

# Cromwelliana



The Cromwell Association

1990

## The Cromwell Association

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- (b) helping to establish the Cromwell Museum in the Old Grammar School at Huntingdon;
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## CROMWELLIANA 1990

edited by Peter Gaunt

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### CONTENTS

	page
CROMWELL'S DAY 1989. By Robert Ashton	2
STRANGE BEDFELLOWS: OLIVER CROMWELL, JOHN GOODWIN AND THE CRISIS OF CALVINISM. By Tom Webster	7
GOD'S ENGLISHMAN: OLIVER CROMWELL. Part One. By Glyn Brace Jones	17
HER HIGHNESS'S COURT. By Sarah Jones	20
OLIVER CROMWELL AND SWEDEN'S KING CHARLES X GUSTAVUS: ENGLAND, SWEDEN AND THE PROTESTANT INTERNATIONAL. By Bertil Haggman	25
BEATING UP QUARTERS. By Keith Roberts	29
THE MATCHLESS ORINDA: MRS KATHERINE PHILIPS, 1631-64. By John Atkins	33
CROMWELLIAN FACT IN MALDON, ESSEX. By Michael Byrd	35
CROMWELLIAN BRITAIN III: APPLEBY, CUMBRIA.	37
THE GREAT STORM: 16 OCTOBER 1987. By Raymond Tong	41
BOOK REVIEWS. By Peter Gaunt & Ivan Roots	42
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLICATIONS 1988-89. By Stephen Roberts	58
A CROMWELLIAN PRAYER FOR ST. GEORGE'S DAY. By Raymond Tong	63

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CROMWELL'S DAY 1989  
by Professor Robert Ashton

I begin with a quotation from Psalm 43:

...For thou art the God of my strength, why hast thou put me  
from thee; and why go I so heavily, while the enemy oppresseth me?  
O send out thy light and thy truth, that they may lead me: and  
why go I so heavily, while the enemy oppresseth me?

Today we meet not on Cromwell's day, the day of his two greatest victories and of his death, but on 2 September; and for a reason which Oliver himself would have appreciated - for this year 3 September falls on the Sabbath.

Why, it might be asked, should I - a moderately, if not dizzily high Anglican and a firm monarchist - be standing here to pay tribute to that great regicide and great proponent of the free church tradition? I am here to pay tribute to a man whose greatness was attested even by his contemporary enemies. To Clarendon he was one of those men "quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt nisi ut simul laudent for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of courage and industry and judgment." [1] And again: "wickedness such as his could never have accomplished those trophies without the assistance of a great spirit, and admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution"; in fact, "a brave, bad man." [2]

If Oliver's greatness is incontestable, what of his contribution to regicide and republicanism? Of the two, republicanism makes for the less difficulty, I think. Was Cromwell a republican? Ask Sir Arthur Haselrige; ask Sir Henry Vane; ask Edmund Ludlow; ask Thomas Scott: impeccable Commonwealthsmen all, and what you would get would be a decisively negative and, I suspect, rather rude answer. But that he was a regicide admits of no such doubt. Here we are surely on firm ground, as distinct from that quagmire of definitional uncertainty which we enter in broaching the question of Cromwell's position in respect of republicanism.

What I propose to ask, then, is not whether but why he was a regicide, for was he not also a man who, to the end of his life, in his search for healing and settlement, looked for a constitution with somewhat of the monarchical in it? It was rumoured in 1651 that he was contemplating the title of Emperor for himself. If so, fascinating comparisons with Caesar Augustus, not to speak of Napoleon Bonaparte, come to mind. And, of course, in 1657 he probably came near to accepting the title of King. "What if a man should make himself king?", as he reportedly had asked

Bulstrode Whitelock.

But why did the man who in the summer and early autumn of 1647 had been so concerned to establish a *modus vivendi* with Charles I via the Heads of the Proposals sign his death warrant in January 1649? In search of an answer let us go back first to 1 November 1647.

The scene is a familiar one, the church at Putney; and the occasion the quite acrimonious debate in the Council of the Army on whether the negative voice of the King and the House of Lords ought to be preserved. Near-regicidal views were by no means lacking in this debate, which at the point at which we join it was turning on why the godly were so despondent and dispirited in depressing contrast to the glorious days of Naseby and Langport. As early as June at least one observer had remarked on "the division and discord in the hearts of those who were formerly united as one man, with one heart and one mind", and had attributed this parlous state of affairs to the temporising with the King following his abduction from Holdenby on 4 June. [3] At Putney on 1 November the radical Captain Bishop clearly had no doubt that the reason was to be found in "a compliance to preserve that man of blood, and those principles of tyranny which God...hath manifestly declared against." [4] The language of the agitator Edward Sexby was even more colourful and the metaphor more striking even if distinctly odd to the modern mind as radical figures of speech:

We find in the word of God, "I would heal Babylon, but she would not be healed." I think that we have gone about to heal Babylon when she would not. We have gone about to wash a blackamoor, to wash him white, which he will not...I think we are going about to set up the power of kings, some part of it, which God will destroy... I think this is the reason of the straits that are in hand.[5]

But neither Cromwell nor his son-in-law Henry Ireton agreed. Indeed, Oliver answered Sexby and like-minded persons with one of the most justly celebrated pieces of Cromwelliana. [6] How could they be so sure that to negotiate with Charles was the equivalent of trying to heal Babylon or to wash a blackamoor white? The destruction of the King and perhaps of monarchy itself would be a frighteningly revolutionary step and those contemplating such action needed to be quite certain of God's will on the matter.

And therefore those that are of that mind, let them wait upon God for such a way, when the thing may be done without sin and without scandal too. Surely what God would have us do, he does not desire that we should step out of the way for it.

The notion of revolutionary action without stepping out of the way for it takes us to the very springs of Oliver's statecraft, as does that of unequivocal divine dispensations as essential political guidance. And as he had already reminded his audience,

And therefore must make room  
Where greater Spirits come.[13]

Make room for what? For a greater Spirit fulfilling what constitutional role: a Lord General; a Lord Protector; a King perhaps? If ultimately the last of these, is this an indication of the failure to establish a constitution with somewhat of the monarchical in it without re-establishing monarchy itself? Or might it not be a King with a more formidable, a more apocalyptic mission?

Hence oft I think, if in some happy Hour  
High Grace should meet in one with highest Pow'r,  
And then a seasonable people still  
Should bend to his, as he to Heavens will,  
What we might hope, what wonderful Effect  
From such a wish'd Conjunction might reflect.  
Sure, the mysterious Work, where none withstand,  
Would forthwith finish under such a Hand:  
Fore-shortened Time its useless Course would stay,  
And soon precipitate the latest Day.  
But a thick cloud about that Morning lyes,  
And intercepts the beams of Mortal eyes,  
That 'tis the most which we determine can,  
If these the Times, then this must be the Man.[14]

There were, indeed, those who believed that this was the man, while doubting if these were the times; there were those who were as certain that this was not the man as they were confident that these were the times. And so there was to be no King Oliver; no House of Cromwell. And Oliver died in the following year on the anniversary of his great victories at Dunbar and Worcester, 331 years ago tomorrow. I know of no better way of ending this tribute than with his own inspiring words:

Let us all be not careful what men will make of these actings. They, will they, nill they, shall fulfil the good pleasure of God, and we shall serve our generations. Our rest we expect elsewhere: that will be durable.[15]

- 1 W.D. Macraý (ed.), *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* by Edward, Earl of Clarendon (Oxford, 1958), VI, 91.
- 2 *Ibid.*, VI, 97.
- 3 *The Kings Majesties Desires and Propositions*, 15 June 1647, [British] [Library] E393 (4), no pagination.
- 4 A.S.P. Woodhouse (ed.), *Puritanism and Liberty* (London, 1966), p. 107.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 103
- 6 *Ibid.*, pp. 103-7
- 7 Macraý (ed.), *Clarendon's History*, IV, 305.
- 8 For another such statement, see *The Machiavellian Cromwellist*, 10 January 1647/8, BL E422 (12), pp. 10-11.
- 9 *The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England...collected by several hands* (London, 1751-62), XVI, 491-3; W.C. Abbott (ed.), *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver*

*Cromwell* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937-47), I, 576; D. Underdown (ed.), "The Parliamentary Diary of John Boys", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* xxxix (1966), 156.

- 10 *The Scots Cabinet Opened*, 4 August 1648, BL E456 (30), p. 12.
- 11 *Lord Somers Tracts* (2nd collection, London, 1750), VI, 500-1.
- 12 C.H.Firth (ed.), *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow* (Oxford, 1894), I, 184-6.
- 13 Andrew Marvell, *An Horation Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland*, 11. 37-44.
- 14 Andrew Marvell, *The First Anniversary of the Government under O C.*, 11. 31-44.
- 15 Cited by Ernest Baker, *Oliver Cromwell and the English People* (Cambridge, 1937), p.70

## STRANGE BEDFELLOWS: OLIVER CROMWELL, JOHN GOODWIN AND THE CRISIS OF CALVINISM

by Tom Webster

"Religion was not the thing at first contested for, but God brought it to that issue at last." Oliver Cromwell may have been speaking of the Civil War, but he might equally have been referring to the recent historiography of the period. A series of reactions to S.R. Gardiner's Puritan Revolution offered constitutional principle, class conflict and county isolationism as the heart of mid-seventeenth century strife. However, present trends seem to indicate a new emphasis placed upon the religious elements in the outbreak and development of the Great Rebellion. Dr Morrill encapsulated this proposition when he asserted that "the English Civil War was not the first European Revolution, but the last of the wars of religion." [1] In the light of current and contemporary emphases upon confessional conflict it is necessary to re-examine our assumptions about the ideological roots and consequences of the Civil War. Received orthodoxy still widely accepts the rise of an innovative, alien Arminianism which disrupted the broad, though not homogenous, predestinarian consensus by highjacking the university presses and pathways to preferment and thus marginalising the Calvinist mainstream until Charles, the source of Arminian hegemony, is faced with a newly radical, alienated puritan opposition in the 1640s, a rise mapped authoritatively by Nicholas Tyacke. [2]

The parliament which met in 1640 was dominated from its earliest days by convinced opponents of high church Arminianism. The opposition was not necessarily "puritan", as the debate on the Root and Branch petition demonstrated. Mainstream criticism of the pretensions of lordly prelates encouraged the radical puritans of the City to propose the "root and branch" removal of episcopacy in the famous petition of December 1640 [3] but the debate foundered on the rock of episcopacy's replacement, and indeed questioning whether the institution that had proved its worth in the fires of

Smithfield was really beyond redemption. However, the fragile alliance between moderates and radicals is generally assumed to have been rooted in a common adherence to Calvinist predestination theology.[4]

A second strand of Civil War historiography has been preoccupied with the centrifugal possibilities inherent within puritanism, and Calvinism generally. Ecclesiological differences could exist between Independents and Presbyterians, moderate episcopalians and erastians, without a disruption of the soteriological consensus, but the revolutionary decades saw developments in radical religion that left post-war English Calvinism an exhausted, shattered remnant of the confident, enabling force that characterised the earlier part of the century. Attention has focussed on lower class manifestations of the collapse of Calvinism, but the earlier silence of these classes makes it difficult to trace the evolution of this process unless it is through recantations like Laurence Clarkson's *Lost Sheep Found*. [5].

It is my intention to examine the crisis of Calvinism through the work of an Arminian, John Goodwin, vicar of St Stephen's, Coleman Street, London. Goodwin was a central figure in three strands of the intellectual tapestry of the revolutionary period: he was a principal polemicist in the toleration controversy of 1644-8 and beyond; he was a conspicuous proponent of the parliamentary cause, justifying resistance and eventually regicide; and he was a theological maverick, who broke with Calvinism in powerful tracts and debates to assume "a pivotal place as a link between the Puritanism of the pre-Civil War decades and the rational theology of the early English Enlightenment." [6] His links with Cromwell are in the cause they both supported, in the weight they placed upon the religious issue and in the centrality of toleration to their respective rationales. The element which makes them strange bedfellows is theological, and this is my first topic.

## I

Oliver Cromwell's Calvinism might serve as a model for the spirit of his age. Never a bookish man, his faith is best evinced by his behaviour and his formative influences. His firm trust in the sovereignty of God, the confidence drawn from his assurance of election and his reliance upon the grace of God, recognising the inadequacy of human works, all epitomise seventeenth century Calvinism. His strongest early influences were puritan: his schoolmaster and friend Thomas Beard, his education at the puritan college of Sidney Sussex, and his conversion in the mid 1630s. Beard's *Theatre of God's Judgements* presented the whole of existence as a struggle between God and the powers of darkness in which the elect were called to undertake their providentially ordained role in bringing the eschatological course of history to its inevitable end. As Cromwell later

said, "what are all our histories and other traditions of ancient times, but God manifesting Himself, that He hath shaken and trampled upon everything that He hath not planted?" [7] At Sidney Sussex the master was Samuel Ward, an intimate acquaintance of William Perkins, who we will meet again. Cromwell's conversion, too, was archetypically Calvinist. Grace came as a freely given gift when the terrors of the law had exposed the failure of his own will to keep him from sin. "Oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated the light. I was a chief, the chief of sinners...Oh, the riches of his mercy." [8] However, it was Cromwell's attachment to the doctrine of Providence, and his belief that he was "one of those whose heart God hath drawn out to wait for some extraordinary dispensations" that was his driving force. The psychological force of Cromwell's assurance is plain in his political actions. "Men who have assurance that they are to inherit heaven have a way of taking possession of the earth", wrote William Haller, a notion which fits Cromwell's experience.

In the puritan scheme of things, which was Cromwell's, works were the necessary fruits of salvation, a sign of election: as Thomas Taylor made clear, "we teach that only Doers shall be saved, and by their doing though not for their doing." That is, that the assurance of election brings with it a compulsion to serve God through works, even though there is no sense in which salvation can be merited by works. [9] The voluntary and undeserved gift of grace naturally creates an obligation to make some voluntary return.

The nature of this return, for Cromwell, was to seek God's will, which was ultimately knowable, and then to pursue His purposes energetically. This "waiting on providences" produced the hesitancy that so often preceded Cromwell's most decisive actions. Thus, for instance, his protracted absence from London in late 1648, delaying his return from Pontefract until after Pride's Purge [10], is perhaps indicative of an unwillingness to act without a clear indication of God's will, rather than a respect for constitutional propriety. Professor Underdown has taught us to reject the old view of Pride's Purge as the Rubicon on the road to revolution [11], and this can in part be attributed to Cromwell's waiting on providences. Not until Charles rejected the proposals presented to him by the Earl of Denbigh in late December did Cromwell accept the course of limited revolution. Here, as elsewhere, there is a fine line between political pragmatism and the revelation of divine dispensations. Indeed, even as Denbigh's mission failed, Cromwell opposed the King's trial on the ground that "there was no policy in taking away his life." [12]

Contemporaries and historians have been prepared to see Cromwell's hesitancy as waiting on events as much as providences, but it is probably

more in accordance with his character to take his prayerful soul searching at face value. He was prepared to see events unfold as God willed, seeing developing situations reveal necessities that were in themselves divinely ordained to act as spurs upon those who were chosen to act as the instruments of God's will. The accusation of pragmatism roused him to anger, as to his first parliament he declared:

Feigned necessities, imaginary necessities are the greatest cozenage that men can put upon the providence of God, and make pretences to break down rule by. But it is as legal and as carnal and as stupid to think that there are no necessities that are manifest necessities because necessities may be abused and feigned.[13]

It is far easier for modern minds to accept the accusations of duplicity than Cromwell's protestations, because few of us share his world view, the Calvinist world view of predestination. For Cromwell and many others, an omniscient God shaped all historical events, determined even before the Fall (supralapsarianism), but placed upon His elect, His saints, the duty of integration in the historical process. The Calvinist rests secure in his election but is compelled to play his part once he has discerned God's will: "Trust in God and keep you powder dry."

Our difficulty in empathising with the puritan convictions of "calling" and the action of providence is in part a consequence of the intellectual revolution that accompanied the political cataclysm of the Civil War years. It was in this sense that the events constituted a "revolution", that they left the world a changed place: the solidarity and confidence of Calvinism broke down between 1640 and 1660 and what remained was a less deterministic universe. Christopher Hill has described this process as "one of the great turning points in intellectual history." [14] At the heart of this development was the soteriology of John Goodwin.

In fact, Goodwin can be seen as the personification of the process, for he began his clerical career as an archetypal Calvinist covenant theologian. Indeed, to describe Goodwin as an Arminian is to risk begging the question, for he always maintained that Calvin bore him out on some points [15] and that his system was independent of Arminius's. Therefore it is first necessary to make clear what was meant by "Arminian" in both theological and polemical uses.

Jacobus Arminius, the Professor of Leyden, opposed the deterministic logic of Calvinism in his Remonstrance of 1610. He postulated universal atonement, that is, that Christ died for all men, where most Calvinists regarded Christ's Sacrifice as for the elect alone. Furthermore, he argued that all men have the power to believe in the atonement and thus meet the conditions set down by God for salvation. This doctrine became known as general redemption. English theologians eager for compromise managed to accommodate these theoretical possibilities within a moderate Calvinist

framework at the Synod of Dort in 1618 by arguing that the possibility was negated by the inevitable falling back into sin of the reprobate, so that, in effect, Christ died for the elect alone, who were predestined to faith and thus salvation. [16] However, Arminius allowed some place for human effort in the mechanism of redemption, a notion anathema to Calvinists, as it dilutes the absolute depravity of fallen man, and compromises the absolute sovereignty of God with the idea that His grace is resistible. Although Arminius rejected the doctrine of "free will" and asserted that divine assistance was necessary for any human achievement, his position was represented as allowing the possibility of free will and was condemned as Pelagian. [17] The term became partly detached from its exact theological meaning by opprobrious usage, and, in England in the 1620s and 1630s, by association with the high church party of William Laud, whose altar policy suggested that unmerited grace was replaced by sacramental grace, leading to an identification of Arminianism with "creeping popery." Thus, by the time Goodwin was marked as an Arminian, the sin of the rejection of Calvinism was compounded by the doctrine's association with fiscal feudalism, iure divino episcopacy and an authoritarian, intrusive ecclesiastical establishment.

However, Goodwin's background was not sacerdotal, high church or priestly, but solidly puritan. His early writings are drawn from the covenant theology of William Perkins and Richard Sibbes, the experiential, "affectionate" anatomists of the workings of redemption, and indeed Goodwin edited one of the editions of Sibbes's popular sermon collections, *The Bruised Reed and the Smoaking Flax*. [18] The covenant theology of Perkins and Sibbes, and their contemporaries Richard Greenham and Richard Rogers, was concerned to reconcile the arbitrary grace of Calvin with biblical exhortations to turn to God, for instance Hosea 14.2, Jeremiah 31.18 and Peter's call, "Repent therefore, and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out." The example of Lydia (Acts 16.14), who prepared her heart before conversion, became a type that encouraged preachers to exhort their audience to prepare themselves for faith. [19] Sibbes wrote that, in order to be made receptive to the Holy Spirit, we must become as a "bruised reed...sensible of sin and misery." The bruising of the spirit may be thought of "either as a state into which God bringeth us, or as a duty to be performed by us, but both are here meant." Ultimately Sibbes makes the question of the possibility of natural abilities in fallen man irrelevant, for the process of salvation is not necessary to salvation [20], but other writers, notably John Rogers of Dedham, argued that a period of "Legal Terror" was necessary before faith: "As the needle goes before to pierce the cloth and makes way for the thread to sew it, so it is

lectics. Thus his toleration masterpiece, *Theomachia*, was part of a wordy exchange with Mathew Newcomen, William Prynne, Thomas Edwards and others, and he was willing to fill the long hours in the Whitehall debates long after John Lilburne had abandoned the process. Haller sees him as a precursor of the Cambridge Platonists, but he differs from them in fundamental respects. Benjamin Whitcote and his circle regarded the principles of Christian faith as eternal verities extant within the souls of all men and women. Goodwin, however, postulated a divine gift of reason, judgement and conscience by which man could move towards truth through study of the scriptures, the law of nature and introspection. [33] Here, perhaps, is his debt to Calvin, for in his scheme, without God's gift of reason, freely given, man cannot move towards redeeming faith. It is a dependence on God's mercy, undeserved by fallen man, albeit once removed and allowing man a place in his own salvation process. Moreover; Goodwin's, unlike Whitcote's, scheme, is rooted in Millenarianism: the last days bring a progressive revelation during which debate and discord will fall away. "For we [now] know in part, and prophecy in part. But when that which is perfect is come then that which is in part shall be done away." Therefore persecution is at best ill-informed and untimely, and at worst anti-Christian. God will "give testimony from heaven...in due time." [34]

The notion of perfectible revelation accessible to a progressively more proficient human reason, a mixture of Acontius's humanism and Castelleo's reliance on the sufficiency of the individual conscience, clearly runs consonant with Goodwin's developing conception of faith. Man is not saved by a period of legal terror opening the heart to God, but by the ability of human reason, set free to believe by Christ's atonement. Persecution is the denial of intellectual freedom and so is a hindrance to those seeking truth. "There is no sight so lovely and taking to the eyes of all ingenious and sincere hearts as naked truth." [35] Obviously, to block the paths to the truth is a sin, for ignorance and the absence of a search for truth is the principal cause of damnation.

If Goodwin's rational humanism had brought him to an impasse with Calvinism, how did it square with Arminianism per se? There is an acceptance of universal atonement in the notion that God intended to save all men and a conviction that all men can win justification by faith, which can certainly be called Arminian. However, Arminius was prepared to accept the predestination of particular individuals and, despite the accusations of his opponents, supported the notion of man's absolute depravity. [36] These notions were both rejected by Goodwin: they were ideas he "found ever and anon gravellish in my mouth, and corrodng and fretting

in my bowels." [37] His understanding of providence was much less immediate than Cromwell's: God was the cause of salvation, but only at one remove. The sinner's fate remained in his own hands, in his decision to seek and believe. Even "those many millions of all ages who never heard the gospel" could fulfill the conditions of the covenant. [38] Thus "Arminian" can be seen as both inadequate and inaccurate when applied to Goodwin's system: he combined covenant theology, Protestant rationalism and his own humanism, within a puritan, non-conformist culture. As Edmund Calamy remarked, Goodwin "was a man by himself, was against every man, and had every man against him." [39]

### III

To call Goodwin "pivotal" in the breakdown of Calvinism, that "turning point of intellectual history", is to assign him an active role which he did not occupy. Neither Cromwell's outlook nor Goodwin's was inherited by the Restoration world. Cromwell's corpse was disinterred and hanged at Tyburn, and the intellectual initiative was taken up by men of a very different temper from Goodwin. As Cromwell had no lasting political heir, so Goodwin lacked direct theological descendants. [40] However, the events of 1689 demonstrated graphically that the post-Cromwellian world was changed and that the experience and work of men like Goodwin ensured an altered ideological universe.

The value of examining Goodwin's work is in tracing the effects of political upheaval on an inhabitant of the puritan milieu. His rejection of predestinarian Calvinism was not the result of a crisis of confidence caused by revolutionary chaos, leading to the abandonment of old forms. For Goodwin, the war years produced a raised estimation of man's ability to discern and pursue good, a form of divinely assisted humanism which seems out of step with the failure to restore settled government.

Oliver Cromwell shared much of Goodwin's ground before the war. They attended the same university and supported the same side during the war, yet Cromwell died a Calvinist somewhat disillusioned by his experiences. In December 1654 he asked, "when shall we have men of a universal spirit? Everyone desires to have liberty, but none will deliver it." [41] Goodwin died a theological maverick and never abandoned his faith in toleration, opposing the new ecclesiastical despotism in his 1657 pamphlet *The Triers Tried*.

The mechanics of revolution are worked out in what Maria de Queiroz has called the dialectic between the creative individual and socio-economic determinants. [42] Even a brief and partial examination of two individuals as forceful as Cromwell and Goodwin reminds us to pay as close attention to the individuals as to the less personal forces of history. When

the centrifugal possibilities inherent within Calvinism were unleashed by the Civil War, responses were characterised universally only by a glorious complexity and idiosyncrasy.

- 1 J.S. Morrill, "The religious context of the English Civil war", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series XXXIV (1984), p. 178.
- 2 Originally in his doctoral thesis and his essay in C.S.R. Russell (ed.), *Origins of the English Civil War* (London, 1973) and more recently in N. Tyacke, *The Anti-Calvinists* (Oxford, 1987).
- 3 Reprinted in S.R. Gardiner (ed.), *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution* (Oxford, 1889), pp. 137-44.
- 4 This is not to suggest that opposition to episcopacy is a means of identifying puritans. William Prynne, for instance, can be described uncontroversially as a puritan, but at this stage he favoured primitive episcopacy. See W. Lamont, *Marginal Prynne* (London, 1963).
- 5 See, for instance, A.L. Morton, *The World of the Ranter* (London, 1970); C. Hill, *The World Turned Upside-down* (London, 1975); C. Hill, B. Reay and W. Lamont, *The World of the Muggletonians* (London, 1983); J.F. McGregor and B. Reay (eds.), *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1984); I. Friedman, *Blasphemy, Immorality and Anarchy* (London, 1987).
- 6 E. More, "John Goodwin and the rise of the New Arminianism", *Journal of British Studies* XXII (1982), p. 50.
- 7 Quoted in H.F. Lovell Cocks, *The Religious Life of Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1960), p. 30.
- 8 C. Hill, *God's Englishman* (London, 1970), p. 38. Letter quoted *ibid.*, p. 44.
- 9 T. Taylor, *Works* (1653), p. 166.
- 10 D. Underdown, *Pride's Purge* (London, 1971), pp. 148-50, 166-72.
- 11 *ibid.*, *passim*.
- 12 *ibid.*, p. 171.
- 13 Cited in C. Hill, *God's Englishman*, p. 226.
- 14 *ibid.*, p. 206.
- 15 *D[ictionary of] N[ational] B[iography]*, "John Goodwin".
- 16 P. Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church", *Past and Present* 114 (1987), pp. 51-60.
- 17 This account draws upon the treatment in C. Bangs, "Arminius and the Reformation", *Church History* XXX (1961), pp. 158-63.
- 18 The edition of 1630.
- 19 N. Pettit, *The Heart Prepared* (New Haven, 1966), chapter 3.
- 20 R. Sibbes, *Works*, ed. Alexander Grosart (Edinburgh, 1802-4), I, 43-4, 47, 53, V, 7, VI, 522-3, 534.
- 21 J. Rogers, *The Doctrine of Faith* (1628), p. 67.
- 22 Both cited in More, "Goodwin", pp. 53-4. My italics.
- 23 I. Goodwin, *The Saints Interest in God* (1640), p. 43.
- 24 Romans 4.5.
- 25 The development is traced in More, "Goodwin", pp. 55-6, although I cannot accept her conclusion that from here it is but a short step to Arminianism.
- 26 George Walker, *Socinianism in a Fundamental Point of Justification* (1640); Walker, *A Defense of the True Sense and Meaning of...Romans, Chapter 4* (1642); John Goodwin, *Imputatio Fidei* (1642).
- 27 W. Haller, *Rise of Puritanism* (New York, 1938), pp. 199-201; J.S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 129-31.
- 28 More, "Goodwin", pp. 56-7.
- 29 S[amuel] L[ane], *A Vindication of Divine Grace* (1645), *breviate*.

- 30 More, "Goodwin", p. 58.
- 31 John Goodwin, *Theomachia* (1644), pp. 17-19.
- 32 Haller, *Rise of Puritanism*, pp. 199-201.
- 33 Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, p. 198; G. Cragg (ed.), *The Cambridge Platonists* (New York, 1968), pp. 27-8 and *passim*; John Goodwin, *Redemption Redeemed* (1651), pp. 1-23.
- 34 John Goodwin, *Hagiomastix* (1647), epistle.
- 35 John Goodwin, *Certain briefe Observations and Antiquaries: on Master Prin's Twelve Questions about Church Government* (1644), p. 1.
- 36 Bangs, "Arminius", pp. 338, 352.
- 37 Cited in W.K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), III, 402.
- 38 John Goodwin, *The Pagans Debt and Dowry* (1651), pp. 9, 29, 60.
- 39 Quoted in *DNB*, "John Goodwin".
- 40 He was recognised by some nineteenth century Methodists as a non-conformist Arminian. B. Samuel, *The Methodist Revolution* (New York, 1973), pp. 88-90.
- 41 Cited in Hill, *God's Englishman*, p. 179.
- 42 M.I.P. Queiroz, "Messianic Myths and Movements", *Diogenes* XC (1975), p. 99.

## GOD'S ENGLISHMAN: OLIVER CROMWELL

### Part One

(1)

As I the name of Cromwell bear, I am  
By all men reckoned as well-born, gentry,  
Though lesser gentry it be true; and so  
I have a certain standing in these parts -  
In Huntingdon, close by to Hinchbrooke  
From which my uncle Oliver (who was  
A friend of dead King James) hath gone, alas,  
So that we Cromwells now do keep the name  
But little else - our former glory gone!  
It's true that Hampden, who is kin of mine,  
Is loved of Parliament where he is one  
Of those who seek to curb King Charles's power;  
Tis also true that he, my cousin John,  
Has sought my aid, but he has sought in vain  
For heavy are the weights that shackle me -  
My family is large, my sons are young,  
And I must bear my crosses all alone -  
Husband, father, brother and son - all these.  
A man in this position is he less  
Or more a man than those more fortunate?  
But these external forces that beset  
Me round occasion me less harm than those  
That gnaw and nibble at my tortured soul -  
For I am deep in sin, the way is hard,  
My zest for life, which did in former years  
Bear me careless along, wide-eyed with hope,  
Serene and confident; that zest is gone,  
And I would lay my tedious burden down,  
Would seek my solace in the heavenly arms

Of Him whom I would serve: alas my soul  
Is black, and my respite must be delayed.  
And so I pray - Do Thou O God cleanse me  
So that I may this sad earth leave behind  
And find oblivion in Thee.

(2)

Peace is a pearl, precious, much-coveted,  
But though the premium on it is high  
There is a limit to the price I'll pay,  
For Peace that's purchased with subservience  
Is utterly abhorrent to free men.  
England is sick, and some blood must be let:  
The King has built an edifice we would  
Destroy - he hath abused the royal power.  
His arrogance my friends will not accept  
For he would rule by Right Divine, and this  
Pretentiousness we shall not long endure.  
From us who sit in Parliament he seeks  
But one commodity - Riches, and if  
We strive to mend his ways, curtail his greed,  
He threatens us. Two champions hath he used,  
Strafford and Laud, the one to serve the King  
In Parliament, while Laud doth rule the church,  
Which he would force into a papist mould,  
With surpliced clergymen and pagan art,  
Our own communion-board screened off from us  
The worshippers. The altar he'd restore.  
On honest Puritans the King doth frown  
While he doth smile on Catholics at Court  
Where they buzz thick about his foreign Queen.  
Meanwhile across the water Irish hordes  
(The green fields reddened with our martyrs blood)  
Stand armed and poised to conquer our Land.

(3)

The clouds of war darken our native skies  
And men at hearths do glance neath hooded lids  
Into the flames, heart-heavy with the thought  
That if King Charles in his weak wilfulness  
Shall plunge the land in war, which side shall claim  
The loyalty and love of fathers, sons  
And brothers too; then ponder which ladies  
Shall husbandless become, which children mourn,  
Which Houses once united shall divide,  
Shall falter and then fall - if not by sword  
Then by those silent killers, Grief and Pain.  
As for myself, my company's the best,  
The noblest spirits in a noble cause -  
John Hampden, Pym, Lord Saye and Sele, also  
St John, Warwick, Holles and Hazlerigg.  
The whole south-east doth stand for Parliament,  
And other places too, the towns and ports;

Only the backward lands, poor feudal troughs,  
Can the King count upon, though it is said  
The universities will stand by him.  
If war does come our cause shall know no fears  
For God shall march with us; this I do know,  
Lost though I was and steeped in sin, the Lord  
Did call to me - I answered "Here am I."  
And for these hands, this brain, this heart, there are  
So many tasks that I alone can do.  
As soon as Peace shall open the door and let  
The dogs of war inside, I shall away  
To my own lands, and there I'll raise a troop  
Of Horse which I'll equip and train until  
Our side hath need of them - good men and true,  
Men who do love my Faith and fear my God.  
My private griefs are past, all doubts resolved;  
I am God's man: I've gazed upon His face.  
For Him I'll do great things through Grace.

(4)

If one man stands twixt Peace and thee, then thou  
Must, reason rules, remove that man, and if  
This doth necessitate a bloody war  
Then such a war must be fought, and surely won.  
Only a fool will fight if there's no need;  
Only a fool, committed, will draw back  
Before the prize of victory is won.  
The People have scant appetite for war;  
They wish only to ply their trade or craft.  
The bleat of meadow-sheep is lovelier  
Than the discordant stridency of drums,  
And harvest-home counts more than battles won.  
Yet England is at war: such war brings forth  
The best in us. New generals will arise  
And I must play the part God plans for me.  
Edgehill, where our Great cause was nearly lost,  
Shall sound a warning through our motley ranks  
Which few save I shall heed; war's shifting course  
Shall wash away old notions, tired men:  
Some of the bravest and the best will fall  
While other men of lesser worth survive.  
Those who would fight the King with words alone  
Will spawn a group of leaders who would wage  
This war so that no side should lose - the King  
They'll claim must neither win nor lose - alas  
This cannot be. I say the King must be  
Torn from those evil counsellors who play  
Upon his weaknesses as on a pipe.  
Many will close their eyes or turn their coats,  
Old rivalries will be forgot, also  
Old friendships will dissolve in mists of war.  
At Marston and at Naseby I shall ride

With my own splendid godly troops against  
 The doughtiest leaders of the King; the Prince  
 Whose martial worth all but the blind do see,  
 Hath my respect, and his respect I'll earn.  
 When we have purged the weaklings from our ranks,  
 Have learned the arts and crafts of modern war,  
 Sealed frontiers as we have sealed the ports -  
 Then will the King, though beaten in the field,  
 Still seek to gain his ends through deviousness;  
 He'll smile first at the one, then the other  
 And strive to conquer by default, but here  
 Some few, 'mong whom I'll be, shall baulk his schemes.  
 The King's a man who's foolish more than bad,  
 Seduced by Buckingham, then by the Queen,  
 Buttressed by Strafford and the papist Laud,  
 His vanity inflamed by courtly words.  
 He's like a feckless patient who doth fight  
 'Gainst those who have his interests at heart  
 Or see him as a dunce who will not learn  
 Till he be forced by threats and then by blows.  
 These years for me, inspite of private griefs,  
 Will be good years, when I at duty's call  
 Shall leave my former state behind so that  
 My name, already known in Huntingdon,  
 Will be on all men's lips from shire to town;  
 And in this climb to power through all the east  
 And then through all the land I shall be known.  
 In this, as in so much, I have no choice;  
 The call's been given - I'll heed God's voice.

Glyn Brace Jones.

### HER HIGHNESS'S COURT by Dr Sarah Jones

From feigned glory, and usurped throne  
 And all the greatness to me falsely shewn  
 And from the acts of government set free  
 See how a protectoress and a drudge agree

So began *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth*, commonly called *Joan Cromwell*. Since it was printed in 1664, it could easily be dismissed as royalist satire; but since it is also one of the few documents on Elizabeth Cromwell, we may have to look to it for clues to her character and her life as Lady Protectress.

Elizabeth Bouchier was the daughter of a wealthy London fur dealer and leather dresser, who had been knighted by James I. In 1620 at the age of 23 she married Oliver Cromwell. For over twenty years they lived in Huntingdon, St Ives and Ely; they had four sons, two of whom died at the

ages of 17 and 23, and four daughters. The family moved to the Covent Garden area of London in 1646 or 1647. Elizabeth joined her husband in Ireland in September 1649. Her one surviving letter to Oliver, now in Scotland, is dated 27 December 1650, though it is clear from that letter that she wrote often. She complains to him that "when I doe writ, my dear, I seldome have any satisfactore anser, wich makse me thenk my writing is slited, as well it mae; but I canenot but thenk your love coverse my weknisis and infermetis." She goes on to suggest that he should also write to Oliver St John, the Lord Chief Justice, as well as to the President of the Council of State and the Speaker of the House of Commons, for "indeid, my dear, you canenot thenk the rong you doue yourself in the whant of a letter." [1]

Their home at this point was the Cockpit. When Oliver was appointed Lord Protector, the family were moved to grander lodgings in Whitehall; according to Edmund Ludlow, Elizabeth "seemed at first unwilling to remove thither, though afterwards she became better satisfied with her grandeur." [2] They also used Hampton Court. We do know that Elizabeth gave instructions for how their lodgings should be furnished and that she built up a portrait collection. *The Court and Kitchen*, calling her Joan to infer that she was a very ordinary, country woman who had not changed her ways from Ely days, made two accusations: firstly that Elizabeth was extremely frugal, "vexing herself at the cost and charge the maintenance of that beggarly court did every day put her to"; and secondly that she acquired considerable sums of money, for "her hareem was...a political or state Exchange by which the affairs of the kingdom were governed and the prizes of all things set, whether offices, preferments, indemnity...." Henry Neville had earlier called Elizabeth the "controller of the club among the Ladies" [3]; so *The Court and Kitchen* thought it adverse that "most of the employment for servants was managed by females", whether in the dairy Elizabeth allegedly set up in St James's Park, or her supposed "covy" of sewers "or spinsters" who "were all of them ministers' daughters."

We do know that Elizabeth's own daughters were at court. *The Court and Kitchen* alleged that they were "a constant expence" to her with maids, perfumers and "the like arts of gallantry"; Lucy Hutchinson too thought that the daughters, Bridget excepted, were insolent and extravagant and took too easily to court life. [4] The earlier marriages within Oliver's political circle, of his first two daughters, Bridget and Elizabeth, contrast markedly with the other two, Mary and Frances, who were seen as the "young princesses." [5] Bridget, born in 1624, married Henry Ireton in 1646 and Charles Fleetwood in 1652; she accompanied both to Ireland and certainly travelled round with Fleetwood, though he usually refers to

her in his letters to England only when she is pregnant. They returned to England in September 1655. Elizabeth was not seventeen when she also married in 1646, to John Claypole; as well as a house in Northamptonshire, they had apartments at Whitehall and Hampton Court, and it would seem that Elizabeth was a central woman at court, "acting", according to Harrington's biographer, "the part of a princess very naturally, obliging all persons with her civility and frequently interceding for the unhappy." In August 1656, for example, the Swedish ambassador "went into Hampton Court, to take his leave of the Lady Elizabeth Cleypole and her sisters, where he was received with much state." [6]

Mary, born in 1637, and Frances, born the following year, were the subject of several marriage negotiations once their father had become Lord Protector. Their weddings, Frances to Robert Rich, grandson of the Earl of Warwick, on 11 November 1657, and Mary the following week to Thomas, Lord Fauconberg, were public news. It is telling that a fortnight after she was married, Mary wrote to her brother Henry in Ireland, asking him to excuse her not writing to him sooner for "it being so sudenly concluded as this busnes hath has put me into so grate a confusion as that truly I could not tel how nor what to writ to any frend;...[but] I canot but hop God hath given me this as a blesing, in that He has ben peleased to despos of my hart so as that I have ben obedgent to my parents." In a postscript, she displays surprise that she has been married "to a person that hath a greater kindnes to me then ever I could and have expected." [7] In contrast, Frances's courtship with Rich had lasted two years, and she got Mary and other friends to speak to her father in Rich's favour.

There are several surviving letters written by the daughters. They contain firstly great family affection; and secondly the one discourse that women were allowed to practise, religion. So Bridget in an undated letter declares her affection for her brother and, in typical language, wishes "thaer haed not bin soe muech occasion of the contraere wherin my corruet heart haeth taeken advaentaeg. I desiaer to be huemell'd for it...I shall laeboer to be fouend in my duety which is to bee your deaer and very afecksheonit sister." [8] It was also not unusual that Bridget, considered deeply pious by Lucy Hutchinson, [9] should write a confessional book. However, within that discourse Mary could write to her brother in December 1655 about a certain woman in his household, "for it is reported hear, that she ruls much in your family; and truly it is feared she is a discountenance of the godly people...Therefor I hope you wil not take it il, that I hav dealt thus plainly with you. I supos you know who it is I mean; therfor I desir to be excus'd for not naming of her." It seems that this was not unusual, for a few years later she apologised for some "letel impertenat

things I said in my last to my sester [in law]."[10] Similarly, Elizabeth wrote in June 1658 to her sister in law about her father's escape from an assassination attempt: the Lord had delivered him "out of the hands of his enymie, which wee have all reson to be sensible of...for sertingly not ondy his famely would have bin ruined, but in all probabillyti the hol nation would have bin invold in blod." She also spoke of "the muttablenes of these things" and the need "to yuse them accordingly." [11] She was, in fact, seriously ill by this time and, soon after her youngest son, she died at Hampton Court on 6 August "to the grief of her parents, relations and the whole court." [12]

At the death of her husband, Protectress Elizabeth Cromwell was granted an allowance and accommodation at St James's Palace; but it seems this was unpaid, for one of the army's demands in a petition of 12 May 1659 was that she should be given an annuity of £8,000. At the Restoration she petitioned Charles II that she was "ready to yield humble and faithful obedience to his government." [13] She said that "among her many sorrows, she is deeply sensible of the unjust imputation of detaining jewels etc. belonging to the King, which besides the disrepute, exposes her to loss and violence on pretence of searching for them", and declared that she could "prove that she never intermeddled with any of those public transactions which have been prejudicial to his late or present Majesty." She lived with her son in law Claypole at Northborough, Northamptonshire. From there, Mary wrote to her brother Henry that "my poor mother's so affecting a spectacle as I scarce know how to write; she continuing much the same as she was when you were here." [14] She died on 19 November 1665.

Bridget's husband, Charles Fleetwood, as commander in chief, was embroiled in the hostilities between the Rump and the army in the last days of the commonwealth. Bridget, speaking to Ludlow in late 1659, "with tears began to lament the present condition of her husband" and she told him "that as to herself she had always solicited him to comply in all things with the orders of the Parliament; and that fearing the consequences of the petition from [officers at] Derby [House], she had taken the original and locked it up in her cabinet..." [15] At the Restoration, Fleetwood was simply incapacitated from office. Bridget died two years later, in July 1662, and was buried at Blackfriars. Frances had been widowed in early 1658; "the Lord help me to mack a sancryfied use of it and all His dispensations to me..." she wrote in June for "I hope it is my earnest desire to gett Him for my husband that will never dey." [16] Soon after the Restoration, she married John Russell, baronet, of Chippenham. Widowed again, she spent her later life with Mary and died in 1721. Mary was the most successful

of the daughters after the Restoration and with her husband was part of the royal court. Pepys saw her at the theatre in 1663 and commented that she "looks as well as I have known her and well-clad"; and to Burnet she was "a wise and worthy woman, more likely to have maintained the post than either of her brothers." [17] According to one story, Mary wanted it inscribed on her husband's monument that in such a year he married his Highness the then Lord Protector of England's daughter; when she was told this might cause offence, she replied that nobody could dispute matters of fact.

The picture we are left with is one of a court centred around a close-knit family. Certainly, dignitaries were entertained and festivities held, but there was probably a grain of truth in the accusations of frugality - Elizabeth would otherwise have been charged with the usual royal weakness of extravagance. But we also see women coping with the vagaries of the time, whether travelling to Ireland, managing in the husband's absence, taking on roles at court or involving themselves in politics; let alone with the stark realities of pregnancy and widowhood. Let us end with more from Elizabeth's letter to her husband:

I should rejoyce to hear your desire in seeing me, but I desire to submit to the provedas of God, howping the Lord, howe hath separated us, and heth oftune brought us together agane, wil in heis good time breng us agane, to the prase of heis name.

- 1 J. Nickolls (ed.), *Original Letters and Papers of State Addressed to Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1743), p. 40.
- 2 C. H. Firth (ed.), *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow* (Oxford, 1894), I, 379.
- 3 *News from the New Exchange, or the Commonwealth of Ladies* (1650), p. 20.
- 4 C. H. Firth (ed.), *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, by his widow Lucy* (London, 1906) p. 298.
- 5 *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1656-7*, p. 349.
- 6 J. Tolland, *The Oceana of James Harrington* (London, 1700), pp. xix-xx; Bulstrode Whitlock, *Memorials of the English Affairs* (Oxford, 1853), IV, 272.
- 7 [British Library], Lansdowne Ms 822, ff. 286-7.
- 8 BL, Lansdowne Ms 823, ff. 341-2.
- 9 *Hutchinson's Memoirs*, p. 291.
- 10 T. Birch (ed.), *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe* (London, 1742), IV, 293; BL, Lansdowne MS 822, ff. 13-14.
- 11 *Thurloe State Papers*, VII, 171.
- 12 *CSP Venetian 1657-9*, p. 236.
- 13 *CSP Domestic 1660-1*, pp. 392-3.
- 14 Quoted in J. Waylen, *The House of Cromwell* (London, 1880), p. 102.
- 15 *Ludlow's Memoirs*, II, 179-80.
- 16 BL, Lansdowne Ms 823, f. 66.
- 17 R. Latham & W. Matthews (eds.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (London, 1970-82), IV, 181; G. Burnet, *History of His Own Time* (London, 1833), I, 152

## OLIVER CROMWELL AND SWEDEN'S KING CHARLES X GUSTAVUS; ENGLAND, SWEDEN AND THE PROTESTANT INTERNATIONAL

by Bertil Haggman

In the mid-seventeenth century England and Sweden were two of the leading Protestant powers in Europe. By 1653, the English civil war was over, King Charles I tried and executed and a new, written constitution adopted, under which Oliver Cromwell became Lord Protector for life. In Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus's daughter, Christina, was on the throne, but she was soon to abdicate (in 1654). The incredible happened: the daughter of the Lion of the North and chief defender of Protestantism resigned the Swedish crown, converted to Catholicism and later settled in Rome.

The age was ripe with protectionism and trade wars. For much of the 1650s, Spain and Holland were England's main enemies and Cromwell, whose foreign policy was to lay the groundwork for the expanding British empire of the coming centuries, had to choose between exploiting Spain's weakness or confronting Holland in a struggle for the mastery of the seas. When the Protectorate was inaugurated at the end of 1653, the foreign policy of the Commonwealth was going through an anti-Dutch period. Following the passage of the Navigation Act in 1651, England became embroiled in a war with Protestant Holland. Once Cromwell came to power, the Dutch war was quickly wound up and Spain and later France were to be the main opponents of the Protectorate. As one of the leading defenders of the Protestant cause, Cromwell ideologically must have regarded the Emperor in Vienna and the Pope in Rome as threats. To fight Catholic Spain must also have been preferable to a conflict with the Netherlands, a Protestant state after all. Cromwell's dream was a Protestant International, a league of states not only opposing Rome, Catholicism and the Catholic powers, but also preserving the Protestant gains in the Thirty Years War. This dream of the defence of "the religion of saints" would comprise England and Sweden as main pillars in an alliance directed against Rome, the Hapsburg Emperor and the Spanish.

The year after Cromwell took power as Lord Protector, the Count Palatine Charles ascended the Swedish throne as King Charles X Gustavus. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century Sweden had developed into a leading power in northern Europe, with provinces in the east (Finland, Estonia, Ingria and Livonia, present day Latvia) and in the south (mainly Pomerania and Bremen Verden). The main aspiration of Swedish foreign policy was to turn the Baltic Sea into a Swedish lake, *Dominium Maris Baltici*. Charles's immediate goal was to control the rivers in North

Germany and collect customs for trade in the Baltic Sea.

In July 1655 the battle-hardened Swedish troops were moved across the Baltic Sea to Poland to begin what Stockholm hoped would be the final battle for total Swedish control of the Baltic. Russia had successfully been cut off from the Baltic by Swedish conquests in the east and Denmark was the sole serious remaining contender. On 23 August 1655 the Swedish ambassador in London, Count Christer Bonde, wrote to Charles X that "the common folk speak openly...that all learned men have shown from the prophecies of Daniel...that a king of Sweden, with England, shall overturn the Pope..."[1] This Anglo-Swedish union would be joined by Prince George Rakoczy of Siebenburgen, who in the beginning of 1657 assisted the Swedish troops in southern Poland. Siebenburgen (present day Hungary) was in the seventeenth century one of Europe's strongest Protestant powers. It was a possible member of the would-be Protestant league of England, Sweden, Denmark and Brandenburg.

But northern rivalries worked against any such alliance. Denmark and Sweden had frequently clashed and during the first half of the seventeenth century Denmark had lost substantial territory to the Swedes. In the summer of 1657 the Danish king, Frederick III, decided to attack Sweden, taking advantage of the Swedish army's preoccupation with Poland. The declaration of war was made according to time honoured tradition. A Danish herald in insignia of order and with a spear in one hand crossed the Danish-Swedish border preceded by a trumpeter and handed over a letter containing the declaration of war.

Almost two years earlier, on 28 September 1655, the two Swedish envoys in London, Count Bonde and George Fleetwood, reported to Charles that Cromwell had spoken with deep emotion of the death of Gustavus II Adolphus at Lutzen in 1632. Cromwell regarded Sweden as a natural supporter of Protestantism on the Continent and may have felt that Charles X was completing the work of Gustavus Adolphus. It was true that the Protector himself had not met the young Swedish king but nevertheless he held a sentimental admiration for him. To Count Bonde, he always referred to Charles as "your great and noble king." Cromwell enjoyed the Swedish victories and hoped his conquests might reach to Constantinople and the Caspian.[2]

The special friendship of the Protector with Sweden was shown in the treatment of Count Bonde and Peter Julius Coyet, another Swedish envoy to London. Both received the Garter and the frugal, puritan English republic offered rich entertainments for the Swedes. No foreign diplomats had Bonde's and Coyet's ease of access to Cromwell.

Negotiations were under way for a commercial treaty between England

and Sweden and in July 1656 an agreement was indeed signed, even if it was only a prolongation of an earlier treaty. Sweden was also permitted to enlist English soldiers for her army. The cautious Cromwell wanted an Anglo-Swedish alliance only as one part of the formation of a Protestant International including the Netherlands. In August 1656 Count Bonde returned to Sweden while George Fleetwood remained, among other things to oversee the enlisting of English soldiers for the Swedish army. Sweden's wars were costly and Charles made an attempt to persuade the Protector to lend him money. Cromwell countered by demanding the Duchy of Bremen, which was then a Swedish province in Germany, as security. The Swedes refused but, with England seeking bases on the Continent, Cromwell persisted. In spite of dreams about the Protestant International, he was a practical politician. In May 1657 Charles was offered a loan of £100,000 sterling but again on condition of Bremen for security. Later Charles explained that he was willing to offer England Oldenburg and East Friesland as security but would not let go of Bremen.

In August 1657 a Swedish envoy, Johan Frederic von Friesendorff, was sent to England. Sweden and England, Charles hoped, would ally against Denmark. To give Cromwell the foothold he wanted in Germany, Charles was now prepared to offer the Duchy of Delmenhorst for Cromwell personally and several other territories to England. They could constitute bases in case of future conflicts with Holland and Austria. But ultimately Charles sought the partition of Denmark. Cromwell was offered Northern Jutland, and the Island of Funen would be handed over to the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp under the guarantee of England and Sweden. The rest of Denmark would be at the free disposal of Charles. England would also be granted free passage through the Sound into the Baltic and would be "most favoured nation" in all Swedish harbours and overseas provinces. If Cromwell did not want to partition Denmark, von Friesendorff was to suggest that the Protector support Sweden with loans, subsidies and rental of warships. If Cromwell, in one way or another, accepted the Swedish proposals, von Friesendorff was to bring up the matter of an alliance between England, Sweden, France, Portugal and the Netherlands against the Hapsburgs and Spain.

Cromwell, always cautious, did not wish to break with Denmark and explained that he wanted some time for consideration. His only interest in Germany remained Bremen, but the Swedish envoys maintained their negative attitude concerning that state. The Protector wanted peace between Sweden and Denmark, so that Charles X would be free to turn his troops loose on the Imperial army. Two English envoys were sent to Scandinavia to negotiate peace for the sake of Protestantism. Major Gen-

eral William Jephson travelled to the headquarters of the Swedish King in northern Germany. Charles now reworked his proposals to Cromwell and finally included Bremen to satisfy the wishes of the Protector. But at the same time an even more radical partition of Denmark was proposed as part of this Anglo-Swedish deal. Sweden was to have Norway (then part of the Danish kingdom) and the islands of Zealand and Funen. Cromwell would have all of Jutland and Bremen as well. After the partition, England and Sweden would form an alliance against Austria and the Emperor in Vienna. Should Cromwell not accept this new proposal, Charles had another solution to offer: England was to help Sweden conquer Norway from the Danes. In return, Cromwell could, under certain circumstances, have Bremen.

When 1658 dawned Sweden, despite all the grand plans of Charles X, was in severe trouble. War in Poland, war against Russia along the borders of Sweden's eastern territories, a Norwegian army corps invading northern Sweden and negotiations with England dragging on without result. Cromwell had promised £30,000 but no final decision was taken. In January, the Swedish envoys in London were ordered to speed up the negotiations. Perhaps, if Cromwell did not want to support Sweden, a reconciliation with Austria was necessary. The Swedish proposals were now very modest: the Protector was to support Sweden against Holland, which in turn supported Denmark against the Swedes, 4000 English soldiers were to be shipped to Prussia in support of the Swedish war effort and England's financial aid was to be at the rate of £10,000 per month.

Early in spring 1658, however, Charles had other problems occupying his mind. He made a daring march over the ice to Zealand and forced the Danes to sign the peace treaty at Roskilde on 26 February 1658. Denmark had to cede large portions of its eastern lands to Sweden. After Roskilde, Charles returned to Sweden. In June 1658 he left Gothenburg and landed on the northern German coast near Flensburg. In August, a second war against Denmark started. The purpose this time was to make all of Denmark into a Swedish province. Somehow the Danes seemed to dislike the idea of becoming Swedes and the resistance was very strong indeed.

A month later, Oliver Cromwell died, leaving the Protectorate to his son Richard. The end of the Protectorate was approaching. The weak Richard did not have his father's military and political genius. In February 1660 the young Charles X Gustavus suddenly died. Four months later the monarchy was restored in England. The two main bearers of the idea of a Protestant International were gone. Left was a vision never realised and a period of seven years during the 1650s when Anglo-Swedish relations were at a peak. In a report from Coyet to Charles X, it was claimed that

Cromwell had once declared that England and Sweden "between them might hold Europe in subjection...since your Majesty [Charles] on land, and he [Cromwell] on sea were mighty considerable."<sup>3</sup> Perhaps it was just as well that it never happened, but the period held great prospects and potential for the realisation of a Protestant International. Soon, however, Sweden lost its position as one of the leading defenders of Protestantism and had to deal with what would be her main concern for the next century or more: the rise of the Russian empire.

#### *Swedish Envoys in England during the Protectorate:*

**Christer Bonde** (1621-59), count, was Swedish ambassador to England 1655-56. Returning to Sweden, he was appointed President of the Council of the Exchequer.

**Peter Julius Coyet** (1618-67) was Swedish envoy in London after Charles X ascended the Swedish throne. In 1657 he was appointed Secretary of State and was sent on diplomatic missions to the Netherlands several times. He was one of the Swedish representatives at the Breda peace congress of 1666.

**George Fleetwood** (1605-67) was born in England and served in Germany under Gustavus Adolphus. In 1653 he was appointed Major General in the Swedish army and was Swedish envoy in England 1655-60. His brother, Charles Fleetwood, was one of Cromwell's generals who, in 1652, became the second husband of Cromwell's daughter Bridget.

**Johan Henrik von Friesendorff** (1617-70) belonged to a Westphalian family of noblemen which had emigrated to Sweden. In the 1640s he made a career as a Swedish diplomat.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Michael Roberts, *Essays in Swedish History* (London, 1967), p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 150. Peter Julius Coyet to Charles X on 18 May and 8 June 1655.

## BEATING UP QUARTERS

*by Keith Roberts*

One of the commonest offensive activities of cavalymen during the civil war was a surprise attack on the garrisons and encampments of their opponents, a practice known as "beating up quarters." An illustration of this is the comment by Richard Atkyns, a captain in Prince Maurice's regiment of horse, that "there did hardly a week pass in the summer half year, in which there was not battle or skirmish fought, or beating up of quarters." Most readers will already be familiar with this style of attack.

So the obvious question is how exactly was this done. The answer, as with most questions on military practice at this time, can be found by reference to the contemporary military manuals. Many soldiers, whether commanding or serving in troops of horse during the civil war, had little practical experience and the manuals were intended to supply the theory and the practical examples they needed. John Cruso's *Militarie Instructions for the Cavall'rie* (1632) was the most widely used manual for cavalry before and during the civil war, although it describes a European theory somewhat outmoded by 1642. A more interesting example for actions during the civil war is John Vernon's *The Young Horseman, or the Honest Plain-Dealing Cavalier* (1644). Vernon drew upon his knowledge of contemporary manuals such as Cruso's and his own considerable experience as a cavalry officer in the parliamentary army when writing this pamphlet, and the result is both readable and informative.

On the subject of the "beating up of Quarters", Vernon writes as follows:

#### The Theory

The best and most advantageable way for the surprising of a Quarter, is to be secretly and sodainly assailed, which may be performed after this manner, or the like. The Regiment of horse consisting for the most part of seven Troops, who are to be divided severally, the first Troop marching secretly without any forerunner, coming near the enemies Quarters, and perceiving themselves to be discovered by the enemies Sentinels shall sodainly without losing any time charge the Sentinels, and enter the Quarters with them immediately surprising the Corps de gard, the second Troop immediately following shall possess themselves of the Alarm place, the Third Troop shall strait ways possess themselves of the Market place, the fourth Troop shall with speede run through each streete, keeping the souldiers in and thereby hinder them from mounting on horseback, or uniting themselves together, the fifth Troop being entered, and hearing where the greatest noise is, shall immediately repair thither and alight, entering the houses, either put to the sword or take prisoners all whom they shall find to be enemies. The rest of the body may place themselves in the most convenient places on either side of Town, for the better surprising of those Souldiers that shall endeavour to escape through the gardens or other back waies, by reason of the horses running through the streets within the Town, hindring them either to mount on horseback, or unite themselves together. Now although your enemy consists of twice so much streas your selves, which sometimes will cause them to be the more secure and negligent in their watches, yet will they not be able by reason of this secret and sodain surprize to stand against you.

The object of the attacker was to cut down the sentries (who would be placed outside the quarters) before an alarm could be given and then overrun the corps de gard (the troopers who would be ready armed to support the outer sentinels). By taking possession of the "alarme point" (the area designated for all troopers in the quarters to muster in an alarm) and the "market place" (the other likely large open space where horsemen could

quickly gather and become organised) the attackers prevented their opponents from gathering together for a proper defence. By riding down the streets the attackers kept their opponents in small pockets to be killed or captured by the fifth troop. Lastly, once the surprized troopers gave up hope of defence they would seek to escape on foot as best they could and the reserve troops of the attackers would wait outside the quarters to mop them up. The objective of the defender, once he realised his force was surprized, was to delay the attacking troopers at all costs and so allow his men to get armed and mounted to counter-attack.

#### The Practice

A good example of this sequence can be seen in the royalist attack on parliament's quarters at Olney, north Buckinghamshire, in November 1643. In the town there were two regiments of horse from the City of London (Col Edmund Harvey's and Col Richard Turner's) and a regiment of foot (Col Randall Mainwaring's redcoats). The town itself lay on one side of a river, the Ouse, with a bridge leading to the nearest supporting parliamentary forces, who were some distance away on the other side at Newport. The objective of the royalist attackers was to surprise the quarters, take possession of the bridge and so trap the parliamentary forces and kill or capture all of them. To do so, they mustered a force which their opponents later recorded as eight regiments of horse (perhaps 2000 cavalrymen), 400 dragoons and 200 "commanded musketeers" (infantrymen temporarily seconded from their regiment for this special duty) who were mounted behind the cavalry troopers.

The royalists attacked at 7 o'clock in the morning and the parliamentary commander, Col Harvey, was unaware of their arrival until "a quarter of an hour before the body appeared within Musquet shot of the town." Initially believing there were not more than 500 royalists in the attack, and determined to give his men time to mount up, Harvey led out such troopers as he could get together in an effort to delay the royalists. He discovered too late the true number of the attackers and before he could draw his men up in a proper formation, the royalists charged and swept his troopers back into the town.

The parliamentary infantry were caught up in the rout and, as one of their officers wrote, "our poore red coates were put to their shifts, being broken all in pieces by our own horse, that they had no meanes to be gotten together again." Col Harvey's troopers were forced back through the town and over the bridge, knocking some of their own infantrymen into the river as they went, but managed to rally on the other side and counter-attacked. Harvey's objective at this point was to regain control of the town since a large part of his command was isolated within the houses

and would fall prisoner unless the place was speedily retaken. This he succeeded in doing by a series of counter-charges supported by musketeers.

### Conclusions.

The royalists had made a successful and well-planned surprise attack, which had nearly succeeded in destroying Col Harvey's force; as it was, they had given the parliamentary soldiers a nasty shock. The bodies of 26 dead from both sides were found in the town and Harvey's troopers, cautiously following the royalists as they retired, reported that some twenty cavaliers had their wounds dressed at a house two miles outside the town. The most seriously injured of these could not be carried further and were left behind to fall prisoner.

This is an interesting account in itself, but its real value is in illustrating in practice the military theories of the day to which both sides aspired. Once we have grasped these military theories, we can follow this small but typical action, understanding what each commander was trying to do and appreciating the options he considered open to him.

This is a small action, though an unusually well documented one as three parliamentary soldiers produced descriptions which were published in London, but the same principles hold true for other actions in the civil war. There is no lack of contemporary records for this period, but without some background knowledge a significant part of any military account is meaningless. The manuals of this period, whether for drill or for wider military theory, are frequently overlooked today, but formed an essential part of the life of the soldier, both for training and fighting, and help us understand the experience of the soldier in the ranks and of the officer commanding him. The soldier was trained from the manual and the officer hoped to use it to train his men in the formations he would use when battle began. Works on military theory have a wider relevance as they provide some explanation of contemporary strategy.

The American publishers of the series *The English Experience* produce facsimile reprints of a number of early military texts, but to date have neglected some of those most relevant to the English civil war. The publication in England of William Barriffe's *Military Discipline, or the Young Artilleryman* is particularly welcome, therefore, to any student of the period. The edition reprinted is the sixth, of 1661, the only edition which included his shorter work "Mars his Triumph" and a cavalry manual, "Some Brief Instructions for the Exercising of the Horse Troopes" by the otherwise unknown J.B. The latter was based strongly on John Cruso's work, but modernised in the light of the author's experience in the civil

war.

Sources: *The Happy Success of the Parliament's Armie at Newport and some other places* (London, Nov. 1643); *A Letter from Colonell Harvie, to his Excellency Robert Earle of Essex* (London, Nov. 1643); *A True Relation of all the skirmishes between our Forces and the Cavaliers at Owlby sent in a letter from Capitaine George Paine* (London, Nov. 1643); John Vernon, *The Young Horseman, or the Honest plain-Dealing Cavalier* (London, 1644); Richard Atkyns, *The Vindication of Richard Atkyns* (London, 1669).

### THE MATCHLESS ORINDA: MRS KATHERINE PHILIPS, 1631-64

by John Atkins

Characters of the English civil war period tend, perhaps understandably, to be mostly male participants, but some women also feature in that unforgettable epoch. Such a lady was Mrs Katherine Philips, the "Matchless Orinda", who deserves to be known to more than literary historians. During the mid-seventeenth century, she was a poetess with sympathies for the royalist cause. Her husband, in contrast, was an energetic parliamentary officer and a Cromwellian politician.

Born in Bucklesbury in the City of London in 1632, she was the daughter of a well-to-do cloth merchant. A precocious child, she attended a fashionable boarding school in Hackney run by Mrs Salmon. She became friends with the cousin of the diarist John Aubury and with a niece of Dr William Harvey. Katherine's father died in 1642 and four years later her widowed mother, a sister of the puritan preacher John Oxenbridge, married again. Her new husband was Sir Richard Philips, bart. of Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire, himself a widower, a lukewarm royalist at the start of the civil war but an active parliamentarian for most of the conflict.

Katherine apparently went to live with her mother and step-father in west Wales and it was presumably there that she met Colonel James Philips of Tregibby and Cardigan Priory. James had formerly been married to Sir Richard's daughter by his first marriage. In August 1648 Sir Richard's widowed son in law married his step daughter. Katherine was only sixteen, James 54. Despite their differences in age and political allegiance, the marriage seems to have been a happy one. Their first child, a boy, was born in April 1655 but died within a few weeks. The distraught mother wrote the epitaph for his tomb in St Sith's church, London:

What on Earth deserves our Trust?

Youth and Beauty both are dust.

Long we gathering are with pain

What one Moment calls again.

Seven years Childless Marriage past,

A Son, A Son is born at last.

So exactly limm'd and Fair,  
Full of good Spirits, Meen and Aire,  
As a long life promised;  
Yet, in less than six weeks dead.

But a second child followed in 1656, a daughter Katherine, who survived into adulthood and who in due course married another Pembrokeshire land-owner.

During the 1650s, Katherine senior divided her time between Cardigan and London. Of average height, slightly plump, with a fresh complexion and a good nature, her attractive personality and energies drew to her a society of ladies - and some men - all of whom she addressed with fanciful classical names. Her husband was known as "Antenor", Sir Edward Dering as "Silvander" and Jeremy Taylor as "Palaemon", she herself adopting the name of "Orinda". These "salons", in London and west Wales, became well known and brought her into contact with such people as Abraham Cowley and Henry Vaughan, two distinguished poets of the times.

Apparently she was always making notes and during her short life she produced a large body of poetry. Much of it stressed the value of women and of female friendship, as well as reflecting the pro-royalist sympathies of herself and most of her friends. This came in useful at the Restoration, for her husband - a senior army officer, a commissioner of sequestration for west Wales, a member of the army committee, a member of several High Courts of Justice and occasionally one of Cromwell's bodyguards - was in real danger. Katherine came to the rescue, writing a string of poems addressed to the royal family and using her cavalier connections to ensure they were circulated at court. One of these works contains a particularly scornful reference to Oliver Cromwell:

Nay, that loose Tyrant whom no Bound confin'd,  
Whom neither Laws nor Oaths, nor shame could bind,  
Although his Soul was than his Look more grim,  
Yet thy brave Innocence half softn'd him.

Perhaps as a result of these poems, James Philips obtained a discrete pardon and survived into old age, long outliving his much younger wife.

In July 1662 Katherine visited Dublin, partly to see an old friend, partly to oversee litigation on behalf of her husband. In Dublin she became acquainted with the Earls of Roscommen and Orrery and other figures in this thriving literary city. They encouraged her to translate Corneille's *La Mort De Pompee*. Her *Pompey*, the first rhymed version of a French tragedy in English, was performed in the Theatre Royal in Dublin early in 1663. She returned to Cardigan in summer 1663.

In March 1664 she paid another visit to London, where she wrote an elegy for a young relative of the Earl of Orrery who had perished of smallpox:

That fierce disease, which knows not how to spare  
The young, the Great, the knowing, or the Fair.

It did not spare her, for a few weeks later, in June 1664, she also died in London of smallpox. She was buried near her son in St Sith's church, which was also known as St Benet Sherhog. The church was completely destroyed two years later in the Great Fire and was not rebuilt.

Katherine's first published poem, signed "KP", appeared in a preface a 1651 edition of the late William Cartright's *Comedies, Tragic-comedies with Other Poems*. But despite her prolific output, very few poems were published during the 1650s. In January 1664 Richard Marriot published a collection of her work, but without her permission and allegedly in a corrupt form. Katherine was furious, condemned the venture as "this pittiful design of a Knave to get a Groat" and forced Marriot to withdraw the book. Nonetheless, many copies of the 1664 edition have survived. Further editions of her poetry and of her correspondence were published in the decades after her death, many of them edited by her friend, Sir Charles Cotterell.

Although barely 33 at her death, Katherine Philips left a large corpus of poems. She doubtless heard Welsh spoken in and around Cardigan and had some respect for the language:

But though the Language hath her beauty Lost,  
Yet she has still some great remains to boast;  
For 'twas in that, the sacred Bards of Old,  
In deathless numbers did their thoughts unfold.

However, there is no evidence that she spoke or understood Welsh and all her surviving works are in English. She was a lyric poet in the cavalier mould, but what makes her really unusual is her sex. One of the first important women poets writing in the English language, she earned respect and admiration in circles in which women had rarely, if ever, been appreciated. Amongst her later admirers were Anne, Countess of Winchelsea and John Keats.

Sources: P.W. Souers, *The Matchless Orinda* (Cambridge, 1931); P. Thomas, *Katherine Philips ("Orinda")* (University of Wales Press, 1988); *Dictionary of National Biography*.

## CROMWELLIAN FACT IN MALDON, ESSEX

by Michael Byrd

The casual visitor is unlikely to notice the substantial white plastered, timber framed, tiled house adjacent to St Peter's churchyard in the

At the age of 59, a new phase of her life began, and after years of restrictions and unhappiness, Lady Anne at last found not only contentment but also an outlet for her formidable energies. Her estates were extensive but the buildings had been run down and she found that many were little more than ruins. During the 1650s and early 1660s, Lady Anne threw her energies and her money into repairing the Clifford properties, displaying a passion for bricks and mortar. She repaired or rebuilt five medieval castles, plus a tower house which rightfully belonged to the 4th Earl's granddaughter. Friends apparently tried to dissuade her from so much building warning her that Cromwell would order the restored castles slighted. Lady Anne replied that, if he did so, she would simply rebuild them again. Her words supposedly reached the Protector's ears, but he was unconcerned: "Let her build what she will, she shall have no hindrance from me." In addition to her work on her castles, she repaired or rebuilt seven churches or chapels, erected monumental pillars, completed an almshouse founded by her mother and built another of her own, and oversaw the construction of her own tomb. Wherever she worked, she left inscriptions, often giving the dates when building began and finished, her initials "AP" (for Anne, Countess of Pembroke) and a suitable biblical quotation.

All this building work cost at least £40,000 and was financed from her inheritance and out of rents. She was quite firm with her tenants, ensuring that all her rents and dues were paid. There is a story of a Mr Murgatroyd, a rich Halifax clothier, who refused to pay her the one hen per year which he owed. Lady Anne eventually obtained the hen, but only after a legal dispute costing her at least £200. She then invited Murgatroyd to dinner and served the bird as the *piece de resistance*. On the other hand, she could be very generous to servants and locals, dispensing quite inordinately large tips – her New Year presents to her servants often dwarfed their annual wages – and travelling the area to distribute bounty in villages and at isolated cottages. She frequently moved from castle to castle, riding in great state in her coach, attended by outriders. Important local landowners were expected to bear attendance and her tenants were required to join what soon became a grand procession. Church bells would ring as she approached each town and she would hold a grand audience upon arrival at her castle. She was, in fact, acting out a display of feudal pomp already outdated by the 1650s, indulging in minor royal progresses. Once in residence, she enjoyed entertaining and receiving visitors, and the assize judges and other dignitaries in the area were expected to visit.

Lady Anne took a particular interest in Appleby. The castle was one of the first to be renovated and thereafter she spent a large part of each year in residence. She led the town's celebrations for Charles II's coronation,

"the aged Countess seeming young again to grace the solemnity" as one eye witness put it, and she ensured that her grandson was returned to parliament when one of Appleby's two seats fell vacant in 1668. She paid for local boys to go to university, granted pensions to the town's clergymen, and gave money for the repair of the grammar school, town hall and bridge. To the end, she was careful to patronise local shops and artisans. The end came in 1676 and was heralded at Appleby. Planning to travel to Brougham on a cold January morning, she suffered two seizures but insisted on travelling regardless. Once at Brougham Castle, she went into a steady decline, and spent her last weeks reading over her diaries and recalling events of her early life. She died on 22 March 1676 in the room in which her father had been born and her mother had died. The body was returned to Appleby for burial, the service graced with a three hour sermon from the Bishop of Carlisle. It was crafted around Proverbs 14.1, "Every wise woman buildeth her house."

On 8 August 1649 Lady Anne had paid her first visit to Appleby castle since her girlhood over forty years before. Some of the outlying apartments were in good order, but the great Norman keep, "Caesar's Tower", had been roofless and uninhabited for almost a century. In April 1651 she laid the foundation stone for a new cross wall, "to the end it may be repaired again and made habitable if it pleaseth God" she wrote, and by January 1653 the keep had been renovated and reroofed. It survives in good order, complete with eighteenth century corner turrets. To the east, the large L-shaped house was largely rebuilt in the 1680s by her successor, the Earl of Thanet, but the lower levels contain some slightly earlier features, indicating repairs by Lady Anne. The small rectangular building in the curtain wall, just west of the gatehouse and now often called a laundry, was erected by Lady Anne as a brewhouse. She was also responsible for two free standing buildings in the grounds, namely the small square beehouse under its pyramidal roof and the quadrangular stable block of 1652-3.

In April 1651 Lady Anne also laid the foundation stone for her new hospital or almshouse in Appleby. The building was complete by January 1653 and occupied by March. She took a keen interest in its residents, eleven poor widows and a maimed spinster, often visiting and dining with "her twelve sisters, as she called them", and inviting them up to the castle for monthly meals. The building, known as St Anne's Hospital, survives in good order and is still used as an almshouse. It stands on the east side of Boroughgate and takes the form of four wings built around a central courtyard. The range fronting the street is low, with seven widely spaced windows and a plain central archway, surmounted by an inscribed panel,

giving access to the courtyard. Most of the windows are modern and the upper storey has been much renovated, but the doorways and shields are largely original. The chapel, complete with much of its original panelling and fittings, is in the north-east angle, the great hall in the south-west.

Lady Anne claimed that her work on St Michael's church in Bongate "raised [it] from its ruins." This appears to be something of an exaggeration, for the present church is substantially medieval, with a nineteenth century north tower. However, she may have generally repaired and refitted the church and her initials certainly feature in a cartouche in the chancel. Her account of work at St Lawrence's church - that she "caused a great part of Appleby Church to be taken down, it being very ruinous and in danger of falling of itself" - seems equally exaggerated. She did add or renew the buttresses and repaired the chancel, the arcade arches and the roofs. But her main contribution was a new family chapel in the north-east corner of the church, erected during 1654-5.

The Clifford chapel in St Lawrence's now contains the impressive monument to Lady Anne's mother, a tomb chest embellished with trophies of death and an inscription. It bears a recumbant effigy of the Countess of Cumberland, a superb life size alabaster figure with a wonderfully carved mantle, a small lamb at her feet, a metal coronet on her head. The monument, dating from 1617, originally stood next to the altar, and was moved to its present position in the nineteenth century. It stands near the monument to Lady Anne herself, erected during her lifetime in 1656-7 over a newly built vault. It is a table tomb, with a plain black marble top, in front of a black marble slab fixed to the wall and bearing coats of arms and inscriptions tracing the Clifford descent. Twenty four shields trace the family from the time of King John down to Lady Anne and her two daughters. The arms of her uncle and cousin, the 4th and 5th Earls of Cumberland, have been omitted. It is still possible to detect a slight difference in the lettering recording her own death, added to the monument almost twenty years after its erection. In 1884 the vicar had cause to inspect the vault beneath the monument. Lady Anne's corpse, neither buried nor in a coffin but simply encased in a close fitting lead shroud, was lying on a low stone bench. It was observed that she seemed to have been no more than five feet tall.

Lady Anne's handywork can be seen elsewhere in the area. Of her castles, Skipton (North Yorks) - like Appleby - is in good order, Brough and Brougham (Cumbria) are extensive ruins, and Pendragon (Mallerstang, Cumbria) is now rather fragmentary. Barden Tower (North Yorks), the tower house which Lady Anne appropriated from her cousin, is now an impressive ruin. She also repaired Holy Trinity church, Skipton, and in



1654 erected there a monument to her father, the 3rd Earl, a tomb chest bearing shields and an inscription but no effigy. Of the four chapels on which she worked, St Wilfrid's in Brougham and St Mary's at Outhgill, Mallerstang, have been much altered since. But Barden chapel and St Ninian's (Ninekirk's), one and a half miles north-east of Brougham castle, both remain much as they were in Lady Anne's day - St Ninian's, in particular, retains the font, screen, pews, communion rails, pupit and poor box of the early 1660s. In Beamsley (North Yorks) stands the hospital or almshouse founded by the Countess of Cumberland in 1593 but "finished more profusely" by Lady Anne during the 1650s. An archway in the low, two storeyed range leads to a garden, in which stands a circular building containing a chapel and further accommodation. Two miles south-east of Brougham castle stands the "Countess Pillar", a fourteen feet stone pillar commemorating the spot where the young Lady Anne parted from her mother for the last time. The octagonal pillar is surmounted by a cube bearing shields, sundials, a date and a lengthy inscription. A similar monument, the "Lady's Pillar", erected by Lady Anne in 1664 on open ground roughly two miles south-east of St Mary's, Mallerstang, has evidently fallen at some stage and has been crudely re-erected. Castle bridge at Mallerstang, just north of Pendragon castle, and Barden bridge both date from the 1650s and were probably built by Lady Anne.

In April 1676 a large congregation gathered in St Lawrence's to see Lady Anne buried in the vault and beneath the monument she had prepared many years earlier. The funeral sermon made much of her building activities and, indeed, at times likened her to a building:

Thus fell at last this goodly Building; thus died this great wise Woman, who while she lived was the Honour of her Sex and Age, fitter for an History than a Sermon...And while her Dust lies silent in that Chamber of Death, the Monuments which she has built in the Hearts of all that knew her shall speak loud in the ears of a profligate Generation.

Her physical monuments speak loudly today in and around her old home town of Appleby.

### THE GREAT STORM

16 October 1987

Cromwell or Milton would have seen the hand of God in that great storm. They would have said that all the houses damaged, the ancient trees uprooted, were a sign of God's anger, a warning to a sadly erring people.

We in our age, aware of the vagrant behaviour  
of isobars, mock our own incompetence.  
And yet our certainty is briefly shattered,  
recalling our vast vulnerability,  
our endless, delicate compromise with nature.

Raymond Tong.

### BOOK REVIEWS

In the midst of his long and often angry speech to parliament in January 1655, Cromwell declared that "if a history shall be written of these times and of transactions, it will be said (it will not be denied,) but that these things that I have spoken are true." Historians have not, in fact, always taken Cromwell's utterances at face value; his letters and speeches, just as much as his actions, have often fuelled accusations of hypocrisy and deceit. But none would deny the value of this material in providing a more rounded picture of the man, his thoughts and beliefs, his hopes and fears. If the evidence of Cromwell's life to 1640 is depressingly meagre, his last eighteen years, the years of military and political prominence, are brilliantly illuminated by an abundance of surviving writings and speeches: transcripts of his speeches in the Commons or at the Putney debates during the 1640s and of his set piece orations or spontaneous, sometimes almost stream of consciousness, diatribes to parliament, parliamentary committees and officers' councils during the 1650s; the record of conversations with contemporaries, faithfully – or not so faithfully – reproduced in their memoirs; and Cromwell's own letters, scores of them, ranging from the military reports to the Speaker written upon campaign in Scotland and Ireland to brief or very personal notes to his family and friends.

The first great collection of Cromwell's letters and speeches was gathered and edited by Thomas Carlyle. He hunted down the "authentic utterances...from far and near; fished them up from the foul Lethæan quagmires where they lay buried;...washed, or endeavoured to wash them clean from foreign stupidities." The material was published "with Elucidations", Carlyle not only annotating *The Letters and Speeches* but also supplying a lively, provocative commentary to place them in context and to provide an outline history of the period and a potted biography of the man. The book was an instant success and went through several editions in the mid nineteenth century, each incorporating "the small leakage of new Cromwell matter that has oozed in upon me from the whole world." In due course, other editors took over, and the Carlyle collection continued to appear from time to time, prefaced by new introductions, adorned by new

or amended annotations and suffixed by ever growing appendices of fresh discoveries. Second hand copies can still be picked up, though usually of the much revised early twentieth century editions rather than of the first Carlyle editions of the 1840s.

In the 1930s a completely new collection of Cromwellian material began to appear, under the editorship of an American academic, W. C. Abbott, assisted by a large research team. Abbott not only set the surviving letters and speeches into a strict chronological order but also added further material – a few completely new letters turned up by his researchers, the official papers and correspondence issued in Cromwell's name and sometimes under his signature during the Protectorate, summaries of lost letters whose contents are partly revealed by the replies they produced, and so on. All these were set in context by a vast commentary. The result was a four volume edition, *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, running to almost four thousand pages and originally published over the decade 1937–47. Long out of print and virtually unobtainable, the four volumes have just been republished unamended and in their original form by Oxford University Press. The collection is thorough and almost comprehensive – very few new letters having been found since 1947, – and the commentary is judicious and generally quite sound. But if the idiosyncracies, colourful prejudices and worst-textual inaccuracies of the Carlyle edition have disappeared, so too has most of the sense of the enjoyment and wonderment which Carlyle managed to capture and convey to his readers. The result is a heavyweight collection, worthy but rather hard going, and unlikely to be used for anything more than reference, a limitation reinforced by its current price of around £280 the set.

Far more accessible is a new paperback selection edited by Ivan Roots, *Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (Everyman, Dent, 1989, £4.95). As the title suggests, Cromwell's letters have been omitted, but the selection does include all his major surviving orations, twenty six of them, from his speech to the General Council in March 1649 to that addressing the dignitaries of the City less than six months before his death, setting out his hopes and fears for the future. Most of the extant speeches, however, were delivered to his two Protectorate parliaments of 1654–5 and 1656–8. Also included are ten "conversations" from the 1650s, mainly with or in the presence of Edmund Ludlow and Bulstrode Whitelock and drawn from their published memoirs. Appendices reproduce Cromwell's contributions to the Putney debates of 1647, list sources, suggest further reading and supply an outline chronology of Cromwell's life. All these utterances, but particularly the major speeches to parliament, reveal the thoughts and character of the mature Cromwell, forged by war and regicide into the

Lord General and Lord Protector of the 1650s. As Professor Roots's incisive introduction makes clear, we know that he usually spoke extempore - when approached in January 1658 for a copy of the speech he had delivered to parliament the day before, he admitted he had none, for he had spoken "to the House those things that did come upon his own heart and that he did acquaint them honestly and plainly how things stood in matters of fact, but of the particulars he doth not remember four lines." The generally rough, occasionally incoherent, nature of these speeches attests to the truth of this as much as to the limitations of seventeenth century shorthand, and we can follow with fascination as Cromwell crafts a speech on his feet, ideas tumbling out, new directions embarked upon and then held back while he completes his former point. This excellent selection enables Cromwell to come alive for us all.

The last few years has seen something of a slackening in the flow of new biographies of the great man. That Cromwell continues to attract is confirmed by the number of fresh studies currently in preparation, but Pauline Gregg's *Oliver Cromwell* (Dent, 1988, £16) can lay claim to being the first full-length biography devoted solely to Cromwell to appear for a decade or more. It must be said at the outset that this biography rests upon little new primary research, for the text, endnotes and bibliography all suggest that limited recourse has been made to manuscript material in central and local repositories. Nor are major new theories advanced, though Cromwell's relationship with John Lilburne is highlighted to good effect. Instead, with the help of printed primary sources - not least Carlyle's and Abbott's collections - and a wide range of secondary accounts, Gregg charts a generally sound and sensible course through the sometimes murky waters of Cromwell's life and times. The study is divided chronologically into nine sections, from birth and early life to death and overall assessment, and it maintains a steady and brisk pace throughout, covering the man in around 320 pages. Gregg stresses the toleration and humanity of her subject and the way in which his early life in East Anglia had a profound effect upon the military and political leader of the mid seventeenth century. If there is little particularly new, still less revolutionary, in this account, it does present a balanced and sympathetic picture of Cromwell. The text is complemented by a map and almost two dozen black and white illustrations, most of them reproducing portraits of Cromwell, his family and his contemporaries. A new biography of Cromwell is always to be welcomed, and this well produced and reasonably priced study is no exception.

The military history of the period continues to attract considerable attention. For many, the pick of the 1989 crop will be *Soldiers of the Eng-*

*lish Civil War (1); Infantry* (Osprey Elite series, £5.95). Keith Roberts' text manages to cover a lot of ground in a clear and concise manner, ranging over the military revolution, the trained bands, recruitment, organisation, weapons, dress, training, logistics and management. The accompanying illustrations, both modern photographs and contemporary prints and drawings, are consistently well chosen, apposite and generously captioned. A great deal of expert knowledge is lightly and pleasantly conveyed. At the heart of the book are twelve colour drawings by Angus McBride, showing the clothing and equipment of assorted types of foot soldiers, royalist and parliamentarian, pikemen, musketeers and ensigns, officers and other ranks. The figures are portrayed in small dramatic groupings, illustrating different scenes from the war - the "firelock" musketeer smirking at his two colleagues struggling to tend their match, parliamentarians falling like ninepins in a skirmish at Basing House and, best of all, bloody surgery in progress after Marston Moor. Each scene and figure within it is described in detail by Roberts. This is a superb little book and we can look forward to its "twin", on the cavalry, dragoons and artillery, written by John Tincey and due out early in 1990.

Partizan Press, the small, Essex based concern specialising in modestly priced pamphlets/booklets on civil war subjects, goes from strength to strength. Over the past year items have appeared at a rate of more than one a month, leaving readers and reviewers gasping. Moreover, several of the press's early works (vintage 1983-6) were republished during 1989 in an enlarged or otherwise revised form. The mainstay of the output remains regimental histories, varying from straightforward biographical listings of officers (often with regimental colours, if known) to more detailed accounts of organisation and campaigns. An outstanding example of the latter is Derek Hall and Norman Barber's *Colonel Richard Norton's Regiment of Horse* (1989, £2.99), a thoroughly researched survey combining a biographical study of Richard Norton and his family with a military account of his regiment's role in the war. Stuart Reid has produced a similar study focussing on the *Finest Knight in England: Sir Thomas Tyldesley* (£2.99), though he is probably better known for his five volume series *Officers and Regiments of the Royalist Army* (1987-8, £16.25 the lot) and three volumes in the series *Scots Armies of the Seventeenth Century* looking at Scottish armies, royalist and parliamentarian, of the civil war years (various dates, £4.95 each). Laurence Spring has just produced the first in a similar series which will look at the *Officers and Regiments of Waller's Army* (1989, £3.99). Our own Barry Denton is general editor of a matching series which will explore the regimental history of the New Model Army. The first volume of this is Barry's study, *The Lifeguards of Horse*

(1989, £3.99), richly illustrated with contemporary quotations and engravings and several modern drawings, two of them in colour.

Partizan Press have also published a range of booklets on wider military topics. Stuart Reid's re-assessments of two Scottish battles, *Aberdeen, 1644* (1988, £3.25) and *Kilsyth, 1645* (1989, £3.25) are aimed primarily at war gamers, but contain much to interest a general military historian. Donald Reid's *English Civil War Firearms* (1989, £4.95) is a thorough, erudite and profusely illustrated introduction to the firearms of the period and Stuart Reid's *Gunpowder Triumphant* (£3.50) assesses the increasing dominance of muskets and the response to it. Stuart Peachey's *Civil War and Salt Fish* (1988, £3.50) examines military and civilian diet in the mid seventeenth century and Liz Smith's *The King's English* (revised edn., 1988, £2.99) serves as a glossary to words and phrases of the period. Partizan Press also reprint contemporary pamphlets and accounts; usually with a new introduction and annotations. In this mould is Matthew Hopkins's fascinating if chilling description of *The Discovery Of Witches*, introduced by David Ryan (1988, £1.99) and three royalist accounts of campaigns - *Bellum Civile: Sir Ralph Hopton's Memoirs of the Campaign in the West, 1642-44*, edited by Alan Wicks (1988, £4.50), and *The Edgehill Campaign and the Letters of Nehemiah Wharton* (1989, £4.50) and *Richard Symonds: The Complete Military Diary* (1989, £4.95), both edited by Stuart Peachey. [Most of these items can only be obtained direct from Partizan Press. For a complete listing send three first class stamps to Partizan Press, 26 Cliffsea Grove, Leigh on Sea, Essex, SS9 1NQ.]

Dr Peter Gaunt

1989 has been a fruitful year for publications on the history of the century in which Oliver Cromwell lived and died. It has proved quite impossible to keep up with the books, to say nothing of the articles, and I have obviously missed a good many items worthy of bringing to the attention of readers of *Cromwelliana*. I hope that nevertheless what follows represents a decent swathe across the field.

Our President, Dr John Morrill, is one of a triumvirate of general editors of an admirable series of "Cambridge Studies in Early Modern English History", most of whose volumes have some bearing upon our man and his times. They are emphatically scholarly but are also very readable and stimulating. Expensive as academic books tend to be these days in hardback, they are now beginning to appear in second editions as paperbacks more modestly priced. These include Cynthia B. Herrup's *The Common Peace* (Cambridge UP, £10.95, first published in 1987), a close investigation, with particular attention to East Sussex, of "participation and

the criminal law in seventeenth century England", when the structure of enforcement was very different from what it would become in later centuries. The procedures of the law then mingled old-fangled practices with innovations, a few with a hint of permanence, in coping with problems which were the result of economic and social strains intensifying endemic fears among property holders. Inflation attenuated traditional property qualifications in real terms, allowing participation particularly on juries of men who would have been excluded in 1500 and would be again by 1800. They brought with them their own attitudes, including religious ones, towards criminality and acquired by their activities possibilities, opportunities and experience which affected the social history generally of their time and place. The Interregnum was not the least significant episode in this process, though the Restoration proved a check.

Another in the series addresses itself to the difficult years between 1625 and 1632 which helped to form so much of the outlook and policies of the king, Charles I, who would lead the British Isles - or be led - into civil war. Dr L.J. Reeve of the University of Hong Kong - there is a great deal of east Asian interest in our period - writes under the title *Charles I and the Road to Personal Rule* (CUP, £35.00), concentrating upon the establishment of the regime of the 1630s which would collapse in the early 1640s, tracing in the light of political and ideological developments, the international context and individual personalities, the king's in particular, the transition from what seemed government by a royal favourite - Buckingham was always more than just a pretty face - through European wars to withdrawal from them and from a swift succession of unamenable parliaments to none, with none in prospect for the rest of the decade. Dr Reeve does not see Charles as the sole author of the woes of these early years. Nonetheless we are left in no doubt of the major part his character and values played. Not unexpectedly Charles emerges as a man of taste and a good family man but also as weak and lacking in that clear view of the possible that makes for a truly "political person." Dr Reeve uses the metaphor of a road in surveying these years but he is no subscriber to the view that England was on a high road to civil war from the beginning of the century. He is a revisionist but offers no obeisance to Earl Russell's lordly interpretation of the age. Contemplating Charles's reign as a whole he glimpses links between two crises - one producing personal rule, the other, in time, civil war. In between came the fears, prejudices, misunderstandings, and aspirations of men like Pym, Hampden and Cromwell, moving on from being merely a private man, which "inextricably connected" through Charles himself "the political experiences" of the 1620s and early 1640s.

Two further "Cambridge Studies" take us through the Interregnum and beyond. Jonathan Scott's *Algernon Sidney and the English Republic 1623-1677* (CUP, £27.50) centres in fact on the 1650s and 1660s in the first of a two volume biography which is more of an exploration of Sidney's intellectual progress than of his life generally. What, Dr Scott asks, were his beliefs, whence did they come and over time and circumstance what did he make of them? The object is to show Sidney as "a republican, the product of the first of England's two revolutions", not as he is so often characterised "an Exclusionist whig." Dr Scott makes it clear that it was the years of the Commonwealth, when Sidney was a military officer, a naval administrator and an active MP, that were "politically the most formative of his life", giving him the experience of a time when, as a fellow-commonwealthsman, Thomas Scott, nostalgically put it in Richard Cromwell's parliament, "we [England] never bid fairer for being masters of the whole world." The Rump's dissolution was for him a catastrophe. Cromwell he came to see as an enemy, whose ambition had turned him into "an insolent servant", a tyrant and a violent one, destroying his master. (As an aristocrat, Sidney knew all about servants.) The Rump, back again in 1659, saw him busy and effective, this time in diplomacy, with a whiff of the gunboat about it. With the Restoration we follow him into exile, voluntary at first, then compelled, a restless period in which he composed his *Secret Maxims*, which inter alia depict Cromwell as a despotic monarch going around with the bible under his arm but *The Prince* in his back pocket. Looking back, Sidney saw himself as a participant in a grand political experiment which, when only half finished, had been almost terminated, happily to be started again in 1659, only to be frustrated once more. This time, though Sidney did not say so because he could not recognise it, it was the political frivolity of the commonwealthsman - in which he shared - that helped to erect the ladder up which Charles Stuart was allowed to clamber back. Already Sidney was on his way to creating a myth of his own life and times. I look forward to volume 2 to complete it.

Meanwhile Mr John Carswell, who has written some excellent books on the later Stuart era, has provided in *The Porcupine* (John Murray, £18.95) a more straightforward narrative of and commentary upon the full span of Sidney's life. Like Dr Scott, he starts from the proposition that "his real life may have been overlaid by his posthumous achievement." Mr Carswell stresses Sidney's happiness in helping "the strange institutions with which the Republic endowed itself" to work successfully, demonstrating practically that monarchy could no longer be defended even as "a necessary evil." Mr Carswell is not blind to Sidney's faults but, though he

admits that the man was hardly sans pair et sans reproche, he agrees with Coleridge: "what a gentleman he was!" That sounds fine, but what is the definition here of a gentleman? Very handsomely produced, well documented, intelligent and sensitively written, this book would serve as a useful introduction to Dr Scott's more pregnant study - not that they concur on every point. But their very disagreements and variations of emphasis underline the validity of my suggestion.

Paul Seaward's *The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime 1661-1667* (CUP, £30.00) is another "Cambridge Study" whose title speaks for itself. After two decades of upheaval, the Stuarts were back. 1660 did not mean ipso facto the full restoration of the pre-1640 order with the looked-for stability it was supposed to entail. No conditions were imposed upon Charles II but the political nation and traditional institutions had gone through experiences, both positive and negative, which could never be completely expunged from heart and mind. Delimitation of parliamentary power presented a specially difficult problem and, as Dr Seaward's investigations indicate, "by 1667 crown and parliament were again at one another's throats" to the point that the Restoration settlement - such as it was - was "almost destroyed." A three-pronged assault is made upon the question why?: first, analysis of attitudes of and towards government policies; second, assessment of the complex legislation of the period; and third, telling of the tale of what was said and done and by whom at Westminster. It all culminates in the crisis that thrust Lord Chancellor Clarendon into exile and which would along labyrinthine ways lead into the conflicts of the 1670s and the furore over exclusion. Whatever his faults, Clarendon had striven loyally to strengthen, by maintaining, "the foundations of stability", just as during the Interregnum he had kept alive and purposeful the hopes of royalism. What he wanted most was a strong but not irresponsible monarchy and "a sanctified law." He was frustrated by the pulsating animosities of younger, condescendingly less hide-bound politicians and by events upon which at best he had been able to operate a slipping brake. Particularly interesting is the argument that what preoccupied MPs, cavalier and anglican though most were, was neither religion nor the constitution per se but their own nagging "sense of decline" as gentry in wealth and influence. "The common people, they felt, paid them less respect and demanded more wages" - a neat juxtaposition. So, Dr Seaward suggests, they sought stability not to extend their power but to preserve it, a stability they did not equate with the royal court's, though there was, of course, some overlapping. The crown wanted a standing army; they wanted their militia. They required their local influence to be untrammelled by a crown reaching out cor-

ruptly, as they saw it, to take it from them. How far such attitudes reached back into the 1650s and beyond remains a hard question, but Dr Seaward goes so far as to assert that "the most profound legacy of the civil wars and Interregnum was not, indeed, any growth in the political maturity and sophistication of the nation but rather the enduring divisions that they had created within it." Given that, it is a matter for surprise that Oliver Cromwell is mentioned once only and that en passant.

Dr Bernard Capp has had the happy knack of choosing intriguing subjects for his research - fifth monarchists, who should have come into their own and Jesus's in the 1650s, and popular astrology, whose numerous practitioners agreed after the event with Edward Hyde at the Restoration that the late troubles had been the effect of a malignant star interfering with the influence of "our own good old stars." Dr Capp now turns to the navy. In a typically inquisitive study under the title *Cromwell's Navy* (Oxford UP, £40.00) he penetrates the connections of "the fleet and the English Revolution 1648-1660", considering its roles in both domestic and foreign policy and the defence generally of the various regimes from the second civil war - when a significant part of the parliamentary navy mutinied - to the Restoration, of which it was certainly among the vital begetters. During a good part of this time, then, it was hardly Cromwell's. It worked to establish the regicide republic against the threat of royalist and/or foreign invasion and towards that mastery of the world which men like Algernon Sidney and Thomas Scott had believed impugned by the expulsion of the Rump in 1653, an event which certainly upset a good many naval men, not all of whom came round in the end more or less wholeheartedly behind the Protectorate. Dr Capp shows us that it was not only the army which became politicised by developments in the later 1640s and beyond. Generals at sea - the term is significant - and their subordinate officers and men had to be taken into account in the allocation of state funds and the formulation of general policy. The navy, indeed, was "new-modelled" under the Rump - along with Trinity House and the Customs. A large, efficient and loyal navy was essential to the pursuit of Cromwell's weltropolitik. On the whole it got it. The 1650s may be described as an age of naval wars in which England came off best. Dr Capp sees them as marking "the dawn of a new age of naval might" in which both the Commonwealth and Protectorate were playing for high stakes. Philip IV of Spain called Cromwell "that great pirate at sea", echoing an earlier description of Francis Drake. But in the long run the Dutch were, as someone put it, "most in our eye and we in theirs." Dr Capp's admirable monograph gives us, besides an absorbing narrative, "a social profile" of naval officers, including warrant officers upon whom, he concludes, the

standards and morale of any ship's company depended. Further chapters contemplate ships as communities - "floating commonwealths" - evaluating the quality of life, establishing the manning of the fleet, whether by volunteers or pressed men, and the role of religion. His final word on that is that "the navy was a difficult field for missionaries of any creed."

Most prominent among the parliamentary generals who became effective seamen, though they still gave their commands - "right wheel" or whatever - in land military terms, was Robert Blake, who served both the Rump and the Protectorate with unbending determination, reinforced as time went by with a tightening grip on all things naval. He has been the subject of many biographies. The latest by Michael Baumber - *General-At-Sea: Robert Blake* (John Murray, £17.95) - gives us Blake, sometimes fumbling but persistent, pragmatically taking advantage of developments in a fleet originating under the Tudors when England's appreciation of her destiny upon the sea began to be realised. Blake and his colleagues inherited something which had to be nurtured to release its potential. The re-modelling described by Dr Capp and pretty constant employment in deep and shallow waters ensured that it made its impact as a battle fleet and more. A stern disciplinarian, like Drake, Blake imposed his will and his professionalism upon officers and men alike and they respected him for it and may even, some of them, have loved him as Hawkins's were reputed to have loved him. Not a brilliant tactician nor in any sense an innovator, he succeeded by force of personality and his capacity quietly but demonstrably to learn from experience and to pass it on. Mr Baumber tells us all this in a solid, well equipped and pleasantly written narrative, but the biographical approach hardly justifies his ambitious sub-title "and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution in Naval Warfare."

Only two other biographies have come my way this year. There must have been others, though not I think of Oliver himself. Michael Strachan's *Sir Thomas Roe 1581-1644* (Michael Russell, £19.95), beautifully produced by a small but enterprising Salisbury publisher, is a solid but un-stodgy account of a tireless and ubiquitous diplomat who, "lying abroad", served Elizabeth I, James I and Charles I, quite apart from his sitting in the Addled (1614), Short and Long Parliaments and helping various overseas trading companies. Few Englishmen of his times can have travelled so far - to Guinea, the Baltic, Germany, the Levant and India, everywhere observant and dedicated to his sovereign. "In all the honest arts of negotiation he had few equals, no superior", wrote a contemporary. Yet in the long run, Mr Strachan feels, he must have been a disappointed man for whom a privy councillorship was hardly reward enough. (There were other servants of Charles I who could tell the same tale of his inept and un-

grateful distribution of marks of favour.) My own interest in Roe was set off when, during the war, I stayed in Mandu, a romantic, long deserted Moghul city in Indore, built on an ancient Hindu site, where tigers were reputed to roam now and then among the ruins, a microcosm of almost two thousand years of Indian history and civilisation. Roe went there several times during his embassy to the Moghul court (1615-19), described in absorbing detail in three central chapters here. My interest was reinforced by Roe's doings at the Porte in the 1620s, where he preceded that old rogue, Sir Sackville Crowe, whose extravagant career, including years in the Tower in the 1650s, was as diverse as Sir Thomas's, though it would not become his biographer to conclude as Roe's does that "in an age in which the highest in the land were open to corruption, he was incorruptible...the epitome of...a Christian gentleman." Some of the areas of Roe's work would take on a great significance as the century wore on, not least in the expansionist imperial policies pursued in the 1650s.

The other notable biography of the year is by Dr Ronald Hutton, who follows up his brilliant but perhaps not entirely convincing - could it be? - study of *The Restoration 1658-67* (Oxford UP, 1985), with *Charles II* (Oxford UP). Subtitled "King of England, Scotland and Ireland", it does take some account of what is fast becoming a commonplace, that upheavals of the mid seventeenth century and beyond were not merely English but affected and were affected by all the constituent elements of the British Isles. Even so, after his traumatic adventure with the Scots in 1650-51, Charles himself never visited any of his other kingdoms. Newmarket was about as far as he wanted to go. *Charles II* is a massive book - 450 pages of text, a hundred of references and index, with eight illustrations, all produced on the best Oxford paper, in clear Oxford type and dark blue binding, the lot incredibly only £19.50. The monarch is taken from the basket to the casket. Dr Hutton accepts that on his death bed "this slippery sovereign" finally embraced the Catholicism that had haunted him for most of his life. But I wonder. In a concluding chapter, "Monarchy in a Masquerade", the biographer, rejecting his initial impulse to leave his readers to draw their own conclusions, offers his own comprehensive assessment. Charles may have had "a wretched time as an exiled prince and king", but the euphoria, some of it real, some of it feigned, of his return ought to have "seated him more securely than many previous monarchs." Yet his reign turned out (as Dr Seaward's study confirms) to be a disturbed one, with most of his "real troubles...caused by himself." Some historians, of course, have said the same of his father, "his own executioner." But Charles II was lucky enough to die a natural death (somewhat surprisingly) in his own bed. Charming, with most of the social graces,

outwardly affable, loyal to his family and at least a few of his servants, he was also cold, cautious, suspicious, vindictive - remember Sir Henry Vane - insecure. "It was not wise to relax too much in [his] company." Intelligent, he was more than somewhat lazy, apart from his own unremitting sexuality, which he shared with his maternal grandfather, Henry IV of France. No doubt most of Charles's native qualities were interlarded with his experience in adolescence and early manhood. Not the least of the long running consequences of the ascendancy of old Noll was the flawed personality of old Rowley.

The Earl of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, like all the best history, is real literature, the crowning achievement of royalist prose writing in the time of the troubles. Literary and historical studies do not always make loving bedfellows, but in these days of inter-disciplinary approaches, historians and literary critics - if that is the right term to designate them - are eyeing each other appraisingly with a hint of likely friendship. Not yet "and so to bed" together, but certainly with prospects. Among gallant attempts to get things moving, I welcome, from a university English Department, Lois Potter's *Secret Rites and Secret Writings: Royalist Literature 1641-60* (Cambridge UP, £32.50), which probes the relations of literature and public events during a hectic period which in literature, as in so many other matters, was seen as an aberration, a gross hiccup. (Dryden's repudiation of his own admiring verses in 1658 to Oliver Cromwell is a blatant example.) Dr Potter concentrates on royalist output as more manageable than that of the rest. Certainly, in comparison, the royalists were more homogeneous. Their opponents did not know what they wanted or were aware that among themselves they wanted very different things, but royalists generally wanted at least Charles I and after him Charles II, each seen as the preservative of the endangered social and political order. The trouble was that as the "hitherto dominant culture", they were now put into a repressed position, having to be covert to carry on - hence the book's title. It is commonly assumed that "secret writing" and publishing were the work of "popular" and radical groups and individuals but, in fact, between the outbreak of the civil war and "his Majesty's happy restauration", the source of the most deliberately subversive (that is, of the regime presently in power) productions were royalists, now underdogs, "whose greatest desire was the re-establishing of a hierarchy." Royalists had never made freedom of the press a principle before the war nor (perhaps surprisingly, perhaps not) did their experience of censorship during the Interregnum convert them. Most supported the reintroduction of controls under the legitimate authority after 1660. Dr Potter even suggests that some royalists during the 1650s were less concerned about direct

ensorship than about the critical censure of fellow writers. Yet much of their work is expressed in "cabalistic mystification", with coded messages of the type we get these days from government ministers and their cautious party critics, concealing only to reveal. Much play was made on words, including anagrams - nothing new in that, of course. Elsewhere classical allusions abounded, leaving readers to make their own modern instances. Charles I, that great collector of images, provides the basis of an erudite chapter on "the royal image" itself, eikon basilike before *Eikon Basilike*, ostensibly the public expression of private thoughts, providing both visually (with its emblematic and pictorial title page) and verbally the potent myth of the Royal Martyr. Interestingly enough, some of the Caroline iconography was taken over and absorbed into the Cromwellian - each being an expression of the cult of personality. Much royalist writing hinted at stimulating action, but some was really a substitute for it: "Sit around and let us be treasonable" echoes Richard II's wimpish "Let us sit upon the ground/ And tell sad stories of the death of Kings."

Dr Potter works throughout to a wide interpretation of literature. That can only be to the good in arriving at a true understanding of the period's cultural history, whose parameters are by no means strait. Within them, the connections of *Syphilis, Puritanism and Witchhunts* (Macmillan, £35.00) are relevant, if not immediately apparent. Stanislav Andreski, a professor of sociology, who has previously written on "the social sciences and sorcery", links all three in an attempt to come up with historical explanations for the second topic in the light of medicine and psychoanalysis, involving the other two. The thesis that the abrupt arrival of syphilis into Europe (probably as nature's swift revenge for the "discovery" of America) led to the rise of puritanism is not entirely novel - D.H. Lawrence caught a glimpse of it - but it is put forward here in vigorous detail and some modesty ("I do not attribute the Reformation as a whole to the impact of syphilis"), but its sharp and seemingly inexorable spread seems only one of a number of factors encouraging a greater and more positive and practical response to traditional ideals of asceticism. It fits chronologically. There is vivid evidence of the horror syphilis aroused - note, for instance, the urge of every nation to attribute it to the goings on of others. To Italians it was the French disease, the Italian to the French, and, taken eastward in that age of aggressive expansion, to Indians and Japanese it was the Portuguese disease. Once the association with sexual intercourse was discerned, syphilis seemed too high a price to pay for carnal pleasure, particularly out of marriage. Hence "puritanism", which Professor Andreski is inclined too readily to reduce to a hatred of self-indulgence. Puritanism in its turn is associated here with the rise of capitalism, though

there again Professor Andreski is careful not to deny that "the protestant ethic" of dedication to work and the accumulation of capital would probably have occurred within other circumstances of the early modern western world. This thesis deserves some consideration chiefly because it goes out of its way to underline a factor - disease - which is at last receiving something of the attention it surely deserves. Turning to witchcraft, the author shows himself well informed but healthily sceptical of the various explanations which have been put forward for the undoubted upsurge in the period of belief in "the craze." He suggests that if Keith Thomas's thesis put forward in *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971) works well for England but is less satisfying for continental developments, he prefers, again not as a complete innovation, a connection with syphilis, which as a consequence of sexual activity intensified existing fears and hatred of the opposite sex. In a male dominated society, that meant that women became the carriers of an evil which was readily extended into devil's work. Misogyny combined with fear and Professor Andreski's brand of puritanism to produce an obsession with witchcraft. The disappearance of the craze coincides with an apparent abatement of the scourge in the eighteenth century, within a context of more rational attitudes generally. This short book, supplemented with copious illustrative documentary material, is useful for enhancing our awareness of the complexities of life in the world in which Oliver Cromwell grew up. An appendix makes the whole thing strongly relevant to us, contemplating as it does that AIDS, which like syphilis has appeared with great suddenness and horror, might set off similar social effects, diverse according to the areas in which it spreads. All very depressing! But Professor Andreski tries to cheer us up by concluding that pollution will probably be of greater long term significance.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are brought together in Timothy Kenyon's *Utopian Communism and Political Thought in Early Modern Britain* (Pinter, £27.50), two substantial case studies of Thomas More, who dreamed up *Utopia*, and Gerrard Winstanley, who made a tentative stab at realising his own version. The view each took of "the human condition" is delineated within their own theologies, particularly their attitudes towards the Fall, and put into the contexts of more conventional thinking. Readers of *Cromwelliana* will, no doubt, be more concerned with Winstanley and the section on him can be read as a separate entity. But that would be to miss the illuminating comparisons which underline the importance to each thinker of the role of labour, regarded by both as an obligation and one that should incur "an appropriate material reward", though they differ on what that should be. *Utopia* is shown as "a design

for a largely static society dedicated to the promotion of a moral rectitude." Winstanley, per contra, envisages not only the spiritual regeneration of the individual but also progressive improvement of life in this world through what we would call scientific and technical innovation. Thereby the Digger reflects the differing aspirations of early Tudors and mid-century Stuarts. What was coming between, Dr Kenyon suggests, was "popularised Baconianism", transcending More's limited gauge of human potential. "Experiment" was Bacon's key concept. Winstanley valued it, hostile to received ideas and openly enthusiastic about those who "through industry or ripeness of understanding have found out any secret of nature or new invention in art or trade or tillage." More's Utopian would grow in virtue, Winstanley's would welcome not only spiritual regeneration but more mundane liberties and the extension of human beings' dominion over nature. Winstanley, then, is an optimist; More, though not just a pessimist, seems unduly pre-occupied with the banes of man's predicament. All of the issues discussed by both thinkers and their modern day critic are of present day relevance.

Sin, like the poor, is always with us, and the sins that abound in *Sin and Society in the Seventeenth Century* by John Addy (Routledge, £15.00) are mostly of the kind deployed and lasciviously deplored in the tabloid press - fornication, adultery, buggery, child abuse, interlain with slander, cursing, blasphemy and bastardy. Sin, as usual, was very much what the unsinning thought it must be. (During the Interregnum, the Ranters dismissed most of the list above because sin was an imaginary abstraction.) Mr Addy's study is concentrated on the vast sprawling archdeaconry of Chester, but much the same sort of thing cropped up elsewhere. Here piled up are examples of drunken and quarrelsome clerics, randy schoolmasters eager to show housewives the difference between their husbands and "real men." Lay or clerical, our ancestors were a litigious lot and it is the records of ecclesiastical courts which give Mr Addy masses of material, often in pungent and irresistibly quotable English. Initiative in many cases came from beneath, but the courts were not generally popular since they were so patently a part of the church establishment's co-operation in governmental exercise of social control. Though the church was restored in 1660 in its historical form, the prerogative courts - High Commission and Star Chamber - which had backed its "bawdy courts" were not. The result was, as Mr Addy records, a slow decline, reinforced by social and cultural changes, but one suspects that the courts were fatally battered when the puritans were (apparently) in power. Henceforward attention became confined to disputes over tithes - an eye to the Quakers there - pews, faculties and matrimony. Sin, of course, did not die out. Has not the post-

Restoration kingdom a permissive period of the kind that upsets Mrs Whitehouse and Mrs Thatcher today?

The fall of the Republic less than two years after Cromwell's death was greeted in traditional fashion with bonfires and bellringing - a method of celebration for which the English seem to have had an almost instinctive inclination. Dr David Cressy, whose work on literacy is familiar to all students of our period, has produced in *Bonfires and Bells* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £19.95) a monograph which plumbs "the national memory" and "the protestant calendar" in Elizabethan and Stuart times, extending his coverage to colonial America in that century when the settlers (in Robert Frost's marvellous insight) had the land before they were the land's. Examples of celebrations are rife - pope burnings on 17 November commemorating Elizabeth I's accession, Guy Fawkes on 5 November. Besides national anniversaries there were local ones, often ones upon which not all the locals could agree. Fights around bonfires were not unknown and the Riot Act of 1715 had some connection with anniversarial and party scuffles under Anne. We are inclined to imagine that it is only in recent years that our compatriots have degenerated into disorder, but the evidence of behaviour in the early modern period tells a different story. Read the reports of ambassadors in London, "excitable continentals to a man", which point to a schizoid people entwining ungovernableness with deference. Philip Stubbes in Elizabeth's reign described a football match as a kind of communal murder. It was the introduction of an organised police in the nineteenth century which started a process of civility which seems to be coming to an end. But Dr Cressy's well researched and lively book is about much more than hooliganism and animosities. It polishes another facet of our many sided cultural past.

John Milton, who called Cromwell "our chief of men", was himself the chief of writers during the Interregnum and moreover one of those who Cromwell singled out as having had somewhat to do in the world. The master spirit who wrote *Areopagitica* in 1645 and would go on after 1660 to lament in *Samson Agonistes* the defeat of "the revolution" also impugned Charles I in *Eikonoclastes*, served the Commonwealth and Protectorate as "Latin Secretary" and sought "a ready and easy way to a commonwealth" in the darkening days of 1659-60. Dennis Davidson in *The Cambridge Companion to Milton* (Cambridge UP) edits a selection of essays, chiefly on literary topics ("*Comus*", "Milton's Satan", "Milton and the Sexes" and so on) which certainly offer valuable glimpses of many aspects of the man and his output. But it is hardly a "comprehensive survey." A short final article, "Reading Milton", indicates how many other subjects might have been considered for a vade-mecum. Nevertheless this

is a welcome asset for the historian willing to reach out to the literary expositor and vice versa, and as an elegant paperback it is cheap at £8.95. (There is also a cloth edition for £27.50.)

Finally, I recommend a first rate text book, *The Early Stuarts 1603-42* (Longman, £8.95 paperback) by Roger Lockyer, setting out a balanced, thoughtful and up to date "political history" (actually a bit more than that) of the decades in which Oliver Cromwell moved into middle age. He is not mentioned by Mr Lockyer, but the reader, looking back from the after comment of the 1640s and 1650s, will be aware of the man who, though perhaps not "great ere fortune made him so", was quietly making himself and being made fit to meet the challenges and opportunities with which civil war and what came after faced him.

I have read other valuable books during the year, reviewing some of them elsewhere. All of the books I have singled out help to inform our knowledge and understanding of the Oliverian context. Clearly the period still excites enquiry. Now retired as a university teacher, but still I hope open minded, I find it encouraging that so many young scholars find inspiration for their PhDs, monographs and articles in that hustling time. Oliver Cromwell, like Queen Anne, is certainly dead, but his memory and that of his era is alive and kicking.

Professor Ivan Roots

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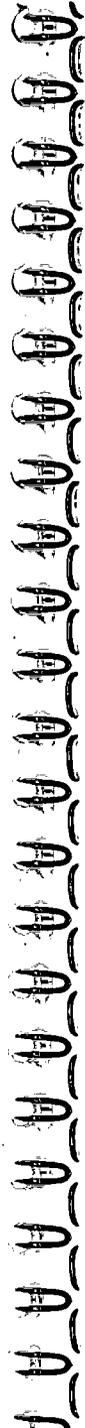
## A CROMWELLIAN PRAYER FOR ST GEORGE'S DA

Lord, grant to the people of England  
the grace to remember who they are.  
Help them to resist the gradual falling  
away into everywhere and nowhere  
and to heed again the authentic cadence  
of their essential being.

Give them the will to rouse themselves  
once more from long indifference.  
Strengthen, O Lord, their purpose and pride,  
that they may resolve in the years ahead  
never to forsake that inner self,  
the precious core of history.

Raymond Tong

NOTES



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