diplomacy was driven by the Protector's own personal priorities with scant regard for the wishes of the Swedish king.

In October, Bonde's financial situation had deteriorated and he stated to his king that 'I am virtually a hermit, excluded from all association with those who conduct the business of the state and moreover there is now no more than a month left of the period for which means were appointed for my maintenance'.¹¹ The ambassador was stating that he was unable to see anyone and that he was quickly running out of the means to survive. Bulstrode Whitelocke, who accompanied the Swedish ambassadors on many occasions during the Anglo-Swedish negotiations, stated that by November 1655 the ambassadors were fed up with the delays. Despite a request some time previously, commissioners had not yet been appointed to negotiate. Whitelocke observed that the Swedish ambassador 'grew somewhat impatient', unable to understand why those in authority had not come to visit him and those he had contacted had refused to see him, since this was contrary to normal procedure in Sweden. During this period it is clear that Whitelocke only stayed with the ambassador to preserve some sense of protocol and order for his own country's sake. He recognised that the ambassador's treatment was less than what he had received in Sweden and was clearly embarrassed.¹² Under their financial constraints the Swedish ambassadors began to feel some pressure and urgency.¹³ In December 1655 Bonde requested a more practical and full discussion on the clauses of the treaty, but this was met with silence. By that stage it was clear that Bonde began to fear accusations by Charles X that he was lazy or negligent in his duties.¹⁴ This fear was conveyed to Whitelocke who promised to have a

word with the Protector on Bonde's behalf. After speaking to Whitelocke, Cromwell promised to make amends.¹⁵ Indeed, Cromwell granted an audience soon after. Cromwell was very apologetic and treated the ambassador with the highest courtesy. However, soon after, in January 1656, diplomatic relations hit a low point. Oliver Cromwell contemplated sending an English ambassador to the Swedish king to help negotiate the treaty. The Swedish ambassador remarked that the king would find it odd that Cromwell should send an ambassador to Sweden when there was a Swedish ambassador in England, for to do so was not traditional practice or protocol. The king of Sweden had also declared that he did not wish to see any foreign ministers coming to visit him whilst he was busy with military matters. It would not be surprising if the ambassador was insulted by such a suggestion because it implied that he was not doing his job properly. Furthermore, he continued to be fed up with the delays and with little accomplished, he contemplated going home. The tension between Bonde and the government continued whilst the English commissioners insisted that the Dutch be included in the Anglo-Swedish alliance, a move which Bonde staunchly refused because the Dutch were Sweden's rivals and his king had not desired him to conclude anything of the sort. By March matters slowed down even more due to the English government's domestic situation, fearful of dangers from both inside and outside of the country. Despite this, Cromwell continued to be very civil towards the ambassador, but the slow process reignited Bonde's old fears about being accused of neglecting his king's business and he feared that his own personal reputation would be destroyed.¹⁶

In April 1656 Bonde was ordered home by his king without the treaty being completed; Bonde resisted this and remained in England, but throughout early May the delays continued and the ambassador's patience wore incredibly thin. During that month he arranged a meeting with the Protector and was left waiting for more than an hour. In a fit of anger and impatience he rose from his seat and declared there and then that he was returning home rather than suffer any further indignity and affront to the honour of his Swedish king. Sir Oliver Fleming, the master of ceremonies, tried hard to persuade Bonde to stay a little longer. Fleming went to the Protector and explained how rude this appeared to be and how upset the ambassador was and suggested to the Protector that he should see the ambassador straight away. Oliver Cromwell saw the ambassador soon after and apologised for his behaviour. He tried to reassure the ambassador that he had the utmost

respect him and for the king of Sweden. However, Bonde could not understand why Cromwell professed plenty of enthusiasm for an Anglo-Swedish treaty, yet things were moving very slowly with an apparent lack of interest. In his eyes Cromwell was blowing hot and cold over the matter and he started to believe that Cromwell's actions could be seen as insincere by the Swedes. For, according to Bonde, it was the custom in his country 'when a man professed sincerity, they understood it to be plain and clear dealing...if he meant to do it, he would say yea, and do it accordingly...and not seem at one time to be willing to it, and at another time to deny it.'¹⁷ Bonde continued to be disgruntled over the delays but was even more upset and offended to hear that Thurloe had stated that the slow pace of negotiations was Bonde's fault. Conversely, as far as Bonde was concerned, the blame lay firmly with Thurloe who dealt single handed with all foreign affairs. It is clear by then that Bonde did not think much of Thurloe whom he claimed was 'very ignorant and clumsy in dealing with foreign ministers'. Bonde continued to press for the completion of the treaty but he got nowhere.¹⁸ He recognised there were also political reasons for England delaying his departure, possibly to try and force the Swedes to take an active interest in the English war effort against Spain by halting Swedish trade with the Spanish:

I might have considered that this was only a feint of the Protector to scare something out of me; but when I came to examine their attitude it appeared to me that since Spain is carrying on the war against England with vigour and determination, while England's attack on the Indies and the Spanish silver-fleet have turned out badly, they see no other way to inflict damage on their enemy than by hindering trade, and stopping the supply of commodities which Spain cannot do without, and that therefore they cannot by any means acquiesce in the articles on passports and contraband goods which I am obstructed to obtain.¹⁹

By June 1656 Bonde was complaining that the regime was still refusing to compromise on the treaty and many new clauses and conditions were added to the original treaty that he was unable to accept. He also had difficulty understanding the articles on trade because they were in English and not in the international diplomatic language of Latin.²⁰ Regardless, he stood firm and realised that the trade between Sweden and Spain of hemp, flax, sails, pitch and tar was very advantageous to the king of Sweden and therefore could not be compromised. Bonde would not disobey the instructions from

his king. However, English sources suggest that an agreement on this was reached in April 1656 and that Charles X would declare against Spanish exports and set up some means to do this. The English continued to resist being dragged into a war with the Dutch by the Swedes and the Swedish ambassador was furious, suggesting he should:

take my leave and let it appear how unreasonable it was that they should have detained me for upwards of a year (an experience to which there is scarcely an example of any extraordinary ambassador's being subjected), and had then let me go with my business unfinished²¹

Before the Swedish ambassadors left, and as custom dictated, they put in a request to have the articles of treaty translated into Latin. Their request was granted, but again this took some time to complete, so much so that Bonde had to stay for a further fourteen days in the country. John Milton was the only one available to translate the articles into Latin. Bonde found it very strange and hard to believe that there was 'none but a blind man' capable of doing the translation. However, the send off which the ambassadors received arguably bore no resemblance to their treatment by the regime during their year and a half in England. As it has already been stated by historians, the Cromwellian court bade its farewells to the ambassadors in much pomp and circumstance, giving Coyet exquisite presents and a knighthood for his pains. Bonde also appreciated his 'considerable present', but in typical Cromwellian diplomatic style, the presents were not ready at the time of his departure so Bonde had to stay in the country for a further few days. The presents must have impressed Bonde because he felt embarrassed that he could not adequately repay the compliment. Upon his departure Bonde gave Cromwell some 'black carriage horses' and hoped that the king of Sweden would approve of his actions. As Roberts suggests, this could have been symptomatic of the fact that the ambassador was in financial difficulties, but it could also suggest that the ambassador had not expected such a splendid send off considering his fraught relationship and treatment by the regime.²²

II

In contrast to the fraught and stressful experience of Sweden, the Venetian experience was one of long periods of boredom with constant and repetitive pleas for English naval assistance against the Ottoman Empire. As described by Lorenzo Paulucci, the Venetian secretary, the long periods of 'idleness'

gave him ample time to comment on English affairs with scorn and sarcasm. Lorenzo Paulucci had arrived in England in May 1652, as a result of the English Commonwealth's assertive naval campaign in the Mediterranean. Venice saw this naval campaign as an opportunity whereby it could enlist the help of the English navy in its war against the Turks. Paulucci, having been in the country eighteen months before the Protectorate began, was already used to the tardiness of English diplomacy under the Commonwealth and, unlike the Swedish ambassadors, 'snails pace diplomacy' under the Lord Protector did not surprise Paulucci, in fact, expected it. Upon Cromwell's accession to the Protectorate he suggested to Giovanni Sagredo, the Venetian ambassador in France, that if it was not for 'the present political embarrassments England would have done something for the Christian religion before this'. Paulucci could not get any of his business done because Cromwell, his ministers, and the secretary had all gone to ground. However, when Cromwell was proclaimed Lord Protector he recognised the change of government, but strictly as a matter of duty.²³ Privately, as detailed in letters to the Venetian ambassador in France, Paulucci was scornful of the new English government which he attributed to 'Cromwell's cunning'. The ambassador was under no illusions when it came to foreign policy that it would continue at the pace it had always done for:

One must have patience, as even in the matters which touch their own interests the English just now disregard civility and forms of courtesy, considering them of no account. When they begin to get accustomed to the routine of government and begin to attend the civilites, it only serves to render their inexperience more glaring.²⁴

During his first audience with the Protector, the ambassador showed outward delight at Cromwell's accession and requested English assistance in his country's fight against the Turks. Nothing more was said or done, all the ambassador could do was wait and worry about his worsening financial state. He was also concerned about the reluctance of his own regime to follow diplomatic etiquette and its failure to send an official letter congratulating Cromwell and he assumed that this was the reason why he was unable to obtain an audience with the Lord Protector. By delaying this meeting the ambassador felt that England was forcing Venice to recognise Cromwell's authority. Paulucci eventually received an audience with Cromwell in August 1654, after Venice had officially recognised Cromwell's authority, whereupon the ambassador again requested English naval

assistance in Venice's war against the Turks.²⁵ However, it was clear from an English perspective that a letter of recognition was not enough and the English wanted an official ambassador to be resident in England. The issue continued to fester and discussions on the matter were delayed due to an accident which endangered Cromwell's life. This time, however, Paulucci recognised that the delay was not due to his lack of credentials because, as he had observed, all discussions with foreign ministers had been delayed. He therefore tried to make the best of the situation but he still had problems consulting influential members of the government and John Thurloe in particular. Disgruntled at the difficulty of business and full of scorn at Cromwell's elevation, Paulucci regarded Cromwell's accident as divine retribution for meddling 'with what does not belong to them experience what they do not expect or even imagine'.²⁶

It is clear that Paulucci tried to pick up discussions as quickly as possible but his requests for an audience in September 1654 fell on deaf ears due to the regime's preoccupation with domestic issues, particularly the convening of the first Protectorate Parliament. As he noted, a certain instability hung over the government and therefore he had to 'preclude all hope' of getting an audience with the Lord Protector until the 'crisis' period had passed.²⁷ The ambassador found that Cromwellian diplomacy had something akin to a narcissus complex since its sole object was England's 'prestige and all princes must seek their friendship, and that they can respond as best suits them'. Cromwellian diplomacy was not about building mutual relationships between England and other countries, but using them to see what it could gain for its own advantage.²⁸ By March 1655 Paulucci's business had failed to advance much further and he longed for some developments since the recent dissolution of the parliament had caused domestic difficulties and foreign affairs took second place. Furthermore, it was clear that the regime was still reluctant to conduct business with Venice without an official ambassador.²⁹ However, it was not until September 1655 that Giovanni Sagredo, the Venetian ambassador to France, came to England to begin his mission. Again, like other foreign ministers, his entry was full of pomp and circumstance. He was also made very welcome by the Protector, so much so that he thought 'If I judge by appearances I might hope for some success'.³⁰ As he was later to discover this was far too optimistic. In October 1655 his next audience had to be postponed due to Cromwell's illness, as was the case with all foreign ministers, but by the end of November 1655 the ambassador had discovered English foreign policy was entirely self-serving.

This was reflected in the ambassador's position whereby he felt 'useless and barren' except for the weekly requests from the Protector to pay for some English ships.³¹ Therefore, without conducting much business he was ordered to return home by the senate and in February 1656 he took his leave and left Francesco Giavarina, the Venetian secretary, solely to conduct business.³²

Again, like his predecessors, Giavarina had difficulty in obtaining an audience with Cromwell and conducting business with the English government. He had received his instructions from Venice in April but was unable to contact Thurloe to organise a meeting. Thurloe was out of town for twelve days and by mid May Giavarina was still awaiting an audience with the Protector. Even the Swedish ambassador noticed these delays, that it had taken the Venetian resident six or seven weeks to present his credentials to the government after Sagredo had left. Other issues had become more pressing for the Protectorate, for example, fear of a royalist invasion from Flanders, an urgent need for money, the resentment of the general population to more taxation and popular clamours for a parliament. All audiences with foreign ministers had come to a halt. Foreign ministers were also suspected under the threat of royalist invasion and ambassadorial correspondence was intercepted by the state. Giavarina eventually received an audience in July 1656³³ and in August he requested another audience with the Lord Protector after receiving further instructions from Venice in light of their recent victory over the Ottoman Empire at the Dardanelles. Again, he had to wait for his audience with the Protector because Cromwell was preoccupied with the opening of the second Protectorate Parliament. When he was eventually granted an audience, it was postponed because the Master of Ceremonies was out of town. When Giavarina eventually gained his audience he informed Cromwell of the victory and continued to ask for English assistance against the Turks. Cromwell promised to help, but, as the ambassador knew, Cromwell's words did not match his deeds. By November he was still awaiting an official written response from Cromwell to his request for assistance against the Turks. Continuing to pursue his instructions, the ambassador requested another audience but, unable to attend due to illness, he sent his instructions with the Dutch ambassador. Unfortunately, by the time Giavarina had recovered, Cromwell had become ill and despite pressing Thurloe to inform him of the Protector's recovery, Thurloe failed to do so and Giavarina again missed out on another opportunity for an audience. Unsurprisingly, he became very critical about

the diplomatic process in England, commenting 'I know that all affairs, even those closely affecting interests of state, go on forever and never receive the finishing touches'.³⁴

Throughout January 1657 the delays continued, with plenty of words from the English regime but no deeds to keep the negotiations moving. It was not until the end of January, due to constant and relentless pressure by the Venetian secretary on Thurloe, that the formal requests for help from Venice were laid before the Council of State, but no decision was taken due to weighty domestic affairs, the debates over the Humble Petition and Advice. The ambassador constantly requested an answer, but none was forthcoming. However, after much persistence he was eventually granted an audience in May 1657 but, as the resident reported, it was nothing but 'fair promises'. Another audience requested in October 1657 was again delayed due to illness and it was not until December that another was granted, but there were no firm promises of help. In February 1658 matters were again halted due to domestic affairs, namely the dissolution of the second Protectorate Parliament. Indeed, public audiences remained difficult to obtain and this was the case leading up to Cromwell's death in September 1658. At the time of Cromwell's death the Venetian ambassador had not completed his business on behalf of his country.³⁵

III

There are further brief episodes which highlight that other ambassadors had similar difficulties with the regime. For example, upon the creation of the Protectorate, Dutch negotiations were suspended and were 'hindered' from being concluded. The ambassadors noted how England had not only changed from a Commonwealth to a Protectorate, but how the system of diplomatic deliberations had also changed. Summoned to a meeting at the beginning January 1654, the ambassadors noted that although they had a council meeting with commissioners, all proceedings of the meeting were to be conveyed in writing to the Lord Protector. Fearing this would further stall what had already been very slow negotiations, the Dutch ambassadors believed they should not be delayed any longer. Despite not having gained the Protector's approval, they prepared to leave England within the next couple of days because they could no longer abide the silence and not knowing England's full intentions. Sir Oliver Fleming told the Dutch ambassadors that they must stay and treat Cromwell with the same respect that they would for a king but they ignored his pleas and left.³⁶ In the same month, a new ambassador arrived from the Netherlands, Hieronymus van

Beverning. Unlike his predecessors, he noted the change in the English regime and its outward regal display in its proceedings. He respected this and followed protocol.³⁷ However, Cromwell was displeased that the Dutch should only send one ambassador from the Dutch states, he felt this was disrespectful to England and the terms that England had offered. Thereafter, a further two ambassadors, William Nieupoort and Allard Jongestall, arrived from the Netherlands and landed in England in March 1654. All three received a very spectacular welcome filled with pageantry. One wonders if the regime was merely making a statement after its establishment or whether it was making sure that the new ambassadors fully recognised and respected Cromwell in his new role. Despite compliments and desires for peace the ambassadors soon realised that negotiating with the Protectorate was going to be much more difficult than they had first anticipated.³⁸

A few days after the ceremony the ambassadors requested an audience with the English commissioners to discuss the articles for peace, but the process of appointing commissioners took longer than expected. Their initial request was granted but because there was a delay in appointing the commissioners they decided to pay Thurloe a visit to remind him of their meeting. Thurloe gave them an assurance that the commissioners would be with them that day. The ambassadors did not regard these delays as the result of an overworked regime, but more as a political game. The Dutch were not sure if Cromwell wanted peace because they had noted how the naval fleet continued to be strengthened, fearing it might be sent to the Sound as a form of 'gunboat diplomacy', with the English navy blocking the Sound in order to force Dutch acceptance of Danish participation in the treaty. Indeed, one intelligence report from The Hague stated 'the conclusion of the peace brings nothing but delays; yea almost the contrary to peace, namely great preparations for war, which hath alarmed the ambassadors'.³⁹ The ambassadors did eventually have a meeting with the commissioners in April 1654 but they still sensed political manipulation. When the ambassadors presented their points in writing they caused offence because, by giving their points in the written form, they had mistakenly given more power to the commissioners than to the Protector. The ambassadors feared this was a ruse in order to back them into a corner, but they thought it best that they should be seen to be repairing the 'pretended damage'. As a result, they held a conference with John Thurloe in St James's Park to discuss how best to get talks back on track. However, despite this

meeting with John Thurloe, repeated requests for further meetings with the commissioners were refused. The ambassadors regarded this as an attempt to force the Dutch to redraft proposals rather than to work on the existing ones and that the principal object was to make the Dutch admit responsibility for the war. This confused the ambassadors greatly who believed that it was blame, not peace that the English wanted. Again, it appeared that England demanded respect from the Dutch and this continued when the ambassadors sent their memorandum to the Lord Protector for approval but Cromwell kept them waiting and after sending back a short answer he handed over the business to the commissioners to discuss the treaty further. The ambassadors were at the mercy of the Protector. This is yet another context in which to view Cromwell's furious reaction to the refusal of the Dutch state of Zeeland to ratify the treaty. Cromwell sent threatening letters to them stating that if they did not ratify the agreement he would end the treaty. Although he used the Catholic threat to put pressure on Zeeland it was clear that Cromwell was demanding that the Dutch respect his authority in international matters.⁴⁰

Not only did Cromwell demand respect for his newly acquired authority from diplomats, but he also wanted to maintain the prestige of his position. In July 1655, Graef Hannibal Sesthead, the former Danish viceroy of Norway and an estranged member of the Danish royal family, arrived in England for discussions with Cromwell. He obtained an audience via Whitelocke whereby the Protector dined with Sesthead a few times and very much enjoyed his company. However, Cromwell later discovered that the former Danish viceroy was a very 'debauched' person and refused to see him again.⁴¹ This was not the first time that Cromwell had refused to see ambassadors because they had compromised his position. There was, of course, the well known episode of De Baas, the French ambassador who unfortunately became embroiled, however innocently, in royalist conspiracy in the summer of 1654. As a result, Cromwell refused to see him after this and De Baas had to return home.⁴² Another episode involved the brother of the Portuguese ambassador who killed a man in a fight and was to be executed for his actions. At the request of the Portuguese ambassador, many of the other ambassadors appealed for leniency in his brother's case but this fell on deaf ears and his brother was executed. The Portuguese ambassador subsequently signed the treaty and left London. It was abundantly clear that respect for England, its laws and the new regime came before any international diplomatic expediency.⁴³

IV

It is very clear from this brief article that long, frustrating delays were an important feature of Cromwellian diplomacy, not only for the ambassadors but also for those who created the delays, including Thurloe, the commissioners and even Cromwell himself. Many questions can be raised – were these delays symptomatic of a regime overworked and under threat, or a regime plagued by genuine problems of illness which caused havoc amongst key players in the government and diplomats alike? Were the long periods of inaction by the English government designed to wield influence over residents in order to conclude terms for the benefit of England, or was it a regime founded on instability which was trying to compensate for its own insecurities by demanding respect from the international community? These are a series of interesting questions which cannot be fully explained nor fully answered in this brief article but the evidence above would suggest that all of the above factors played an influential part. It is true that the regime appears overstretched due to its weighty domestic affairs, with illness affecting diplomats and government. However, in the case of the Swedes and the Dutch, the English regime would try and use these delays to come to terms most agreeable to England and to demand respect. Conversely, as the Venetian ambassador discovered to his cost, if there were no direct benefits to England there would be little interest. From the outside Cromwell looked like a military colossus striking fear into Europe, but, within England the delays made diplomacy a mockery, an embarrassment and a shambles. Instead of fear and respect, the prevalent feelings amongst the foreign residents were those of resentment, anger, disappointment and frustration. Edward Hyde, the later Earl of Clarendon, had unwittingly got to the point when he stated that Cromwell's 'greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad'.⁴⁴

Notes.

1. I would like to thank Dr Patrick Little for his comments on this article, but any omissions are my own responsibility. T. Birch, ed., *A Collection of State Papers of John Thurloe. To which is prefixed the life of Mr Thurloe by Thomas Birch* (7 volumes, London, 1742), vol. 2, p. 664.
2. B. Coward, *The Cromwellian Protectorate* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 119-38; T. Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy* (London, 1998), pp. 108-12; S. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the making of English foreign policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 168-91; K. O. Kupperman, 'Errand

- to the West Indies: Puritan Colonization from Providence Island though the Western Design', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series 45 (1988), pp. 70-99; M. Prestwich, 'Diplomacy and Trade in the Protectorate', *Journal of Modern History*, 22 (1950), pp. 103-21; R. Crabtree, 'The Idea of a Protestant Foreign Policy' in I. Roots, ed., *Cromwell: A Profile* (London, 1973), pp. 160-89.
3. C.P. Korr, *Cromwell and the New Model Foreign Policy* (Berkeley, 1975), pp. 48, 55, 57, 64, 85, 91-92, 97-111, 116-31; M. Roberts, 'Cromwell and the Baltic' in Roberts, ed., *Essays in Swedish History* (London, 1967), pp. 144-46.
 4. *Ibid.*, pp. 144-45; *CSPV* (1653-54), pp. 273-80. The Venetian secretary Paulucci commented 'All the foreign ministers complain more of these delays than of any other grievance.'
 5. M. Roberts, ed., *Swedish Diplomats at Cromwell's Court, 1655-1656: the missions of Peter Julius Coyet and Christer Bonde* (London, 1988), pp. 50, 331.
 6. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
 7. *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 55-56; R. Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell* (Willingham, 1977), p. 100; R. Sherwood, *Oliver Cromwell: King in all but name 1653-1658* (Stroud, 1997), p. 20.
 8. Roberts, *Swedish Diplomats*, pp. 64, 66, 74-75; Coward, *The Cromwellian Protectorate*, pp. 52-58; Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*, p. 192.
 9. Roberts, *Swedish Diplomats*, pp. 68, 80.
 10. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-09, 112, 114, 117-19, 150-52; Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*, pp. 192-95.
 11. Roberts, *Swedish Diplomats*, pp. 172-73.
 12. B. Whitelocke, *Memorials of the English Affairs* (4 volumes, Oxford, 1853), vol. 4, pp. 212, 216-17; Roberts, *Swedish Diplomats*, pp. 217-18; Roberts, 'Cromwell and the Baltic', pp. 145-46.
 13. Roberts, *Swedish Diplomats*, pp. 208, 202.
 14. *Ibid.*, pp. 225-27.
 15. Whitelocke, *Memorials of English Affairs*, vol. 4, p. 218.
 16. Roberts, *Swedish Diplomats*, pp. 238, 241, 259, 269, 280; Whitelocke, *Memorials of English Affairs*, vol. 4, pp. 221, 227, 232; Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*, pp. 195-96.
 17. Whitelocke, *Memorials of English Affairs*, vol. 4, p. 235; Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, pp. 92-93.

18. Roberts, *Swedish Diplomats*, pp. 281, 285, 289-90, 298-99; Whitelocke, *Memorials of English Affairs*, vol. 4, pp. 234-35; Roberts, 'Cromwell and the Baltic', p. 144.
19. Roberts, *Swedish Diplomats*, p. 300.
20. Whitelocke, *Memorials of English Affairs*, vol. 4, p. 243; Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*, p. 198; Roberts 'Cromwell and the Baltic', p. 145.
21. Roberts, *Swedish Diplomats*, p. 311; Whitelocke, *Memorials of English Affairs*, vol. 4, p. 243; Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*, p. 198.
22. Roberts, *Swedish Diplomats*, p. 331 n. 2; Whitelocke, *Memorials of English Affairs*, vol. 4, pp. 255, 257, 272-73; Sherwood, *Oliver Cromwell: A King in all but name*, p. 60; Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*, pp. 200-03.
23. S. Kelsey, *Inventing a Republic: The Political Culture of the English Commonwealth, 1649-1653* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 97-98; B. Capp, *Cromwell's Navy* (Oxford, 1979), p. 72; *CSPV* (1653-54), pp. 163-64, 176-78, 206.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-77.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 217; *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 2, pp. 440, 470.
26. *CSPV* (1653-54), pp. 265-73.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 253-64.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 280-93; Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*, pp. 234-35.
29. *CSPV* (1655-56), pp. 24-38; W.C. Abbott, ed., *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (4 volumes, Cambridge Mass., 1937-47), vol. 3, p. 891; they did not grant Paulucci leave until October, Cromwell praising him for his 'good faith'.
30. *CSPV* (1655-56), pp. 101-31.
31. Abbott, *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, vol. 4, pp. 48-50.
32. *CSPV* (1655-56), pp. 171-83; *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 4, p. 521.
33. *CSPV* (1655-56), pp. 237-46; Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*, pp. 230-31; Roberts, *Swedish Diplomats*, p. 290.
34. *CSPV* (1655-56), pp. 285-98; Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*, p. 236.
35. *CSPV* (1657-59), pp. 1-11, 47-59, 135-48, 157-69.
36. *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp. 643-44.
37. *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 2, pp. 92-93.
38. Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*, p. 165; Whitelocke, *Memorials of English Affairs*, vol. 4, pp. 86-87. It is clear that the Dutch Republic expected the business to be over quickly because Whitelocke stated that the ambassadors came over with the power to ratify the treaty

THE WAITING GAME'

- between the Dutch and the English; Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism* p. 169.
39. *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 2, pp. 154-55, 167.
 40. *Ibid.*, pp. 193-95, 202, 208; Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*, p. 169; Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, p. 180.
 41. Whitelocke, *Memorials of English Affairs*, vol. 4, pp. 207-08.
 42. Korr, *Cromwell and New Model Foreign Policy*, pp. 98-110; Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*, pp. 51-54.
 43. Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 91.
 44. W Dunn Macray, ed., *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England begun in the year 1641 by Edward, Earl of Clarendon* (6 volumes, Oxford, 1969), vol. 6, p. 94.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Jonathon Fitzgibbons, *Cromwell's Head* (London: The National Archives, 2008), pp. 240, illustrated, £12.99.

On 23 November 1659 the embalmed corpse of Oliver Cromwell was interred in an extravagant funeral – not arranged by him – at Westminster Abbey. Soon, with Stuart monarchy brought back, the remains were dug up, hung in chains at Tyburn (Marble Arch) and at length thrown, in futile contempt for oblivion, into a pit. The ‘traitor’s’ head, however, stuck on a spiked pole, was exhibited at Westminster Hall. Somehow it disappeared, turning up in the eighteenth century, to settle at length into possession of a family called Wilkinson. Fighting off all pretenders – there were, and are, many – and deemed authentic biometrically, the pathetic trophy was, as late as 1960, immured somewhere at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, where Oliver had spent a single formative year. There let it rest.

An appealing story, familiar to many Cromwellians – but hardly worth a book, even a small one. Moved no doubt by the current series of 350th anniversaries of the Interregnum, Jonathan Fitzgibbons has used the head as a thread to hang on impressions of the living Protector and of his posthumous reputation. Fitzgibbons finds a complex human being – aren’t we all? His Oliver is contradictory, perplexed and perplexing, vital and passive, waiting on Providence, yet apt to respond dynamically to passing events. ‘The mind is the man’, yes, but surely not all of him. This man can be the archetypal puritan, bible-black, but time and again will unbend into the easy laughter, the natural fun of family life, and do it even as he presided over his impressive court – the cultural centre of music, arts, and the ceremonial of a not quite regal rule. Displaying a dignity that could seem as innate as the military ‘know-how’ he deployed in the 1640s, his Highness would yet retain to the end a touch of mere Oliver Cromwell.

Cromwell's Head is published in a National Archives series but, curiously, draws very little on the resources of Kew. Rather, its primary sources, widespread though they are, are mostly printed and familiar. But Fitzgibbons is also well abreast of recent research in articles such as Patrick Little’s on Cromwell’s sense of humour (*Cromwelliana* 2007). This book, somewhat *multum in parvo*, seems a good augury for a larger volume on the

BOOK REVIEWS

last years of the Protectorate that will surely emerge from a DPhil currently in progress.

Ivan Roots

Stephen Bull, *The Furie of the Ordnance: Artillery in the English Civil Wars* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), pp. xxiii + 247, £50.

Just as the role of the military has often been played down in political narratives of the English Civil War, so has the role of the artillery been discounted in military histories of the period. Cannons were few (we are told), they fired only very slowly, and their effectiveness was limited. They scared people, but did not kill them. Even in sieges – often mounted against inadequate medieval castles or ancient town walls – the artillery did not usually play a decisive part. Stephen Bull’s new book on what one contemporary termed ‘The Furie of the Ordnance’ must surely overturn this assumption once and for all. Using a wealth of archival evidence, he evaluates the role of artillery in determining the scale and design of defensive fortifications, in deciding the outcome of sieges and in influencing major battles, and concludes that, in terms of power and accuracy, ‘a well made cannon of 1644 was not so different to one produced in 1800’ (p. 163). But this is more than a detailed account of a weapon system. The context is just as important here, and it provides an important new approach to the seventeenth century as a whole. The roots of the Civil War ordnance industry can be traced to the efforts of John Browne and others operating in the Sussex Weald to supply the early Stuarts, but it was very much at the whim of the monarchs, whose choices in foreign policy could boost – or flatten – the trade. The situation in 1642 was still fairly shambolic – lending weight to those who argue that neither side had expected a shooting war to break out, still less engaged in some kind of arms race. As the war continued it soon became apparent that the royalist armies were much less well-equipped than the parliamentarians, not least because the latter had access to the main gun-founding region of the Sussex Weald, and could import artillery from abroad with relative ease. In conflict, this military superiority, backed by administrative skill, soon began to tell. Indeed, alongside the New Modelling of the army and the increase of revenue through the excise and other schemes, perhaps the creation of a new, efficient, Ordnance Office in 1644 should be included as one of the reasons that parliament won the war. These are but a few examples of the ways in which this book brings together the technical, the military, the industrial and the strategic, to

provide a rounded account of a fascinating subject. It also acts as a powerful statement of the importance of military history in making sense of the bigger picture. As Dr Bull reminds us: 'the military history of the Civil Wars is at the heart of the conflict – and cannot be ignored as though it were a mere technical curiosity' (p. 172).

Patrick Little

Micheal O'Siochru, *God's Executioner: Oliver Cromwell and the Conquest of Ireland* (London: Faber and Faber, 2008), pp. xx + 316, £14.99.

Discussions about Cromwell's role(s) in Ireland in 1649-1650 have been the subject of debate for many years. Over the past decade or so revisionism has had an impact on this debate. In the inaugural issue of *BBC History* John Morrill asked the question was Cromwell a war criminal, reflecting a debate over in Dublin where Jason McElligott, whilst still an undergraduate, reconsidered Cromwell's reputation and where Tom Reilly had declared that Cromwell was an 'honourable enemy'.

That the revisionists have a long way to go in their aim to persuade people, in Ireland particularly, that Cromwell was not the devil incarnate in Ireland, was demonstrated clearly by the reactions to commemorations of Cromwell's 400th birthday. Indeed the debate continues. The excellent historian and authority on Confederate Ireland Micheal O'Siochru's book is the latest broadside. It is not on the side of revision.

Indeed O'Siochru's premise is not only that Cromwell was guilty of monstrous acts; his campaign prolonged, rather than shortened, the war. There is much to argue about here. I think we could all reasonably agree that some events between 1649 and 1650 were monstrous and O'Siochru does seem to believe that Cromwell was not himself a monstrous man: he acknowledges that the war in Ireland was already fought by both sides with a barbarity rarely seen in England, although more common in Scotland, and even evident in Wales, before and after Cromwell's 'invasion'. The Cromwell in O'Siochru's book is a religious bigot with a single minded devotion to a creed, against which everything was judged lacking. It is therefore much more like Ronald Hutton's hypocritical Cromwell than other brands available. In some ways it might be worse. The view that Cromwell was quite a latitudinarian would have Cromwell's religious 'uncertainties' lying at the core of the causes of his monstrous acts. If Cromwell is a providentialist then Drogheda and Wexford are the equivalent

of casting runes and drawing out meaning rather than deliberate actions on Cromwell's part: it is debateable whether this is indeed worse than a man directing events in pursuit of a cause. Whilst I see Cromwell maturing and developing traits of a statesman to add to his talents as a soldier, in Ireland O'Siochru sees Cromwell as going into Ireland and coming out essentially the same. I do not necessarily see these two things being reconciled. In some senses O'Siochru's position on Cromwell not being a monster could be seen as a step towards consensus, but a very tentative one. A Cromwell who committed monstrous acts for religious reasons but not being inherently monstrous is a slight, but almost imperceptible shift.

The claim that the war was prolonged requires attention. The argument is that Cromwell's defeat of the main field armies in Ireland fragmented the Irish/royalist cause and generated guerrilla warfare. O'Siochru compares this to both Napoleon and Hitler in Russia, but the better analogy is probably Napoleon's 'Spanish ulcer'. In both cases large-scale military battles resulted in numerous 'little wars' and the dissipation of the conqueror's military effort into holding down the territory. Combine this with the determination to extirpate the opposition, in a manner akin to the Lords Justices' reaction to initial outbreak of the rebellion in 1641, whilst offering nothing in the way of generous terms to the enemy and the result is a determined, scattered enemy with nothing to lose. The only difference in all three cases is that only in Ireland did the invader win.

However, whether or not blame for all of this can be laid at Cromwell's door is debateable. Certainly he was over optimistic at the end of his campaign (despite the 'bloody nose' at Clonmel) about the results of his invasion. However, this only shows that he did not yet understand how the war was being reconfigured. As the book's own structure shows Cromwell left the scene and his departure occurs just after the book's half-way point, others on the ground were thereafter responsible for reacting to the reconfiguration. Moreover, it might be thought that what O'Siochru finds surprising; the developing relaxation of the stringent and destructive attitudes held by the occupiers, occurred when Cromwell had a central role in national government, not in the gap between his return to England and the beginning of the Protectorate in 1653. Perhaps Cromwell had a greater potential in Ireland than the epithet 'executioner' suggests: maybe he did mature out there or at least come back a wiser man.

Professor Martyn Bennett

The Cromwell Museum,
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The Cromwell Museum is in the former Huntingdon Grammar School where Cromwell received his early education. The museum, which is fully accredited by The Museums, Libraries and Archives Council is run by Cambridgeshire County Council, and has a wide-ranging collection which illustrates the life and legacy of Oliver Cromwell. In addition to the permanent collection the museum has a programme of changing temporary exhibitions and activities.

The museum is open all year everyday Tuesday – Sunday, admission is free.

For information:

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ISBN 0-905729-21-8



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