

The Protector's Pen

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Professor Ronald
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Front cover: 50-shilling coin from 1656
(courtesy Dix Noonan Webb)



The Protector's Pen is the newsletter of The Cromwell Association. It is published twice a year and distributed to our membership, and is also available on our website in the members' area. If additional copies are required, to help promote the Association and our work, please contact our Chair.

The Association is governed by elected officers and Council members. For all matters relating to :

- subscriptions, please contact our treasurer, Geoffrey Bush – finance@olivercromwell.org
- changes of address and email, contact our membership secretary, Paul Robbins - membership@olivercromwell.org
- all other matters, please contact our chair, John Goldsmith - chair@olivercromwell.org

Full mailing addresses for these officers can also be found on your membership card.

President	:	Peter Gaunt
Chair	:	John Goldsmith
Treasurer	:	Geoffrey Bush
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The Protector's Pen

Notes from the Chair

Welcome to the summer edition of *The Protector's Pen*

It is now very clear that COVID-19 is something we will all have to live with. Thankfully, the vaccination programme seems to have been successful and we can begin to look forward with some optimism. The decision taken by Council to go ahead with actual events (see column to the right) was not taken lightly, but we do want to resume our normal programme as soon as we safely can. It would be encouraging if the events were well supported, so if you are able to come to them it would be wonderful to see you.

Getting out and about after lockdown has been easier for some than others. I spent a few days in London early in June, not initially without some trepidation; but although by no means 'back to normal' there were plenty of people out and about enjoying themselves. The Queen's House in Greenwich had been on my list of places to visit for some time, and it was well worth it. Although the queen for



whom it was intended, Anne of Denmark, never lived to see it finished, it was completed in 1636 for her daughter-in-law, Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I. The decoration of the Queen's Presence Chamber is astonishingly rich and would undoubtedly have appalled the King's opponents in parliament – not that they would ever have seen it I suspect. Royal Museums Greenwich have taken the opportunity to display a number of fine 17th century portraits in the house, including some of Sir Peter Lely's set entitled *The Flagmen of Lowestoft* – the naval commanders who fought in the Battle of Lowestoft in 1665. Contrary to expectations there was also a fine portrait bust of Oliver Cromwell in terracotta by Rysbrack. In the 1630s the Queen's House must have seemed extraordinarily modern, a visit is highly recommended, and it is free admission. For more information see www.rmg.co.uk.

For those, for whom a visit to London is not an attractive proposition, the two sites in Cambridgeshire most closely associated with Cromwell are of course another good reason to take the plunge and start travelling again. The Cromwell Museum in Huntingdon is often mentioned in these pages, but Cromwell House in Ely less so. Although it does not have the collections of the Museum, it does have oodles of atmosphere, and is very much worth a visit. Cromwell House kindly offers a 20% discount on admission prices to members of the Association, so do not forget to take your Membership Card in order to claim the reduction. Both Ely and Huntingdon are in comfortable reach of Cambridge itself and could be easily combined with attending the service of commemoration on 3rd September at Sidney Sussex College.

The October Study Day to be held in Oxford should be fascinating, especially the afternoon debate between two professors, Ronald Hutton and John Morrill. Professor Hutton's new biography of Cromwell (see page 9) is awaited with eager anticipation, and his views of Cromwell may challenge some member's opinions. A vigorous debate should ensue – and sparks may fly!

John Goldsmith

Chair

chair@olivercromwell.org

Notes from Council

Council has met twice since the last issue of *The Protector's Pen*, in March and in June. Both meetings were held by Zoom so it is now eighteen months since we gathered round a table for an actual meeting. To an extent it feels as though we are ticking along, as much of our discussion has been about events that have been long in the planning but have had to be postponed due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Most of the issues are dealt with in more detail elsewhere in this edition, but to summarise the main points:

- Website usage continues at a healthy level with over 80,000 distinct visits in the year ending February 2021. The site is our best, and most frequently used, method of attracting new members.
- Membership numbers continue to creep up slowly, and we are now over 500 strong, with the great majority of members resident in the UK, but with a good number in North America – both the USA and Canada – as well as in Australia and New Zealand, and a smattering of members throughout Europe.
- After serious consideration it was agreed at the June meeting that we would go ahead with plans for an actual service of commemoration for Cromwell in early September, and the postponed Study Day in October. More details of both events, and booking forms, are to be found in this mailing. All bookings will be logged in order of receipt, so that in the event of having to limit numbers, beyond what we currently anticipate, those who book early will secure the available places. Should we be forced to cancel the events, due to the pandemic, those who have booked will be advised as promptly as possible, and a full refund made of any payments.
- Agreement was reached about commissioning new items of merchandise, and hopefully more details will appear elsewhere in this issue. Your support by purchasing merchandise is both appreciated and a very useful source of income to the Association.
- Council was delighted to be informed of a very generous donation by a Life Member who had sold his library of Cromwell related books.

Council will meet again in late October and if you have any issues you want to raise, comments, ideas or suggestions – please do not hesitate to contact either the Secretary, or the Chair.

The minutes of Council meetings will be placed in the members' area of the website once they are approved, (accessible using the password printed on your annual membership card).

Contact chair@olivercromwell.org or write to:

John Goldsmith
25 Fox's Way
Comberton
Cambridge
CB23 7DL

The Protector's Pen

Association News

Cromwell Day

Friday 3rd September 2021

Last year the planned service to commemorate the life of Oliver Cromwell could not take place due to the COVID-19 pandemic. This year, with a significant proportion of the population double vaccinated, we are planning to go ahead with our postponed arrangements.

By tradition the service takes place at the time Cromwell died, at 3.00pm on 3rd September 1658. The option of holding the service by the Cromwell statue on the Green outside the Palace of Westminster, is not open to us, but we do have an excellent alternative. With the kind permission of the Master of Sidney Sussex College in Cambridge, Cromwell's alma mater, and what is generally agreed to be the final resting place of his head, the service will take place at **3.00pm on Friday 3rd September**

(not Saturday 4th as previously trailed), in **Sidney Sussex College chapel**. The address at the service will be given by the Rev. Professor John Morrill, and is titled *Cromwell, Cambridge and Destiny*. The format of the service will be similar to previous years with hymns and readings, and will be conducted by the Rev. Tim Woolley.

In the late morning there is an opportunity to study some of the Cromwell relics held by the College, which will be set out for us by the College Archivist, Nicholas Rogers, in the Old Library. Mr Rogers will also be on hand to answer questions about the collection, for which he is responsible.

There are no plans made for lunch or tea, but there are many and assorted places for

refreshment in central Cambridge.

Attendance at the service is open and free to all members, but booking for both the service and the morning visit are essential, and a booking form is enclosed with this mailing.

Our annual service is an event which distinguishes the Association from many other historical societies, and in the past members have expressed very strong opinions that they want the service to be maintained. Please do help us to continue to maintain this tradition by coming to this year's event. It is a rare opportunity to visit a site so closely associated with Oliver Cromwell's life, and also his death.



Sidney Sussex College Chapel, Cambridge
(source – Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge)

The Cromwell Association Postgraduate Research Grant 2021

As part of our continuing mission to advance the knowledge and understanding of the seventeenth century, the Association is once again offering a grant of up to £1500 to postgraduate students looking to carry out research related to Oliver Cromwell and his times. Applicants should be enrolled on a postgraduate degree (Masters, PhD or equivalent) at a university or similar institution in the UK or Ireland. We particularly welcome applications from students seeking to conduct research on an aspect of the life and legacy of Cromwell, or a topic related to the British Civil Wars, Interregnum or Restoration period.

Further details of the scheme, including the application form, can be found on the Association's website www.olivercromwell.org and any questions or requests for further information should be sent via email to PRG@olivercromwell.org. The deadline for applications is **Friday 31st December 2021**.

The Protector's Pen

Study Day: The new letters and speeches project – Oliver Cromwell re-examined Saturday 16th October 2021

In the last issue of *The Protector's Pen* Professor John Morrill wrote about the project to publish a new, and comprehensive, edition of all of the letters and speeches of Oliver Cromwell. It has been a massive undertaking and over a decade in creation, but as he reported it was finally delivered to the publisher, Oxford University Press, in the middle of last year. This is a project of potentially huge significance to the world of Cromwell scholarship, and one which the Association has supported from the outset.



As the publication draws nearer (no date known as yet) it is timely for us to run an event specifically on this project, its conception, execution and implications. The event will be an opportunity to hear from those most involved with its creation, a chance to find out more, raise questions and engage in discussion.

Association Study Days are also occasions to meet with fellow members, re-acquaint yourself with old friends and hopefully make some new ones. The event will be held on **Saturday 16th October** at the **Oxford Quaker Meeting House, St Giles', Oxford**.

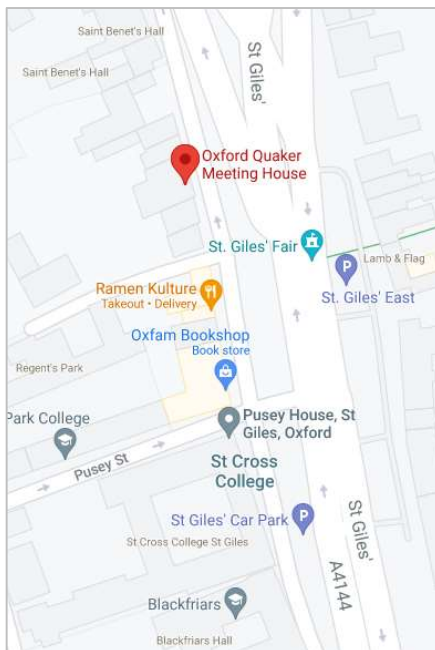
Full details of the event are on the Booking Form enclosed with this mailing, but in summary the day,

chaired by our President, Professor Peter Gaunt, will spend the morning looking at the project. There will be three speakers. Professor Morrill will start the proceedings with an overview of the project, supported by Professor Jason Peacey of University College London, and Dr Joel Halcomb of the University of East Anglia. Dr Halcomb will concentrate on the practical issues of the project and Professor Peacey on how the work may change some interpretations of Cromwell.

In the afternoon, after a buffet lunch, there will be a debate between Professors Hutton and Morrill, the title of which is *Can we take Cromwell at his word?* Two leading scholars with differing views of Cromwell will each argue their case, and should provide a stimulating conclusion to the day.

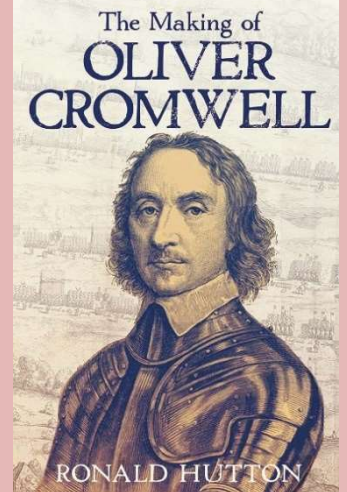
The cost of the day to Association members, to include refreshments, is £30.00. Non-members are also welcome to attend at a non-member rate of £45.00. Booking will also be possible on our website from 1st August.

Please help to support the Association and register for the event. Spaces are inevitably limited and bookings will be taken in the order received.



Prize draw

The publishers of the new biography of Cromwell by Professor Ronald Hutton, have generously offered **three copies of the book to the Association as prizes** in any competition we would like to run. After some thought Council decided that this should not be tied to attendance at an event, or the reward for completing a fiendishly complicated crossword or puzzle, but to give everyone an equal chance it will simply be a prize draw.



All names received from those who wish to take part will be entered and names drawn from the metaphorical hat. If you would like to put your name into the hat (and you have to be in it to win it) please send your name and address to the Chair (address on your Membership Card) or by email to chair@olivercromwell.org, marking any email or mailing, **Cromwell Prize Draw**.

The draw will be made on 31st August 2021; the winners notified shortly afterwards, and the books will be sent out from the publisher.

Sadly Missed...

I am sad to report that the Association has lost two loyal members over the last few months.

Joanna Malins who died on 29th March and **June Stocker** on 2nd April. By coincidence, both joined through the membership of another member of their family. Joanna as a consequence of her daughter Miranda, and June her son Gary.

Regular attenders at Association events over the last few years, Joanna and June will be missed by all. Our sympathies go to Miranda and her sisters Annabel and Cressida, and to Gary and his father Peter.

John Goldsmith

The Protector's Pen

AGM 2021

Held Saturday 24th April 2021 at 3.00pm BST



Usually the report of the AGM is accompanied by some interesting photos of the venue, and an account of whatever place of interest was visited during the day.

Alas, not this year. The meeting took place by Zoom, but it did mean that the venues were member's living rooms throughout the UK as well as in the USA and Australia. The timing was OK for American members but for those in Australia it was almost the middle of the night! But it worked – thanks to the technology – which is quite astonishing, but not the same as seeing and meeting people.

The format of the meeting was much the same as if it had been an actual meeting, with a review of the year and short reports from responsible officers and Council members of their areas of responsibility.

There was some discussion of the possibility of continuing to hold AGMs in this way in the future, but it was agreed that this would be decided on a case-by-case basis. Maybe some kind of 'blended' event would be an option, with a video-cast of a physical meeting. If any member has particular expertise in this area, and would like to volunteer services, that may make it all the more possible.

All of those standing for office were re-elected, without dissent. This is both reassuring and gratifying, as it seems the membership is content with what Council is doing, but there is always scope for fresh blood and new ideas. There were also some minor changes made to the constitution, principally to authorise postponements and virtual meetings, in extreme circumstances, and also an amendment to reduce the grace period for those who do not pay their subscriptions on time, from six months to four months.

The meeting was followed by a fascinating talk by Stuart Orme, the Curator of the Cromwell Museum, on the new edition of *Mrs Cromwell's Cookbook*.

For those of you who missed out on the day (and it was a very pleasant warm Spring day in the UK) recordings of both the AGM and the talk are now on the Members' Area of the website (http://www.olivercromwell.org/wordpress/?page_id=4480). You will need the password on your membership card to access these.

If you have never attended an AGM of the Association before do consider coming to the next one, to be held in **Huntingdon on Saturday 23rd April 2022**.



Note from our Treasurer

September 3rd is rapidly approaching and is not only the anniversary of Cromwell's death, and his victories at Dunbar and Worcester, but is also the day **annual subscriptions** to the Association are due.

Many thanks to all those who last year amended their bank standing orders to the new rates (£27 for an individual UK membership, £35 for an individual non-UK membership, and an additional £5 for an additional member at the same address whether in the UK or not.)

Please find enclosed with this mailing a bank standing order form for those with UK bank accounts wishing to switch to using this form of payment.

Those members who prefer to send cheques please complete the enclosed renewal form with your cheque.

Lastly, many find the use of PayPal quick and easy. Please go to our website www.olivercromwell.org and follow the payment instruction link, taking care to select the option for Membership Renewal in the drop-down list.

Also enclosed is a gift aid declaration. If you have not already 'gift-aided' your subscription, please consider doing so if appropriate. Our Gift Aid Reclaim last year was worth over £1,400 to the Association.

Kindly note that it is unnecessary to complete this form again every year unless your circumstances have changed (notably, a change of address or you no longer pay sufficient tax.)

Thank you for your continued membership and support.

Geoffrey Bush

Treasurer, Cromwell Association

Schools' Conference 2021: historians debating key issues



For several years the Cromwell Association has run an annual Schools' Conference. In 2020 due to the pandemic it had to be cancelled. Furthermore, circumstances meant that it could not take place in person in 2021; so in May, **Jon Fitzgibbons** (University of Lincoln), **Peter Gaunt** (University of Chester), **Clive Holmes** (University of Oxford) and **David Smith** (University of Cambridge) got together to record this year's event via Zoom.

Each of three topics was debated by two of the historians, chaired by a third (the academic version of tag-wrestling). The three debates presented contrasting views on these topics:

1. Why did the Parliament win the English Civil War?
2. Why did Cromwell refuse the offer of the Crown?
3. Was the Protectorate a military dictatorship?

The debates were aimed at a Sixth Form audience and centred around typical A-Level and equivalent type questions. Usually the Conference is not open to all members, but the debates can be enjoyed by anyone interested in this period and they are now available to all members on our website, www.olivercromwell.org

Serrie Meakins

The Association would like to thank Stuart Orme of the Cromwell Museum for co-ordinating and recording these debates.



Coins of the Protectorate and Commonwealth

In January this year, specialist auctioneers Dix Noonan Webb sold the most important collection of Cromwell related coins and medals to come to the market for years.

It was part of the collection of Marvin Lessen, a name familiar to those seriously interested in coins and medals of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, as he has published more on the subject than anybody else in the last fifty years.

Mr Lessen is a life-member of the Association, and although he is now in his late '80s, and living in Southern California, he assures me that he reads all that is in *The Protector's Pen*. He kindly agreed to answer some questions about his collections and collecting which have been a life-long passion. A graduate of the Moore School of Electrical Engineering at the University of Pennsylvania, he worked in the aerospace and defence industry, which included a stint at Fylingdales Radar Station in North Yorkshire, when it was built in the early 1960s, at the height of the Cold War. His collection spanned the whole of British history, but a specialism was the coins and medals of Oliver Cromwell.

What inspired you to start collecting?

I was a born collector and my mother even had to toss away things that cluttered the place up. There were stamps and general coins; there were war relics, which I pestered everyone about. I did collect coins, mainly American, but there was a second-hand shop with relics and coins. I remember buying even a sestertius, an ancient Roman coin and a few others.

So I was a collector when I moved to Scarborough in 1962. There I was somewhat fascinated with the penny – the old pre-decimal one penny coin and how widespread they were – and the reigns from Victoria and even before, and dates that were still in circulation. So I began putting those together.

I started with pennies, by type, and even date, once the card holders were in place, but otherwise I was never a date collector, anywhere; I then went for type British coins, for it was fun to search in the quantities I could uncover via my friends at Lloyds Bank, who knew to run when I came in! So I was collecting by reign, preferably shillings, and pennies of course, then groats before the shillings.

When you started collecting, well before the Internet, what were your main sources?

There was Cave Antiques across the street in Scarborough, and also his brother downtown. There I was shown Seaby's coin catalogue and thus it became my starting point.

I had a couple of trips to London (I forget if by train or if I drove down in my Mercedes 190SL that came with me), probably both on the several

trips I made. Anyway, I met Frank Purvey, Alan Rayner, Peter Seaby; and on one trip I learned about Spink, the most significant of the dealers and met Douglas Saville, Howard Linecar, Douglas Liddell, and the Baldwin family. And Bill French at Glendining was so critically helpful that I can't imagine visiting and bidding there without his advice.

What in particular drew you to the study of coins and medals of Cromwell and the Protectorate?

Oliver and the civil wars took my interest I suppose because it was fairly modern; modern weapons, modern tactics – at least in comparison to the medieval period. Oliver himself was a fairly modern politician as well as a military man, learning as he went ahead. More like a modern person who came up in the ranks.

The coinage of the Commonwealth took its place in my collecting interest, and I gathered many different pieces, more than I had at the end of my collecting for I thinned the categories out eventually.

Still, the coinage was the driving force, though I developed a pretty good library of the mid-17th century in Britain. The overall coinage of Britain remained the main area of my collection, fascinating as it was; the 1600s a centre of interest, and it continued that way.

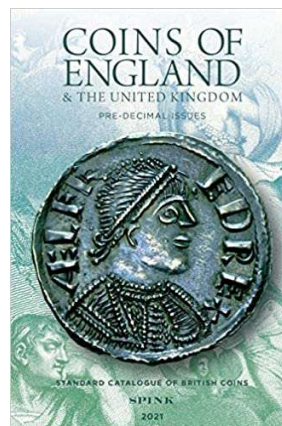
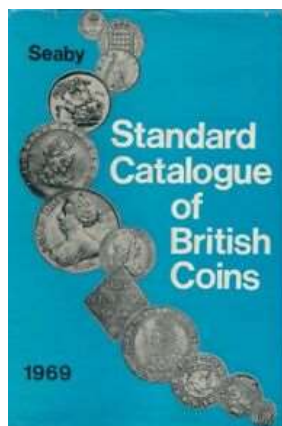
Was it just good fortune that technical prowess in coin and medal making reached new peaks in the mid-17th century?

It was really new ideas and technologies derived from the Continent that made the difference, particularly the introduction of the screw-press that moved production away from hammered coinage. When Oliver became Protector the coins and medals of Thomas Simon, Peter Blondeau, and David Ramage, which became my primary interest, were a real step forward. I studied it all and it became my main category and concentration, though all my other numismatic interests remained and grew, from earliest Celtic times.

Your collection included some exquisite examples of medals of the period. Which in your opinion was the finest?

There are several. If I had to choose, maybe the Lord Protector medal by Thomas Simon of 1655–8, the Naval reward, again by Simon of 1653–4 and Simon's medal for the coronation of Charles II in 1661.

(cont'd)



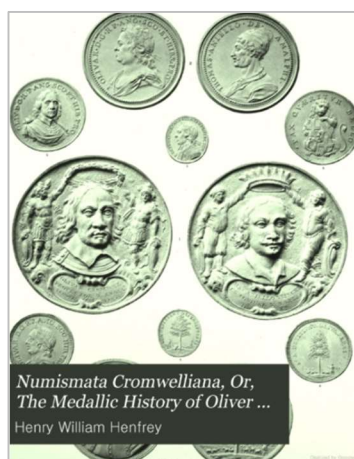
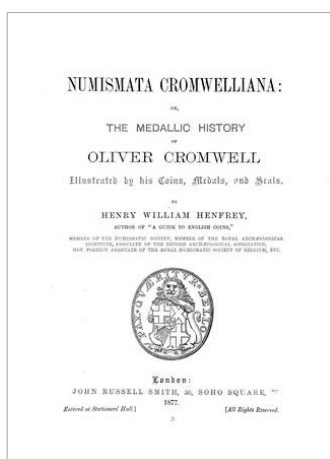
The Protector's Pen



Naval Reward for Captains gold medal of 1653 by Thomas Simon, a.k.a. Blake Medal (top) and a gold medal of the Lord Protector, circa 1655-8 (courtesy of Dix Noonan Webb)

The only comprehensive book on the coins and medals of Cromwell was published in 1877. Does the subject merit another?

Nothing will surpass Henry W. Henfrey's *Numismata Cromwelliana*, short life that he had. (Henfrey died at the age of 25. The book in digital format is available free on Google Books. Ed)



Numismata Cromwelliana, Or, The Medallio History of Oliver ...
Henry William Henfrey

Numismata Cromwelliana or The Medallio History of Oliver Cromwell, illustrated by his Coins, Medals, and Seals
by Henry William Henfrey
(Image from openlibrary.org and Google Books)

Is it possible these days for a collector of modest means to assemble a worthwhile collection of 17th century coins?

I think maybe but within a lot of limits. When I started, overall, the pound was more than double the rate of the dollar, but I was working and had free room and board for my stay in the UK. I was just a collector, but really a collection of mid-17th century material would now be too expensive. If someone wanted a real Cromwell coin it would have to be a shilling but the larger ones are now too expensive.

Marvin Lessen

(interviewed by John Goldsmith)



Cromwell 50s piece of 1656
(courtesy of Dix Noonan Webb)

The sale of Marvin Lessen's collection exceeded the expectations of the auctioneers and a new record price was set for a Cromwell 50-shilling piece of 1656, which was sold for a hammer price of £380,000. Marvin Lessen's work, on various aspects of Cromwell coins and medals, is freely available online in the archive of the British Numismatic Journal. Examples include:

A summary of the Cromwell coinage:

https://www.britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/pdfs/1966_BN_J_35_17.pdf

Cromwell Funeral medal:

https://www.britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/pdfs/1982_BN_J_52_14.pdf



North Yorkshire coin collection

The collection, containing over 520 rare and hugely valuable historic coins has been sold in four parts over the past three years. It belonged to mystery collector Marvin Lessen who came to live in Scarborough in 1962 from America where he had worked in the aerospace and defence industries.

In the final sale of the North York Moors Collection of British Coins, held on January 21, specialist auctioneers Dix Noonan Webb, based in Mayfair, put an estimate of £150,000 on the prize coin in the collection, a 50-shilling Oliver Cromwell piece dating back to 1656.

Only 12 were made and the others are believed to be in institutions around the world. It was made by chief engraver Thomas Simon, and includes a rare image of Cromwell, complete with warts.

Extract from the *Northern Echo*, 26 January 2021

The Making of Oliver Cromwell

An interview with Professor Ronald Hutton

The Making of Oliver Cromwell by Professor Ronald Hutton is being published later this summer by Yale University Press, whose publicity asserts that, 'In this remarkable new work, Ronald Hutton untangles the facts from the fiction. Cromwell, pursuing his devotion to God and cementing his Puritan support base, quickly transformed from obscure provincial to military victor. At the end of the first English Civil War, he was poised to take power. Hutton reveals a man who was both genuine in his faith and deliberate in his dishonesty – and uncovers the inner workings of the man who has puzzled biographers for centuries'. This is the first of two volumes.

Ronald Hutton is Professor of History at Bristol University and has written widely on the British Isles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as on paganism, magic and witchcraft. He kindly agreed to answer some questions about his approach to Cromwell and his new book. Yale have kindly given copies of the book to the Association; see page 5 for details of how to win a copy for yourself.

Your first publications about the 17th century focussed on the Royalist side. What has led you to a study of Cromwell?

Like a lot of historians, I home in naturally on areas of an existing historical picture which seem to have absences or problems. The Royalists had been generally neglected by the existing historiography when I started work in the 1970s, and so I concentrated on them to help rectify the balance. In Cromwell's case there was by the 2010s almost the opposite phenomenon: that he has been an intense focus of continuous research and publishing, and yet most recent biographers have identified a problem with him, that the man as he represented himself did not seem to be as others saw him. I thought I would try to suggest a solution.

***The Making of Oliver Cromwell*, to be published shortly, reviews Cromwell's life up to 1646. Have you new primary research to reveal, and if so, can you give a flavour of it?**

My research for this book concentrates on the part of his life that previous biographers have tended more to neglect: his youth and career in the Great Civil War. I have read all the surviving accounts that I could locate of the events in which he was engaged, left not just by the man

himself but his allies and rivals in his own party and his Royalist enemies. In doing so I hope to have put Cromwell's own representations into a better perspective and context, which sometimes calls them into question.

Twenty years ago, you wrote that 'there is a darker Cromwell still awaiting his biographer', have you discovered the darker Cromwell?

Yes, I think so. He remains unquestionably a tremendously able and impressive man, with some beliefs and attitudes which resonate favourably at the present day. I personally admire his sheer vigour, courage and prowess. He was however also more ruthless, self-seeking, bloodthirsty and capable of manipulating the truth, than he has generally been taken as being hitherto. My vision of the man reconciles, I think, his self-representation with the views of contemporaries.

Most of Cromwell's biographers hitherto have accepted his self-professed religiosity. Do you?

I have no doubt that his piety was passionately sincere, and it went to the core of his being, both in terms of his personal faith in his God and of his acceptance of the centrality of the Bible and of providences as manifestations of the latter's will. The problem is that it was natural for Cromwell, as for most of his



Professor Ronald Hutton, Bristol University

contemporaries, to regard that will as being synonymous with his own ideals and ambitions. Like the canny general and politician he was, he would observe the way that events seemed to be going, and what appeared to be both practicable and necessary, and then interpret this as divine direction, and – if necessary – find scriptural justification for it.

Previously you have drawn attention to Cromwell's preference for appointing friends and relations to positions of power around him. Do you think he was better or worse in that respect than any other politician of his time?

I don't think that he was better or worse in appointing friends and relations than other politicians. The friends he appointed tended to be men who had risen by their own talent in a crucible of war and revolution, and he never fell into the error of promoting an incompetent individual because of a personal connection.

(cont'd)

The Protector's Pen

In the later Protectorate, with its quasi-monarchical aura, many expected him to advance his own family as a surrogate dynasty, and this indeed secured a peaceful succession on his death (in the short term). The problem was more that he promoted a very disparate group of talented people as his deputies and counsellors, including the recruitment of former royalists, who were increasingly mutually antagonistic to each other. In each of the former kingdoms he seems in fact to have deliberately balanced them against one another, creating a polity in which nobody was likely to combine against him but which was also inherently unstable, once he was removed.

Carlyle's Letters and Speeches published in 1845 helped to shape the Cromwell we know today. In your opinion does Carlyle illuminate or obfuscate?

I think that Carlyle's Cromwell was a better and more authentic one than any of those before, and his edition of letters and speeches is the foundation of those to come, and many historians would consider the revised and supplemented version to be the best available until the present new venture. In many ways, Carlyle's prejudices and judgements are so blatant that they entertain and enliven rather than distort. Having said that, I retain an affection for Wilbur Abbott's edition as well, despite its shortcomings which were ably and valuably exposed by John Morrill. It is as much a biography in itself as a collection, and prints many records accurately in an accessible form; as long as a historian is then prepared to check them against originals. It is also simply the traditional edition which can be more easily found in and borrowed from libraries.

In *The British Republic* you state that 'to say he [Cromwell] aimed at power would be horribly unjust, but he did have a shrewd instinct for retaining it'. Do you ascribe this instinct to a desire for personal glory and gratification, or something else?

I think that he undoubtedly had a desire for personal glory and gratification, as I think I demonstrate in my book, by showing the numerous occasions, up until

1645, on which he shrewdly publicised and magnified his own achievements at the expense of those of rivals. At times he was prepared to tell utter untruths, either deliberately or because he had convinced himself of them, to do so. However, I also firmly believe that he had a genuine conviction that he served a cause greater than himself, which was truly that of the God whom he had dedicated his life to obeying. The long series of remarkable turns of fortune (or providence) in his life which advanced his career, as a proponent of his particular ideology, steadily reinforced this conviction. So did the spectacular success which he almost always enjoyed when he exercised his remarkable talents to take full advantage of those opportunities. The problem is how far you believe that the ends (a cause greater than himself) really did justify the means (ruthless and unscrupulous actions) in promoting ideals which were so closely mixed up with his own wellbeing.

If Cromwell had lived longer, do you believe that that the Protectorate would have been secured, or was it flawed from the outset?

I think that had Cromwell lived longer, then the Protectorate would undoubtedly have endured longer, for the simple reason that only the army could overthrow it. I do not believe that it would ever have turned upon him, both because of its traditional loyalty to him as its greatest and most providentially blessed leader, and because in the last analysis he would never have made it feel threatened enough or that he had abandoned its ideals enough, to provoke such a change. The longer-term viability of the Protectorate as a system is a harder question, as it was undermined three times over. First, by its inability, like all Interregnum governments,

to find a Parliament with which it could work, and so tax and legislate, without making the army feel slighted, and so mutinous. Second, by the increasing financial crisis caused by under-taxation in relation to the government's needs (the size of the army and the Spanish war), which only a Parliament could remedy. Third, by the rising religious tensions within the nation, as those who wished to abolish an established Church, with tithes, faced those who wished to retain one, preferably with a monopoly on worship. Ultimately, the regime would have had to adopt a conservative solution to this situation (which would mean alienating the army) or a radical one (removing any chance of representative government).

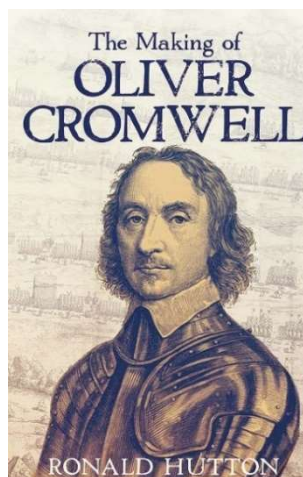
Do you think that the concept of a Cromwell Association is fundamentally misguided? Should we pick up our bat and ball and go home?

Absolutely not. The nation has actually got a great many, surprisingly durable, societies dedicated to the memory of historical figures – literary, artistic, scientific and political – so it seems all the more appropriate to have one for such a unique character in our national story. His general popularity in recent polls only reinforces his relevance to the present, and the fact that he is so divisive as well as so important and remarkable only increases his interest. The Cromwell Association, moreover, is truly a national one, and exceptionally active and practised in promoting study and education, and public engagement, for the simple reason that it is driven by public enthusiasm. It has a clear place in, and relevance to, the contemporary world.

Professor Ronald Hutton
(interviewed by John Goldsmith)

The Making of Oliver Cromwell by Ronald Hutton, Yale University Press, 424pp, 20 colour illus., 10 maps, ISBN 978-0300257458, Hardback (10 August 2021), £25.00

Professor Hutton will be debating aspects of Cromwell with Professor John Morrill at the Association's Study Day in October. See page 5 for details.



The Protector's Pen

Oliver Cromwell and his connections with Ely Cathedral

The Steward family, from which Oliver Cromwell's mother came, had been closely associated with Ely Cathedral since before the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the 1530s and continued their association, for good or ill, until the restoration of King Charles II in 1660.

It all began in 1522 when Robert Steward of Wells was appointed prior of the Benedictine monastery at Ely, which housed 23 monks. He guided the priory and the then re-founded Cathedral through the Reformation and into the reigns of King Edward VI and Queen Mary until his death in 1557. In 1541 he became the first dean of the Cathedral. He was the great uncle of Elizabeth Steward, who married Robert Cromwell in 1591, and were Oliver's parents. History has shown that Dean Steward was an adroit character, surviving enormous changes and not above enriching himself, forging his pedigree and assuming a bogus coat of arms.

The dean claimed, apparently for the first time, that his family were descended from the Royal House of Stuart, although the arms he used, *or a fess chequy argent and azure*, bore no relation to the then Royal Stuart arms of, *a lion rampant gules*.

Nevertheless, he managed to persuade the heralds, with the help of forged documents, of the genuineness of his claim and he was provided with a spurious pedigree and a revised coat of arms. The new arms showed the existing Steward arms of the dean but with an inescutcheon of pretence of the Royal Stuart coat of arms mentioned above, with the addition of an augmentation of honour showing *the lion debriused by a bend raguly or*. The latter referred to an entirely fictitious story about King Charles VI of France granting this to the dean's so called ancestor Alexander Stewart for slaying the lion of Balliol with a ragged staff. This incident was pure invention.

The Steward family, probably as a result of the dean's influence, managed to become the lay rectors of the churches of Holy



Dean Robert Steward's arms

Trinity and St Mary's in Ely, and also his tenants and collectors of the tithes of the many manors and other properties belonging to the dean and chapter of the Cathedral. In 1636, on the death of his uncle Sir Thomas Steward of Ely, Oliver Cromwell succeeded to these positions, thus becoming a wealthy man for the first

time, moving to Ely and able to afford to enter parliament. Yet, although he derived his income as the chief tithe collector for the dean and chapter, he was not a member of the Church of England and never worshipped in Ely Cathedral.

Cromwell shut Ely Cathedral between 1644 and 1660, although a reformed service was permitted in the Lady Chapel as the parish

church of Holy Trinity, but neither he nor his supporters damaged its fabric, the iconoclasm suffered particularly in the Lady Chapel being sanctioned by the notorious Bishop Goodrich at the Reformation.

In 1660 Bishop Wren of Ely was released from the Tower of London after sixteen years, Ely Cathedral was reopened and the Cromwell family's association with it ceased, except for the survival of four notable monuments to the Stewards, which can still be seen.

The oldest of these is to the above-mentioned Dean Robert Steward and comprises a brass floor plate in the south choir aisle bearing a brief Latin inscription to the effect that he was the last prior and first dean, that he was buried nearby and that he died 20th September 1557.

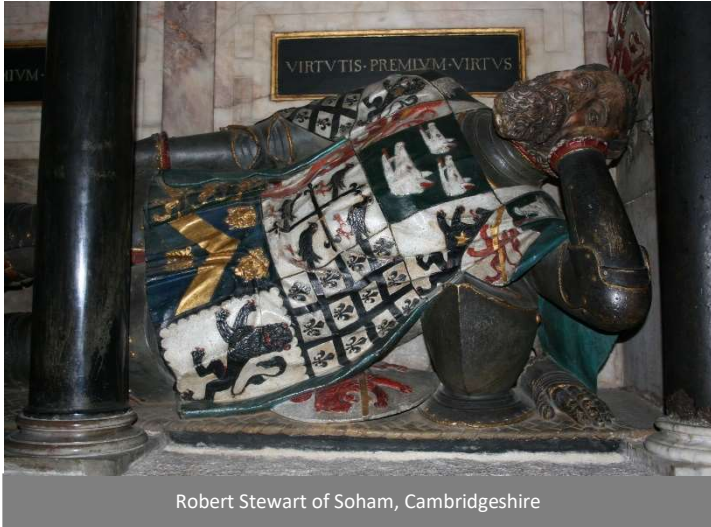
On the north wall of the south choir aisle is a more interesting wall tablet erected by Oliver Cromwell's mother to her first husband – William Lynne of Basingbourne, Cambs – who died on the 22nd July 1589 in his 27th year, to be followed by their only daughter Catherine, born on the 17th March, who died shortly afterwards 'and who now with her father is enjoying eternal joy. For love's sake his most sorrowful wife, Elizabeth, daughter of William Steward, Esquire, of Ely put this in place'. This monument has three heraldic shields. The top one is for William Lynne and his mother's family of Stokes of Kent impaling those of Stewart of Swaffham, Steward, Boreley or Burley of Kent, Walkfare of Norfolk and Baskerville – all families connected with his widow. It was in 1591 that the widow Lynne married Robert Cromwell, their son Oliver being born in 1599.

The third monument to Cromwell's relation is on the south wall of the south choir aisle and is a huge three columned table tomb (cont'd)



Monument to William Lynne of Basingbourne, Cambridgeshire

The Protector's Pen



Robert Stewart of Soham, Cambridgeshire

with a pediment and recumbent effigy to Robert Stewart of Soham, Cambs., dressed in an heraldic tabard bearing coats of arms, who died in 1570. He was the eldest son of Simeon Stewart of Lakenheath, Suffolk, a younger brother of Dean Stewart, and thus a first cousin twice removed of the Lord Protector. This tomb has a shield on the pediment with eleven quarterings for the families of Stewart (two variations) then to nine other families including, Walkfare, Baskerville and Bestney, which appear in the Visitation pedigree, but as to the rest, whilst most of the arms have been identified, there is no apparent connection with the Stewart family. In the early 20th century those notable genealogists Horace Round and Walter Rye had no difficulty in proving that many of these coats of arms and the families allegedly associated with the Stewards were bogus and particularly that the so-called royal descent of the Stewards from the kings of Scotland was sheer invention.

The fourth monument with Cromwellian connections is a little further west of the last one described and is a large, canopied tomb to Sir Mark Steward (1524–1603), also with a life-sized recumbent effigy. He was the younger brother of Robert Stewart, described above, and thus



Tomb of Sir Mark Steward

another cousin of The Protector. He was briefly MP for St Ives and later Stockbridge and married Ann, daughter of Dr Robert Huicke, the Royal Physician.

This monument is covered in heraldry, some of it again very questionable. Above the canopy is a shield bearing 23 quarterings, starting with three different ones for Stewart/Steward and then going on to quarter the arms of other families alleged to have been related. However, whilst some of these appear in the visitation pedigree and seem genuine others are obscure and may be inventions. Some of the same shields are repeated on the three sides of the monument beneath the effigy.



Shields above the canopy of the tomb of Mark Steward

Thus Oliver Cromwell, through his mother's family of Stewart, was closely connected with Ely Cathedral and was doubtless well aware of the family monuments inside it. It is arguable that by more or less closing the cathedral during part of the Civil War and during the Protectorate he ensured that they remained undamaged.

Tim Cockerill

Further reading

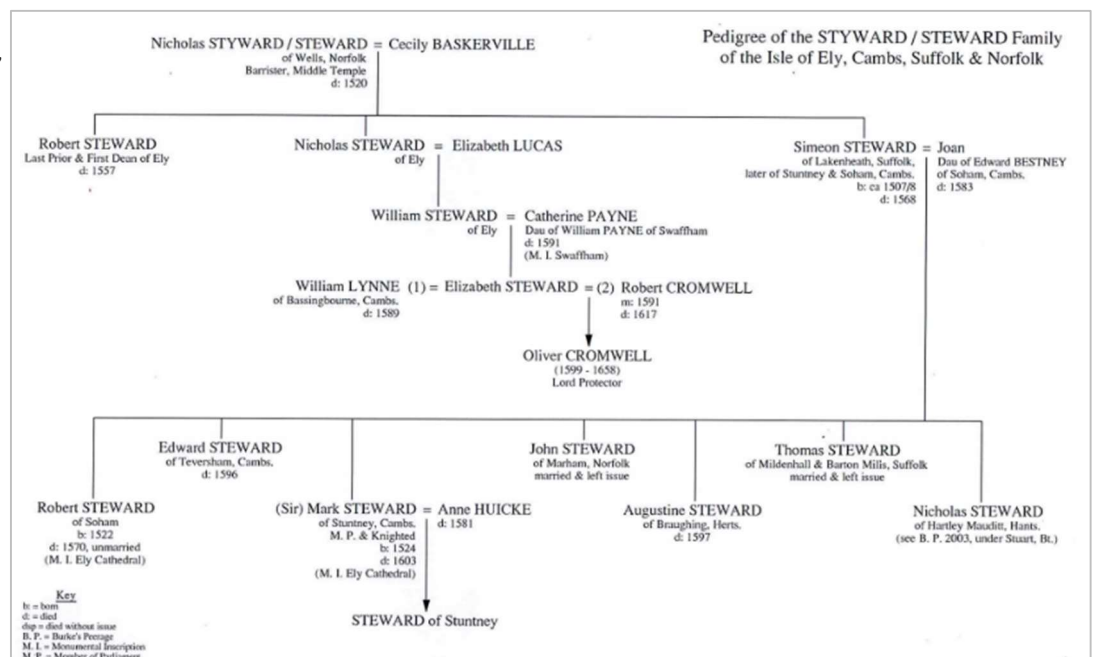
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The Protector's Pen

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Wicked Witches and Honourable Men: The Lancashire Witch Trials, 1612

WEDNESDAY 27 JANUARY 2021
CODY HENRY



Historians Discuss: Is History really black and white? Heroes and Villains in History

WEDNESDAY 20 JANUARY 2021
MICHAEL SEWELL

CavalierCast - The Civil War in Words



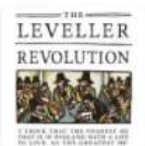
By Mark Turnbull

ITUNES

RSS

EMAIL

ABOUT THIS EPISODE



Episode 17 - The Levellers.

Jan. 27, 2021



00:40:55

ITUNES

RSS

I speak to John Rees about the Levellers; a movement that was 200 years ahead of its time, and who advocated a more democratic outcome to the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. John is a British political activist, academic and writer and one of his books is *The Leveller Revolution*.

- What were the Leveller beliefs and how did their cause develop?
- How did Cromwell betray them?
- John explains the Levellers' impact specifically in 1647 and 1648, and how this affected the outcome of the wars.

This podcast looks at anything and everything to do with the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, which is very much an overlooked part of our history. Hopefully CavalierCast can help change that.

To find out more about the wars, you can read various articles relating to it on my blog: <http://www.allegianceofblood.com>

Please do subscribe to CavalierCast on Apple Podcasts and review it to help spread the word!

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Dominic Sandbrook @dcsandbrook · 10 Jun

Morning. In today's @TheRestHistory, top boffin @TedVallance discusses King John and MAGNA CARTA. Did Magna C really matter? Is it the foundation of our freedoms? And does Prof Vallance know John's dates?

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See the article – **Cromwell Curator's Corner** for full details.

The Mortuary Sword

Uniquely British, the 'mortuary' sword is undoubtedly the most widely known of all Civil War era swords.

According to the antiquary, swordsman and author Egerton Castle (1858–1920), the rather unusual name of these basket-hilts derives from the fact that 'a number of them were made in memory of Charles I and bear his likeness upon the hilt'. Whilst it is certainly true that some hilts do indeed incorporate male faces with 'Van Dyke' moustaches and beards, there is no evidence to suggest they were designed to commemorate the deceased king; particularly as some faces are female. On the contrary, mortuary swords had been in use since the 1630s and were carried by soldiers on both sides of the Civil Wars. Even those few examples which feature crowned heads alongside the monogram 'CR' (Carolus Rex) were probably made during Charles's lifetime and not after. Rather, the medallion-like portraits are part of a decorative tradition which began in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods and continued into the late seventeenth-century as exemplified by so-called 'mortuary chairs' which likewise have no connection to the memorialization of Charles I. In fact, the term 'mortuary sword' does not appear in any seventeenth-century sources (such swords may have simply been known as 'basket hilts') but rather appears to have been coined no earlier than the 1880s. Nonetheless, in order to distinguish this style from other basket hilts of the period, it remains a useful if somewhat misleading term of identification.

The mortuary hilt typically incorporates a dish-shaped guard with central knuckle-guard and two side guards or bars which are screwed into a fig-shaped pommel (Figure 1). These are usually linked to the knuckle-guard by up to three parallel scrolled bars or branches. In place of a quillon, the guard plate extends into a narrow downturned scroll. These features though, are not universal. Other hilts, for instance, lack side guards and simply feature a dish or pair of shell-shaped guards and knuckle-guard, whilst some incorporate fully developed quillons. One notable type incorporates two shell-shaped guards, of roughly equal proportions (occasionally the outer guard is larger), and a shell-shaped swelling near the base of the knuckle-guard. This form, and other hilts of a simple design, have been termed 'proto-mortuary' as they are sometimes thought to pre-date the more 'fully developed' type. However, evidence for this assumption is lacking. Instead, a variety of different mortuary hilts appear to have existed side by side throughout the Civil War period.

The majority of mortuary hilts are made of iron, although there are a few rare copper-alloy examples. Decoration varies enormously from rather crude designs featuring non-descript leaf like motifs and abstract faces, to elaborate schemes incorporating delicate foliate tendrils, human figures and pierced decoration. A number



of designs found on 'munition' or low-quality hilts occur in such numbers that they are sometimes considered to be regulation or 'pattern' models. However, the term is somewhat anachronistic for this period as although standardized designs were used – perhaps indicative of a particular maker or workshop – they were not made to a set of specifications prescribed by a governing body. In fact, the first 'true' pattern swords did not come into service in the British army until the last decades of the eighteenth-century.

Fitted with both broadsword and backsword blades (the latter has a single cutting edge, whereas the broadsword has two), mortuary swords were invariably designed for use by cavalry, and consequently usually have longer blades than those found on a number of infantry swords such as 'hangers' and 'tucks'. Whilst the hilts were made and fitted by craftsmen in England, many of the blades were imported from the continent; particularly Solingen in western Germany which had a long tradition of metal-working. To supplement the comparatively small native sword industry, which was based primarily in London and Birmingham, swordsmiths from Solingen (temporarily residing in the Low Countries due to the economic impact of the Thirty Years War) were also recruited to establish workshops at Hounslow. From 1630 until at least the late 1650s, Hounslow was a going concern; producing thousands of blades firstly for the king and then after 1642 – barring those individuals who had moved to Oxford – for Parliament. Numerous mortuary swords have Hounslow blades including one at Gunnersbury Park Museum which bears the inscription HOVN ME FACIT (Houn[s]low made me). Interestingly, the swords made there are the only significant group of British-made swords from this period that are marked with their place of production.

In total, roughly 18 swords are associated with Cromwell (the number continues to grow), of which the majority are of mortuary type. One of the most richly decorated examples is on long term loan to the Cromwell Museum from the Bush family; descendants through the female line of Oliver's fourth son Henry Cromwell (Figure 2).

(cont'd)

Figure 1. Example of a mortuary basket hilt formed of a central knuckle-guard and two side guards linked together with two parallel scrolled branches on either side. © Royal Armouries IX.220

The Protector's Pen



Figure 2. Hilt detail of one of the two mortuary swords on loan to The Cromwell Museum, Huntingdon, showing two cuirassiers engaging in combat. © The Cromwell Museum B042

Unlike many of the swords which only have a tenuous association with the Protector, this sword along with a second, also loaned to the Cromwell Museum by the Bush family, is one of the few that can confidently be ascribed to him. Beautifully decorated, the hilt has been silvered and gilt and features cartouches portraying cuirassiers and harquebusiers together with a shield bearing Cromwell's crest and coat of arms. Six male and female medallion heads are arranged around the pommel and at the centre of each side guard. The blade is of broadsword type and bears the inscription:

(C)LEMENS:WILMS:SOLIGN/ANDRIA:FARARA/(C)LEMENS:WILMS:OLINGEN on one face and
(CLE)MENS:WILMS:IHN/FARARA/(CLE)MENS:WILMS:IHN on the other (Figure 3).

Unfortunately, nothing is known of Clemens Willems, however, the name Andrea Ferrara often appears upon German blades. A noted 16th century north Italian swordsmith, his name continued to be added to 17th century blades as an indication of supposed high quality. Given its overall appearance, it is certainly tempting to identify this sword with the 'large sword' Cromwell wore at his side during an audience with the Venetian ambassador in 1655.



Figure 3. The blade of the sword bears the names of both 'Andria Farara' and 'Clemens Wilms' of Solingen. © The Cromwell Museum B042

Figure 4. Hilt of the 'Drogheda sword'. The japanned decoration may be a later addition. © Royal Armouries IX.1096

One of the most famous mortuary swords associated with Oliver Cromwell is the one he is reputed to have carried at the siege of Drogheda in 1649. Kept at the Royal Armouries in Leeds, it features an unusual black japanned pierced iron hilt embellished with gilded trailing foliage together with trophies of arms on the pommel (Figure 4).

The use of black and gold certainly makes it an attractive piece, however, the inclusion of a Union flag suggests the decoration may not be contemporary with Cromwell, but rather post-dates 1707 (it is possible though, that the Union flag was used at times by the army prior to this date, as it had been used by the navy since the reign of James VI and I). Quite why this was done – if this belief is correct – is not altogether clear but it may have been an attempt to strengthen the sword's provenance. Whether the sword was indeed owned by Cromwell is difficult to ascertain, but its donation to the Royal United Services Museum in 1848 by one of his collateral descendants suggests it is a possibility.

Unlike English rapiers, which are fairly well represented in art of the early to mid-17th century, there are surprisingly no clear depictions of mortuary swords. Given the large number of surviving examples, this omission might seem surprising. However, it can in part be explained by the fact that swords are rarely given prominence in portraits; indeed, in many instances the position of the sitter completely obscures the left-hand side of the body. One of the most important factors though is that the rapier, above all swords, was considered by some to be 'the finest plume of a great man' and therefore possessed a greater symbolic value than the more workmanlike mortuary sword. However, it is this latter sword, with its romantic associations with the cult of King Charles the Martyr, which has become the iconic weapon of the period. It is therefore unsurprising, but somewhat ironic given this fact, that the sword Thornycroft chose to depict on his statue of Cromwell outside the Houses of Parliament is a mortuary sword.



Keith Downen

Assistant Curator, Royal Armouries

<https://royalarmouries.org/venue/royal-armouries-museum/>

ROYAL ARMOURIES

The Protector's Pen

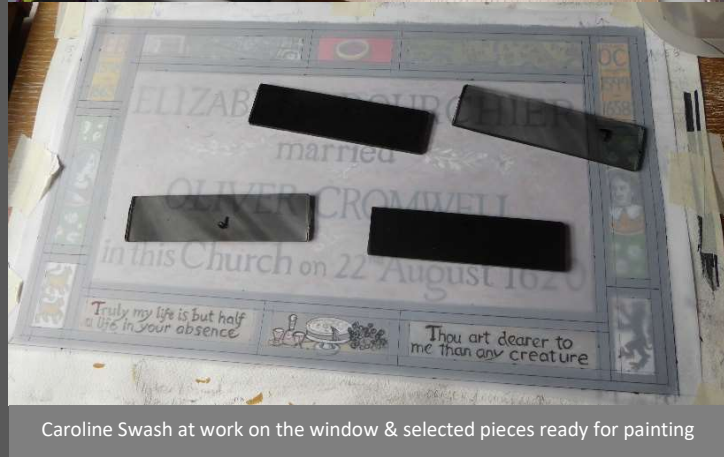
The new Cromwell window at St Giles' Cripplegate

In the last issue of *The Protector's Pen* the commissioning of a new glass panel at St Giles' Cripplegate was reported, and enclosed with the mailing was a card of the design. The panel celebrates the wedding of Oliver to Elizabeth in the church in 1620.

At the time this edition went to press, the panel had not been completed, but the work is very well advanced. The window in the north aisle, where the panel is to be placed, has been altered to accommodate it, and the individual pieces that make up the panel completed. It is akin to making a jig-saw in glass.

A date for a service of dedication for the panel has not yet been arranged, but when it is details will be communicated to all members, so hopefully we can gather together and see the finished work *in situ*.

As comments on the design were so complimentary, the Association decided to have silk scarves made with the design digitally printed on them. The finished scarves will measure approximately 27 x 138 cm (10 x 54 in) with a price to members of £25. More details can be found on the order form enclosed with this mailing. Buying a scarf is an excellent way to support the Association and may just be the perfect gift, either for yourself, or someone else.

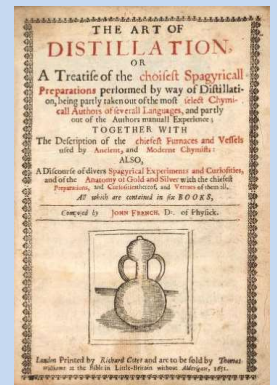


Caroline Swash at work on the window & selected pieces ready for painting



Recipe from 1651

Seedlip made its debut in Selfridges four years ago – inspired by a recipe from 1651 in *The Art of Distillation*. Distilled from seeds and herbs with a flavour profile similar to gin, it mixes well with tonic.



Antonia Fraser article

This is specifically about about Caroline Norton – a married woman who in the 1840s campaigned for mothers to have rights over their children and later, for their property rights. But also provides an insight into how she feels 'optical research in history' (going to see a place!) can help better understand the history of the event or place: from visits to battlefields with her husband for her book on Oliver Cromwell to the historic oak (Boscobel) where Charles hid after his defeat at the Battle of Worcester in 1651.

i Paper, 8 May 2021

Archaeology and the Battle of Dunbar 1650

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"Cromwell's" jug sells at auction

In March *The Antiques Trade Gazette* reported the sale in Dorset of a black leather tankard, but more accurately a jug, made 'from the hide of Cromwell's warhorse'. It sold for £7,400 against an estimate of £4,000–6,000.

This is the same item that made an appearance on the BBC's *Antiques Road Show* several years ago where an 'expert' pronounced it genuine. The evidence for its authenticity is thin, to the point of non-existence, and the provenance barely credible. The fact that more than one of these items exists is explained away by the statement that it is 'one of a dozen made' and the silver mounts with Cromwell's name and motto are 'a later antiquarian improvement'.

Caveat emptor indeed!

John Goldsmith



The Protector's Pen

Cromwell's Body: Part 3

The name of Cromwell's daughter, Mary, Lady Fauconberg, is a common factor running through all the various theories and legends about where his body may now lie.

According to Dean Swift, who knew her, she bore a noticeable resemblance to her famous father and was always ready to challenge anyone who spoke contemptuously about him. Like her father, she had limited patience with fools. Latterly she lived in Chiswick, then a rural village near London, with her sister Frances (Lady Rich, later Lady Russell). She constructed a spacious burial vault for herself at St Nicholas's Parish Church. Mary showed a special devotion to this church, endowing it with a peal of five bells and paying for some repairs. After she and her sister had died and been laid to rest in it, the vault was sealed; no-one else could be buried there, nor was it possible to look into the vault.

In the late nineteenth century a gap reportedly opened in the wall, which made it briefly possible to look into the vault. This could have been due to subsidence, a flood or building works; it is a matter of record that the church was substantially rebuilt in 1882–1884.

Whatever the cause, to his surprise the vicar reportedly saw three, not two, coffins inside the Fauconberg vault. The largest showed signs of rough usage. This coffin could have been Oliver Cromwell's. The damage that it seemed to have sustained would have been

consistent with its unceremonious ejection from Westminster Abbey by workmen and soldiers, its transportation to Newburgh Priory and its later return to the London area. No investigation was carried out, however. The vicar had the gap in the wall bricked up again as soon as possible, for fear of attracting 'the wrong kind of pilgrim'. Later vicars of Chiswick, including the present one, have been reticent about the contents of the vault.

Would Cromwell himself have cared greatly about any of this? It seems unlikely. When Samuel Pepys raised with one of Cromwell's chaplains, Jeremiah White, the possibility that Cromwell might have arranged for a substitute corpse to be placed in his 'official' tomb in Westminster Abbey, for fear of posthumous reprisals, White answered that 'he never had so poor a low thought in him to trouble himself about it.'

That does not, of course, exclude the possibility that others of his family might have had such thoughts. Equally, he would not have been surprised at the fate of his remains. The last prayer of Oliver Cromwell contains the following request to God:

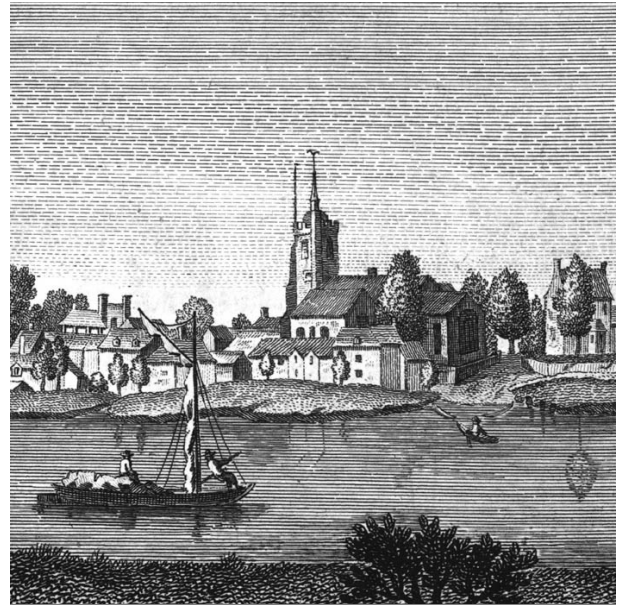
'Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are thy people too.'

Meanwhile the restless ghosts of Cromwell's daughters have been reported still to walk in St Nicholas's churchyard. No local legend relates why they should patrol there.

It may be of interest that, while the Cromwell surname survives, it is by no means common. However, none of the modern Cromwells can claim descent from Lord Protector Oliver. As noted earlier, the last of the male line of Cromwell, Oliver Cromwell of Cheshunt Park, was a descendant of Lord Protector Oliver's fourth son, Henry Cromwell. He died in 1820. He had no sons but one daughter, Elizabeth Oliveria Cromwell, who was the last direct descendant of the Protector to bear the name Cromwell. Her husband, Thomas Artemidorus Russell, repeatedly applied for permission to take his wife's name and arms. Each petition was vetoed by George III, reportedly with the words, 'No, no; no more Cromwells!'

Alistair Kerr

Editor's note, further reading: <https://www.mysteriousbritain.co.uk/hauntings/st-nicholass-churchyard-chiswick/>
https://www.hertsmemories.org.uk/content/herts-history/places/historic-houses/cheshunt_park_and_the_cromwells-2



St Nicholas's Parish Church, Chiswick.
(Image from Brentford and Chiswick Local Historical Society website)

The Protector's Pen



I am involved with a local history project, called 'Our Warwickshire' (<https://www.ourwarwickshire.org.uk/>) which is about recording Warwickshire's history. The site is divided into different categories, which includes time periods, subjects and locations. Anyone can get involved and you do as much or as little as you like, there is no obligation.

I usually use the locations section where they ask if you have any anecdotes which you have either

experienced personally, second hand or if it is a well-known piece of local history. A lot of sites of historic interest still need photographs – which you are invited to submit. You can also make comments about historic sites and photographs.

Edgehill is in South Warwickshire, so there are obviously sites associated with Oliver Cromwell and the battle. I submitted an article, 'Ghostly happenings after the Battle of Edgehill' about how if you went up there around midnight on the anniversary of the conflict, then you would see a ghostly re-enactment of the battle. Another local story is that Oliver Cromwell turned up late for the battle, and climbed up to the top of All Saints' Church, in



All Saints Church, Burton Dassett
(image from ourwarwickshire.org.uk, Ian Spencer, 2018)



King Charles' mound
(courtesy Gary Stocker)

nearby Burton Dassett to look for it (I added that in as a comment about All Saints' Church). Something, which I also learned from the site is a mound on the

Tysoe Road going out the village of Radway, where King Charles is said to have watched the battle from (at least two other sites claim similar!).

So if you have any Warwickshire connections, the site is worth having a look at. Perhaps you might learn something new and, maybe, contribute something yourself!

Gary Stocker

<https://www.ourwarwickshire.org.uk/content/article/ghostly-happenings-after-the-battle-of-edgehill>

In this year...1640

A summary of events in the last 6 months . . .

- Jul** Strafford's Irish army assembles at Carrickfergus in preparation for invading Scotland.
The Army of the Covenant begins to muster.
- Aug 02** The Earl of Argyll besieges Dumbarton Castle to prevent Strafford's Irish army from landing in Scotland.
- Aug 03** The Committee of Estates unanimously decides to mount a pre-emptive invasion of England.
The Earl of Strafford appointed Captain-General of the Irish army which the King still expects to invade Scotland.
- Aug 20** The Army of the Covenant crosses the Tweed and marches into England.
- Aug 23** The King arrives in York.
- Aug 28** The battle of Newburn; Lord Conway fails to prevent the Covenanters from crossing the River Tyne. The English army abandons Newcastle and withdraws to Durham.
Twelve English peers sign a petition drafted by John Pym and Oliver St John calling for a new Parliament in England.
- Sep 04** The Covenanters send their demands to King Charles at York. The King agrees to negotiate providing the Scottish army advances no further into England.
- Sep 24** King Charles convenes the Great Council of Peers at York. The peers unanimously advise him to call a truce with the Scots and summon a Parliament.
- Oct 26** The Treaty of Ripon ends the Bishops' Wars.
- Nov 03** Desperately short of money, King Charles summons The Long Parliament.
- Nov 07** MPs from around the country begin to present petitions against various aspects of the King's government.
- Nov 09** Oliver Cromwell presents a petition for the release of John Lilburne.
- Nov 11** The Earl of Strafford impeached by Parliament.
- Nov 13** John Lilburne released from the Fleet prison.
- Dec 07** The House of Commons declares ship-money to be an illegal tax.
- Dec 11** The Root and Branch Petition submitted to the Long Parliament.
- Dec 18** Impeachment by the House of Commons of Archbishop Laud for high treason.
- Dec 21** Impeachment of Lord Keeper Finch and other judges who had upheld ship-money. Finch flees abroad.
- Dec 30** The Scottish commissioners agree to drop their demand that 'Incendiaries' who had caused the recent wars should be liable to punishment by the Parliaments of England and Scotland.



BCW PROJECT

British Civil Wars, Commonwealth & Protectorate 1638-1660

Full timeline can be found at: <http://bcw-project.org/>
Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0)

The Protector's Pen

Cromwell Curator's Corner

We are back! (COVID-19 regulations permitting at least...) I am delighted to say that the Museum reopened on 19 May and, so far, has been welcoming lots of visitors who have been keen to see us in the wake of the latest lockdown.

We have also expanded our team and are delighted to welcome Kristina Kapitza as our new Learning and Communities Officer. Kristina's role is to develop and expand on our education offer to all ages, as well as seek to engage many more local people in the Museum's work.

Until August we have not one, but two temporary displays, both within and without the Museum. The new display inside tells the story of the 'Trial of the Huntingdon Nine'; what happened when nine women and men from Huntingdonshire were accused of Witchcraft in 1646 by the infamous 'Witchfinder General' Matthew Hopkins.



The exhibition looks at the Witchfinder trials in Huntingdon in the 16th Century.
(credit: The Cromwell Museum)

Around Huntingdon Town Centre we also have replicas of many of the paintings in the Museum's collections, displayed at historic or unusual locations. This town centre art trail can be followed using a free map or family activity sheet available from the Museum, or by listening to an audio guide using the free Smartify app downloaded to your smartphone or tablet. This is a great way to explore the town on a sunny day as well as draw attention to some of our collections and relate them to some of the Cromwell sites around the town. This exhibit has been kindly supported with a grant from the Art Fund.

We continue also to generate more videos via our YouTube channel to keep you entertained and informed from home, whilst sales on our new online shop have been very busy with sales of

Mrs Cromwell's cookbook; copies of which have now been sent as far as Canada, Brazil, Russia, Australia, Israel, and every state of the United States! A reminder that you can still get your own copy via our website www.cromwellmuseum.org and that Cromwell Association members get a 10% discount on all purchases if they use the discount code **CromwellMembers** as part of their purchase.



Later in the year we are going to be hosting a special exhibition on Cromwell's navy, and have just confirmed our line-up for our popular programme of autumn online lectures on Cromwell. These will again be via Zoom but recorded for ticket holders to view again afterwards should they wish. This autumn's programme will be:

- Wednesday 3 November at 7.30pm – Dr Alan Marshall on 'Intelligence, Espionage and the Cromwellian Protectorate'
- Wednesday 10 November at 7.30pm – Dr Rebecca Warren on 'God's Architect: Oliver Cromwell and the Construction of the Godly Church'



- Wednesday 17 November at 7.30pm – Dr Linda Porter on '“The tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld”: Oliver Cromwell and the children of Charles I'
- Wednesday 24 November at 7.30pm – Prof Ronald Hutton on 'Oliver Cromwell: Saint or Sinner?'

Tickets for these talks will be on sale from the beginning of July via the Museum's website at: www.cromwellmuseum.org, where you can also keep up to date with what we're up to, or via our social media:

 [@thecromwellmuseum](https://www.facebook.com/thecromwellmuseum)
 [@museumcromwell](https://twitter.com/museumcromwell)

www.youtube.com/c/CromwellMuseum

Stuart Orme,
Curator, The Cromwell Museum



The Protector's Pen

Twitterbox

This month, a few select tweets from a quick search of twitter in May & June....



Lisa Tulfers - writer & blogger @... · 8 Jun ...
And what a fantastic talk this was! Hearing #OliverCromwell described by the great Professor Ronald Hutton as 'slippery and untrustworthy' was priceless. Thanks to @DunklingJudith for flagging this up. (Recording available if you missed it, I gather). #history @HistoricChapels

HistoricChapelsTrust @Historic... · 2 Jun
Join us and @TheCCT colleagues for our next #ChapelTalk, Tuesday 8th June @ 6pm. We are delighted to be joined by Professor Ronald Hutton, who will be talking about the life of #OliverCromwell. Register for the talk at zoom.us/join/registr...



Miranda Malins @MirandaMalins · 19h
BUZZING! One of my favourite authors @Robert_Harris has revealed he is writing a novel set in the #englishcivilwar 🙌 My political novels #ThePuritanPrincess & #TheRebelDaughter will be in the best company 🥰 The #17thcentury is SO HOT right now 🙌🙌 #books amp.theguardian.com/books/2021/jul... ✓

What books are on your bedside table?
I'm writing a novel about the English civil war, so I'm reading Pepys's diary and the speeches of Oliver Cromwell. Also, Carlyle's letters are there.

The Guardian, 3 July 2021



Waterford In Your Pocket @W... · 11 Jun ...
Quote of the Day

By Hook or by Crooke

- Oliver Cromwell

It is believed that this common phrase originated from a vow made by Oliver Cromwell in the 17th century to take the City of Waterford either by Hook on the eastern side of the Waterford Estuary or by Crooke to the west



History Trail @HistoryTrail · 11 Jun ...
Now a coffee house, this #Stirling building was thought to be the home of #LordDarnley, husband of #MaryQueenOfScots. It's also the place where town authorities surrendered to #OliverCromwell's men in 1651



The Sealed Knot @Sealed_Knot · 10 May ...
Professor Peter Gaunt's discussion of Civil War marches, war-time journeys and the hardships of soldiers involved in the campaign. This Friday, 14 May. #history #CivilWar



Far and Away: Fighting, Campaigning and Travelling in the English Civil War
nam.ac.uk



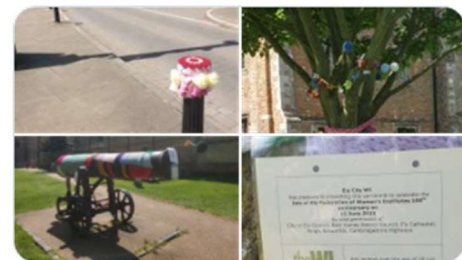
HistoryofParliament @HistParl · 14 Jun ...
#OTD 1645, the Battle of Naseby.

This decisive battle in the First English Civil War saw the New Model Army, led by Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell, secure clear victory over Charles I's Royalist force. Subsequently, The King's army struggled to repair itself.



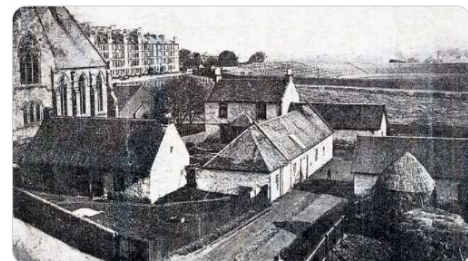
Heritage, Culture & Communi... · 14 Jun ...
Battle of Naseby #otd 1645 - 1st English Civil War, near Naseby, Northants. The Parliamentary New Model Army, commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax & Oliver Cromwell, destroyed the main Royalist army under Charles & Prince Rupert. Statue of Oliver Cromwell. hccprojectsvirtualmuseum

Ely Island Pie @ElyIslandPie · 8 Jun ...
Loving the yarn bombing by the two Ely branches of the WI, on the Cathedral Green, outside Oliver Cromwell's House and St Mary's Street! #Ely



Lost Glasgow @LostGlasgow · Jun 14 ...
Hampden Park in its 'hay' day. #EURO2020 🇪🇺

Incredibly, the two-storey building at the rear, Clincart farmhouse, still stands today, providing a clubhouse and changing facilities for the Lesser Hampden ground.



Lost Glasgow @LostGlasgow · Jun 14 ...
The ground takes its name from nearby Hampden Terrace which, ironically, is named after English Parliamentary Civil War soldier, John Hampden - a cousin of Oliver Cromwell.

Mark Turnbull Author
6 June at 00:45 · 📍

ON THIS DAY IN 1648. PONTEFRAC. 20 royalists surprise the castle and capture it after arriving 'with Corn, with Frocks upon them, under pretence to relieve and victual the Castle; who having Arms under their Frocks, seized upon [the castle's] main Guard'. Parliamentary troops from Wales are called upon and the castle was eventually retaken in March 1649, following the execution of King Charles I and after a siege led by Lieutenant-General Oliver Cromwell. It was ordered t... See more



The Protector's Pen

On my bookshelf

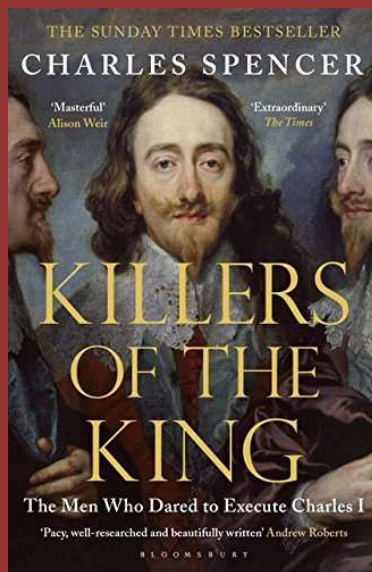


We all have books on our shelves (or possibly in our e-readers) that were published a little, or sometimes a long, while ago, but that we think may be of interest to other Association members and may have passed them by. So, in this issue a new feature has been introduced, *On my bookshelf*, where a member can enthuse about a book that has caught their interest and imagination. Thanks to Serrie Meakins for kicking off what is hoped will be a regular feature.

Killers of the King by Charles Spencer

Knowing my tastes, my son gave me a copy of *Killers of the King* for Christmas. Despite Republican tendencies, I have always rather admired Charles Spencer's writing. He combines careful research with a cracking style, thereby producing books that are entertaining, illuminating and memorable. This one lived up to expectations. Vivacious, colourful writing told the exciting story of Charles II's escape after the Battle of Worcester, supported by contemporary extracts from the likes of Samuel Pepys and even Charles himself. The amount of research was evidenced by the fulsome notes and bibliography at the end of the book.

I was worried that Spencer would allow his telling of an adventure story to outweigh balancing the various, sometimes conflicting, accounts, but he managed to tread a careful path. Clearly, when re-creating a timeline, the author needs to avoid the danger of confusing the reader with too frequent time slips, especially when Charles and Wilmot were separated, and though occasionally ponderous, in the main Spencer managed this well. From time to time, he succumbed to 'purple prose', [for example Neil MacLeod who betrayed Montrose 'sold his name to infamy'; really?] and occasionally Spencer allows a diversion to enter the narrative when he is particularly interested in something. A great example are the wonderful insights into the man who constructed many of the priest-holes in English homes, Nicholas Owen. Owen was a poor carpenter, lame from youth and in constant pain, who built different shaped hideaways in several of the great houses in England as a testimony to his faith. Spencer quotes at length from another Jesuit priest's account of the torments he had endured under interrogation, before going on to marvel that Owen revealed nothing despite being put to terrible torture. He even noted that Owen was canonised in 1970!



However, I suspect many readers forgive him his enthusiasm because it was a very diverting diversion! As in his other books, Spencer has a gift for explaining complex events in a very accessible way. He lays out the complexities of the Battle of Worcester with great clarity and simplicity. This must help the general reader and the reader unfamiliar with the times to understand the period. However, he rarely 'dumbs down' so even readers familiar with the events find much to enjoy. I also felt that his reconstruction of the personality of Charles II was spot on. During the famous oak tree episode, he commented on Charles's ability to inspire devotion. Yet he also recounted an episode when Charles, on the run, asked his host for meat for dinner – the poor man and his wife had none and had to poach a sheep, at great risk to themselves, to satisfy the unheeding king's desire. His description of Wilmot, whilst stressing his devotion to the king in flight, also stresses his debauchery and his recklessness. Generally, throughout the book Spencer treats all the characters, Royalist and Parliamentarian with a judicious sense of balance. The only time this slips is his treatment of Major General Harrison, who he seems to really dislike, constantly talking about his 'brutality' his 'dark reputation', his 'utter ruthlessness'. Still, everyone can have their foibles.

In the main, this was an excellent read, with some really memorable characters. I had heard of the Penderel brothers and Jane Lane and so on, but this book made them into real people. I liked the fact that the final chapter recounts what happens to all those who helped Charles in his escape. The author makes it plain that the five months on the run were probably the most exciting of Charles's life and the people who helped him were ridiculously brave. Even so, many of them failed to receive the pensions they were granted after the Restoration. Rather a good, final comment on Charles II, I felt!

Serrie Meakins

Charles Spencer, *Killers of the King*, Bloomsbury 2015, ISBN: 978-1408851777, Paperback, 352pp, £11.69

If you would like to submit an article for *On my bookshelf*, please contact chair@olivercromwell.org

Forthcoming title of interest

The Forgotten General, a short biography about Sir Thomas Fairfax, by Dr David Dougan will be published in the autumn.

To register your interest please contact David at daviddougan1@msn.com

David (who has been a member of the Association for over ten years) has written three other books about this period, copies of which are housed in the Cromwell Collection at Huntingdon Library.

The Protector's Pen

Book Reviews



A History of Death in 17th Century England

by Ben Norman

This is the first book written by Ben Norman, and, although it may sound strange to say, I found it a delight to read. I initially read the book in chronological order but it would be equally easy to dip in and out, and there is good use of relevant art works to complement the text.

When I initially heard about this book, it was of particular interest to me as I have worked in the funeral industry for many years, and I find it the most rewarding career so far in my working life.

Norman states that death is something everyone will be guaranteed to experience during their lifetime. Today we see less babies dying at birth and during the early stages of life compared to the 17th century. In addition, women are much less likely to commit infanticide of their 'bastard child or children' as they did in previous times, due to changes in attitude (albeit relatively recently). In 1634, the Cheshire vicar Edward Burghall reported how a woman killed her own daughter and, aided by her son, buried the girl in a pit. In 1682, a mother from Flintshire, Wales, was so desperate to bury her 'bastard infant' that she used a heap of stones in a churchyard to bury her child. The baby did not stay buried for long and the mother was executed.

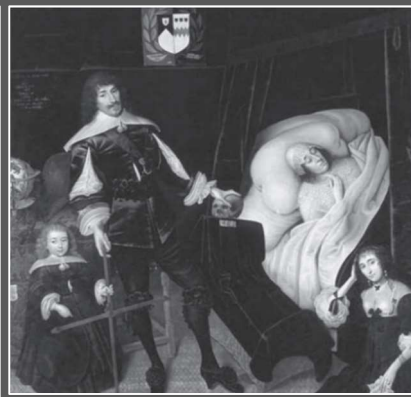
Other prejudices were rife. Norman writes how the corpse of the wife of John Elams of Halifax, who had died during childbirth, was refused a plot

in the churchyard in 1678 because she had identified as a Quaker whilst alive. It was not clear where the body was taken but it was stated that in the same year, Mr Henry Wadsworth, a great Quaker, was buried in his garden at the age of 66. It is still possible today to request to be buried in your garden. The law is contained in the Burial Laws Amendment Act 1880. You need to obtain consent from your local authority to enable the burial to take place.

It was intriguing to read about the many natural causes of death during the 17th century and the age at which people died may have been affected by where they lived. Many death pits have been discovered from where people had been buried together after dying from the plague.

Cancer was of course a disease during the 17th century just as now, but was inadequately understood. It was often misdiagnosed as other ailments. For example, the uncle of Isaac Archer died in 1673 from a sore in his cheek, which he supposed was cancer, as he had watched it eat his cheek away. Many surgeries were carried out to try and remove the cancers; however, it was risky, painful and often unsuccessful.

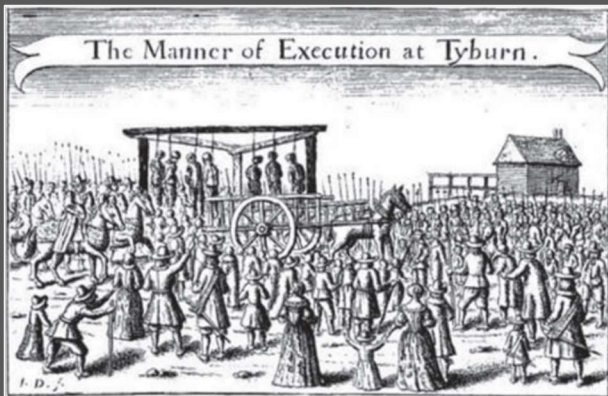
The process of embalming during this century is also explored. This was clearly regarded as an important procedure among elite circles. Today, this process is still offered but it comes at an additional cost, so it remains for families who can afford it – if they so wish.



The Diseases and Casualties this Week.

Abruptive	6	King's evil	10
Aged	54	Lethargy	1
Apoplexie	1	Murdered at Stepney	1
Bedridden	1	Pallie	1
Cancer	3	Plague	3880
Childbed	23	Plurisie	1
Chronics	15	Quinsie	6
Colick	1	Rickets	23
Consumption	174	Riding of the Lightes	19
Convulsion	58	Rupture	2
Droptic	40	Sciatice	1
Drowned 2, one at St. Kath's Tower, and one at Lambeth	2	Scouring	13
Fever	313	Scurvy	1
Fistula	1	Sore leggs	1
Flox and Small-pox	10	Spotted Fever and Purples	190
Flux	3	Starved at Nurfe	8
Found dead in the Street at St. Bartholomew the Less	1	Stillborn	1
Frighted	1	Stone	2
Gangrene	1	Stopping of the Stomach	16
Gout	1	Strangury	1
Grief	1	Suddenly	1
Gripping in the Guts	74	Surfeit	87
Hemistie	1	Teeth	113
Impolthame	18	Thrush	3
Infants	22	Tifick	6
Kidney a fall down stairs at St. Thomas Apollis	1	Ulcer	2
Male	81	Vomiting	7
Female	81	Winde	8
In all	166	Wormes	18
Increased in the Buriall this Week	1289		
Parishes clear of the Plague	34		
Parishes Infected	98		

The Office of Bread for Week by Order of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen. A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.



Clockwise from top left: Death in battle – Marston Moor (John Barker, Public domain) Deathbed – Sir Thomas Aston's first wife, Magdalene Poulteney (Manchester Art Gallery, Public Domain) Death by Disease (Wellcome Collection CC BY) Death by Murder – Sir Edmund Godfrey (Sylvanus Urban, Public Domain) State Funeral – Cromwell at Somerset House (Wellcome Collection CC BY) Death by Execution (Abraham Storck, Public Domain)

The Protector's Pen

Ordinary folk would often be wrapped in a shroud made of Holland cloth or another plain material. This was modest and in most cases the ordinary sheets from the domestic supply of the deceased would be used. Sometimes shrouds were bought new for the occasion. The cost of printer Cantrell Legges 'winding sheet' was five shillings in Cambridge in 1625. In rare instances there was a request for a splash of colour – the best crimson plush was requested for John Mellege of Poole in his will (1632). It is interesting to note how families often say they must look at the last wishes of their loved ones in their will before making any decisions for their funeral, even today.

During the 17th century it often fell to the women or the poor to dress and cover the corpse. The use of a coffin was less ritualized – this was considered to be a luxury by most of the population. It was only in the early years of the 1600s that coffin usage began to grow in England, often being viewed as an indulgence of the well-off and more a practical way to dispose of the dead. It is surprising to read that coffins continued to be considered as symbols of social superiority even after their popularity had soared. In 1627, Sir Joseph Hayes of Ubbeston, a well-heeled Suffolk knight, requested that five yards of black cloth be laid on his coffin immediately after his death. Most could not afford to have their coffin adorned; this addition showed wealth and status. Subtle touches like this separated 'the haves from the have-nots', reinforcing hierarchal systems in every parish. However, the significance of the coffin was to provide a storage place for a decaying body. Norman explains how it was often tricky to get this into the coffin and how they talked about the stench being intolerable. Frankincense was burned in the room to alleviate the smell, but this did very little, with the fumes affecting every room in the house.

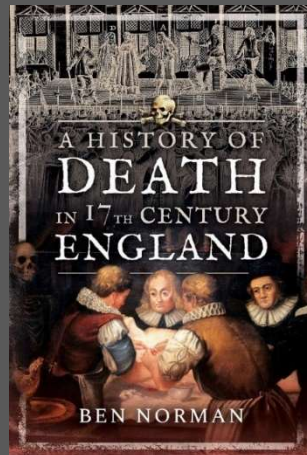
The author discusses how rituals were beginning to change in the 1600s. Social attitudes were becoming less tolerant towards the sight of dead bodies. Society became more cultured and edged towards the enlightenment of the 18th century. This saw a change of how the dead were prepared for burial. This was undoubtedly because of the change of religious beliefs. The long-established Catholic customs were being taken over by Protestant doctrine in England. Age-old traditions were disappearing, such as the tolling of bells to announce a death. In Oxford in 1683, during an outbreak of smallpox, officials temporarily banned the tradition as too many people dying would frighten others away from the city and cause trading to drop.

Families today and in the past still have funerals relevant to their social status, religion and affordability. Indeed, whilst we have been encountering death during the present pandemic, challenging reasons have forced us to make different choices for our deceased, such as choosing a direct cremation with the ashes being returned to the family for a memorial at a later date. But thankfully, in the UK, not to the extent of using burial pits, as described during the plagues of the 17th century.

In 1935, the British Undertakers Association took over organising funerals, rebranding itself as the National Association of Funeral Directors. However, I note that today there is currently still no legislation which regulates the specific activities of funeral directors in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, although there is some general legislation and guidance in relation to health and safety.

This book is very well written, being informative and clearly set out. The sources Norman used helped me understand how people dealt with and reacted to death during the 17th century, and I was able to relate this to my current experiences today within the funeral sector.

Kirstie McQuillan



Ben Norman, ***A History of Death in 17th Century England***, 208pp, Pen & Sword History, 2021, ISBN: 978-1526755261, Paperback, £11.99

Cromwell Cider?

Association member Rob Kendrick has been in touch to report that he found another Cromwell related alcoholic drink – a Cromwell cider – pressed by the Pembrokeshire Cider Company see <https://pembrokeshirecider.co.uk/>

Called Cromwell 1648, to mark Cromwell's siege of Pembroke Castle in that year, it joins two other named ciders produced by the same company, Henry VII and William Marshal. As yet Rob has provided no tasting notes, so it joins a list of other alcoholic drinks promoted with the Cromwell name. Cromwell Gin is alas no more, but there have been beers, a Huntingdonshire cider, and horror of horrors a British fortified wine. (Ed. OK, I am a wine snob).



As yet no list of Cromwell related non-alcoholic drinks springs to mind. Cromwell Choc-a-Milk anyone?

Tree that hid Charles II turns over a new leaf

The home of the tree where Charles II famously hid after the Battle of Worcester in 1651, has been given a makeover to restore the landscape as it was during the Civil War.



The Royal Oak, Boscobel
(© Jeff Buck <https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/6280890> (CC BY-SA 2.0))

The Times, 9 April 2021

Today, the lost oak pasture has been restored including trees propagated from the original Royal Oak. The tallest oak you see here is the oldest descendant and beside it, is a replacement grown from an acorn of the oak, which was planted by the Prince of Wales in 2001, on the 350th anniversary of Charles's visit.

From: <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/boscobel-house-and-the-royal-oak/>

