Cromwelliana

The Journal of The Cromwell Association

1997

The Cromwell Association

THE CROMWELL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1935 by the late Rt Hon Isaac Foot and others to commemorate Oliver Cromwell, the great Puritan statesman, and to encourage the study of the history of his times, his achievements and influence. It is neither political nor sectarian, its aims being essentially historical. The Association seeks to advance its aims in a variety of ways which have included:

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

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CROMWELL DAY 1996

by Gerald Aylmer

['Things fit to be spoken are not always fit to be printed, and things fit to be printed are not always fit to be spoken.' S.R. Gardiner 1897.]

Why do we still celebrate Oliver Cromwell? Few of us share his religious beliefs. We find his record in Ireland shaming and morally, if not also politically, indefensible. He suppressed the nascent democracy of the Levellers and was unsympathetic to the Diggers. Latterly he helped to ruin his own cause by alienating successive sections of his own allies and supporters - in 1653 and again in 1657 -8. He failed to compensate for this by widening the basis of support for his regime, at least not on a large scale or in a lasting fashion. His death speedily revealed the political bankruptcy of the cause for which he had contended. Moreover, it was not only the Cromwellian army which - divided against itself - was defeated virtually without a shot being fired in 1659-60; also the cause of republicanism and - nearest of all to Oliver's own heart - that of puritanism too.

So was he a crashing failure? That was certainly not the way in which his contemporaries saw him, nor indeed is it how he was seen by posterity until the later twentieth century. Even his enemies, most especially perhaps the royalists, saw him as bad but great. The most hostile portraits are in the writings of his republican critics: Edmund Ludlow, the Levellers, Slingsby Bethel and others. To pass over the historians of the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries, S.R. Gardiner saw him as great in part at least because he was typical of the Englishmen of his time. C.H. Firth tried to strike a balance between his failures and his achievements, including the subsequent consequences of his role in history. Later biographers have chipped away here and there, heightened the light and shade, or in some cases (such as our President) illuminated previously dark corners in his career. Some have even tried to debunk altogether, to see him at most as a fumbling instrument of forces which he could not control. To royalist sympathisers he remains not only the leading actor in the regicide but the great usurper. Clearly Cromwell came to support, ultimately to force through, the trial and execution of the king slowly and reluctantly, failing to see any remaining alternatives and eventually convinced that these measures were amply justified His republicanism was by no means preconceived. Like some of us today, he became a pragmatic republican *faute de mieux*, in his case arising from the circumstances of 1647-9. As for his being a usurper, he did not make himself king or emperor, but took the more modest, traditional (and traditionally interim) title of Protector. Indeed it is very much because of this, as a single-person head of government and head of state, Oliver the Great provides us with a moral and political measurement for all actual crowned heads, previous and subsequent.

He lacked the ruthlessness of Octavian (later Augustus) Caesar. In any case he got to the top too late in life, and did not live long enough to emulate the Augustan Principate, even had he so wished. The comparison with Napoleon is superficially more tempting, but also more forced and artificial. Both the internal and the external circumstances of France in the years leading up to Bonaparte's assumption of supreme power were so utterly different - besides what he did with that power. One historian, reviewing some recent books on the later nineteenth century, has recently drawn a parallel between Cromwell and Gladstone, seeing a similar attempt to impose on their respective parties and on the country policies based on religious conviction and moral vision. Another, in this case a seventeenth-century historian, has recently tried to rehabilitate the 1650s. Except in connection with horse-racing and music, Oliver is scarcely mentioned outside the footnotes. If he had been a model of the modern constitutional monarch (as it is tempting to feel that his eldest son, Richard might have been, if transported forward through the centuries by an H.G. Wells-style 'time-machine') this might suffice.

But Cromwell was not like that. He bestrode his world like a colossus. He made mistakes. He was responsible for outrages. Some of his worst mistakes arose from over-optimism about other people: for example, Charles I in 1647; the members of the House of Commons in the Rump Parliament of 1649-53; those assembled for the Nominated Parliament of 1653, alias the Barebones; the first Protectorate Parliament of 1654; even perhaps the Major-Generals of 1655-6. By contrast, in the case of the Irish and possibly the Spanish he seems to have been more the victim of his own and his party's stereotypes and propaganda. But he was not a monster or a tyrant. He desperately wanted to be a constitutional, parliamentary ruler. Nor, in the sense of Henry IV or Henry VII, was he a usurper who seized the crown. As for regicide, what are we to make of the fate of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, under her cousin Elizabeth I? That is without ranging further back in time or further afield in place.

Yet, in refusing to allow a battleship to be called *Cromwell*, the instinct of an early twentieth-century monarch was perhaps sound. For if Oliver Cromwell did not permanently destroy monarchy in England (and whether he ever wished to do so is at least doubtful), none the less he showed up most English monarchs for what they were and have been. The historian may properly speculate on what 'might have been', may indulge in what is nowadays known as counter-factualism. But in the last resort (as my own old tutor, Christopher Hill, has more than once reminded us) our main business as students of the past is to describe and explain what did happen, not what did not. And here the greatness of Oliver Cromwell is beyond reasonable doubt.

Dr Gerald Aylmer is a specialist in the political and constitutional history of the mid seventeenth century. His books include *The King's Servants*, *The State's Servants*, *The Interregnum* and *Rebellion or Revolution?* Formally Master of St Peter's College, Oxford, he is a Vice Chairman of The Cromwell Association.

BATTLE PLANS: THE PRACTICAL USE OF BATTLEFIELD PLANS IN THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

by Keith Roberts

Introduction

The purpose of this brief article is to demonstrate the advantages that an understanding of the military theory and practice of the seventeenth century can offer in assessing contemporary military activity from a contemporary, and not a modern, perspective. My example is the use of contemporary battle plans and my intention is to illustrate two areas where accurate study can assist research. The first is to review surviving battle plans to show how they can be used to assess the comparative ability of the general who drew them up, and the military styles which influenced him. The second is to give an impression of the advantages and the pitfalls in using a battle plan as part of the research for a specific battle, Naseby in this case.

'Headquarters Plans'

The first step is to appreciate the contemporary theory behind the practical use of these plans. Before marching out on campaign, an army commander in the early seventeenth century would decide upon a plan for the deployment of his army for battle. He might discuss the alternatives beforehand with his senior subordinates or he may impose his own preference. Once the decision had been made, a plan would be drawn out on paper by the general or his sergeant major general. I would describe this as a 'Headquarters Plan'.

The Sieur du Praissac described this process in his famous and influential work *Discours Militaires*, which was largely based on the new Dutch practice. John Cruso's English edition of 1639 translates this as:

> The Sergeant major Generall receiveth from the Generall a plat of the form which he will give to his Armie, the disposition and placing of the members of it, Cavallrie, Infanterie, Artillerie; the order which they should observe in fight, with commission signed by the Generall to dispose it in that manner.
>
> To this commission the whole Armie must yeeld obedience, and the Sergeant major Generall with Marshals of the field shall dispose thereof, according to the form and place which the Generall shall have prescribed.[1]

Several copies would be made, sometimes by an engineer officer on the staff. There would be a final discussion and the senior commanders would receive copies of the plan. Officers down to brigade level (brigades of either infantry or cavalry) should receive one personally if they attended the meeting or from the sergeant major general if they did not. An army marching where it might meet enemy forces would use an order of march which would enable it to deploy directly into battle formation. In order to

achieve this each brigade had to be in the correct order when the army left camp and each brigade commander had to know the correct place for his brigade. The brigade commanders should already have trained their men in various styles of deployment but, ideally, the whole army would also practise their commander's chosen plan or plans before marching out on campaign. The Dutch leader Prince Maurice of Nassau, and his successor Prince Henry, and Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, were noted for carrying out these practice manoeuvres before a campaign. Sometimes these practice deployments would be conducted during the campaign itself.

The commander's choice of battle plan would be limited to the range of formations currently in use and by the late 1630s, for a commander with experience in Protestant armies, this would be based on one of four main models. Variations upon these four models would be made for a particular campaign and would depend upon the personal preferences of the commander, the ground over which he proposed to fight, the number of troops available, the ratio of cavalry to infantry and the type of training which his own and any allied troops had received. The leading commanders of the day, and those who sought to emulate them, maintained collections of such plans. Some of these plans were based on examples from the classical past, some were formations used by the general himself or by famous contemporaries and others were speculative for experiments or future use.

Prince Maurice of Nassau saw his collection as essential to his military practice and one of his officer's recorded that the Prince

> was wont to say That whosoever wrote not downe the passages of the warres (both his owne and other mens) would never have the honour to Comand in chiefe well. To this purpose also, he would show me many of his owne papers: saying this to mee. It maie be you maie think it strange that I keepe such poore papers by mee. To which he often made his owne Answere: That if hee should not have donne so, or should now loose those his papers; He should be to seeke often times. Affirming those withall that a Souldier might learne by his owne errors, as well by his enemys'. This was that he usually called his Experience.[2]

Several collections of battle plans survive but only that of Sir Bernard de Gomme records battle plans used in the English civil war. This collection contains battlefield deployments used by de Gomme's patron, Prince Rupert, for the battles of Edgehill (23 October 1642), Marston Moor (2 July 1644) and Naseby (14 June 1645) and the deployment of the royalist army for the relief of Donnington Castle (9 November 1644).[3]

Plans of this type may show the general's original intentions for battle deployment during the campaign or include some modifications to take account of major changes in the army strength such as a large detachment sent away on some special service or a significant allied force joining. The commander may also make some revisions once he has

chosen the ground on which he intends to fight or received advice from his scouts of the position he would have to attack. Of the four civil war plans in de Gomme's collection one, Edgehill, shows the plan introduced by Prince Rupert to replace the Earl of Lindsey's original Headquarters Plan for the royalist army and another, Marston Moor, shows a plan based on Prince Rupert's original Headquarters Plan but with amendments to take account of the junction with the Earl of Newcastle's Northern army.

In any event, the plans show the general's intentions and were drawn up before the battle; they were not drawn up afterwards as record of the battle itself. As such they provide a useful starting point for any study of an actual battle, but they must be used with care.

Prince Rupert's Battle Plans

Headquarters Plans can provide a useful indication of the influences on a particular general's tactical style as they can be compared with similar plans in European collections and contemporary works on military theory and practice. I have completed a more detailed study of civil war battle plans, now being prepared for publication. However, this brief review of Prince Rupert's plans offers the opportunity to draw some conclusions on his technical ability and the military styles which influenced him.

Any examination of the four civil war plans in de Gomme's collection shows that Prince Rupert's style changed throughout the civil war as he continued to experiment with different tactical and battlefield formations. A closer examination begins to give us more information. Prince Rupert's first plan, for the battle of Edgehill, was used to replace that of the royalist Lord General, the Earl of Lindsey. The obvious difference between this and the others in de Gomme's collection is that it deploys the infantry in a series of 'Swedish Brigades', each brigade forming a diamond with an infantry unit at each of the four points. Modern writers often suggest that this shows Prince Rupert introducing the latest, cutting edge style in European warfare in place of the older Dutch battle formations which the Earl of Lindsey favoured and in which, incidentally, he would have trained the royalist army. The Swedish brigades formed part of the battle formations devised by King Gustavus Adolphus and were used in his two great victories over the Imperialists during the Thirty Years War, Breitenfeld (17 September 1631) and Lutzen (16 November 1632). However, this was no longer the most advanced style of the day as the Swedes had abandoned it within two years of the death of Gustavus Adolphus at Lutzen, possibly because its successful use requires a higher percentage of experienced officers, NCOs and soldiers than the Swedes could achieve under the dual impact of expanding army sizes and the loss of so many veterans.

The underlying point, then, is that although Gustavus Adolphus's immortal fame ensured that any military style or tactic associated with him would be admired and debated in military circles, his Swedish brigade style had not been used by any leading European

army for at least eight years. The latest style to emerge from the Thirty Years War was now a composite influenced by the practice of Dutch, Swedish and German armies and Prince Rupert would probably have been familiar with it from his from discussions with Imperialist officers while he was a prisoner of war and later at the Imperial Court at Vienna. The parliamentary Earl of Essex's army was drawn up at Edgehill on a model based on this latest style, so in a purely technical comparison of army deployments the parliamentary army was closer to the latest military style for this battle than the royalists.

The second point to note that is that although Prince Rupert's design uses Swedish brigades, he uses a deployment style based on those reproduced in printed works on Gustavus's military practice. The author of one of them, *The Swedish Military Discipline* (London, 1632), was Dr William Watts, a chaplain in the Prince's household. The actual Swedish practice in Germany was usually to deploy 'Swedish Brigades' one behind the other, not in the draught board pattern shown in Prince Rupert's plan and, for lack of sufficient infantrymen, their brigades were usually formed without the fourth unit in the rear, giving them the appearance of arrow-heads rather than diamonds.

It is unfortunate that there is no surviving plan for any actions, actual or proposed, in 1643 but the four plans which do survive show a continuous process of innovation with the introduction of infantry deployments based more strongly on the German style which evolved from the Thirty Years War. The evolution of his cavalry formations is covered in more detail below. We can see the last stage in the development of Prince Rupert's ideas in his plan for the deployment of the royalist army for the relief of Donnington Castle in November 1644. This battle plan was not tested because the parliamentary armies made no effort to counter the relief of Donnington Castle and essentially the same plan was used for Naseby, some seven months later.

Figure I (overleaf) was drawn to compare three battle plans to demonstrate the close connections between the infantry deployment used in the Thirty Years War and Prince Rupert's last design. The first is the Imperialist General Albrecht von Wallenstein's Headquarters Plan for the campaign which ended in the battle of Lutzen (16 November 1632).[4] This is the best surviving example of a plan actually issued to subordinate generals and was found on the body of Gottfried Heinrich, Count Pappenheim, after the battle; bloodstains obscure the centre of the original and this redrawn version shows the plan as it would have appeared originally. The key to this plan is infantry shown as a plain block and cavalry as a block with vertical lines. This form of notation is found in use in Dutch plans at the turn of the seventeenth century and was in general use by Western European armies during the Thirty Years War; Sergeant Major General Sir James Lumsden's plan of the parliamentary and Scottish armies for the battle of Marston Moor uses the same keys.[5] The second and third plans are from de Gomme's collection and illustrate Prince Rupert's plans for the relief of Donnington Castle and the battle of Naseby. De Gomme drew these from the original battlefield orders and the

surviving plans use a colour key for the unit type. The illustrations here, by Derek Stone, use the style of notation which would have appeared on the original Headquarters Plans. The infantry deployment in all three plans follows the same basic model. The use of supporting cavalry amongst the infantry lines follows a Dutch style, copied by the Danish army and expanded in German plans.

FIG. 1 - HEADQUARTERS PLANS

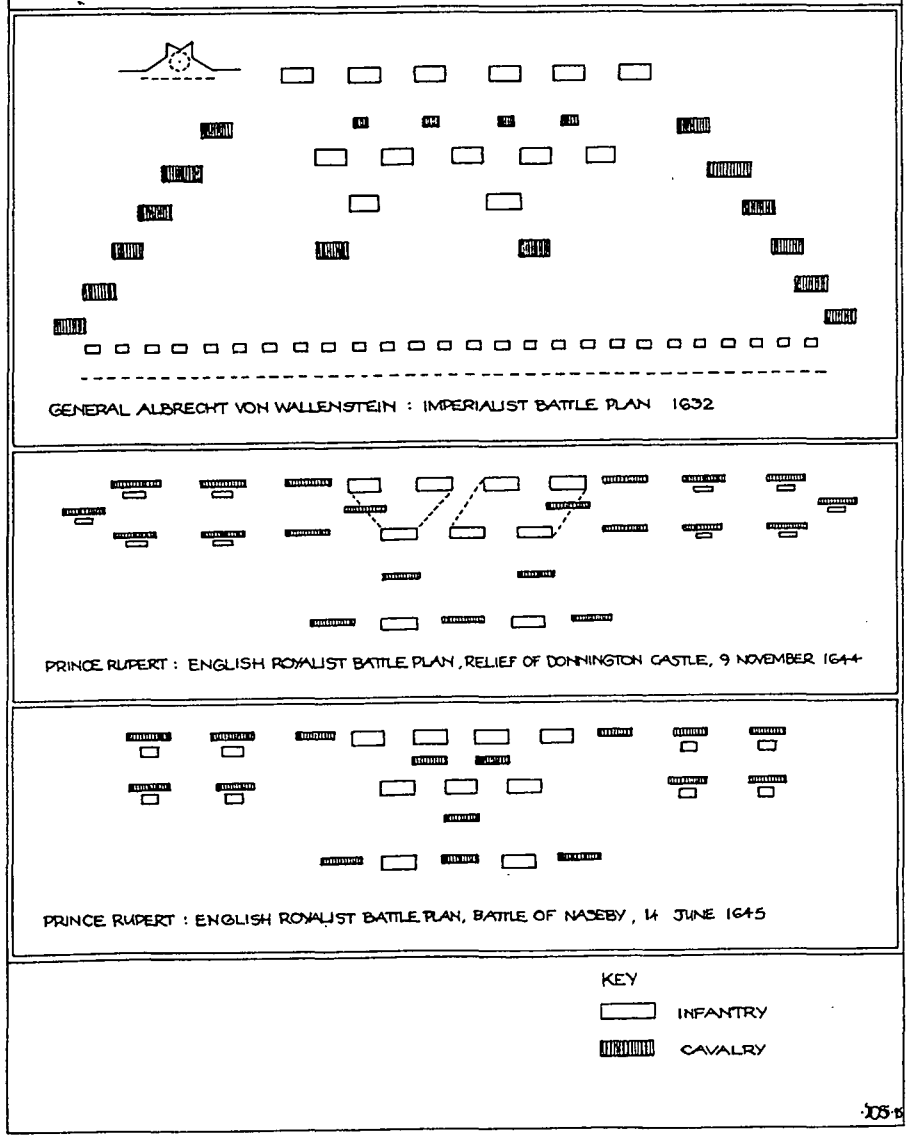

FIG. II - RIGHT WING CAVALRY FORMATIONS : ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

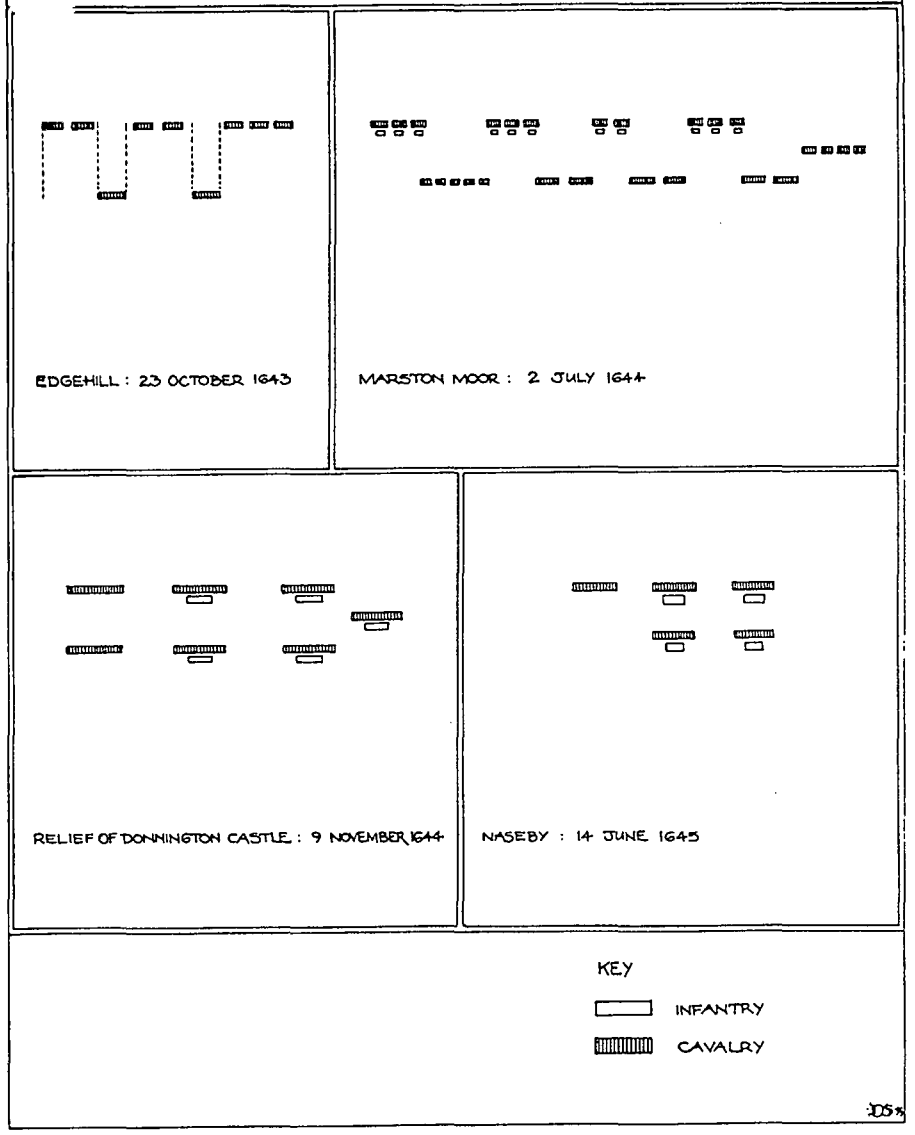

Figure II is an example of a closer study of a particular part of the overall battle formation. This figure shows the right wing of cavalry from all four of Prince Rupert's surviving plans, Edgehill, Marston Moor, Donnington Castle and Naseby. The first two show cavalry formations in the Dutch style which deployed cavalry on a draught board pattern with the units in the second line facing the intervals in the first, although the second

plan (Marston Moor) is a more sophisticated formation. For this plan Prince Rupert has added the Swedish innovation of 'commanded' sections of musketeers for firepower support and has also divided his cavalry into a larger number of units than usual, generally an indication that the cavalry commander is seeking greater tactical flexibility and is prepared to take the risk that his smaller squadrons might be swept away by larger opposing formations. The last two show plans which retain the use of 'commanded musketeers' and use the latest German style which placed the second line cavalry units directly behind the first. The rationale behind this change was that whereas broken or exhausted infantry formations could retreat straight back by an about turn or simply turning around and running for their lives, cavalry had to wheel and, if deployed in a draught board pattern, they would wheel directly into their supporting second line. By drawing up bodies of horse one directly behind the other, this German system reduced the risk of a shattered first line breaking up its own supporting second line.[6]

Naseby - the Practical Use of Battle Plans

As discussed above a battle plan shows the general's intentions for the battle he intends to fight and his army will march in a formation which allows him to deploy from marching columns to battlefield formation. This is his Headquarters Plan for the campaign. It may be changed during the campaign but although he may well be forced to adapt his plan to the circumstances of the actual battlefield, the key point is that these will be amendments to the existing plan not a complete change on the day. The Headquarters Plan is a starting point from which to research the battle itself.

There are two main sources for the Headquarters Plans used by both sides. The first is de Gomme's plan of the battle which shows the deployment of both armies. He had probably been the staff officer responsible for copying Prince Rupert's original campaign plan for distribution to senior royalist officers and either retained a copy or copied it later from a plan kept amongst his patron's papers. The parliamentary deployment is probably copied from that printed in Joshua Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva* (London, 1647).

The points to note from this plan are that it is from a collection of battle plans, and as noted above, the collectors of these plans were interested in studying or copying a general's personal style for battlefield deployments - the structure of his army deployment - and not necessarily the final version used on the day or the ground on which the battle was fought. As such they are drawn as they would be in perfect conditions - i.e. if the commander had all the space he wanted for his deployment and could use the optimum distance between each unit of infantry or cavalry and between the two or three lines in which the army deployed. Sprigge's plan, as we shall see below, shows the units with greatly reduced distances but de Gomme has re-drawn them in their optimum formation, probably very close to the appearance of the original parliamentary battle plan set out for Sir Thomas Fairfax by Philip Skippon and Oliver Cromwell.

The frontage which a unit of infantry or cavalry would require in optimum conditions can be calculated by multiplying the number of men in the front rank by the frontage which professional soldiers considered a cavalryman or infantryman needed if he was to manoeuvre effectively, and adding any additional intervals required between the sections within each unit. There was a contemporary debate over the optimum distance between each unit, but most officers considered that the distance between infantry units placed in the first line should equal the frontage of the unit drawn up draught board fashion behind in the second line behind it - the objective being to allow space for the supporting troops in the second line to advance without being constricted by those in the first or, if the first line units were broken, to allow sufficient space for them to fall back without running into and carrying away their supporting second line units. This distance was easy to measure on the battlefield as the practice was to begin by drawing up all the units required for both the first and second lines in one continuous line. The first line units would be the alternate units in this single line. The units which would form the first line would then march forward automatically leaving the correct space between units. There is also a 'quick and dirty' method of measuring frontage used by commanders trying to make a quick assessment of the number of men which can be deployed on a particular battlefield.

There was some debate amongst contemporary commanders over the optimum distance between the battle lines themselves. Most commanders would set the distance between the first and second lines at about the frontage of a single infantry unit on the basis that this would allow units to wheel to left or right to support a threatened flank without colliding with the first line units. This requires some care because if the second line is placed too far back it will not provide an effective support for the first. Most commanders agreed that the distance between the second and third lines should be twice that between the first and second. The intention was that a broken first line would fall back through the intervals between the units in the second line and then rally in the space between the second and third lines. The third line troops were retained to serve as a final reserve to support an attack or as a rearguard of unbroken troops to cover a retreat.

The second source is Robert Streeter's pictorial representation of the battlefield of Naseby printed for inclusion in Joshua Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*. As Sir Thomas Fairfax's chaplain, Sprigge would have had access to the parliamentary battle plan and it is probable that Fairfax was able to obtain a copy of the royalist plan from his prisoners or royalist baggage captured after the battle. Streeter's print was intended for a different audience, one who would wish to see a representation of the actual battlefield, and he may have used information from officers present on either side to amend the original Headquarters Plans. Streeter's plan reduces the distance between units to a point at which their deployment patterns would be compromised and the question arises as to whether this is the result of artistic license or an indication that the space available for deployment on the battlefield forced a compromise in the distance allowed between units. The style of the figures which Streeter uses for units of

infantry and cavalry or individuals is based on those found in a popular series of prints of Thirty Years War battles and sieges, *Theatrum Europaeum*, published in Frankfurt am Main. However, although this explains the origin of his artistic style, and the source of some of his individual figures, it does not answer the question as *Theatrum Europaeum* is a large series which included prints with a variety of perspective styles.

The evidence from the two surviving plans provides us with evidence of the basic Headquarters Plan for each side. De Gomme's plan shows us how it would have appeared if it had been drawn up in optimum circumstances, with optimum available space. Streeter's plan shows a foreshortened view with very little space between units but this could indicate lack of space on the battlefield or be artistic license. In any event an understanding of the theory allows us a starting point from which to consider the problems each commander might have on the field.

At this point we have some understanding from his plans of the general's intentions on how he had wished to fight his battle, and from a calculation of the optimum space he would need for his deployment, we can assess the battlefield he would be looking to use if he was able to choose it. We can also make some assessment on the risks he would be accepting if he had to make compromises because of restrictions imposed by the battlefield itself. At this point we have the opportunity to build on this through documentary research and battlefield archaeology. Glenn Foard's recent study of the ground over which the battle of Naseby was fought provides a good illustration of how the combination of all three elements, an understanding of the underlying military theory and practice, documentary research and battlefield archaeology, can be used together to produce a very close impression of how a particular battle was fought.[7]

Conclusions

Some broad conclusions can be drawn from this brief review. An examination of Prince Rupert's surviving battle plans suggests the following. Firstly, that Prince Rupert studied written theory and practice, but was also perfectly familiar with the developing, unpublished military theory of the day. After experiments with plans using elements of Dutch and Swedish styles, his final battle plans were based on the latest German styles used during the Thirty Years War. Secondly, that Prince Rupert's tactical theory continued to develop as a result of his practical experience during the civil war, reaching its final stage in November 1644, this being essentially the same plan he later used for Naseby. Although set within the military styles debated at the time, Prince Rupert's battle formations are not mere copies of existing styles; they all show evidence of his own personal interpretation. Thirdly, that in their final version the plans show Prince Rupert to be a leading commander on a European scale, comparable in terms of technical ability with the best of those who had fought in

the Thirty Years War. And fourthly, that the deployment used at Naseby had been in use by the main royalist Oxford army for seven months prior to the battle of Naseby, ample time to practise deployment. This counters the popular criticism that these plans are theoretical rather than practical. They are in fact as much a part of practical military life in the seventeenth century as weapons training, mutiny or plundering.

Naseby provides an example of the advantages which a combination of a technical understanding of contemporary military practice with other specialised research can offer. This example supports the study of a particular battle, but the same principles can be applied equally to any other area of study which involves military activity and, by definition, almost any study in a period of a civil war does.

1. Sieur du Praissac, *Discours Militaires* (Paris, 1612). This was a very popular, pocket-sized book with at least five French editions and later translations in English and German. The English translation, from which this quotation was taken, was translated by John Cruso and published in Cambridge in 1639. The quotation is taken from page 139. A second edition was published in 1642.
2. Lord Wimbledon, 'Demonstration of Divers Parts of War', British Library, Royal 18 CXXIII, ff. 13-13v. The author, Edward Cecil, Lord Wimbledon, had served in the Dutch army under Prince Maurice and his comment here records his personal recollection of discussions with the Dutch leader.
3. Three of these plans, for Marston Moor, Donnington Castle and Naseby, are to be found in the British Library under the references British Library, Additional MS 16370, ff. 64v-65, 60v-61 and 62v-63. The fourth, Edgehill, is held by the Royal Library at Windsor and has been reproduced in Peter Young's *Edgehill 1642, The Campaign and the Battle* (Roundwood Press, 1976). All four of these plans are carefully redrawn versions of the original Headquarters Plans and the different units are distinguished by different colours for musketeers, pikemen and cavalry rather than the presence or absence of shading.
4. Heeresgesichtes Museum, Vienna. Reference: Kat. Erben/John 1903 nr75/3. This is the Headquarters Plan for the later stage of the campaign. It could not have been be used in exactly this form at the battle of Lutzen because Gustavus Adolphus attacked the Imperialist army after it had dispersed for winter quarters. Pappenheim's contingent, whose regiments appear in the plan, made a forced march from its camp and joined Wallenstein's army during the battle. However, it does show the state of Wallenstein's tactical theory at the time and his army would have been deployed in a similar style for Lutzen.
5. Lumsden's plan is reproduced in Peter Young's *Marston Moor 1644* (Roundwood Press, 1970).

6. Raimondo Montecuccoli discusses the comparative advantages of this style of cavalry deployment in his 'Sulle Battaglie' - Concerning Battle. This is accessible in an English translation, Thomas Barker, *The Military Intellectual and Battle, Raimondo Montecuccoli and the Thirty Years War* (State University of New York Press, 1975); the section on this style of cavalry formation appears on pp. 95-6. The manuscript 'Sulle Battaglie' is thought to have been written between 1639 and 1642 while its author, then a cavalry colonel in Imperial service, was a prisoner of war. It provides a valuable insight into the developing military theory and practice of professional officers serving in the Imperial army. This is the same period that Prince Rupert was a prisoner of the Imperialists and he is likely to have discussed military theory with the Imperialist officers who guarded him and, more importantly, those he met at the Imperial Court at Vienna prior to his release. Those with an interest in Montecuccoli's career and the later impact of his military thought will find an interesting chapter in A. Gat, *The Origins of Military Thought from the Enlightenment to Clausewitz* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989). Both Barker and Gat give detailed references to European articles on Montecuccoli, the most notable being Piero Pieri, *Raimondo Montecuccoli. Teorico della guerra, Guerre e politica negli scrittori itialiani* (Milan, 1954).
7. Glenn Foard, *Naseby, The Decisive Campaign* (Pryor Publications, 1995).

Keith Roberts is an expert in the military history of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and has published widely in the field. He is probably best known for *Soldiers of the English Civil War (1): Infantry* (Osprey Elite 25, London, 1989). He is a regular contributor to *Cromwelliana* and to *English Civil War Times*. This is a revised and much expanded version of a paper which first appeared in *English Civil War Times* no. 51 (1995).

OLIVER CROMWELL: A PERSONAL BIOGRAPHY

by Michael Byrd

Introduction: Cromwell's Character and Significance

Samuel Rawson Gardiner, the great English historian of the seventeenth century (who traced his descent from the marriage of Bridget Cromwell and Henry Ireton in 1646) described Cromwell as 'the most typical Englishman of all time...he stands there not to be implicitly followed as a model, but to hold up a mirror to ourselves, wherein we may see alike our weaknesses and our strength'. Cromwell is one of those figures who invite, almost demand, a personal interpretation, never still, full of paradoxes, dividing men for and against - but he stands unshakeable in the seventeenth century as its greatest central figure, as a man of faith, a statesman and when necessary an autocrat in politics but a democrat in religion.

Cromwell Family Background

The Cromwell family rose to wealth and importance at the time of the reformation and owed its name and fortune to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, Henry VIII's Chief Minister and suppresser of the monasteries. In 1494 Thomas Cromwell's sister Katherine married Morgan Williams - wealthy brewer of Putney from Glamorganshire - and her eldest son Richard took the name of Cromwell, entering the king's service as assistant to his uncle. Rewards naturally followed including in 1538 the Benedictine priory of Hinchinbrooke and in 1540 Ramsey Abbey with its most valuable manors. Knighted on May Day 1540, Sir Richard survived his uncle's fall and execution (even daring to wear morning dress at court at his uncle's death) and stayed in the king's favour up to his death in 1546.

Sir Richard's son Henry built Hinchinbrooke house from the Priory ruins and was knighted by Queen Elizabeth I following one of her several visits. Known as 'The Golden Knight', he was reckoned among the richest men in the district. Oliver, his heir, extravagantly entertained James I and was duly knighted. Robert, the second son, inherited an estate at Huntingdon worth about £300 a year - a middling sort - and married Elizabeth, widow of William Lynn and daughter of William Steward of Ely - relatives of the last prior and first Protestant Dean of Ely - acquiring church leases and tithes. A point to be stressed here is that the family were not related to the royal Stewarts, nor did the Lord Protector ever claim such kinship.

Oliver the future Lord Protector was the fifth child of this Robert Cromwell and the only son to survive infancy. Cromwell was thus, like most Englishmen of the upper class, of very mixed ancestry - Welsh, Norman and Anglo-Saxon - and it is tempting to draw superficial conclusions from these racial characteristics. But certain contradictory elements come to light. There was within him a fanaticism, a vision, a subdued fire capable of blazing up suddenly to consume all obstacles and all opponents but yet he was also capable

of great compassion and tenderness of heart, displayed in his later letters and actions. We see this, for example, in his letter to Col Valentine Walton on the day following Marston Moor, telling him of the death of his son in battle. John Maidstone, his personal servant, was to single out this trait in Oliver's character, when he wrote: 'He was naturally compassionate towards objects in distress, even to an effeminate measure.' Oliver's own observation on his station in life was 'I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height nor yet in obscurity', which typically is both objective and a plain statement of the facts.

The First Forty Years

Oliver was born at 1.30 am on 25 April 1599, the son of Robert Cromwell, gentleman, and of Elizabeth his wife, and he was baptised on the 29th of the same month in the church of St John the Baptist at Huntingdon. He was christened Oliver in honour of his uncle the Knight of Hinchinbrooke. Out of ten children born to the Cromwells, seven survived, six of them girls. Oliver was the only boy to grow to manhood amidst the brood of sisters. We know from later years that a close family relationship developed between all members of the family and Oliver held his mother in particular esteem and respect throughout her long life until she died at the remarkable age of 89 in 1654.

Little survives from Cromwell's childhood save a few isolated facts, some fanciful embellishments and much spiteful gossip. Stories later told of his marvellous deliverance from danger and of strange prognostications of his future greatness. The Rev Michael Russell writing in his *Life of Oliver Cromwell* in 1833 quoted more ancient biographers, principally Heath who took delight in darkening the character of the young Oliver. Russell following Heath records that his grandfather, Sir Henry having sent for him when an infant in nurse's arms to come to Hinchinbrooke, a monkey took him from the cradle onto the roof but the sagacious animal appreciating the value of this treasure brought the infant safely down and replaced him in his bed. On another occasion he made a narrow escape from drowning and was saved by a local clergyman, Mr Johnson, who many years later was recognised by Oliver when marching at the head of his soldiers through Huntingdon. He asked the aged and loyal curate whether he remembered the incident. 'I do', replied the curate, 'but I wish I had put you in, rather than see you in arms against your king'. Heath also records without foundation that he was notorious for the robbing of orchards, breaking of hedges, and the eating and merchandising of young pigeons and, for good measure, the tale that he was flogged by his headmaster Dr Beard at the request of his father for speaking of a dream in which it was revealed to him 'that he should be the greatest man in England and should be near the king'; also recounted is the tale of a dramatical entertainment in which the boy is supposed to have shown signs of his vaulting ambition whilst acting the part of king by crowning himself with 'majestical mighty

words'.

As soon as he was old enough, Cromwell was sent to the freeschool attached to the hospital of St John at Huntingdon, the headmaster being then the puritan Dr Thomas Beard, an austere man who believed the pope was antichrist and showed in his *Theatre of God's Judgement* that human crimes never go unpunished by God even in this world. He imbued his pupils with faith in, and fear of, a God who neither overlooked nor forgave the shortcomings of the unrepentant in this world or the next. It is recognised that Beard corrected the manners of the young Oliver 'with a diligent hand and careful eye'.

Thus the earliest influences which without doubt did much to shape Cromwell's character were, firstly, in his most formative years both at school and later at college the influence and guidance of pronounced puritan teachers; secondly, the influence of his mother, who was a woman of strong character, sterling qualities and simple piety; and thirdly, at his uncle's mansion contact with the virtues and ideals of a true descendant of the Elizabethan country gentleman proud to recall the golden age of the great queen.

On the 23 April 1616 (the day on which Shakespeare died) he was admitted as fellow commoner at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Its master was the learned, conscientious and severe disciplinarian puritan, Samuel Ward. Tradition asserts that his favourite subjects at college were mathematics and the history of Greece and Rome - an assertion bourne out by his advice (much later) concerning the study of his son Richard. His favourite book is said to have been Ralegh's *History of the World* and he is said to have been good at all sports. At Cambridge, so Cromwell's enemies asserted, he had passed his time drinking, whoring, playing football and utterly neglecting his studies.

Bishop Burnet assures us that Oliver 'had no foreign language but the little Latin that stuck to him from his education which he spoke very viciously and scantily'. But whilst not distinguishing himself, he by no means wasted his time at Cambridge and as Lord Protector he remembered enough Latin to carry on a conversation in that language with the Dutch ambassador. C.V. Wedgwood in her great lives biography asserts that

> at Cambridge he doubtless worked as little and amused himself as much as the young men of his time, which is to say that he worked more and played less than the average undergraduate of to-day.

How long Cromwell remained at university is not known but he left prematurely in June 1617 on account of the death of his father. His mother, it is said, wished him to study law and whilst no documentary evidence has come to light associating him with any Inns of Court, tradition asserts that he attended Lincoln's Inn. Again the Restoration critics became vociferous about his alleged misconduct whilst in London and Wood relates he became 'a debauchee and a boisterous and rude fellow'.

On 22 August 1620 Cromwell married Elizabeth Bourchier at St

Giles Church, Cripplegate. She was the daughter of Sir James Bourchier, a city merchant living at Tower Hill and owning property at Felsted in Essex. She was one year older than her husband and is traditionally said to have been a prudent, sensible and accomplished housewife, despite later royalist attempts to portray her as uncomely, undignified and miserly. There was undoubtedly life-long affection and respect between them and she was to write in 1650 'my life is but half in your absence'. Perhaps the most remarkable testimony to the sincere and life-long attachment between Cromwell and his wife is given in a private letter written on Wednesday 4 September 1650, the day after the great victory of Dunbar, when he wrote,

> My dearest, I have not leisure to write much. But I could chide thee that in many of thy letters thou writest to me that I should be unmindful of thee and thy little ones. Truly if I love you not too well, I think I err not on the other hand much...Thou are dearer to me than any creature; let that suffice.

Oliver then relates the news of 'the crowning mercy' of Dunbar. This is one of seven letters written by Oliver from the field of battle which survive, but the only personal one.

From this marriage nine children followed including a son James, born in 1632, who died within a few days. The surviving children were:

Robert 1621-1639, died at Felsted school;

Oliver 1623-1644, died of smallpox at Newport Pagnall serving in the army, unmarried;

Bridget 1624-1662, i) married Henry Ireton, died 1651, ii) married Charles Fleetwood - Bridget had daughters by Ireton of whom there are descendants today - of her marriage to Fleetwood the only child, Anne, died an infant;

Richard 1626-1712, Lord Protector, married Dorothy Mayor, Richard's only son died unmarried in 1705 and his daughters likewise had no descendants;

Henry 1628-1674, Lord Deputy of Ireland, married Elizabeth Russell, Henry had five sons and two daughters - through him the Protector's male line descended until the death of Oliver Cromwell of Cheshunt in 1821. From his daughter and heiress, Elizabeth Olivaria Cromwell, descend the Cromwell Bush family to the present day;

Elizabeth 1629-1658, married John Claypole - Betty Claypole had four children but they left no descendants;

Mary 1637-1713, married Thomas Lord Fauconberg, died 1700;

Frances 1638-1720, married i) Richard Rich, died 1658 ii) married Sir John Russell - one of the many descendants of Cromwell through his youngest child, Frances Lady Russell, is the present Duchess of Kent.

Finally, in 1638 there occurred the culminating event which was profoundly to shape his character and the remainder of his life, his 'conversion'. After much soul searching and reoccurring fits of melancholy over several years, probably from 1630 onwards, he reached the profound conviction that he was saved; or as he put it that his soul was 'with the congregation of the first born'. It must be stressed that neither this process nor the result was considered odd or self righteous to the great majority of Cromwell's Protestant contemporaries either in England or abroad. Cromwell did not regard himself as the infallible interpreter of God's wishes, but henceforth he tested his actions no longer by the criticism of other men but by reference to his bible and their own effectiveness. If he did God's will, he must succeed, and such successes he called 'providences'; failure meant that somewhere the divine inspiration had been lost and sin had crept in.

A letter written in 1638 to his cousin Mrs St John clearly confirms this process and the subsequent condemnation of his former self:

> You know what my manner of life hath been, oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated the light; I was chief, the chief of sinners. This is true; I hated godliness, yet god had mercy on me. O Riches of his mercy.

This letter has been widely quoted by critics to substantiate their attacks on Cromwell's dissolute and reprehensible early life, but it is more probable that such statements related to his perceived spiritual shortcomings rather than his youthful vices. If the epoch-making nature of this spiritual event in the life of a puritan is bourne in mind, it is hardly surprising that the years preceding it should be recalled as steeped in 'darkness'. Indeed, other contemporaries, including Thomas Goodwin, Thomas Bourchier, Richard Baxter and John Winthrop, recorded similar conversions and 'newbirth'. It was also profoundly believed that once given, this 'grace' would never be withdrawn, and Burnet wrote of Oliver himself, 'his beloved notion was, once a child of God, always a child of God'.

Thus Wedgwood wrote in her biography:

> such as he was in 1639 before he entered the open field of history, such he was nineteen years later, when as Lord Protector of Great Britain and Ireland he died. The essential features were all present in the farmer of Ely - the impulsive love of justice, the honest over confidence in his own opinions, the rough and moody temper, the generous heart and that impregnable faith in God.

It is probable that had there been no civil war, Cromwell would have passed the remainder of his life in relative obscurity as a country gentleman enjoying the good opinion of his neighbours, having been elected to parliament in 1628, concentrating on local issues and religious matters. During the second session of this parliament Cromwell had

spoken against the popish tendencies of the Bishop of Winchester, and championing the rights of the local people in connection with the fen drainage dispute later earned himself the nickname 'Lord of the Fens' from the royalist adventurers. It is known that during this period Cromwell followed European affairs with a keen interest, especially the career of the Great Swedish commander, Gustavus Adolphus, which was to become of some significance as England slid towards civil war.

The Later Cromwell

Perhaps the most remarkable facet of Cromwell's character was the ability to develop rapidly unsuspected talents to the point where not only was he the right man to perform the task his country required, he ultimately became the only man capable of the task.

'I was a person', Oliver said to one of his later parliaments, 'that from my first employment was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater, from my first being a captain of a troop of horse'. Even the royalist Earl of Clarendon was later to write, 'yet as he grew to place and authority, his parts seemed to be renewed, as if he had concealed faculties till he had the occasion to use them'.

From the first, vigour and application to the public good became his standard, often in the face of bitter enmity and fierce opposition. An inner strength moulded from adversity enabled him to remain indifferent to personal abuse, as if awaiting vindication in a higher court. 'Let the Lord be the judge', said Cromwell in 1654 to his First Protectorate Parliament, 'Let uncharitable men, who judge others as themselves, judge as they please'.

> If any man say we seek ourselves in doing this, much good may it do him in his thoughts. It shall not put me out of my way.

The trial and execution of the king in 1649 is an event which is commonly laid at Cromwell's charge and certainly he endorsed the action in public and must accept his share of the responsibility. In his speech to the Nominated Parliament on 4 July 1653 he refers to

> the bringing of offenders to justice - and the greatest of them. Bringing of the state of this government to the name (at least) of a commonwealth. Searching and sifting of all persons and places. The king removed and brought to justice; and many great ones with him. The house of Peers laid aside, the House of Commons itself, the representative of the people of England, sifted, winnowed and brought to a handful.

None the less, it is a mistake to regard Cromwell as the only mover in the events which led to the king's execution. The fate of Charles rested with the army of which Fairfax was the head; but Fairfax, whilst opposing the death sentence, proved ineffectual against a determined majority of influential members of the army party.

The ultimate tragedy of Charles I was that he could not live like a king but merely die like one. Whether we accept the Earl of Southampton's later record published in the eighteenth century regarding the supposed nocturnal visit by Cromwell to view the corpse of the king and his murmur of 'cruel necessity', much as the deed has been condemned on political as well as humanitarian grounds, it is difficult to see what could have been the alternative. In his letters to his personal friend Lord Wharton in 1650, Cromwell gives hints of his mental struggles over the issue, his attempts to find religious warrant for the deed and in the end his weary admission that perhaps there was no other way left.

Cromwell's Irish campaign began in 1649. On 11 September he attacked and stormed the town of Drogheda. His response to this event was typical of the man -

> This is righteous judgement of God upon these barbarous wretches, who imbued their hands in so much blood...it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future, which are satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret.

- a sentiment echoed by the Duke of Wellington 150 years later.

Wexford followed on 11 October 1649 and whilst he had not intended that Wexford should be sacked, this was arguably the greater blot on his career since it took place not on his orders but despite them; his men lost control yet no effort was made to check them either by Cromwell or by his subordinate officers. Cromwell's stark account to parliament following the battle confirms this and the weak attempt later to justify the action by recounting 'Catholic atrocities' cannot remove this stain.

Needless to say neither the majority of the English public nor the press saw the Irish campaign in this light and on his return to England he was acclaimed and feted as a hero. *Mercurius Politicus* referred to his

> famous services in Ireland; which being added to the garland of his English victories, have crowned him in the opinion of all the world, for one of the wisest most accomplished of leaders, among the present and past generation.

Cromwell the soldier did not, however, glorify war, nor was he unmoved by the sad consequences of it and he was impatient to end it where he could. Writing from Ireland to Lenthall, the speaker of the house, he said:

> We are willing to be out of our trade of war, and shall hasten by God's assistance and grace, to the end of our work, as the labourer doth to be at his rest.

Of Bristol, he wrote:

> The town was fired in three places by the enemy, which we could not put out: and this begat a great trouble to the general and us all, fearing to see so famous a city burnt to ashes before our faces.

Similar sentiments followed the victories of Preston and Dunbar. Cromwell never spoke of war except with a sense of horror and when, with the crowning mercy of Worcester, he could discard the sword, he earnestly sought the settlement which would prevent renewed civil war. As late as 1658 we find him expressing his fear of another war in England:

> What hinders this nation from being an Aceldama - a field of blood? I never look to see the people of England come into a just liberty, if another civil war overtake us.

For the remainder of his life all measures were designed to secure what he called 'healing and settling', including the rejection of the title of king. Addressing his last parliament in 1658 he said:

> It were a happy thing if the nation would be content with rule, if it were but in civil things, with those that would rule worst; because misrule is better than no rule, and an ill government, a bad one, is better than none.

The end came on Friday 3 September 1658, the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, attended by his doctors, members of his protectoral council, his wife and his son Richard, whom Fauconberg told Henry Cromwell afterwards had been named successor either by a nod or whispered word to his council. It is to the groom of the bedchamber, Charles Harvey, that we owe the account of his last moving Prayer beginning 'Lord, though I am but a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with thee through grace', before he died at Hampton Court of a malarial attack about 3 o'clock (although Thurloe said 4 o'clock, Whitelock two).

Whether or not we ascribe to him the epithet of hero, we cannot deny greatness, since even his enemies did not do this. But it was his personal servant, John Maidstone, who spoke the final epitaph:

> A larger soul hath seldom dwelt in a house of clay.

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THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR AND THE AMERICAN CONNECTION

by Barry Denton

In the seventeenth century the English puritans began what was to them a great adventure, the migration to and colonization of the New World - the young and still untamed America. Such great men as William Lord Saye, Robert Lord Brooke, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Vane the younger and Oliver Cromwell helped young families to emigrate to America, their aim to expand trade and found a land where men could be free.

Just over a hundred years later in 1775, the British constitutional theorist, Edmund Burke, spoke in the House of Commons of the North American colonist as

> In this character of the Americans a love of freedom is the predominating feature, which marks and distinguishes the whole; and as an ardent is always a jealous affection, your colonies become suspicious, restive, and untractable, whenever they see the least attempt to wrest from them by force, or shuffle them by chicane, what they think the only advantage worth living for. This fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the English colonies, probably, than in any people of the earth.

These words, expressing the nature of the love of liberty and freedom which had evolved in America, were spoken 140 years after the first settlement of Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay. Yet when the shots 'heard round the world' echoed from Concord and Lexington in 1775, it was the inheritance of freedom from the earlier puritan colonization, and the shots fired by their great grandfathers in the England of Charles I, which formed in their hearts that choice for liberty against tyranny. For this reason the 350th anniversary of the English civil wars is an integral part of the quest for the wider American heritage - the American connection if you like.

For this reason, is it possible that by looking to America, where the spirit of their Constitution embodies many of the aspirations of the common soldiers from the English civil war, we will find a new insight into the conflict? America was old England with the slate wiped clean, and written on that slate were the words Liberty and Freedom.

This early desire for freedom was encompassed in two ways, in religion and in commerce. Some would argue that 'religion is the opium of the masses', but to the people of the seventeenth century, the search for their heavenly salvation was the search for their humanity. Life was for religion, religion for life. This whole concept was truly a chicken and egg situation, but the early colonists had a deep desire to find their form of salvation, before their time led them either to it, or

to the damnation of spiritual uncleanliness. Puritanism in the colonial movement was transformed into a search for a latter day 'Promised Land', where the new land would set free the soul, like Moses had freed the children of Israel from Egyptian slavery. The principle of Calvin had superseded a mere bowing of the knee to a heavenly Lord; this had been rejected in England, and in the early years of Charles I's reign, the puritan ethic grew to represent freedom in many different forms. That the young America was a place where freedom of worship was important, and later became part of the Constitution, had its basis in the restrictive rights in England to practise religious forms not favoured by the national interest, embodied in the state but not in man. Religion in the early America grew to represent the ethic of the community, not the chains of Church and State. This grew in meaning between the early puritan colonies, and the embryonic nation which took its fledgling steps a century later. It is no mere accident of history that men like Lilburne were advocating this emancipation long before it was finally embedded in the Constitution across the Atlantic.

Commerce, on the other hand, was the way this freedom was to be born. The climate and nature of the new lands could be wild and dangerous; the warmth and plenty of summer could, as the colonists soon found, transform to emulate the coldest English winter, and native Indians were a constant problem. To help alleviate these natural hardships, the colonizing companies used the trade between the colonies and England to support the venture. They did not however propose to colonise America, or the New World, without commercial profit, and therefore if God was the heavenly reward for the colonist, Mammon was also to be found in the eternal guise of the business man. Tobacco, cotton, sugar and furs were therefore sent to England in return for land rights and a certain degree of protection and support - perhaps the smokers' cough is our oldest link with the colonization programme?

In 1628 a party of colonists set sail for the Massachusetts Bay, while the following year a company received a royal charter to develop this area. Europeans had settled this long winding coastline before, but it was the Massachusetts Bay Company which brought order and planned development. In addition, a land area south of the Massachusetts Bay was re-granted to eleven members of a company named after, as we have seen, Lord Saye and Lord Brooke who were the leading names in this project; but two others who would later become more famous in England, John Hampden and Henry Vane the younger, helped mould the ideals by which the land would live. Hampden, a Buckinghamshire puritan, would later become famous on both sides of the Atlantic, for his classic refusal to pay the tax know as Ship Money. Hampden would not pay his ship tax - later the refusal to pay Tea Tax would lead the Bostonians to float English ships in a large tea cup, Boston Harbour. Perhaps the cry 'No taxation without representation', heard in Boston in 1776, had its origins in the legal rhetoric of Hampden.

The new Sayebrooke Colonizing Company was at this time granted possession of land 'for a distance of forty leagues from the Narragansett River' with orders to build houses and a fort near the forest called by the Indians 'Quonoktacut' or 'the Land of the Long River', from where the name Connecticut is derived. The implementation of the charter founding the area was not carried out immediately, but in 1635 Henry Vane sailed to Boston with a commission to found a settlement - Sayebrooke itself - in what was to become Connecticut. The majority of these Sayebrook settlers had moved along the long Narragansett River from Massachusetts, and built a fort and houses from a 'spongie kind of timber called read oack', in preparation for a further influx of colonists from England. The leader of the expedition was John Winthrop Jnr, best described as an Adventurer, but a useful man in the wilds of America. Vane on the other hand was an administrator, perhaps the archetype civil servant, and remained at Boston rather than accompany Winthrop into the wilderness. At about this time Oliver Cromwell considered emigration himself, but administrative work kept him in his native East Anglia. In the meantime, Sir Arthur Haslerig took up residence in London, where he took control of the commercial interests between Connecticut, Massachusetts and the London markets. In March 1636 Sir Henry Vane - aged only 23 - was elected governor of Massachusetts. The eighteenth century historian Hutchinson wrote that Vane 'whenever he went to church or the court of magistrates, four halberdiers walked before him'.

During this period, Vane secured trading rights for Boston, and introduced magisterial law to prevent unruly behaviour from sailors in Boston harbour. At the same time Vane negotiated a treaty with the Narragansett Indians, preventing them from joining the Pecquot Indians in a war against the colonies. The problems with Indians primarily came from the fact that colonists in outlying areas could not be protected by local militias, and even the primitive settlements were open to surprise attack. To combat this the settlements built blockhouses and forts, which at times of Indian uprising were used to safeguard the whole colony. Although not physically part of the old country, the colonists were still required to train for the 'postures of pike and musket', and although across the Atlantic were still required to turn out for the Trained Band or Militia. This echo of old England made perfect sense, for the proficiency in musketry formed the basis of defence in the fort and upon the sally -forth to drive back the attack. The Indians relied on surprise, the colonists on musketry.

Not all Indians were unfriendly. The Narragansett tribes, for example, were (as Harry Vane soon found) open to negotiation and trade, but the more warlike Pecquots rose on at least four occasions in the opening years of the Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies.

In the meantime, Mr Roger Williams, a dignitary in Massachusetts, began to explore the proposition of widening the colonial aspirations to Rhode Island. This was the period when the

young America was born, along with the tradition of trade and commerce between Boston, New York and London.

In 1638, during Harry Vane's stay at Boston, the American education tradition was born, when John Harvard, a puritan graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, endowed a place of learning with £700 and four hundred books. The students at Harvard's new college would study the Bible and books on theology, but also the ancient classics, and most importantly, the science of Copernicus and Galileo. It can be said that the thirst for knowledge that took the first American to the moon, saw light of day in 1638 at that primitive college on the Charles River - perhaps although still earth bound, the colonization programme of the 1630s was indeed 'a giant leap for mankind'.

It is estimated that by 1640, the settlers within the Massachusetts and Connecticut area numbered around 20,000, a small number by today's standards, but sufficiently numerous to afford some degree of communal protection and prevent the colonies' disintegration from weakness of community spirit.

But if trade, commerce and religion were finding a place where they could develop away from the restrictive patentee markets in England and from a national religion which appeared to the puritan to be turning further to Rome, in 1642 the Old World of England began a civil war, the parliament of England fighting to establish freedom against the rule of King Charles I. In this war, the same men who had done so much to colonize America, declared their loyalty to parliament - Lord Saye and Lord Brooke, who had founded Connecticut, raised regiments of infantry to fight with pike and musket in the green fields of England, Haslerig and Cromwell leading the greatest cavalry regiments of the war. Sir Henry Vane, having returned from Boston to the civil strife in England, was elected to parliament, and quickly became a leading member of the parliamentary cause during the civil war, becoming a prominent administrator in the navy and an architect of the New Model Army.

When the war broke out, many of the young sons of the colonists were sent home to fight for parliament. Why a man living what was a dangerous sea voyage away should feel the need to protect another land is a mystery, perhaps seen in reverse by Thomas Paine when on 19 December 1776 he wrote in Pennsylvania - 'the summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in the crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman' - stirring words of inspirational rhetoric, not unlike those famous words by Cromwell, who wanted not the sons of gentlemen, but 'plaine russet coated' captains who 'knew that they loved and loved what they knew'. Tom Paine was, of course, writing as a man recently emigrated from England, whose desire to fight for liberty in his chosen country had caused him to take up the pen in the service of George Washington and the army of Congress. It is interesting, however, that only four generations earlier Colonel Henry Washington of Sulgrave Manor in Northamptonshire raised a

regiment of dragoons for the king, and in 1656 John Washington, the great grandfather of George Washington, emigrated to Virginia, and founded the family estate at Mount Vernon. George Washington, we all know, could not abide cherry trees nor tell lies, and through these attributes became the first President of the United States. Despite his ancestors' staunch support of the Stuart kings, Washington - although, like Cromwell, not a natural republican - had led the American Army against the British. Was it the times that changed men's hearts, or simply that in the hundred years or so between the English civil war and War of Independence the words liberty and freedom gained a pace?

Other families had even older American connections. The Bunn family, for example, lived in East Anglia, the first of them emigrating in 1632, and in 1635 had been fined in Massachusetts for a refusal to pay the Poll Tax - indeed does anything change?

Three freemen of Massachusetts were parliamentary army captains by 1644, they being Leverett, Stoughton and Bourne. Stoughton unfortunately died at Lincoln at the beginning of 1645, while Bourne eventually left the army and became a rear-admiral in 1652. Leverett returned to Massachusetts to become its Governor in 1673.

By 1645 the civil war had raged three years, Englishman had fought Englishman, the drums of battle had beat out the commands, the proud standards flew, and the cannons had roared their sounds of destruction. The historic and ancient castles of England had seen sieges, the towns became garrisons for thousands of soldiers. John Milton used his experiences of the war to write the epic poem *Paradise Lost*, and John Bunyan grew up to produce his *Pilgrim's Progress* and to write of these times in the semi biographical *Grace Abounding*. All of these things enriched the heritage of the colonial emigrants.

In 1645 the English parliament formed the first regular army to be seen in this old country, a militia for the defence of the people and a free parliament - the New Model Army. The commander-in-chief of the New Model Army was General Sir Thomas Fairfax. The chronicler of this army, Joshua Sprigg, wrote of Sir Thomas's qualifications as a soldier thus:

> Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX, eldest Son of the Lord FAIRFAX, of Denton in the County of York: Martially disposed from his youth, Not finding action suitable to him in his own Country, (for through the great goodness and long suffering of God, England hath been a quiet habitation these 80 years) And there being imployment in Holland, he went over thither to enable himself in military experience: And upon his return into England, he marched into a most Noble and Martial family, taking to Wife one of the Daughters of that ever Renowned General, the Lord VERE. And thus the Reader may take notice, how not only his Extraction, Disposition, and Education bespake him for a

Souldier, but his Contract also portended nothing less.

Other members of the Fairfax pedigree also fought in the New Model and at Naseby, where on 14 June 1645 liberty for parliament was won. These included Colonel Thomas Sheffield, who was Sir Thomas's cousin through their mutual grandfather, the old Earl of Mulgrave. Descendants of Sir Thomas Fairfax became influential landowners in Virginia, and were close friends to George Washington and his family, and of course the Washington ancestral home is not far from Naseby, as we have seen, in a small village called Sulgrave.

At Naseby, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and not the often quoted Oliver Cromwell, was in overall command. Sir Thomas in fact showed great bravery throughout the battle, because when the infantry fight was at its hottest, he rode up and down the regimental lines bareheaded so his soldiers could plainly see his face. It is recorded in the newspapers of that week that 'although men fell dead around him, through his extreme bravery, and the blessing of God, who was so joyously watching over him, Sir Thomas was free of shott.' (Pike and shot battles were, as you can imagine, quite desperate affairs. Sir Thomas was called by his troops, 'Black Tom', this nickname coming from gunpowder burns to his face obtained during his Dutch service.)

A noted reference, describing Sir Thomas Fairfax's bravery at Naseby, was recorded by Bulstrode Whitelocke M.P., who wrote of his attack upon the king's Guard/Prince Rupert's regiments, with his own Lifeguard commanded by Charles D'oyley:

> ....The General had his helmet beat off, and riding in the field bareheaded up and down from one part of his army to another, to see how they stood, and what advantage might be gained, and coming up to his own lifeguard commanded by Colonel Charles D'oyley, he was told by him that he exposed himself to too much danger, and the whole army thereby, riding bareheaded in the fields, and so many bullets flying about him, and D'oyley offered his general his helmet, but he refused it saying 'it is well enough Charles', and seeing a body of the King's foot stand and not all broken, he asked D'oyley if he had charged that body, who answered, that he had twice charged them, but could not break them.
>
> With that, Fairfax bid him to charge them once again in the front, and that he would take a commanded party, and charge them in the rear at the same time, and they might meet together in the middle; and bade him, when Fairfax gave the sign, to begin the charge. D'oyley pursued his generall's orders; and both together charging that body put them into a confusion, and broke them; and Fairfax and D'oyley met again in the middle of them, where Fairfax killed the ensign, and one of D'oyley's troopers took the colours, bragging of the service he had done in killing the ensign and taking the chief colours.
>
> D'oyley chid the trooper for his boasting and lying,

> telling him how many witnesses there were who saw the general do it with his own hand; but the general himself bade D'oyley to let the trooper alone, and said to him, 'I have honour enough, let him take that honour to himself.'

Sir Thomas was a man easy to admire, and like George Washington a century later, was a man other men would follow.

Another colonel in this New Model Army was Walter Lloyd, a former friend and officer in Lord Saye's regiment; he was chosen to command the regiment vacated by Edward Aldriche. Alas after heroic service Lloyd was killed, and eventually command passed to a former Governor of Sayebrook Fort, George Fenwick, who had returned to England and became M.P. for Morpeth. Other Americans who returned to England at this time, to volunteer for service in the English army, included Hezekiah Haynes who had emigrated to New England from Colchester in 1635, returning to fight in parliament's service in 1642. Hezekiah was the son of John Haynes who was the first Governor of Connecticut in 1639.

Colonel George Cooke was also one of those Massachusetts freemen who returned to England in parliament's service. Cooke had emigrated on the ship the *Defence* in 1635, aged twenty-five, and was admitted a freeman on 3 March 1636. He became a representative of its governing assembly, and its Speaker in 1645. Cooke was a captain in the Boston artillery company, and once captured nine Pecquot Indians in a party about to raid the colony. In 1646 Cooke returned to England, and in 1648 became a captain in the elite regiment raised to guard the Tower of London.

Yet another New Englander sent to England to serve in parliament's army was Stephen Winthrop, fourth son of John Winthrop of Massachusetts, who fought as a captain in Thomas Sheffield's regiment. Born at Groton in Suffolk on 24 March 1619, he sailed to Massachusetts with his father in 1630 on an early navigation mission for the Massachusetts Bay Company. The eleven year old Winthrop did not return to England again until his mid twenties, when he took up the captaincy under Sheffield. Yet Stephen Winthrop was still serving in the army in 1654, when he became a colonel of horse. He had two years earlier bought a house in Kensington and part of Marylebone Park, but longed to return to America. Writing to his brother John, he related

> I have noe health here, and I have been this two years extreamly troubled with sciatica, and am just now going to the Bath to see if that may remedy it. My much lying in wet fields uppon the ground hath brought it uppon me, as it hath upon many others. It makes my life very uncomfortable.

It is not the usual picture to visualize soldiers of the New Model Army to be riddled with osteo arthritis, but the health of quite senior officers could be poor in seventeenth century armies. Cromwell's and George Monck's health was ruined by life in the English civil war army, while it is a fact that the rigours of the winter camps almost killed George Washington in

the army of Congress a century later. Stephen Winthrop was only 39 when he died, and perhaps the fifteen years or so he spent in America were his happiest, although he never had the opportunity to return.

At the Restoration of the monarchy, parts of Fenwick's old regiment, then serving under George Monck, became the Coldstream Guards, who can still be seen today at Buckingham Palace and the ceremonies of Trooping the Colour and Changing of the Guard, as well as fighting alongside the American G.I. in numerous theatres of war.

Of particular interest in the American connection, among the old officers, is John Mutlow, a serving captain in Monck's regiment before the Restoration, who in 1676 was sent to Virginia with a detachment of the Coldstreamers to suppress Bacon's Rebellion. This makes the Coldstream Guards the oldest regular English regiment to have served in America, and provides another link between the New Model Army and that continent. It is interesting, yet coincidence, that the oldest link with the Coldstream Guards is the 1642 regiment of Lord Saye, which passed to Fenwick and eventually Monck.

It was also at this time that America began its long tradition of sheltering political refugees from persecution. This tradition is emphasised by the story of Colonel Goffe, who at the Restoration of Charles II had to flee England, being a regicide or signatory of the execution warrant of King Charles I. Goffe was a staunch republican, and secretly left England and landed in Boston in July 1660. It was recorded that Governor John Endicott of Boston welcomed Goffe warmly, wishing that more such good men would come over. Orders for Goffe's arrest reached Boston at the end of that same year, and he spent the next three years hiding in a cave in the woods near New Haven. When the heat died down, Goffe set up home at Hadley in Massachusetts, where in 1675 he saved the colony in an attack by Indians, by then 'a grave elderly person' but still with those expert qualities which denoted Cromwell's old soldiers. J. Fenimore-Cooper uses this strange story in his book *The Borderers*.

The English civil war established a free people living under a free parliament in what grew to be Great Britain. But it also gave America, indeed the world, the principles of democracy, the inspiration to found a land where men are free. In three-hundred and fifty years America has grown into a great nation independent of its English heritage, yet the special relationship, expressed a few years ago by President Reagan, dates from those brave colonists who founded the Massachusetts bay and the free land of Virginia. It was these men, and indeed women, that carried with them the principles of liberty and freedom, embedded in their constitution a century later.

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WORK IN PROGRESS II

THE VARIOUS DEATHS OF JOHN HEWSON

by J.F. Barry

Very much the product of a world turned upside down, 'a one-eyed cobbler' rose during the Puritan Revolution to become a national figure. And as the Revolution collapsed, so John Hewson disappeared into obscurity.

Despite the taunts of his detractors, Hewson had not been a lowly shoemender but rather a well-established Westminster shoemaker. So well known, in fact, that in 1628 the Massachusetts Company decided to order eight pairs of his shoes.[1] On the outbreak of hostilities between king and parliament Hewson, like many of his contemporaries, 'gave up his trade and shouldered pike', joining the Earl of Essex's own regiment. He served throughout the first and second civil wars, displaying leadership, physical courage and a fanatical religious zeal, rising to command a battle-hardened regiment in Cromwell's New Model Army.

In the events of January 1649 Colonel Hewson was prominent, being a regular member of the High Court and a signatory to the king's death warrant. Far from being an impartial judge, Hewson was so enraged by the prisoner's refusal to acknowledge the legality of the proceedings that he rushed forward, called out 'Justice' and spat in the king's face. 'Well, Sir', remarked Charles, wiping his face, 'God hath justice in store both for you and me.'[2]

Colonel Hewson accompanied Cromwell on his Irish expedition, and was appointed Governor of Dublin. He remained in Ireland, playing a leading role in the transportation of Irish landowners to Connaught. Following his return to the English political scene in 1656, he made serious enemies by his vehement opposition to the offer of the crown to Cromwell. He also became deeply unpopular with the people of London, partly as a result of his lead in the suppression of bear-baiting but more so by being at the head of the troops who put down the apprentice riots in December 1659. With the restoration of parliament shortly afterwards, his enemies triumphed. Though he was formally pardoned, he lost his regiment and appears to have retired - perhaps to Guildford, which he had represented in the 1656 parliament. In April 1660 he was accused of complicity in Lambert's rebellion, possibly because his former second-in-command, Daniel Axtell, actually joined Lambert. Summoned to appear before the Council of State, he protested to Monck that he now lived privately, and indeed was very lame with the gout.[3]

Charles II was proclaimed king on 8 May 1660. Hewson anticipated that parliament would attempt to ingratiate itself with the new monarch and, like several of those responsible for the execution of the new king's father, deemed it wise to leave England. On the 17th a vote for closing all the ports was passed to prevent the departure of those regicides not yet in custody. By then, however, Hewson was probably already in

Amsterdam.[4] Certainly on the 21st the Commons was informed of Hewson's escape from the country.

The government of Charles II sought vigorously to inflict retribution on the regicides. Three colonels of the New Model Army died on the scaffold and a gibbet was erected in Cheapside with Hewson's picture on it. This may have caused both Pepys and Evelyn to assume that he, too, had been taken and executed.[5] In fact, Colonel Hewson was still in Amsterdam.

George Downing, agent for the king in Holland, was hunting down the regicides. He reported to the government in England, by letter dated 15 July 1661

> I hear that Okey and some others of them are in Strasbourg, and have purchased their freedom there publicly; and that Hewson is sick, but intends thither also with one or two more by the first occasion.[6]

Perhaps he never did recover - Wood asserts that Hewson died there the following year.[7] Noble agrees, whilst Granger refers to his death 'in obscurity' in Amsterdam.[8] But another possibility might be that the story of an Amsterdam death was a fabrication designed to throw the king's agents off the scent.

The remaining references to Colonel Hewson centre on Rouen. The fact that it was so improbable that a fugitive regicide would seek refuge there actually supports this proposition. Rouen was on the route to Paris via Southampton and carried the obvious risk of recognition by English travellers. Worse, France did not offer the security of a Protestant regime. As C.H. Firth has noted:

> The danger which republican exiles incurred in France was very considerable. In January 1663, Johnston of Warriston was seized at Rouen, and lodged in Dieppe Castle, whence he was transported to England for trial. In May 1663 he was shipped to Scotland, where he was tried and condemned to death.[9]

The apprehension of Archibald Johnston must have been an unpleasant shock for Colonel Hewson.

It is not inconceivable that he had made his way to Rouen, rather than to Strasbourg, at Johnston's invitation. They were known to each other, both had sat in Cromwell's Other House, and Hewson had been a member of the Committee of Safety (of which Johnston appears to have been permanent president). Perhaps the men were friends. Both were fiercely opposed to the royalists, and both shared a vision of life rooted in Old Testament values. At all events, he seems to have remained, since there is a report that he 'died of starvation at Rouen in 1664'.[10]

It is evident that the English authorities had not accepted the story of Hewson's death in Amsterdam in 1662 and were still looking for him. In March 1666 a wandering tobacco-seller, who had been arrested in England in the belief that he was Hewson, stated that he was at Rouen

when Hewson died there.[11] This seems a remarkable coincidence.

There remains an area for fanciful speculation. A set of playing cards issued about 1675 showed 'C. Hewson' on the Knave of Clubs.[12] This might have been the name of the card maker (following French practice), or a jibe against 'Cobbler Hewson' derived from the satirical pamphlet *Walk, Knaves, Walk*. Evidence suggests that the cards were not made in England. Rouen was one of the two contemporary sources of manufacture in France. Perhaps a retired regicide had found another way of dealing with kings?

1. Alexander Young, *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1846), p. 46. Other accounts date the order to 1632.
2. Pauline Gregg, *King Charles I* (London, 1981), p. 439.
3. C.H. Firth & G. Davies, *The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army* (2 vols, Oxford, 1940), p. 416.
4. James Granger, *A Biographical History of England* (5th edn, 6 vols, London, 1824); the account of Hewson appears in vol IV.
5. Entry for 26 January 1661 in Pepys's *Diary*, entry for 17 October 1660 in Evelyn's *Diary*.
6. The letter was probably addressed to Clarendon. See C.H. Firth (ed), *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow* (2 vols, Oxford, 1894), II, 330 footnote.
7. Cited in L. Stephen & S. Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography* (22 vols, London, 1908-9); the biography of Hewson, by C.H. Firth, appears in vol IX, pp. 762-3.
8. Mark Noble, *Lives of the English Regicides* (2 vols, London, 1798), I, 352; Granger, *Biographical History*, IV, 3.
9. Firth, *Memoirs of Ludlow*, II, 392 footnote.
10. J.G. Muddiman (ed), *Trial of Charles the First* (Edinburgh and London, 1928), p. 185.
11. *Dictionary of National Biography*, IX, 763.
12. W. Gurney Benham, *Playing Cards* (London, 1931), p. 37.

J.F. Barry, a possible descendant of Hewson via his mother's line, is currently researching the life of Colonel Hewson. Anyone with a similar interest, or who might have assistance or information to offer, is invited to write to Mr Barry via our Secretary, Michael Byrd (address on inside front cover), who will forward all such correspondence.

WRITINGS AND SOURCES I

PRYNNE'S RECEPTION IN CHESTER

This new section within *Cromwelliana* is designed to make available different types of primary source material which shed light upon the period and to print or reprint with a minimum of commentary a selection of sources which illustrate some aspect of the mid seventeenth century.

The documents printed in full or in part below reflect the growing religious divisions and tensions of the late 1630s. Opposition to the king's religious policy often took the form of attacks upon the role and powers of the bishops and upon prelacy in general. Despite heavy government censorship, some of these attacks appeared in printed form, in published sermons, pamphlets and books. The authors, if known, were severely punished. One of the earliest to suffer in this way during the Personal Rule was a Scottish doctor, Alexander Leighton (1568-1649), who is referred to in one of the letters reproduced below. His *Sion's Plea*, an outspoken attack on prelacy, led to his arrest and punishment in 1630 - he was pilloried, whipped, his ears were cropped and his nose slit. Far more famous, however, was the case of the doctor John Bastwick (1593-1654), the preacher Henry Burton (1578-1648) and the lawyer William Prynne (1600-69), whose attacks upon the bishops led in 1637 to their trial and conviction. In each case, they were stripped of office and honours, heavily fined, had their ears cropped and were dispatched to separate prisons far removed from the capital. In July 1637 Burton was transported to Lancaster castle and Prynne to Caernarvon castle in north-west Wales. In both cases, their journey under escort turned into something of a triumphal procession, many people turning out to see them and to display their support for these 'martyrs' and thus their implicit or explicit opposition to the royal government and its policies. In 1640-41, when the tables were turned, the Long Parliament ordered the three released, restored to office and recompensed for their losses.

The documents printed below illustrate the welcome which Prynne received from certain prominent citizens when he passed through Chester en route for Caernarvon. The first three pieces reveal how deeply the Bishop of Chester, John Bridgeman (1577-1652), was dismayed by the sympathy shown towards this convicted critic of prelacy, and how assiduously he strove to get the ringleaders removed to the Archbishop of York's Court of High Commission and punished there. They take the form of letters from the Bishop of Chester to the Archbishop of York and were first published in a far from unbiased source, William Prynne's *A New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny* (British Library, Thomason Tract E162 (2)). The remaining extracts relate how each of the accused was treated by the Archbishop of York's officers and his court, how they were punished and how they reacted to their sentences. They are taken from the petitions which they presented to the House of Commons in 1641 and

which, together with the petitions which Burton, Bastwick and Prynne also presented to the Long Parliament around the same, were collectively published in pamphlet form as *The Severall Humble Petitions of Bastwicke, Burton, Prynne...* (British Library, Thomason E207 (4)).

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Lever 20 August 1637

My humble service premised,

May it please your Grace to be advertised, I cam lately into Lancashire to visite my eldest sonne, who hath long lyen here very ill and unable to stirre, and in my absence from Chester, Prynne (that twice censured lawyer) was conveyed to Carnarvan Castle; but in his passage was entertained at Chester by foure factious citizens with great solemnity, which (because I conceive it affronts the state to give such countenance to so infamous an enemy of both the Church and Commonwealth) I thought meet to acquaint your Grace with it and to desire your directions therein.

The men who did it were first one Calvin Bryan (a silly but a very seditious fellow who hath lately been Sheriffe of the City). This man (as I heare) rode to meet him, and brought him jollily to his house where he gave him a great supper. Another name is John Aldersey, an Alderman of Chester who (with his wife) in her feminine zeale burst out into some idle discourse at their meeting. The other two were Peter Ince, stationer, and Robert Ince, a hosyer. I myselfe have no authority in Chester to punish them (but what my Consitory doth afford) not so much as a Justice of the Peace to bind them to the good behaviour, but if your Grace thinke fit to send a Pursevant and fetch them into the high Commission it may do good for example to others of that straine. This Calvin Bryan (as soone as Doctor Laytons booke came forth, called *Syons Plea*) had got one of them in his shop, which (as soone as I heard) I sent and tooke it away from him and then being threatened and affrighted he faithfully promised future conformity. As for Robert Ince he was (though many years since) made to doe publike penance in the Cathedrall of Chester for schismaticall speeches by sentance of the high Commission. And for Peter Ince we have no other stationer in that City yet no Puritanicall bookes but our citizens get them as soone as any, which I suppose come by his meanes, tho he be so cunning as it will hardly be discovered unlesse by his owne answer upon his oath. And for the Alderman (especially his wife) they much bemoaned his persecution (as they call it) and spake diverse words about his censure. All these seldome or never come to our Sunday Sermons in the Cathedrall although I have ordered the other Preachers in the City to end all their Sermons before ours begin, wherein I most humbly beseech your Graces advise and assistance to bring the Maior and their

Brethren to our Cathedrall (at least on Sundays) as in other Cities they use to doe that I may have mine eye on their behaviour. I shall await your pleasure herein and follow punctually what you command. And so most humbly (with my prayers to God for all happinesse upon you and yours with long life to enjoy it) I do take my leave and rest,

Your Graces in all obedience,

Jo Cestrien.

Chester Nov 10 1637

After the remembrance of my humble duty, may it please your Grace I have seized on five pictures of Prynne drawne by the painter Pulford now a prisoner at Yorke (which are all that I can heare of) and I now desire your Graces pleasure for the disposall of them whether you will have them sent to Yorke (which I thinke too great an honour for such a wretch) or sacrificed here to Vulcan either publiquely in the market or privately before some good witnesses. You may please to signifie my service therein and it shall be done.

Calvin Bruen was with mee and told mee he was dismissed by the Lords of the Councell. I craved a view of his dismission but I find it is rather remission or transmission of him backe to the High Commission at Yorke. Hee cannot deny that he went out and brought Prynne into Chester, that whiles hee was here hee bestowed wine upon him, that at his going hence hee brought him out of the City on horseback; he minceth it somewhat and saith it was but halfe a mile and I beleeve it but this halfe mile is so farre as I use to bring the Lord Deputy of Ireland when he hath been my guest in Chester and to go further would be a trouble to him. If that Calvin Bruen shall deny this I must witnesse against him that he hath confessed so much to me. May your Grace please to give me leave to interpose my opinion, I would advise that the Court be not too hastie in the dispatch of those men till I have searched a little into the depth of this businesse for I came but a weeke since (being with-held in Lancashire upon some service by his Majesties command) and somewhat I heare which (if I find true) will minister matter for a sound censure, but I would not show only shadows to that Honourable Company but certainties and of substance I shall returne it within a forthnight.

I heare of one Bostock (a lawyer of the first head) yet one that hath horne enough to runne withall against Ecclesiasticall Authority and as busie for Prohibitions as the best. This man (they say) is informed against and feared a summons from Yorke for he was more inward with Prynne than any other. If hee come before your Grace I pray examine him narrowly about schismaticall bookes for I verily beleeve there hath been no Libellous or scandalous Pamphlets published either from beyond sea or printed in England for diverse yeares but he hath gotten it and dispersed it; hee hath been a great Conventicator (as his neighbours affirme) and (if report bee true) of long acquaintance with Prynne when hee wrote his Libels - it may be hee afforded him some helpe therein. Men thought lately he would

have been a minister but about five years since he began to study at the Innes of Court and is now become a Lawyer gowned. He hath been (as I heare) a great expounder of Scripture in private Families and a follower of seditious Ministers at exercises as they call them. If any of those who are before you have acquaintance with him, no doubt but that they will afford matter enough to work upon.

It is much below me to be an informer and therefore I beseech your Grace let others doe it. But if some of the chiefe delinquents be punished for examples sake and others who never spake with Prynne or bestowed curtesie upon him (but onely in curiosity saw him as a stigmatized monster) bee spared till sufficient matter appeare against them (for I heare a clamour of the people that some such are sent for) your Grace will herein shew your zeale of justice against the one and your wisdome and marcy to others who complaine they are undone by their charges alreadie expanded. I know your piety and charity that you would have both offenders duly censured and innocents freed and therefore I need adde no advice of mine own herein. But praying God to blesse you with health, long life and at last with eternal happinesse I rest

Your Graces in all obedience,

Jo Cestrien

Chester November 20th 1637

My humble duty remebered. May it please your Grace I came to Chester lately having beene held thence longer than I intended by the desperate sicknesse of my eldest son and the succeeding death of my second sonne and afterward by some special service commanded by his Majesty. And I here find all things so closely shut up in silence and these wary Citizens so affrighted as little or nothing will be discovered about the entertainment of Prynne more then what your Grace hath already heard, onely in the examination of Peter Ince his wife, I perceive her husband hath bin of ancient acquaintance with Prynne. For when Prynne was in the Tower of London upon his first censure for his *Histrio-Mastix* this Peter Ince visited him (a prisoner) there. The Lords of the Privie Councell had notice of some such matters, for above a moneth since they wrote downe to Chester for a search to be made in his house for seditious bookes which was accordingly done by the then Maior but all the birds were flown ere the nest was searched and I believe no more will be discovered then what those Prynnians now at Yorke can reveale unto you. As for the wife of Thomas Aldersey, the Alderman, I examined her (as I did the other) punctually to every clause both of the original articles and the additionals and have returned them sealed into the office by this messenger. If she sweares truely her offence is not answerable to the report, for it seemes Peter Ince and his brother Robert Ince walking through the streets with Prynne went to St John's Church (the place where stories say K Edgar was rowed over the river Dee by eight

Captive Kings which the great Ship lately built by the King relates unto) and in their return homewards they brought Prynne home to Alderseys house where she was sitting with other Gossips and neither expected nor invited Prynne neither did she send for a drop of wine for him or bestowed any other gift upon him (as she supposeth to the worth of a penny) but the offer of a pint of wine which she and her gossips were then a drinking ere he came in. I must believe this to be so till I find out further matter, which you shall certainly know if it be worth writing. As for that Calvin Bruen you will need no further proof than his own confession (and the attestation of his own companions); he confesseth to me that he went out of the city and fetched Prynne in and bestowed wine upon him while he was ther and rode out with him when he went thence and perhaps upon his oath he will further confesse that he invitied him to his house though Prynne forebore it finding him (as who will not if he heard him speake) a silly fellow. I once tooke from him the book called *Syons Plea* for which Layton lost his eares.

I wrote in my last letter to your Grace somewhat of one Bostock a young Lawyer but an old Puritan. I could wish that (whiles he hovers in London) Master Blanchard or some other were sent by authority from Yorke to search his study (but they must have power to breake open his doore or no good will be done) for certainly he hath more schmismaticall bookes unlesse this noyse hath scared them away than any one man in my Diocesse, but you must get them out either by such a sudden search or by his owne examination on his oath by some of the Brotherhood for I can doe little service in it.

I have certified my Lord of Canterbury what passages have beene since Burton was a prisoner in Lancaster Castle and at his departure thence. They are not worth a repetition and suit. I understand his wife was made much of by some Puritan neighbours there abouts; when the discovery is perfited I shall make bold to acquaint your Grace with it. Meane while with the tender of my humble service to your Grace and my prayers to God for your health, honour and happinesse, I rest,

Your Graces in all obedience,

Jo Cestrien

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To the Honourable The Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament. The humble Petition of Peter Iuice [Ince], of the City of Chester, Stationer.

Sheweth,

That your Petitioner (though every way conformable to the Laws of this Realm, and Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, and of a peaceable disposition) about 3 yeares since, for

visiting Mr Prynne in his passage through Chester to the Castle of Carnarvan, by the consent of his Keeper, was by the meanes and direction of the Bishop of Chester Arested by the Servant of Roger Blanchard Pursuivant for the High Commissioners at Yorke, to appeare before them upon Chester Chaire Evening, who forced him to enter into Bond, with Sureties to appeare at the Court at Bishops -Thorpe on that day, which he did accordingly: And on the same day your Petitioners wife was Arrested, and carryed out of his House by Night, by a Warrant from the said Commissioners to appeare at Bishop-Thorpe the next day, being 80 miles from Chester, for which two Arests he was inforced to pay sixe pounds to Blanchard.

That your Petitioner upon his Appearance was enforced to take an Oath to Answere sundry originals, and three papers of Additionall Articles, to his great vexation and expence, being kept at Yorke in the said Pursuivants house, for the space of eight weeks, during which time, he was constrained to send down severall Commissions for the Examination of his Wife, being unable to Travell, and dangerously sick, by meanes of the fright she took by the Pursuivants Arresting her, and carrying her away in the night, Your Petitioners House, Shoppe and Study being three times searched in the meane time by a Warrant from the Lords. And though nothing offensive was then found, or proved against him, but only his visiting Mr Prynne in his passage through Chester, and that with the leave of his Conductours, Yet your Petitioner was by the said Commissioners fined 300 pound to his Majesty, Imprisoned in the Pursuivants House, to whom he payed 6s 8d a day, besides his diet, untill such time as he should enter into Bond, with Sureties, to make such a publique acknowledgement of his pretended offence, in visiting Mr Prynne, both in the Cathedrall, and Common Hall of Chester, as the said Commissioners should prescribe; your Petitioner being enforced to pay divers great and unwarrantable Fees, both to the Pursuivants, Registers, Proctors, and other Officers of the said Court, to the value of 50 pound at the least; and though nothing was proved against his Wife, yet they forced him to pay the Charges of the Court and Costs of Suit for her.

That your Petitioner by reason of his said great Oppressions and Expences, and through the perswasion of the said Bishop of Chester, and his Chancellour, was most against his Judgement and Conscience induced to make an unjust Acknowledgement in the said Cathedrall before a great Assembly, where the said Bishop being then present, and his Chapleyn Mr Thomas Cordell preaching a Sermon for that purpose, wherein he bitterly inveighed against Mr Prynne and his Fellow-sufferers, comparing them to Corah, Dathan and Abiram. And because your Petitioner changed one word of the Acknowledgement, saying 'ignorantly' for 'wickedly', hee was injoyned by the Bishop the same day at Evening to make a new Acknowledgment in the said Church before another Great Assembly; and after that, to make the first Acknowledgement in the Common Hall of Chester, before the Maior and Aldermen, and all comers in;

And enforced him to pay 4 pound to Blanchard for being present to see his Acknowledgment made.

After which your Petitioner was constrained to pay 30 pound to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and Sugar-loaves to his Servant Mr Holford, for Composition of his said Fine of 30 pound; so that by reason of all the premisses, your Petitioner hath expended at least the summe of 100 pound, and suffered damages to the value of 200 pound in his Trade and Reputation.

May it please this Honourable House to take these your Petitioners Grievannces, together with the jurisdiction of the said High-Commission Court into your just and Honourable Considerations, and to afford your Petitioner such Reliefe for his losses and damages, as the Justice and Equity of this Cause shall require.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray etc,

Peter Iuice

[There follows a very similar petition from Peter Leigh of Chester, grocer, and Richard Golborne of Chester, gentleman, in which they readily agreed that they had visited Prynne at Chester, 'which they conceived they might Lawfully doe, being his friends, and there being no order to the contrary', especially as 'they accompanied him onely in the presence of his Keepers'. None the less, they and the late William Trafford had then been arrested, taken to York, kept there, and eventually sentenced by High Commission to pay heavy fines and to make public 'acknowledgement'. They were initially less compliant than Ince.]

[Make a public acknowledgement] they would not do, in regard the same was against their consciences, and the Lawes of this Realme as they beleeved; They were forced to flee into other Countries and leave their Wives, and Children, Trades, and Possessions; And in their absence the Pursuivants of the said Court came to their Houses, with Warrants, or intimations, which they caused to be published in your Petitioners Parish Churches in Chester aforesaid, and did so affright their Wives, that they being with Child, did soone after miscarry.

And your Petitioners, and William Trafford, using all meanes for their freedome, could not prevaile, but their fines were Estreated, and their Bonds returned into the Exchequer as forfeited; whereupon at last, that they might have some accesse, and favour, to and with the Arch-Bishop of Canturbury, who, as they were informed, had onely power to relieve them; They payd Doctor Merricke, one of the Advocates of the High-Commission Court at Canterbury, that they might have accesse to his Lordship, £35 at severall times: They presented his Lordship also with two Butts of the best Sacke, and gave one Mr Holford, one of his Attendants £12 and other Gratuities, to other of his Servants, to the value of £20 more. All which were bestowed on the said Arch-Bishop, and his Servants, by the Advice

and direction of the said Doctor Merricke: and after the acceptance thereof, the said Arch Bishop was content to take, and did take for your Petitioners and the said Traffords fines £240 more which they payd accordingly, and were forced to pay £40 more for fees in London, and at Yorke concerning the said businesse; by which said expence, troubles, and neglect of their owne Occasions, your Petitioners for their parts have beene damnified above £1000 and their estates almost thereby wholly ruined: They being enforced to flee and wander into strange Countries for about foure moneths together: your Petitioner Peter Leigh, then being a Tradesman, who dealt for above £4000 per annum, and then much indebted, had his Shop shut up, for above 3 moneths together, for feare of having his goods seized, for his forfited Bond, and fine aforesaid. And your Petitioner Golborne thereby was so ruined in his Estate, that he for a long time after, with his Wife and Children, lived upon the Benevolence of his Friends, and now is constrained to live in Service, being disabled for want of moneyes to goe on in that course wherein formerly his was imployed.

May it therefore please this Honourable Assemblie to take your Petitioners distressed estate into your grave Considerations, and to weigh their pretended Offences, and their severe and heavie punishments together, and afford them such Reliefe for the great wrongs done unto them, and their Estates and Families...

[There follows a very similar petition from Calvin Bruen of Chester, telling a similar story, save that he was summoned to appear before the Privy Council in London as well as to the Archbishop of York's Court of High Commission in York. Bruen appeared before the Privy Council, where he claimed that 'he enquired of his [Prynne's] Keepers if they had any Command from the Lords to restraine any one from coming to see him, and that the Keepers made your Petitioner this Answer, "that there was no Command to the Contrary"', whereupon the Privy Council allowed him to return to Chester. However, he was then summoned again to York. There he was attacked for meeting Prynne, 'for ex tempore Prayers and Repetitions with Mr Pryn; as also for procuring the Picture of the said Mr Prynne to be drawn by a Limner in Chester'. Bruen denied everything except meeting Prynne with the approval of his keepers. Like the other accused, Bruen was heavily fined, forced to pay various other fees and charges and required to make a verbal acknowledgement.]

But shortly after, refusing to make the acknowledgement aforesaid, was againe by the said Pursuivant Imprisoned untill he should make the said acknowledgement, which he was much pressed unto by the Bishop and Chancellor of Chester, which said Bishop did assure him (as he the said Bishop should Answer before God) your Petitioner might safely doe it.

Your Petitioner being in Prison, and having left his meanes of living, he being kept from his Trade eight moneths, and his Wife and Children thereby brought to great distresse, was forced by terrours and feares, and by the perswasion of the said Bishop and Chancellour (on whose judgements your Petitioner much relyed) to procure his inlargement from Imprisonment, by making the said Acknowledgement in the Cathedrall-Church of Chester, and the Common Hall thereof, and was forced to pay to the aforesaid Pursuivant Blanchard (who came to see him doe it) 5 pounds for Fees.

After all which your Petitioner was forced twice more to goe to Yorke, being fourescore miles from his house, to take off his said Fine, if he could: But the Fine was certified into the Exchequer, and no helpe was to be had but by suite to the Archbishop of Canterburie, to whom the said Fines were granted: who after your Petitioner and his Wife suing to him by the space of a whole moneth together, accepted of thirty pounds for your Petitioner.

May it please this Honourable House to take this your Petitioners grievances into your grave Considerations...

Here follows a Copie of the Declaration or acknowledgement appointed by his Majesties Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiasticall within the Diocesse and Province of Yorke, to be done and performed by Calvin Bruen of the City of Chester, in the Cathedrall Church of Chester, and Common Hall thereof.

Hee is to bee present in the Cathedrall Church of Chester aforesaid at morning prayer, upon Sunday next comming, being the tenth of December instant, being in his accustomed apparrell, where and when, immediately before the beginning of the Sermon, hee shall stand upon some seate or stoole before the Pulpit, and say, and recite after the Minister, as followeth: Whereas I have been of late convented before his Majesties Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiasticall, for the Diocesse and Province of Yorke. For that I countenanced, comforted, and abbetted one William Prynne, heeretofore twice censured in his Majesties Court of Starre-chamber, for publishing seditious and scandalous bookes and libells. Namely, in that I waited upon him, to bring him into this Citie, and attended upon him at his going out of the Citie. By all which my carriage and misdemeanors, I have audaciously and wickedly (as much as in me lay) countenanced the sayd Prynne, and offered an affront to his Majestie and the State, in their just proceedings against him. And thereby also have brought a scandall and reproach upon the Citie; for all which my offences, upon my personall Avowers made to the Articles in that behalfe objected against mee, I stand legally and justly convicted by his Majesties said Commissioners, and by them enjoyned to make this declaration, and acknowledgement for the same.

I doe heere in the presence of God and this Congregation

confesse my said Offences, and declare my hearty sorrow for the same. And doe aske foregivenesse of God, the Church, the Kings Majestie, and the State. As also of the whole Government both Ecclesiasticall and Temporall of this place: against all whom I have so grievously offended. And in token that this my Confession for the present is hearty, and that I may obtaine Grace hereafter to performe what I now promise, and finde mercy for what is past: I desire you all to say with me the Lords Prayer, Our Father, etc.

FURTHER EVIDENCE CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF CROMWELL'S TITLE 'LORD PROTECTOR': MILTON'S *PRO SE DEFENSIO*, 46.3-4

by Michele Valerie Ronnick

In 1995 I identified a possible source for the phrase 'Lord Protector'.[1] The phrase made its first appearance in the English language at this time in Lambert's Instrument of Government (1653), and seems to have been coined by Lambert as the new title for England's new leader Oliver Cromwell.[2] In my brief esay, 'The Title "Lord Protector" and the Vulgate Bible', I traced the phrase back to certain passages from the Psalms in the Vulgate Bible.

In those passages the Latin noun for Lord, *dominus*, as well as the Latin noun for protector, *protector*, appear together repeatedly. The pattern can be seen in the following quotations.[3] 'My god is the protector of all hoping in him since who is god except the Lord': *Deus meus...est protector omnium sperantium in eum quoniam quis deus praeter Dominum*, 17.31. 'Lord protector of my life': *Dominus protector vitae meae*, 26.2. 'Lord, my helper and my protector': *Dominus adiutor meus et protector meus*, 27.7. 'Our spirit sustains the Lord since he is our helper and protector': *anima nostra sustinet Dominum quoniam adiutor et protector noster est*, 32.21. 'And he is the protector of those in a time of tribulation and the lord will help them': *et protector eorum in tempore tribulationis et iuvabit eos Dominus*, 36.40. 'The lord is concerned with me; you are my helper and protector': *Dominus sollicitus est mei adiutor meus et protector meus tu es*, 39.18. 'Lord, my protector renouce them': *et depone eos protector meus Domine*, 58.12.4. *Adiutor eorum et protector eorum est domus Aaron speravit in Domino/ adiutor eorum et protector eorum est qui timent Dominum speraverunt in Domino/ adiutor eorum et protector eorum est Dominus memor fuit nostri*, 113.17-20. 'Lord of the armies with us my protector': *Dominus*

exercituum nobiscum protector meus, 45.8. 'Lord, our protector destroy them': *destrue eos protector noster Domine*, 58.12. 'Their helper and protector is Lord': *auxiliator et protector eorum est Dominus*, 113.19.

Strong confirmation of this connection is provided by a text published two years later, John Milton's *Pro Se Defensio* (1655). In a passage that ridicules More's attempt to secure help in his struggles with Milton, Milton berates him and declares that *inter alia trepidantis atque degeneris animi indicia, qui libellum modo famosum tam cupide, tamque improbe in alios edidisset, libellum nunc supplicem ad Legatum Fœderatorum Ordinum apud nos commorantem scribit, orans atque obsecrans, uti cum Domine Protectore quam instantissime de supprimenda mea Defensione ageret*: 'among the other indications of a cowardly and base soul, the man, who had recently made an eager and wicked attempt to publish a libelous petition against others, now writes for help from the English envoy to the Federated Provinces, begging and beseeching that he bring about the suppression of my *Defense* with the Lord Protector as immediately as possible' (44.20-46.6).[4]

Thus Milton's translation of the title Lord Protector into the Latin phrase *dominus protector* follows the language used in the examples from the Psalms, and supports the idea that the title Lambert created for Lord General Cromwell finds its source in the Vulgate Bible.

1. Michele Valerie Ronnick, 'The Title "Lord Protector" and the Vulgate Bible', *Notes & Queries* 240 (1995), 446-7.
2. *Oxford English Dictionary*, XII, 680.
3. The Vulgate Latin text cited in this essay has been drawn from *Biblia Sacra iutxa Vulgatam Clementinam Editio Nova* (Madrid, 1953). All translations are my own.
4. Milton's Latin text used in this essay has been drawn from Frank Allen Patterson (ed), *The Works of John Milton* (18 vols, New York, 1932), volume IX. The first number provides the page number, and the second the lines. All translations are my own.

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MUSIC: THE LEGACY OF THE COMMONWEALTH

by J.A. Mills

> The London of the Middle fifties had once more a cultivated society. It was recovering under the healing hand of time and the Protector's encouragement of letters and learning, its character as a home of the Muses.[1]

Cromwell has always been labelled as the person responsible for the destruction of church organs yet organists had been under threat since the split with Rome during Henry VIII's reign. The Lower House of Convocation listed organ playing in the '84 Faults and Abuses of Religion' in 1536 and in 1550 all organs were to be removed with the exception of St George's Chapel Windsor. St Paul's Cathedral organ was silenced during 1552 but was used again the next year when Mary came to the throne.

In 1563 the Lower House of Convocation tried again to remove all organs but the resolution was lost by one vote. But organs were removed during this time; by 1567 one hundred organs were taken down and the pipes sold to make pewter dishes. It was during this time that the decline in organ building started. This all happened a long time before Cromwell was even born. It is also interesting to note that Abbot, who was Charles I's Archbishop of Canterbury until 1633, removed the organ and choir from the chapel at Lambeth Palace.

In 1641 a Committee of the House of Lords declared that music used in cathedrals and collegiate churches should be less complex. But it was not until after the Scottish and English parliaments jointly signed the Solemn League and Covenant on 25 September 1643 (which sanctioned religious changes for reforming the churches) that reforms started. An act of parliament in January 1644 declared the church organ to be a superstitious monument and should be removed. A February ordinance imposed the Solemn League and Covenant upon everyone and finally in May two ordinances sanctioned the demolition of organs, images and all superstitious monuments throughout England and Wales and covered all cathedrals, churches and chapels.

The destruction was not complete as some organs remained in position providing they were not used as part of the worship. Scottish puritans sold organs to individuals instead of destroying them. A few church organs were removed and set up in taverns which became known as 'Musique houses'. Pepys mentions visiting a tavern in Fleet Street with a music room. Cromwell enjoyed organ music: there was an organ in the Cockpit, the private court theatre at Whitehall and in 1654 the organ of Magdalen College Oxford was removed to Hampton Court Palace, by amicable arrangement with the college President and Fellows.

In 1654 John Evelyn and his wife were spending a few months

visiting her relatives in Wiltshire and on the way they spent seven days wining, dining and sight seeing Oxford University. On 12 July he mentions in his diary seeing the organ and hearing it played by Christopher Gibbons; it was shortly after this that it was installed in the Great Hall at Hampton Court Palace.

After the Restoration a warrant was issued for the organ to be returned to Magdalen College, which it was. This organ is now known as the Milton organ (it was said that Milton played the organ for Cromwell when he visited, but it was usually played by John Hingston), and can be seen in Tewkesbury Abbey, which acquired it in 1737 from Magdalen College who were replacing it with a newer model. The beautiful case dates from 1597 or earlier; the organ itself has been rebuilt and revoiced over the years and sadly tonally it does not sound the same as it did during Cromwell's time. There are some seventeenth century pipes remaining and they date from between 1615 and 1637. It is the oldest organ still in use.

The puritan government was undoubtedly responsible for establishing secular music; their policies forced composers and musicians of church music to widen their horizons and explore other forms of music, which in turn encouraged amateur musicians and thus widened the audience, increasing the demand for dance tunes, singing and instrumental pieces for home entertainment, state and private functions. Therefore the secular branches experienced expansion of new ideas and music as a whole benefitted. So after the Restoration, when church music composition was resumed, people were accustomed to different styles, and so madrigals (the last publication of a set of madrigals was Porter's second set in 1639) and the old-style church music were superseded.

When parliament ordered the sale of Bishops' land the money (one million pounds) was put in trust and used to support church employees who had lost their livelihoods; this also included choristers and singing men. Another act of compassion was to Clement Lanier, a recorder and sackbut player, who had been a musician to Charles I. In 1652 the government paid his arrears of pay.

The Commonwealth allowed people to play, teach and entertain with music, even royalists previously employed by the king. Puritans enjoyed instrumental music, including the organ as a private recreation providing it did not for part of divine worship - which was a public rite and therefore serious and distinctly different. It was the banishment of organs from churches which brought about the development of the concert in England.

It was during this period that musical clubs were started, by dispossessed organists and professional musicians who would hold weekly Musick Meetings either in their homes or in taverns in order to make a living. There were four clubs held in Oxford. William Ellis, the organist of St John's College, had an organ in his home, and ran the club there, together with several other musicians; Exeter and Magdalen Colleges held regular clubs. The fourth club did not have a permanent location and was held in a different college every week.

The club at the Black Horse, Aldersgate Street, London was run by Edmund Chilead, who had been a Chaplain at Christ Church Cathedral Oxford. There is only documented evidence of clubs in Cambridge from 1700 onwards, but as there were many musicians resident in Cambridge at the time of the Commonwealth it is probable there were similar clubs to those in Oxford. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Glee clubs and choral societies became extremely popular.

It is interesting to compare secular music publication during the eleven years of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, during which a total of twenty eight volumes appeared, with the first seventeen years of Charles I's rule, when only eight volumes were published. Obviously little was produced during the years of civil war. John Playford, a London bookseller who had his shop at the Inner Temple, was Clerk of the Temple church from 1653 onwards and the first regular music publisher. He started in 1651 when he published *The English Dancing Master: or, Plaine and easie rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the tune to each dance.*

It was not only music publication which thrived during the Commonwealth - poems, romances, in fact all forms of literature, thrived. In 1655 Cromwell abolished censorship which had been imposed by the Long Parliament in 1643 and which was reintroduced in 1662 with the Restoration.

Cromwell's love of music was not only confined to the organ; he enjoyed singing and especially the Latin motets composed by Richard Deering which were sung to him by two lads who formed part of the Gentlemen of his Highness's Musique. He employed ten in total, four of whom had previously worked for Charles I. They included Davis Mell, the famous violinist, and William Howes, a King's Singer. John Hingston was Master of Music with a salary of £100 per annum; he also had the task of teaching music to Cromwell's two youngest daughters, Frances and Mary.

Andrew Marvell, who was John Milton's assistant, had been tutor to Cromwell's ward William Dutton. He wrote two pastorals for the wedding of Cromwell's daughter Mary to Lord Fauconberg, which took place on 19 November 1657 at Hampton Court Palace. Cromwell took part in the pastorals, appearing in one as Jove and in the other as Menalcas; both these characters came on in the final chorus and Cromwell was not required to sing.

The wedding of Cromwell's other daughter, Frances, was a much more boisterous affair at Whitehall on 11 November 1657 and finally ended three days later at the house of the groom's grandfather, the Earl of Warwick. There was feasting, dancing and music played by forty eight string instruments and a fifty piece windband (trumpets, hautboys, drums and so on).

Music was seen as playing a very important part in education. As early as 1644 in his pamphlet *Of Education*, John Milton, Cromwell's Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Council of State and an accomplished musician and composer, advocated that music should be

part of the curriculum as it

> have a great power over dispositions and manners to sooth and make them gentle from rustic harshness and distempered passions...and send their minds back to study in good time and satisfaction.[2]

Sir Balthaar Gerbier, who had been Master of Ceremonies to Charles I, ran an academy at Bethnal Green for the study of music and dancing. In his pamphlet *A Publique Lecture* of 1650, he commended music and dancing as essential parts of education. Bulstrode Whitelocke, a very important figure in the Commonwealth parliament, wrote *Whitelocke's Labours remembered in the Annales of his Life, written for the Use of his Children*, which advocated the importance of a knowledge of music.

Colonel John Hutchinson, a notable puritan officer in the parliamentary army and a member of the Council of State, was also a proficient musician. He had studied music under Charles Coleman, one of Charles I's musicians, and in the 1630s, while living in Richmond, his house was used by the king's musicians to practise and prepare new airs for the king as well as a place of musical entertainment for guests. During the 1650s he again had time for music and practising his viol and played it for his children and their tutors: 'As he had great delight, so he had great judgment, in music, and advanced his children's practice more than their tutors.'[3]

In 1651 Playford published *Musicall Banquet*, which listed recognised music teachers, and then in 1658 he published *A Breif Introduction to Skill of Musik for song and viol*, which was a teach yourself book for learning the Viol da Gaba and Violin. It was during the Commonwealth that the violin became a very popular instrument to play and listen to. Evelyn mentions in his diary about Thomas Baltzar of Lubeck, a gifted violinist, who chose to come to England in order to further his career.

On 19 February 1657 a Council of State meeting was held and it discussed, among other things, the appointment of a sub committee for the 'Advancement of Musick', whose members were Lord Viscount Lisle, General Montague, Sir Gilbert Pickering (Lord Chamberlain of the Household), Colonel Philip Jones (Comptroller of the Household), the Earl of Mulgrave, Colonel William Sydenham and Lord Lambert. On the same day 'Ye Gentlemen of his Highness Musique' sent a petition outlining a request for the establishment of a corporation or college to control the music profession and further the teaching of music, singing, and the making of musical instruments. But sadly the corporation was not founded due to lack of funds.

It was not until 1673 that a Royal Academy of Musick was founded by Frenchman Robert Cabert in Convent Garden. But little is documented about this school. In 1695 a lottery was proposed to fund 'The Royal Academies'; the music faculty was to include Purcell and Draghi for the organ and harpsichord, and Banister and Matteis for the violin. It unfortunately failed. From 1710 at the Crown and Anchor

Tavern in the Strand 'The Academy of Antient Music' ran successfully for eighty years, funded by subscription.

Music during the reign of Charles I was generally unproductive, except for the constant demand for secular music for the masque. The drawback with a masque was the rigid style, consisting of separate songs, dances and incidental music contributed by several composers. It was written for a specific event and not for frequent performances, though it did help the progress in composition of individual dances, vocal and instrumental music. The private musical entertainment had now evolved into a public performance when the opera was introduced to the English stage.

The puritans encouraged the development of the opera by the repression of plays, so in order to get round the ban, theatrical performances had to be musical. Sir William Davenant, with the encouragement of Bulstrode Whitelocke, staged a piece called 'The First day's entertainment at Rutland House' in May 1656. It consisted of separate musical pieces, all of which praised the virtues of Cromwell. Six weeks later the first English opera by Davenant, called 'Siege of Rhodes', was performed; this was also the first time a female actor appeared.

Davenant went on to stage far more lavish productions in the larger surroundings of the Cockpit in Drury Lane - 'The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru' in 1658, an anti Spanish piece, and 'The History of Sir Francis Drake' in 1659. These three plays were also published, helping to advertise this new type of entertainment.

The Interregnum was not the cultural wilderness that it is so often portrayed as being, for it was quite innovative. The puritan government was made up of well educated people who encouraged the arts and sciences, which flourished during this period. The country's commercial and political standing made it attractive to foreign visitors and undoubtedly the British benefitted greatly from their influences and theories, which were readily introduced.

The general overview of Cromwell's Protectorate is one of restrictions and a limbo in history, where everything stopped until the Restoration, but this is incorrect. A great many advances were made during the Commonwealth, some of which were brought to fruition during the reign of Charles II and therefore credit was unfairly given to the Restoration.

1. Rose Macaulay, *Milton* (London, 1934), p. 110.
2. Douglas Bush (ed), *The Portable Milton* (London, 1976), p. 148.
3. Ernest Rhys (ed), *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson by Lucy Hutchinson* (London, 1908), p. 292.

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CROMWELLIAN BRITAIN X

MONTGOMERY, MONTGOMERYSHIRE

The town of Montgomery lies in the very east of the Welsh county to which it gives its name, close to Shropshire and the current English border. Founded by the English in the early thirteenth century, the town was largely by-passed by modern development - the canal, railway and main road all followed the flatter, lower-lying Severn valley a little to the west. Accordingly, while Welshpool, Newtown and, to a lesser extent, Llanidloes expanded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the face of Montgomery was little changed. It remains a small border town, more English than Welsh in character, its original medieval street pattern well-preserved and rich in Georgian brick buildings and frontages, a reflection of its heyday as a prosperous and peaceful eighteenth century market town. A century earlier, however, Montgomery was far from peaceful, for it was the scene of probably the largest and bloodiest civil war battle to take place within Wales. Its role in the civil war more closely reflected the town's medieval military origins than the agricultural prosperity which was to follow.

Montgomery stands in a strategically important area, a key frontier zone, which had been contested and fortified from the Iron Age onwards. Here, where the lowlands of England and the rolling hills of west Shropshire give way to the uplands and mountains of Wales, the valley of the upper Severn provides one of the few relatively easy routes into mid Wales, an obvious highway for attack from Wales into England and vice versa. Moreover, at this point, just south or upstream of its junction with the lesser River Camlad, there is a natural fording point across the Severn, called Rhydwhyman. From the time of the earliest known human occupation in the area, this was recognised as a key location and was fortified. In the Iron Age, an earthwork hill fort was erected on top of the steeply-sided Ffridd Faldwyn, the highest hill in the vicinity, which stands about one mile south-east of the ford. The Romans built a large earthen auxiliary fort, Forden Gaer, on low ground by the east bank of the Severn, immediately north of the ford. Within a generation of the Norman Conquest, the Norman Earl of Shrewsbury constructed an earthwork and timber motte and bailey castle, Hen Domen, at the north edge of a low ridge, around 500 yards south-east of the ford. The earthwork remains of all three fortifications are still clearly visible; those of Hen Domen have recently been the subject of intensive archaeological excavation. Lastly, in 1223, as part of a drive to recover and strengthen English control of the borderlands in response to continuing Welsh opposition, the new king, Henry III, built a large masonry castle on a lower but steeply-sided eastern spur of the hill upon which the Iron Age fort stands. Although the ford is not within direct line of sight from this new castle, it did provide an uninterrupted view from north to south-east across the rolling plain

below. At the same time, the English crown established a new town, Montgomery, on the lower ground immediately east of the castle, with earthworks, walls and gates providing further defence for the new settlement. It was this town and castle, both founded by the crown in the early thirteenth century as part of the conflict between the English and the Welsh, which saw action in the later conflict between the royalists and the parliamentarians.

During the opening two years of the civil war, north and mid Wales had been solidly royalist in allegiance, while much of the northern and central Marches had been divided. By August 1644, with the capture of Oswestry and the news of the royalist disaster at Marston Moor in the north, the parliamentarians felt secure enough in southern Cheshire and north-western Shropshire to contemplate pushing into Wales, looking to the Severn valley as the natural highway into the Principality. A combined parliamentary force under two local commanders, Thomas Mytton and Sir Thomas Myddleton, raided Welshpool in early August and Newtown in early September, in both cases taking prisoners and supplies. In the wake of the successful capture of a royalist powder convoy around Newtown, the parliamentarians turned their attention to Montgomery.

The parliamentarians seem to have entered the town unopposed on 4 September. Indeed, with the Welsh threat long gone by the seventeenth century, the town walls and gates had fallen ruinous and the town was largely undefended. Not so the castle on the hill overlooking the town. Although Edward I's conquest of Wales in the late thirteenth century had effectively ended much of the castle's original purpose, it had been kept in good order and was periodically refurbished, especially in the sixteenth century, when it became one of the seats of the crown's Council of the Marches. By the 1640s it was the residence of the aged Edward, Lord Herbert of Chirbury, who lived in state in a grand stone and brick mansion he had built twenty years before in the middle ward. However, the entire castle seems to have been in good order and defensible at the time of the civil war, and it was described by one of the parliamentarian commanders, Sir John Meldrum, as 'one of the goodliest and strongest places that I ever looked upon'.[1] Yet the parliamentarians were able to capture the fortress with remarkable ease. Herbert had refused to allow a royalist garrison to be installed and instead the castle was held by a small personal retinue, nominally for the king but in reality as a neutral base. Accordingly, when the parliamentarians approached the castle and demanded its surrender, Herbert had no stomach for a fight and swiftly entered negotiations. The parliamentarians offered as inducement both 'a large sum' of money and assurances that Herbert's possessions, including all his 'household stuff, books, trunks and writings', would be undamaged and would be conveyed under guard to Herbert's London house, if he so wished.[2] These carrots were backed up by a stick, for during the night of the 5th the parliamentarians fixed petards to the gates to the middle ward and demanded the castle's immediate surrender, though repeating their

pledges that no harm would be done to anyone or anything within the castle and that Herbert's books and other goods would not be damaged or taken - evidently he was particularly concerned about the fate of his library. By 6 September Montgomery castle was in parliament's hands.

The new parliamentary garrison, under Myddleton, was probably aware from the outset that the royalists would not allow parliament unhindered occupation of such a key stronghold and would attempt to recapture Montgomery at the earliest opportunity. Indeed, almost immediately, royalist commanders in the region began preparing a counter-attack, gathering forces from Ludlow, Shrewsbury and other smaller garrisons which they held in Shropshire. This combined royalist army, numbering perhaps 2,500 men and commanded by Sir Michael Ernley, approached Montgomery on 8 September. They surprised and scattered a large part of the parliamentarian garrison, which had ventured out on a foraging expedition. Mytton managed to get his 500 foot back into the castle, while Myddleton's horse escaped towards Welshpool. Ernley's royalists then set about taking the castle by formal siege, apparently digging siegeworks - earthwork banks and ditches - around the castle.

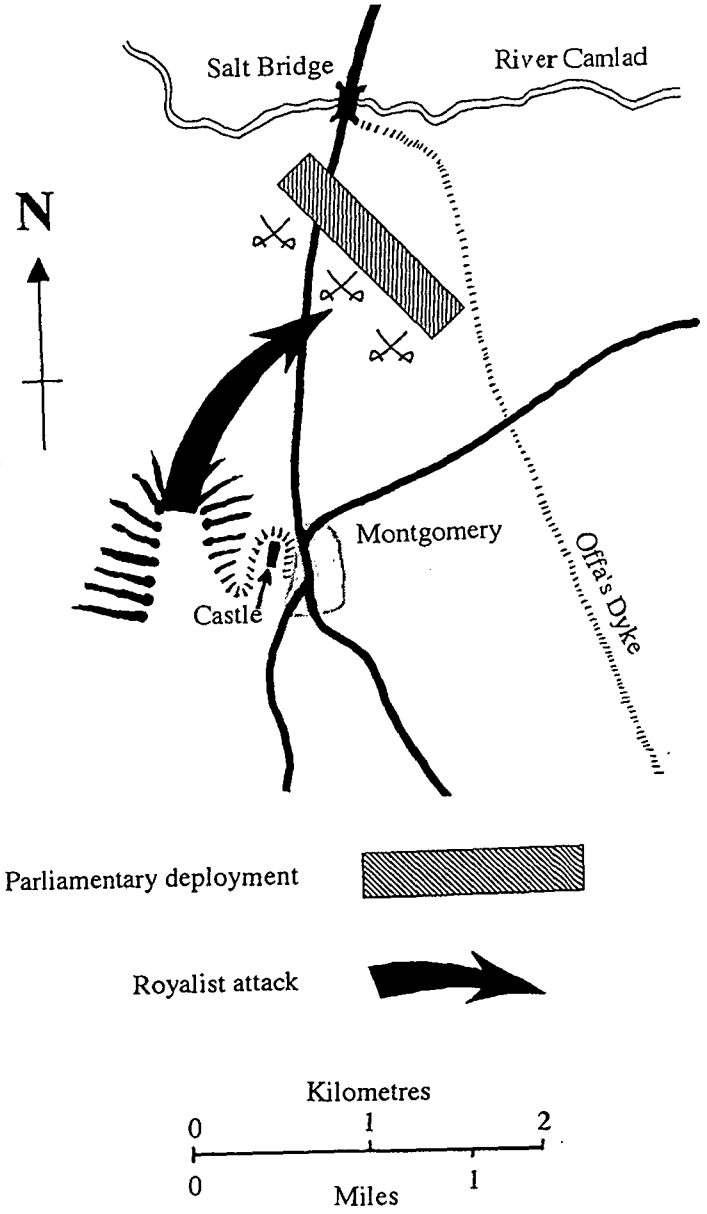
It was now the turn of the parliamentarians to react, for they were unwilling to see their newly won and highly prized possession fall to the king. Myddleton was instrumental in persuading other parliamentarian commanders in the region to lend support, and by mid September a combined force of around 3000 troops, led by Myddleton, Sir William Fairfax, Sir William Brereton and Meldrum, who was in overall command, was en route to Montgomery to lift the siege. Meanwhile the royalists had been reinforced by further troops from North Wales and Cheshire, including remnants of the forces which had been brought over from Ireland the previous winter, only to be mauled and dispersed at Nantwich in January 1644. These reinforcements were led by John, Lord Byron, who took command of all the royalist forces at Montgomery, now numbering somewhere between 4,000 and 5,000 men.

Like most civil war engagements, the battle which was fought outside Montgomery on 18 September is quite poorly recorded. As usual, no contemporary map or plan of the battle survives and instead historians rely very heavily on the accounts given in the letters of some of the key commanders - in this case, the parliamentarians Brereton, Myddleton and Meldrum, and the royalists Ernley and Arthur Trevor - supplemented by the accounts which subsequently appeared in several of the weekly newspapers. Sadly, no account written by the royalist commander, Byron, has been found. From these surviving accounts, it is possible to reconstruct something of the course of the battle.

The parliamentary relieving army approached Montgomery from the north on the evening of 17 September and spent the night 'in the field that was most advantageous to us', probably the low, fairly

flat ground flanking the River Camlad.[3] In the process, they secured an unnamed bridge, probably spanning the Camlad. Royalist troops had made no attempt to hold that ground and had instead pulled back. Leaving a small force to man the siegeworks, Byron had deployed the bulk of his army 'upon the mountain above the castle, a place of great advantage for them'[4] - almost certainly the hill immediately west of and overlooking the castle, crowned by the remains of the Iron Age hill fort. Battle began on the 18th when the royalists, noticing that roughly one third of the parliamentary horse had moved off to forage, swooped down and attacked their weakened enemies on the plain below. The parliamentary army was probably drawn up on the low, rolling ground north-north-east of the town. The remains of Offa's Dyke and the Camlad offered some protection to their left wing and rear. Their right wing was more exposed and vulnerable to outflanking, which might perhaps enable the royalists to capture Salt Bridge, where the Welshpool road crosses the Camlad, so cutting off the parliamentarians' line of retreat. Indeed, several accounts refer to determined royalist attempts to capture a vital (though unnamed) bridge, Meldrum writing that the royalists attempted 'to break through our forces and to make themselves masters of a bridge we had gained the night before, which would have cut off the passage of our retreat'.[5]

The initial parliamentary response to Byron's attack, a volley of shot, was delivered too soon, the bullets falling short of the advancing royalists. Unhindered, the king's men closed on their enemies, firing their initial volley at closer range and to greater effect. The royalist horse threw back their opposite numbers and the royalist foot then gained the upper hand over the parliamentary foot in a close quarter fight - 'it came to push of pike'.[6] But when victory seemed assured, the royalist advance was first halted and then reversed. The parliamentarian commanders ascribed this change of fortune to the intervention of God and to the resolve of their men to hold their ground. According to Meldrum, the parliamentary foot 'carried themselves more like lions than men';[7] other newspaper accounts suggest that it was the parliamentarian horse regrouping and counter-attacking which turned the tide of battle. A royalist account alleges that part of the king's horse quite unnecessarily turned tail and galloped from the field through sheer cowardice, an action which understandably unhinged their colleagues. Possibly the return of that part of the parliamentary horse which was initially caught away foraging helped turn the tide. Seeing their colleagues triumphant on the field below, Mytton's garrison emerged from the castle and overwhelmed the small royalist force left manning the trenches. The engagement ended in complete parliamentary victory and with surviving royalist forces in flight. The parliamentarians had lost about 40 dead, the royalists 500 dead and a further 1500 captured. Like most civil war battles, it had been a brief affair - the engagement lasted barely an hour.



A possible reconstruction of the Battle of Montgomery

In some ways the battle of Montgomery was very significant, for it not only secured parliamentarian control of this key frontier town and castle but also significantly weakened royalism in the area. Royalist regiments and garrisons had been greatly depleted to supply Byron's army and the crushing defeat, resulting in loss of men and supplies, undermined the royalist hold on Shrewsbury, Chester, Liverpool and other bases. For a time Myddleton was left in command of the new garrison at Montgomery and he used it as a base for capturing Powis castle, outside Welshpool, in October, and Abbey Cwmhir, in Radnorshire, in December. By the end of the year Myddleton had established a parliamentary enclave in this part of mid Wales, centred on the castles of Montgomery and Powis, strengthened by a handful of other outposts and supported by some of the local gentry who had abandoned their former royalist allegiance. On the other hand, the parliamentary high command in London did not accord the Welsh theatre a very high priority at this stage, perhaps rightly judging that royalism in the Midlands and the south of England presented a greater threat. Accordingly, with only limited men and money available, Myddleton was not able to extend parliamentary control far into mid or north Wales. Not until 1645-6 did royalist control over most of Wales falter and collapse.

Neither town nor castle of Montgomery played a significant role in the closing stages of the civil war. In summer 1645 parliament briefly lost control of the castle for its then governor, Sir John Price, flirted with royalism, only to return to the parliamentarian fold on hearing news of the king's defeat at Naseby. Montgomery played no part in the renewed civil war of 1648. None the less, in 1649 parliament ordered the castle to be slighted, selectively demolished in order to render it indefensible. The operation was approved by Richard, Lord Herbert, who had succeeded his father a few months before, and he kept a detailed financial account of the work, one of the most detailed accounts of a post-civil war slighting to have survived. The account reveals that this was no crude smash and flatten operation, but rather a careful selective demolition, in the course of which valuable or reusable materials were salvaged. Large scale work took place between late June and early October 1649, employing at its height 150 general labourers as well as miners and craftsmen. Timber, tiles and glass were carefully removed and stored. The work cost £675. Although this account does not reveal how much was made from selling the salvaged materials, similar accounts of the demolition of Wallingford and Pontefract castles suggest that a healthy profit could be expected.[8]

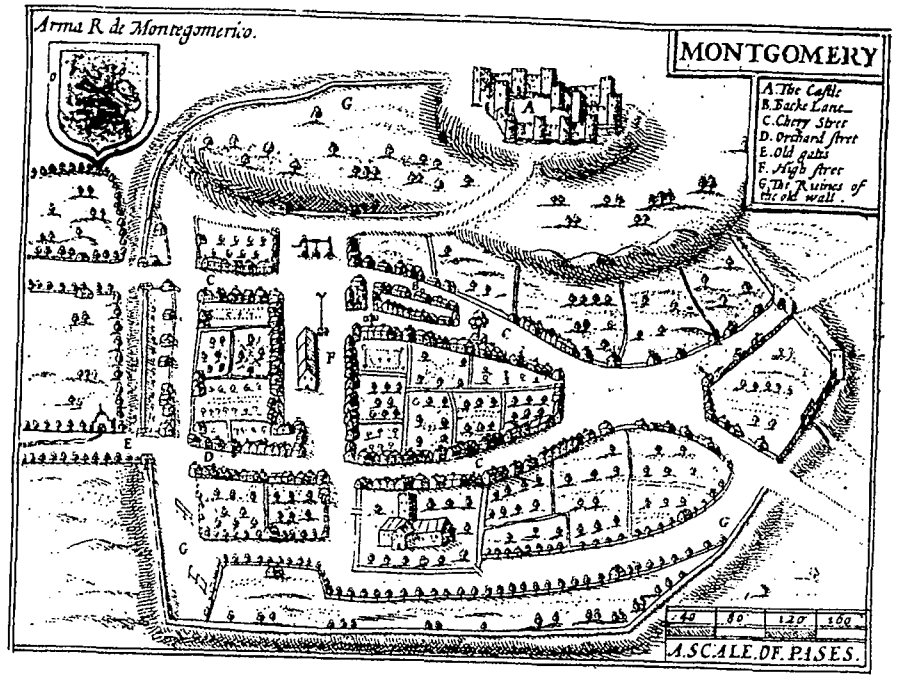
Montgomery had not endured heavy sufferings during the civil war. The town seems to have changed hands quickly, with little fighting or bloodshed, while the castle had fallen to parliament by negotiated surrender and an orderly hand-over. However, surviving accounts suggest that Montgomery had not escaped plunder and financial loss. Some time towards the end of the civil war Lord Herbert drew up an account claiming that he had lost something

approaching £5000 because of the war, through the actions of both the royalist and parliamentarian armies in plundering his estates of livestock and timber and through non-payment of rents from his tenants who had themselves been plundered and rendered unable to pay. Herbert's papers also include a similar claim drawn up by or in the name of the inhabitants of the town, claiming losses totalling over £3000. Seventy-five townsmen, from the bailiffs and rector down to shopkeepers and ordinary householders, alleged damage to their houses and losses of cash, personal and household goods, grain and cattle, perpetrated by both the royalist and parliamentarian armies in September 1644. Although doubtless exaggerated, the claims give an indication of the level of damage which could be inflicted in just a few days when rival armies fought for control of a town and its castle.

The remains of Montgomery castle stand on the lofty ridge above the town. Recently excavated and consolidated by Cadw, they are open to the public as an open access site. The castle was built on a long, narrow limestone ridge, which runs almost due north-south. The site was protected by steep cliffs to the north and east, and by a sharp valley to the west. Only from the south could it be approached along fairly level ground. The castle defences therefore focus upon hindering attack from the south. An outer barbican, comprising earthworks, a natural rocky outcrop and some masonry walls, is poorly preserved. Next comes the middle ward, its southern entrance protected by a rock cut ditch and a gatehouse. Finally one approaches the inner ward, its southern entrance again protected by a rock cut ditch which separates it from the middle ward and its own large gatehouse. The outer walls of the two wards and their gatehouses are ruinous but survive to a good height. Not so the internal walls which formed the succession of chambers - halls, lodgings, kitchens, bakehouses, stores, a chapel and so on - which were erected within the two wards. Even Herbert's mansion of the 1620s has largely disappeared. The slighting of 1649 seems to have focused on destroying the barbican and other outer works, filling the two rock cut ditches protecting the middle and inner wards and rendering the two gatehouses indefensible. The recent excavations included laboriously emptying the two ditches. In the course of excavating the inner ditch, several items of obsolete civil war armour were discovered, together with four human skeletons - three males, one teenage female - who perhaps were buried and perished by accident in the course of the 1649 demolition and in-filling.

At the same time as he established his new castle, Henry III planted a new town in its shadow, encouraging traders to settle, in part to serve and supply the castle and its royal garrison. A royal charter of 1227 allowed the burgesses to enclose the town with a ditch and other defences. For a time, the main defence seems to have been a timber pallisade, but in the 1270s it was replaced by a complete circuit of stone walls, with at least four defended gateways at the principal entrances to the town. We know from Speed's map of the town and from other sources that the wall and gates were ruinous before the

time of the civil wars and today no masonry survives above ground. However, the earthwork bank and ditch, upon and beside which the town walls stood, can still be traced encircling the town. Curiously, even though the steeply-sided hill crowned by the castle defended the west side of the town, the bank, ditches and wall were laboriously built on the west side as well. Running on a north-south alignment about 100 yards west of the castle, this is one of the best preserved sections of the earthwork defences.



Speed's plan of Montgomery, dating from the early seventeenth century, clearly shows the town and the castle on the hill-top above it. The 'Ruines' of the 'old' town walls are shown, together with the one gateway which still survived at that time. Crude as it is, Speed's drawing of the castle is the only known illustration of the fortress as it stood before the civil war and the slighting of 1649.

The original medieval street plan of the town, clearly shown in Speed's drawing, survives almost unchanged today. Although rich in Georgian brick buildings, notably the town hall and the buildings fronting Broad Street, in many cases the eighteenth century frontages conceal the earlier, timber framed buildings behind. Although subsequently altered, a few of Montgomery's buildings still clearly

show their pre-eighteenth century origins, including the pair of half-timbered houses, once 'The Plume of Feathers', in Arthur Street, and, further along, the seventeenth century timber-framed 'Old Bell', now the local museum and exhibition centre. Even more obviously pre-modern is the Church of St Nicholas which dominates the townscape. Founded in the 1220s, but with the two transepts and present chancel added later in the thirteenth century, most of the church remains in essence medieval, despite several nineteenth century restorations. The exception is the tower, entirely rebuilt in 1816. The principal glories of the church include: the fifteenth and sixteenth century nave roof; the twelve medieval choirstalls, nine of them with misericords, in the chancel; the two wooden screens, the western one of the early fifteenth century built for the church, the eastern one from nearby Chirbury Priory and re-erected here when the priory was dissolved; the wooden rood loft, again not original to this church, but probably also saved from Chirbury Priory and installed here; and the two alabaster recumbent effigies of men in armour, now resting on the floor of the south transept, probably of Sir Edmund Mortimer (d. 1408) and of an unknown figure dating from c. 1500. But of greater relevance to the story of Montgomery in the civil war is the magnificent Elizabethan canopied tomb which occupies the south wall of the south transept. Erected around 1600, it commemorates Richard Herbert (d. 1596) and his wife, who in fact remarried, lived until 1627 and is buried elsewhere; beneath the grand figures of the couple, Richard reappears in cadaverous form. The couple's eight children portrayed in arches behind the main figures include Edward, Lord Herbert of Chirbury, the feeble defender of the castle in 1644, and his younger brother George Herbert, the poet. The church, though rather dark inside, is generally unlocked and open to the public.

Although a modern housing development has begun to eat into the former open land on the north-eastern fringes of the old town, the land beyond remains undeveloped, gently rolling farmland stretching to the slight valley of the Camlad and the rising ground beyond. It was over this land that the battle of Montgomery was probably fought. As the fortunes of the two sides ebbed and flowed, with first the royalists and then the parliamentarians gaining the upper hand, it is likely that fighting ranged widely over this area, north-north-east of the town and within a mile of it - that is, in the area between the town and the Camlad. Much of the battle probably took place around or to the east of the road from Montgomery to Forden and on to Welshpool (the B4388). The course of this very prominent, largely straight road probably dates back to late eighteenth century turnpiking, though it is likely that it superseded an earlier road or track running away north from the town. From the north wall of the castle, or the northern end of the promontory upon which the castle stands, the visitor is afforded a splendid view across the entire battlefield and surrounding landscape. A Cromwell Association panel, giving an account of the battle, stands at the northern end of the promontory, beyond the north wall of the castle.

1. J.R. Phillips, *Memoirs of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches* (2 vol., London, 1874), II, 206.
2. W.J. Smith, *The Herbert Correspondence* (Cardiff, 1963), p. 115.
3. Phillips, *Memorials*, II, 203.
4. Phillips, *Memorials*, II, 203.
5. Phillips, *Memorials*, II, 205.
6. Phillips, *Memorials*, II, 201.
7. Phillips, *Memorials*, II, 205.
8. M.W. Thompson, *The Decline of the Castle* (Cambridge, 1987), appendix 4.

A note on sources

All the main accounts of the battle - by Brereton, Myddleton, Meldrum, Ernley and Trevor - are reproduced by J.R. Phillips, *Memorials of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches* (2 vols, London, 1874), II, 201-9. W.J. Smith, *The Herbert Correspondence* (Cardiff, 1963), pp. 114-19, reproduces the accounts of the circumstances in which, and the terms upon which, Herbert surrendered the castle, together with slightly later correspondence by or about Herbert and the two accounts of the alleged losses of Herbert and of the townspeople. Most of the weekly newspapers give accounts of the battle and its aftermath in their editions of the latter half of September 1644; they are to be found in the British Library, Thomason Tracts. Many of the documents concerning the events of September 1644 were gathered together and printed, with a commentary, in the journal *Montgomeryshire Collections* 22 (1888). The financial account of the slighting of the castle in 1649 is reproduced as appendix 4 of M.W. Thompson, *The Decline of the Castle* (Cambridge, 1987). Although some of its details have been superseded by the recent archaeological investigation, the standard guidebook by J.D.K. Lloyd & J.K. Knight, *Montgomery Castle* (2nd edn, Cardiff, 1981) is still valuable; it usefully reproduces as appendix 2 extracts from the Herbert correspondence relating to the 1649 slighting which first appeared in W.J. Smith's book. The fruits of the recent archaeological work at the castle have been published in two substantial articles by J.K. Knight, 'Excavations at Montgomery Castle, Part I: Documentary Evidence, Structures and Excavated Features' and 'Excavations at Montgomery Castle, Part II: Metal Finds', in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 141 (1992), pp. 97-180, and 142 (1993), pp. 182-242 respectively. Two brief, modern assessments of the battle have appeared: D.E. Evans, *Montgomery, 1644* (n.p., n.d., c. 1984-5), and A. Abram, *The Battle of Montgomery, 1644* (Bristol, 1993).

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COMING BACK TO THE WARS: THE MILITARY HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AND OF THE ENGLISH CIVIL WARS

by David Trim

Books reviewed:

Mark Charles Fissel, *The Bishops' Wars: Charles I's Campaigns against Scotland, 1638-1640* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), xv + 336 pp. £40 hardback, £17.95 paperback.

Jeremy Black, *European Warfare, 1660-1815* (University College London Press, 1994), x + 276 pp. £35 hardback, £14.95 paperback.

M. J. Braddick, *Parliamentary Taxation in Seventeenth-Century England: Local Administration and Response* (Boydell Press, 1994), 353 pp. £29.95.

Michael Murrin, *History and Warfare in Renaissance Epic* (University of Chicago Press, 1994), xvi + 371 pp. £50.

Andrew Ayton and J. L. Price (eds), *The Medieval Military Revolution: State, Society and Military Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Tauris Academic Studies, 1995), 208 pp. £39.50.

David Eltis, *The Military Revolution in Sixteenth-century Europe* (Tauris Academic Studies, 1995), 175 pp. £39.50.

Glenn Foard, *Naseby: The Decisive Campaign* (Pryor Publications, 1995), 432 pp. £22.50.

Richard Winship Stewart, *The English Ordnance Office, 1585-1625* (Boydell Press, 1996), £29.95.

One of the chief themes of English civil war studies in the 1980s was the attempt to take the English out of the English civil wars. The 'British Problem' confronting the Stuart monarchs, kings of three kingdoms, was a central plank of Conrad Russell's revisionist explanation of the *Causes of the English Civil War*, but the Britishness of the English civil wars attracted the attention of historians of all types and persuasions.[1] The new orthodoxy was implicit in the title of Charles Carlton's *Going to the Wars: The Experience of the British Civil Wars, 1638-1651* (Routledge, 1992). But although the 'Britishness' (or the Anglo-Celtic Inclusiveness) of the wars themselves seems to have now been accepted, Carlton's book also signalled a new battleground for historical debate: the battles themselves. To be sure, interest in the military history of the civil wars never diminished among amateur historians and enthusiasts. Over the last decade and especially in the last few years, they have produced a 'spate of studies [partly] fed by the succession of 350th anniversaries', mostly histories of particular units and/or the war in particular localities. As Professor Roots has observed, however, 'they are of varying quality,

some works of enthusiastic piety, others the outcome of genuine research.'[2]

Since 1992, however, a number of academic studies have appeared emphasising that whatever else the civil wars were, they were wars - a trend that readers of a journal bearing the name of the outstanding British military commander of the early modern period can only welcome. This is not to say that Carlton's book is the cause of this new emphasis (or rather, return to a more traditional approach). Most of the books being reviewed here were in preparation before his book appeared. Rather, Carlton is symptomatic of a new trend, although his book with its remarkable detail (and sometimes equally remarkable intuitive leaps) certainly captured this reviewer's imagination, and perhaps in future years we will see the rise of a 'Carltonian School' of seventeenth-century military history. In the meanwhile, however, whatever the reasons may be for this return to the military aspects of the civil wars by professional historians, we can at least be grateful for its existence. The latest manifestations of the renewed concern for the military history of the wars contain much to interest members of the Association.

It can be argued that the civil war started not with the attempted arrest of the Five Members on 4 January 1642, but with the St. Giles Cathedral Riot of 23 July 1637. This is also the starting point for Mark Charles Fissel's study of *The Bishops' Wars*. Historians have always known that the roots of the English civil war lay in Charles I's attempt to compel his Scottish subjects by force, and it has received new emphasis in the revisionist works of Conrad Russell and others. But the actual Bishops' Wars themselves have never been satisfactorily explored and explained: firmly anchored in original manuscript sources, *The Bishops' Wars* does both and provides the account of the Bishops' Wars that has been long overdue. Dr. Fissel begins with a narrative describing the events leading up to the conflict and then of the two 'wars' themselves. The First Bishops' War of 1639 was really nothing more than an armed stand-off between Charles and the Covenanters, and Fissel is surely right that in 1639 'the King was playing a bluff' and believed that 'A show of force would be sufficient to scatter the rebels' (p. 37). The Second Bishops' War in the summer of 1640 was both intended and taken rather more seriously, and it had serious consequences (stemming from the defeat of the king's army by the Scots) that we all know. The events surrounding the two wars (or rather campaigns) are extremely complex and easy to misunderstand, but regrettably, this first, narrative history chapter is the weakest in the book: the course of events is at times obscured by the mass of information provided. No doubt contemporaries found events confusing as well, but the reader might have expected a clearer exposition. Still, in the detail can be found a number of instructive points - for example, that the garrison of Berwick (under the Tudors the largest in England) consisted in 1639 of eleven soldiers, some gunners, eight horsemen and a preacher (p. 15). A strong point is the detailed (and in this case extremely clear) analysis of the Battle of Newburn (pp. 54 59), which offers a valuable rebuttal of Professor Sharpe's recent what-might-have-been fantasies on this subject.[3]

The rest of the book is thematic rather than narrative: Chapters Two to Seven examine the role of the Council of War and the Ordnance Office; the means by which the war was financed; the role of the nobility and the small group of British military professionals; and the Militia. One is made very conscious of the extent to which an effective English military effort depended greatly on only a handful of committed individuals; and also of just how much this was the king's project: it was not only conceived, but to a great extent managed, by Charles personally. Thus, while in one sense 'Charles had lost his war in a single day' (p. 59) at Newburn, in fact, the preparation and conduct of the campaigns made just such a defeat not just possible but probable. While Newburn was decisive, its outcome had already been more-or-less determined by the series of misjudgements and mistakes (well-chronicled in *The Bishops' Wars*), made - and often by the king - weeks before.

It was thus that the whole formidable effort mounted by the Caroline establishment could be squandered by one result in the field, at a time when, on the continent, the increase in army sizes and advances in military techniques made individual actions simply components of a cumulative effort rather than potentially climactic in themselves. The Thirty and Eighty Years Wars testify to the lack of decision on the battlefield. These developments are often seen as part of an early modern 'Military Revolution'. Dr. Fissel has no doubt that its effects can be seen at work in the Bishops' Wars (pp. 9, 215-25) and it has been suggested that the civil wars resulted in an English military revolution of sorts.[4] Thus, a full understanding of seventeenth-century European war-making in general is necessary for a full understanding both of the Bishops' Wars and the civil wars to which they were a precursor. Dr. Fissel's work clearly draws on a deep knowledge of contemporary military theory and practice; but for readers wishing to explore the wider European military context to the English/British/Irish civil war(s) there are a number of recent works available.

The issue of the 'Military Revolution' is no less controversial in early modern European historiography generally than the causes of the English civil war in more narrowly English circles. First proposed by Professor Michael Roberts in his 1956 inaugural lecture at Queen's University Belfast and endorsed by Sir George Clark, modified in the 1970s and 1980s by Geoffrey Parker, then challenged by Jeremy Black in 1988, it is fundamental to historical debate on the early modern period.[5] Yet these works comprise articles, essays, a lecture series and a slim textbook. It is a curious fact that the theory has never been the subject of a proper study, often being addressed only in passing, during the course of more general or more specialist discussions.[6] As there has been no authoritative study of the subject, the field remains wide open for further (and often confusing) speculation.

This historiographical trend is continued in the most recent works which attempt to address the Military Revolution theory. In *European Warfare*, Professor Jeremy Black returns to the debate which he ignited with *A Military Revolution?* in 1988. Although this latter work was little more than an extended essay, by criticising the received version (as

modified by Geoffrey Parker), it sparked off much of the subsequent heated debate. *European Warfare* - as the first in a new series from University College London Press, 'Warfare and History' (also edited by Professor Black) - is a general survey, covering a great deal of territory (both literally and figuratively) and contains much of value; but its main theme is the 'Military Revolution'. Black professes to deal properly here with the issues raised briefly in his earlier work. Indeed, despite the parameters of 1660 to 1815 given in the title, it ranges back into the early seventeenth century and earlier. However, Professor Black's formidable reputation was founded on his work on the eighteenth century and he does not seem to have a sure grip on sixteenth and seventeenth-century sources. He now proposes not one military revolution, but three: in the early sixteenth century, the early seventeenth and the late seventeenth century. The Roberts/Parker thesis laid itself open to the criticism (used by Black himself in his earlier essay) that a 'revolution' of a century's duration was no revolution at all but rather a period of accelerated evolution. Surely if these two centuries did see Black's three prolonged revolutions, each of thirty to fifty years, then evolution is still a more appropriate term? Furthermore, in his arguments for an early-seventeenth-century revolution, Black discounts or ignores the strong arguments which have been made against the original theory (which saw the turn of the century as the key period) by John Lynn, David Parrott and others,[7] some of which were approvingly cited in Black's earlier work. Equally, his theory that the adoption of the bayonet caused another tactical revolution ignores recent research which shows that in fact the change to linear tactics had already begun before the bayonet was generally embraced.[8] The best arguments given are those for an early-sixteenth-century revolution, but these are then undermined by the suggestion that in fact it was one of three.

Other factors also undermine Professor Black's case, but these are also to be found in some of the other works which address the military revolution. *The Medieval Military Revolution* may seem a strange work to find discussed in *Cromwelliana*. However, as well as addressing the fundamental debate at the heart of seventeenth-century military history, it contains two essays more directly related to the civil war period. The first, '"Wise and Experimented": Sir William Pelham, Elizabethan Soldier and Landlord, c. 1560-87', by R. W. Ambler (pp. 163-81), examines the operation of the Elizabethan military establishment which was in full swing in the year of Cromwell's birth.[9] How advanced the Elizabethan military institutions were and the extent to which the Stuarts were responsible for their decline are important questions. This essay is well -researched and written, but does not have anything startlingly new to say. But the last essay and the best is 'A State Dedicated to War? The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century', by J. L. Price (pp. 183-200). This is an excellent survey of the state which became the English Republic's chief rival and is well-worth reading.

It may seem strange to find these essays, especially Price's, in a book supposedly on a Medieval Military Revolution; but then, this is a strange book. Andrew Ayton, the co-editor along with Price, has

previously argued the case for a 'Medieval Military Revolution',[10] and does so again in the Introduction. The essays which follow, however, by a series of authors about whom, in the absence of a List of Contributors, not a great deal is known, in no way support the case outlined in the Introductory essay. The Introduction includes several well-made and not unreasonable points but, having spent seventeen pages suggesting amendments to the Military Revolution theory, it concludes by dismissing it in the last sentence! This may be a useful rhetorical device, but like much else about this peculiar book, it is frustrating for the reader.

The Medieval Military Revolution's publisher, Tauris Academic Studies, is better known for its publications on modern military history and international relations. David Eltis's *The Military Revolution in Sixteenth-Century Europe* seems to be their next step in an attempt to cover a wider time-span. If there was a military revolution in early modern Europe then it probably occurred in the sixteenth century, so its main thesis is likely to be right. However, it is not satisfactorily documented, for Dr. Eltis relies in the main on analysing works of military theory, and advances in the English theoretical treatment of the art of war are hardly proof of a general European tactical and strategic revolution. His synthesis of secondary sources on sixteenth century military practice is impressive, but this book contains no original research on this area at all and, less notes and bibliographical essay, it only comes to 102 pages of text. Thus it is certainly not the authoritative treatment of the military revolution which it purports to be and for which those interested in early modern Europe are waiting. To be sure, it would take an historian with the vision of Braudel to explore this subject in depth; but it would surely be better for those who address the topic to admit that they are either providing a synthesis of the numerous brief analyses of specific (possible) aspects in particular countries of the (hypothetical) revolution, or laying down lines for future research, rather than providing the definitive answer. Until basic philosophical problems are addressed, such as defining what a revolution is, and distinguishing between the causes of events, the events themselves and their long-term consequences, no satisfactory answer will be given. None of the books reviewed here attempts to answer these sorts of questions, and consequently, despite their titles and ambitions, none provides answers to the fundamental questions about the nature of the Military Revolution, its timing and effects.

Recent years have also seen an explosion in works on early modern British and European culture. Michael Murrin's *History and Warfare in Renaissance Epic* is an important and scholarly contribution to the study of cultural history, but it too has clearly been influenced by the Military Revolution debate. Murrin has no doubt of its existence: indeed the thesis of his work is that traditional poetic techniques and methods were incompatible with the reality of the gunpowder revolution, which brought an end not just to the old chivalric literary ethos, but to the whole medieval cult of chivalry itself. His argument is based on an in-depth analysis of Italian, French, Spanish and English poetry and prose from both just before and just after the rise of gunpowder weapons. His assertions are persuasive, but while there is no question that changes in

methods of war-making were eventually reflected in society, other recent research suggests that it was not until much later than has usually been thought. Much work remains to be done on this, however, and in the meanwhile Murrin's case is well-worth reading, not least because it is very readable. It includes a few howlers (not least the suggestion on p. 135 that 'Rifles' help account for the success of Gustavus Adolphus!); generally, however, he brings a welcome historical rigour to renaissance literary analysis, where it has often been wanting. While most of the writers Murrin examines date from before Cromwell's birth (eg Ariosto, Malory, Tasso), seventeenth-century English society was informed and influenced by their works; and his analysis of Milton's works is also most interesting: there was certainly a cultural revolution of sorts in mid-seventeenth century England, though whether it was of the sort Murrin proposes is debatable.

In 1993 Michael Braddick addressed the issue of a possible English Military Revolution in a thought-provoking article.[11] *Parliamentary Taxation in Seventeenth-Century England: Local Administration and Response* is less exciting (although probably more important) and in fact has little to do with the military side of the civil wars directly. But it is worth taking notice of in this context for in 'An English Military Revolution?' he suggested that the developments in financing and supplying armies, which began in England during the 1640s, themselves constituted something of a 'Revolution': it was during these years that 'The necessary fiscal instruments were established and a new kind of military force emerged.'[12] *Parliamentary Taxation in Seventeenth-Century England* is an exceptionally detailed study of the actual administration of parliamentary taxation: in its analysis and presentation of a huge mass of original sources, both from local and central government, it is extremely impressive, although in consequence it is more for the specialist than for the general reader. One theme is how new and larger taxes were imposed because of the financial exigencies caused by wars and while government activity (and efficiency) increased dramatically under the later Stuarts, the key developments were made in the 1640s and '50s. Perhaps the most interesting point about taxation for military purposes comes not in this monograph, however, but in Chapter Three of *The Bishops' Wars*. Dr. Fissel's examination of how the Exchequer worked is outstanding: in one sense, the Exchequer worked very well indeed, raising considerable sums, especially for the second war. The most crucial thing, though, was not how much money was raised in total in the end, but how much coin and specie was in the treasury for immediate disbursement when needed. It was here that the Exchequer failed, because most of the money it raised only arrived after the war had already been lost. Because of Charles's policies and methods of administration, there was never enough cash available at crucial times: it was not money, but ready money which was the sinews of war, and without cash in hand, Charles was hamstrung.

Dr. Braddick does not address these issues, his concern being more with the actual mechanics by which taxes were levied. Yet although his scholarship is meticulous, there seems to be too much on the

'Response' of the sub-title and not enough about the local factors, which affected not only the implementation of policy, but the decision-making process itself. In addition, there is perhaps too little recognition of the nature of government in the first half of the century, of the sort of problems illustrated by Fissel's chapter on military finance. It may be reasonable to speak of a 'central will' in English government by the end of the Stuart era, but in the first half of the century government was still largely personal. The notion of administration as being somehow separate, of there being an impersonal 'State' separate from the person of the sovereign was alien to English society in this period and Dr. Braddick does not sufficiently distinguish between the different perceptions of the role of government and the household which existed at the beginning of the century, and its end. But these reservations do not detract from the quality of this monograph; as a whole it is a substantial achievement.

That government was intrinsically individual under the early Stuarts is one of the themes of Richard Stewart's study of *The English Ordnance Office*. Even important government offices were viewed virtually as private property, not only by the incumbents, but by the crown and the judicial system: 'The individual holding of office made a tremendous difference in office effectiveness and honesty' (p. 26). Even great departments of state such as the Ordnance Office could be held to ransom by the laziness or greed of just a handful of indolent or corrupt officials. *The Bishops' Wars*, too, emphasises how much rested on the shoulders of individuals - Fissel, like Stewart, shows that no central bureaucracy existed as yet. But while Dr. Stewart's study shows just how ineffective the 'central will' could be in early Stuart England, it is also clear that the crown was not helpless. This is demonstrated by the Ordnance Office's ability to function effectively under Elizabeth, and its breakdown under James VI and Charles I. Dr. Fissel would agree with the latter, but, as an avowed 'revisionist' (p. xii), puts all the blame on the shoulders of Charles, rather than of James.

It is, indeed, interesting to compare Fissel's chapter on the workings of the Ordnance Office with Stewart's book. The latter is inevitably more detailed and yet the former is rather more helpful. Dr. Stewart is a U.S. Army historian and seems unable to break free of the constraints of modern military thinking. He spends a great deal of time demonstrating that the Ordnance Office was not efficient by the standards of a modern bureaucracy, but tells us little about how it operated in the social and political contexts of Elizabethan and Stuart England. There is, to be sure, a great deal of statistical information on the financing of the Ordnance Office, its productions, disbursements and acquisitions. But the collection and tabulation of raw data should not be an end in itself. Stewart's book does not really explain why the Ordnance Office operated as it did and does little to increase our understanding of its relationship with society or the body politic. A comprehensive history of the Ordnance Office under the late Tudors and early Stuarts is much needed, but the best that can be said of *The English Ordnance Office* is that whoever finally writes that definitive history will find it a useful tool. If you are unable to afford it as well as *The Bishops' Wars*, Chapter 2 of the latter is just as

enlightening and helpful.

In contrasting Jacobean and Elizabethan military administration, however, Dr. Stewart makes a telling point: the rundown of the English military establishment which was one of the main obstacles to Charles I's successful prosecution of his war against the Covenanters dates back to the reign of James VI. Fissel's revisionist approach would be regarded as a plus by many readers and this is not the place for a discussion of how much blame for the civil war should rest on the head of that 'man of blood', Charles Stuart. But it is not only in the English Ordnance Office that one can find evidence that Charles inherited a kingdom heading for crisis. Dr. Fissel carefully (and helpfully) traces the history of each institution which he examines. As already noted, these include the Exchequer and the Ordnance Office. He also provides an excellent history of the development of the militia and of military obligations. Boynton and Cruickshank both sketched out the background to the establishment and development of the trained bands,[13] but Fissel's account provides much which they missed, and he greatly increases our understanding of how the militia system operated and why it worked the way it did. Here again, however, one is struck by how many of the problems which Charles faced had their roots in decisions taken by his father or at least by the Jacobean regime. There is thus often a strange dichotomy between the evidence Dr. Fissel presents and the conclusions he draws therefrom; at times he appears to be aware of this and often shies away from overly dogmatic assertions.[14] Nevertheless it is curious that, although it avowedly toes the Russellite line and fixes all the blame for the civil wars on the head of Charles I, *The Bishops' Wars* could also be used to support more traditional views of the wars as having long-term causes.[15]

Dr. Fissel's lucid and scholarly monograph is valuable for its account of the opening campaigns of the British Wars of Religion,[16] but in giving the wider historical context of those wars, it explains much about why they happened as they did. Like the Bishops' Wars, the English civil war was dominated rather more by field actions than the concurrent struggles in Europe. Cromwell's victories at Preston, Dunbar and Worcester were all truly decisive and it is hard to find a contemporary commander with an equivalent trinity of battlefield triumphs. Earlier, of course, Cromwell had also played the chief part in the victories of Marston Moor and Naseby, two more decisive battles. Indeed, as Glenn Foard observes in his excellent *Naseby: The Decisive Campaign*, Naseby was certainly one of the three most decisive battles in British not just English history. While not claiming 'to be in any way an exhaustive analysis' of the wider issues surrounding the battle (p. 13), Foard gives a concise but comprehensive description of the two armies and also analyses the whole Naseby campaign. There is nothing remarkably new here, but his account is readable and quite detailed, and it is certainly helpful to have this along with the actual investigation of the battle itself.

It is here that this book really scores and is an undoubted winner. Foard is not a military historian (although he is a member of the Sealed Knott and has published a brief history of *Colonel John Pickering's Regiment of Foot 1644-1645*[17]), but he is a landscape archaeologist.

With this expertise, combined with his knowledge of the civil war, Foard has examined the battlefield of Naseby and the surrounding area and arrived at a new interpretation of the battle. This is based in part on an analysis of all printed accounts of the battle, both well-known and obscure; but it is also based on the new evidence Foard has uncovered in the course of his detailed survey of the actual battlefield. This synthesis of literary and physical evidence has been executed with great skill and the result is an interpretation which is extremely well documented and entirely persuasive. It is too complex to do justice to here, and one can only refer the reader to the book itself. Although the explanation is extremely clear, the maps are slightly disappointing, not to say confusing at times, but the book is lavishly illustrated and most attractively produced. Yet no greater praise can be given than to say that after reading *Naseby*, the battle finally made sense, which to this reviewer, it had never done before. Future research may modify his interpretation, but his methods, blending scientific with more traditional historical research techniques, are perhaps as important as his conclusions.

If there is one common theme to all the books reviewed here, it is that the actual methods of making war were of great importance in early modern England and Europe. Changes in battlefield tactics (whether they amounted to a revolution or not) resulted in the adoption of new strategies, while the need to supply new munitions in great quantities stimulated government activity in general. As governments changed to meet the changing circumstances, society too was changed. But as Charles I's fate demonstrates, it was the ability to manage the business of fighting which was crucial - when combats were lost, all could be lost. Changes in popular culture and government administration stemmed ultimately from what happened on the day of battle: whether the wars of 1639-51 were English, British or Anglo-Celtic-inclusive, the result of a Puritan Revolution or of a Great Rebellion, Wars of Religion or Civil Wars, they were wars indeed, and this element of the equation must not be forgotten.

1. See Conrad Russell, 'The British Problem and the English Civil War', *History* 72 (1987), pp. 395-415; Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637-1642* (Oxford, 1991); David Stevenson, 'The Century of the Three Kingdoms', in J. Wormald (ed), *Scotland Revisited* (London, 1991), pp. 107-18; Nicholas Canny, 'The Attempted Anglicisation of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century: An Exemplar of "British History"', in R.G. Asch (ed), *Three Nations - A Common History: England, Scotland, Ireland and British History, c. 1600-1920* (Bochum, 1993), pp. 49-82; Brendan Bradshaw & John Morrill (eds), *The British Problem* (Basingstoke, 1996); Willy Maley, 'Spencer and Scotland: *The View* and the Limits of Anglo-Irish Identity', *Prose Studies* 19 (April 1996), pp. 1-18.
2. Ivan Roots, 'Book Reviews', *Cromwelliana* (1996), p. 84.
3. See Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, 1992), p. 895; cf *Bishops' Wars*, p. 299 f. 30.
4. See, for example, M.J. Braddick, 'An English Military Revolution?', review article, *Historical Journal* 30 (1993), pp. 965-75; Ian Gentles, 'Multiple Kingdoms at War: The "English" Revolution 1638-51', *Journal of British Studies*, review article, 35 (1996), pp. 542-7. See also Keith Roberts, 'English Experiments in Infantry Equipment, 1620-50', *Cromwelliana* (1996), pp. 2-18, especially pp. 2-4, 15.
5. See Michael Roberts, 'The Military Revolution, 1560-1660: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered Before the Queen's University Belfast', in his *Essays in Swedish History* (London, 1967), pp. 195-225; G.N. Clark, *War and Society in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1958); Geoffrey Parker, 'The "Military Revolution", 1560-1660 - A Myth?', in his *Spain and the Netherlands 1559-1659* (London, 1979), pp. 86-103; Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1988); Jeremy Black, *A Military Revolution? Military Change and European Society 1550-1800* (Basingstoke, 1991).
6. See Clark, *War and Society*; Michael Duffy (ed), *The Military Revolution and the State 1500-1800* (Exeter, 1981); E.M. Furgol, 'Scotland turned Sweden: The Scottish Covenanters and the Military Revolution 1638-51', in J.S. Morrill (ed), *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context, 1638-51* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 134-54; Simon Adams, 'Tactics or Politics? "The Military Revolution" and the Hapsburg Hegemony, 1525-1648', in J.A. Lynn (ed), *Tools of War: Instruments, Ideas and Institutions of Warfare, 1445-1871* (Urbana, 1990), pp. 28-52; J.R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe 1450-1620* (New York, 1985), chapter one, 'A Military Reformation' (sic); Brian Downing, *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, 1992); Weston F. Crook, Jnr, *The Hundred Years War for Morocco: Gunpowder and the Military Revolution in the Early Modern Muslim World* (Boulder, 1994); J.S. Nolan, 'The Militarization of the Elizabethan State', *Journal of Military History* 58 (1994), pp. 391-420; Christopher Storrs and H.M. Scott, 'The Military Revolution and the European Nobility, c. 1600-1800', *War in History* 3 (1996), pp. 1-41.
7. See, for example, John A. Lynn, 'The Growth of the French Army during the Seventeenth Century', *Armed Forces and Society* 6 (1980), pp. 568-85; Lynn, 'The *Trace Italienne* and the Growth of Armies: The French Case', *Journal of Military History* 55 (1991), pp. 297-330; H.L. Zwitzer, 'The Dutch Army during the Ancien Régime', *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire* 58 (1984), pp. 15-36; David Parrott, 'Strategy and Tactics in the Thirty Years War: The "Military Revolution"', *Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen* 18 (1985), pp. 7-25; Gunther E. Rothenberg, 'Maurice of Nassau, Gustavus Adolphus, Raimondo Montecuccoli and the "Military Revolution" of the Seventeenth Century', in Peter Paret (ed), *Makers of Modern Strategy: Military Thought from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 32-63; James Michael Hill, 'The Distinctiveness of

Gaelic Warfare, 1400-1750', *European History Quarterly* 22 (1995), pp. 323-45; Fernando González de León, '"Doctors of the Military Discipline": Technical Expertise and the Paradigm of the Spanish Soldier in the Early Modern Period', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27 (spring 1996), pp. 61-85.

8. See, for example, John A. Lynn, 'Tactical Evolution in the French Army 1560-1660', *French Historical Studies* 14 (1985), pp. 176-91; Olaf van Nimwegen, *De Subsistentie van het Leger* (Amsterdam, 1995).
9. See Nolan, 'The Militarization of the Elizabethan State', esp pp. 392-3, 400-6, 417-19.
10. In his monograph, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge, 1994).
11. M.J. Braddick, 'An English Military Revolution?'
12. *ibid*, p. 975.
13. Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia, 1558-1638* (London, 1967); C.G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1962).
14. He also admits to having modified his original thesis, see p. xii.
15. See the review of *Bishops' Wars* by Michael B. Young, *Albion* 27 (1995), pp. 488-9.
16. A term coined by John Morrill, 'The Religious Context of the English Civil War', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 34 (1984), p. 178.
17. Reviewed in *Cromwelliana* (1995), p. 86.

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Michael Pye, *The Drowning Room* (Granta Books, 1995, £13.99 hardback).

The Drowning Room's subtitle is 'The story of the first whore of New York', but please do not let this dissuade you from reading this book. Michael Pye, the author, is a journalist, novelist, broadcaster and historian and he had brought together these experiences in order to create an interesting work. It was while he was researching a book on the history of New York (*Maximum City: The Biography of New York*) that he came across references to a lady called Gretje Reyniers who lived in New Amsterdam from the late 1630s onwards. He decided to write a faction book using documented evidence of what is known about Gretje and interlacing what might or might not have been the story of her life. This was achieved by painstaking research of seventeenth century paintings to give him the atmosphere of the times and what the people were like.

The book is set in the New Amsterdam Colony during the winter of 1640 and, by use of flashbacks, it describes her probable life in the 1620s in Amsterdam and her eventual emigration to the colonies in the 1630s. The style is very reminiscent of late nineteenth century Russian

literature, especially Maxim Gorky's autobiographical trilogy (*My Childhood*, *My Apprenticeship* and *My Universities*), which helps to intensify the harshness of the climate and life in general. This is a well researched book and I would recommend it to anyone contemplating an alternative to the historical romances they are reading.

Jane A. Mills

The first two volumes have appeared of The New Penguin History of Britain, replacing the 'old' Penguin History of England, with its two successive Stuart volumes, the first by M. Ashley, the second by John Kenyon, works which in their different ways served well several generations of readers. Clearly 'Britain' is intended to indicate a broader sweep for the series. But if the approach of these volumes is anything to go by the whole set will be more than somewhat Anglo-centred. Mark Kishlansky's survey of the seventeenth century, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain 1603-1714* (Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1996, £25 cloth - a paperback shortly), does not take up the New British History or the British problem (vide infra). Scotland and Ireland are not prominent except at 'those moments when Irish, Scottish and English history intersected' and even then 'admittedly from a decidedly English viewpoint'. (Wales, not unexpectedly, hardly figures even at those pregnant moments). The title indicates the main thrust - a politico-constitutional narrative, after a brief prologue reflecting on the general achievements of Stuart Britain in which the only Scottish items are James I's introduction of golf into England and the foundation of the Bank of Scotland at the other end of the century. A further chapter covers 'the social world', twenty-eight pages which suggest that in developing this Kishlansky could have produced a thought-provoking study. He is particularly interesting on attitudes towards poverty and social control: 'the poor were treated as they were regarded'. Another chapter - 'the political world' - stresses 'Britain' as 'a kingdom', whereas, of course, it was more than one, a situation Kishlansky underplays, seeing royal government in Ireland and Scotland following 'a pattern of benign neglect punctuated by periods of malignant attention', with religion the only problem posing intractable difficulties. Parliament similarly gets fashionable downgrading. That it was 'not an oppositional institution in the early seventeenth century' may be fair enough, but that 'it was hardly an institution at all before the civil war' seems unduly dismissive, though it is true enough that the continuous session of the Long Parliament and the vindication by force of arms of many of its claims marked a major turning point to a direction not diverted by the Restoration. For the earlier period consensus politics is played, a little too plangently, as the keynote. But again it is agreed that as time went on religion, dragging in 'irreconcilable systems of belief', inflicted 'dangerous wounds on the body politic'. But more than religion was involved through the century, not least during the hectic 1640s and 1650s.

Cromwell first comes in on p. 154 as 'a natural military genius who was also an awe-inspiring field commander'. The combination of his

martial skills with political acumen is well brought out. As one might expect from the author of *The Rise of the New Model Army* throughout the years of fighting that force remained apolitical, until the parliamentary presbyterian plan to break it up fused professional grievances with a smarting sense of honour impugned into spontaneous radicalism, presenting difficulties for the Grandees and testing Cromwell's capacities. Kishlansky gives a lively account and consideration of the extraordinary events and notions that brought Charles I 'to bed at noon' at Whitehall, the self-initiated victim of 'the cold resolve of the soldiery'. The section on the Commonwealth and Protectorate - 25 pages - though speckled with bright remarks, seems of less interest to Kishlansky and his survey therefore of less to his readers. He is decidedly perfunctory on 1654-58. For example, though he mentions the case of James Nayler - he calls him 'John', a slip repeated in the index - he does not pursue its constitutional significance. But he does sum up Oliver well in a single sentence: 'Within his personality resided the contradictions of the Revolution'. Another 130 pages follow through to 1714 from 'the Restoration settlements 1659-1667' with much that is fresh to say. There is a 20-page section 'For Further Reading', an up-to-date historiographical survey in itself, though here again little attention is given to the 1650s. Surprisingly three works by Christopher Hill are listed, presumably as 'classics' since Kishlansky, in a trenchant review of *Liberty against the Law,* has suggested that Hill's works have nothing to say to current researchers. Ah well! *A Monarchy Transformed* itself is 'a must' for anyone for whom the period has an irresistible appeal. But keep your Ashley and Kenyon alongside it on your shelves.

The English Civil War: A Contemporary Account, edited by Edward and Peter Razzell, (Caliban Press, 1996, five volumes, each of about 300 pages, £40 per volume, purchasable separately), is a handsome set of substantial selections from the official reports of a score of successive Venetian ambassadors and secretaries to England sent to the Doge during the half century from the accession of Charles I to 1675. (1645 to 1652, a vital period is, however, covered by rather thin 'advices' from underlings, there being no resident envoy. In one advice Pride's Purge is ascribed to Fairfax). The material is taken chiefly from the translations long in print in the (English) *State Papers Venetian*, with slight changes to ensure clarity and consistency, presented with a few editorial remarks, light foot-noting (mostly identifying individuals), illustrations (from Hollar prints) and indexes. In the first volume there is an informed Introduction by Christopher Hill, offering some evaluation of the papers as sources, bringing out why England and Venice should be interested in one another, stressing economic and political issues, which explain why there is so much about foreign policy throughout. Cultural links, too, are noted. The staid Venetians remark on national characteristics, contemptuous of the excitability of their hosts, though living in what one commentator called 'the best island in the world'. Volumes 4 and 5 will have most appeal to Cromwellians. Oliver, whose complexion is appropriately described as 'olive', is reported in May 1652 as the man who 'has the first word, and the last, too,...in necessary

decisions'. His rise is put down to a nice combination of good fortune, his own capacity and 'the imbecility' of others. The dissolution of the Rump is lightly passed over, but 'the General' is commended for his circumspection in the weeks leading to the meeting of the Nominated Assembly, which is conventionally dismissed as stuffed with 'mechanics and ignoramuses in governance'. When it called itself 'a parliament', the attachment of 'the people' - generally in these reports meaning 'the political nation' - to the appellation is stressed. (Throughout the envoys are inclined to give more weight to the institution itself than might be pleasing to current revisionists). We are told that as Protector Oliver is 'sole legislator', that his religion for all its outward manifestations remains a mystery and that he is like 'a riding master' who with a single flick of his whip makes the people go where he wants them. How he would have liked that! His troops lived as precisely as though they were 'a brotherhood of monks', which would have surprised a good many of them. The suppression of horse-racing and other recreations bringing men together is seen (rightly) as the effect of security-consciousness rather than of intense moral fervour. 'No government discloses its own acts less and knows those of others more precisely'. Cromwell's own ambivalence generates something similar in these observations, which deserve serious consideration, but not all of the total 'account' can be trusted. There are errors of fact, purblind assessments, omissions. Though the editors have tipped in a print of 'the case of James Nayler', the text says nothing about that major episode. The Razzells ought not to have left Professor Hill's Introduction, admirable though it is, to fill the place of a proper exposition of their editorial principles, an evaluation of the material, the provision of fuller biographical detail of the diplomats and the nature of their assignments. As it is the reader is left alone to conclude e.g. that dates are in new style. Two cheers, therefore, rather than three for this enterprise.

Two new 'Themes in Focus' cover the early modern period: Christopher Durston and J. Eales (eds), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Macmillan, 1996, £14.99 paperback) and Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (eds), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Macmillan, 1996, £14.99 paperback). In the former, Margaret Aston considers 'puritanism and iconoclasm' during the century between the accession of Elizabeth I and the Restoration, significantly without a mention of Cromwell, the arch-iconoclast of legend and folklore. She notes how even under 'the general obloquy of a Puritan', Col. Thomas Hutchinson spent over £1300 on works of art from the dispersed collection of Charles I. They included Titians. It is certain that if not all iconoclasts were puritans, not all puritans were iconoclasts. Oliver turns up in Durstan's 'Puritan rule and the failure of cultural revolution, 1648-1660', putting pressure towards moral reformation. The major-generals certainly mingled in varying degrees the promotion of godliness and the discouragement of profanity with an eye to security, but the Protector's own lack of direct contact with the major-generals' activity should also be remembered. It distressed them. If the second protectorate parliament passed acts against music in taverns and alehouses (where

Muggletonians were happy to sing pious words to popular tunes), the cultivated Protector himself enjoyed music at meal times. Anyway, all the efforts to raise moral standards and to get out of endearing customs like Christmas ended in failure, even before the Restoration. In the *Authority* volume, Cromwell, like Christmas, is mentioned only twice, both times in connection with (once again) the reformation of manners. Martin Ingram remarks that in this sphere the Protector's concerns have a very traditional cast, and reflect the quasi-monarchical position he was assuming which made an imperative of rather mundane social control. This wide-ranging volume, whose attractive themes include 'women and authority', 'the well-ordered household', 'employment and authority', while not specific to the 1640s and 1650s, has much material and comment that can be related to those two disturbing decades. Both books are valuable additions to a proliferating series. Perhaps the current urge in institutions of higher education to publish or perish really is paying some dividends.

Another admirable collection, directly on the 1640s, has been shaped by Stephen Porter in *London and the Civil War* (Macmillan, 1996, £14.99 paperback). London's special significance as 'the hub that turned the wheel of the Kingdom' was certainly appreciated by Charles I, whose attempts to get back to his capital by war and/or negotiation suggest in each case how much he rued the day he had so precipitately left his capital in February 1642. His absence left the centre of law and politics, of finance and administration and more in the hands of his enemies, though as Robert Ashton demonstrates they had their work cut out to keep control. That London was parliamentarian in 1642 was the outcome of a crisis in the relations of the crown and the business and municipal elites, dissipating normal working harmony and community of interest. What has been called 'London's counter-revolution' in 1647 spoke for their revival when 'the presbyterian rump of a parliament and its city allies desperately prepared to withstand the onslaught of the New Model Army'. Failing, they experienced an unexpectedly peaceful military occupation, one claiming to restore the constitution and the integrity of parliament so outrageously impugned by tumults connived at by city authorities. Ashton remarks that the correct behaviour of the soldiery belied prognostications of looting and violence, so no doubt having an impact on the fact that during the second civil war London did not rise, when ringed by old and new royalists in arms, though the firm control by Philip Skippon of the city defence forces played its part. Lawson Nagel establishes how decisive, in 1642, was 'the capture' by Pym's supporters of the London militia, so vital in the first confrontations when Charles turned away at Turnham Green. Victor Smith and Peter Kelsey follow up by examining London's extensive 'lines of communication', which not only preserved the capital but aided the freedom of movement of parliamentary forces elsewhere. Taking up a novel topic, Ian Roy offers 'a cavalier view of London', clinching the claim that there was latent but expectant support for the king throughout the conflicts, kept alive by propaganda in newspapers and pamphlets - some hidden in the skirts of 'certain adventurous women'. Plots bubbled along under the surface of what *Mercurius Aulicus* called 'the proud, unthankful schismatical, rebellious,

bloody city', a tune that might have changed with circumstances. The editor himself, considering the economic and social impacts, attempts a gain/loss assessment, plumping for a net negative effect, through disruptions, though, of course, in the exigencies of war, some enterprises, gun-making, for example, flourished. Taking the aftermath into account there was 'a stimulus for adaptation and change', not just for London. Ian Gentles, observing that London was 'the natural stage for national political [and other] spectacles', recreates four outstanding funerals performed there during the 1640s. The very pompous obsequies of John Pym and the Earl of Essex were 'officially sanctioned' to some purpose. On the other hand, those of the assassinated Col. Thomas Rainborough and of Robert Lockyer, the exemplarily executed soldier -leveller, were 'unofficial, revolutionary pageants', defiant even. Each farewell ceremony underlines the significance of public ritual. Essex's, modelled on James I's, was intended to display the power of the peerage, though in 1646, militarily and politically that was faltering. The bearers of Pym's coffin symbolised his capacity to bring different groups together. Afterwards the drift apart accelerated. Necessarily less elaborate, but in their own way as impressive, spectacles, with the Leveller seagreen-and -black colours everywhere in evidence and with wailing women among the mourning crowds, Rainborough's and Lockyer's asserted that Death should 'have no dominion', though he was very busy indeed during these years. (Incidentally, there is an illuminating piece on 'the Puritan Death -bed c.1560-c.1660' by Ralph Houlbrooke in *The Culture of English Puritanism*, mentioned above. Houlbrooke talks of a puritan 'craft of dying' with 'practitioners', both male and female, counting the death-bed as a sort of test which had to be passed and for which there were helps, such as the comforting presence of friends and family - who could as a bonus 'learn salutary lessons from the experience' itself).

Philip Tennant, who has written previously on *Edgehill and Beyond*, turns to *The Civil War in Stratford upon Avon: Conflict and Community in South Warwickshire, 1642-46* (Sutton, 1996, large format paperback, £14.99). Done in association with the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, the book stresses how even before 1642 disharmony was apparent among the ruling elite, much of it arising from religion, but also from personal and commercial rivalries, all three elements sometimes finding a focus in 'unchristian squabbling' over pew allocation. As in so many places the coming of war was not enthusiastically greeted. In a sort of frontier region where there were catholics and puritans as well as 'anglicans', most were keen to keep out of the conflict. But hemmed in on all sides by garrison towns, Stratford experienced willy-nilly fluctuating military situations, though it was never besieged and was spared the level of destruction experienced by Warwick and Worcester. Yet there was disruption, typified in some breakdown in poor relief and charitable activity and in rent arrears. Tennant produces what he calls 'some ultimately meaningless figures' for war costs which bore upon the population as a whole, rich and poor. He instances one Richard Wells who lost a Bible and two chamber pots, eloquent testaments to both physical and spiritual welfare. Considerable detail is given of the effects of

billeting, requisitioning and even pillaging. 'Sad times', indeed, but somehow or other, as in Grantham, chronicled by Bill Couth in his book reviewed here last year, ordinary life went on. Stratford was not involved in the second civil war, and though Oliver Cromwell spent a night there in August 1651, levying provisions, the campaign of Charles II which ended at Worcester did not impinge overmuch. Philip Tennant has written a well-organised, thoroughly documented account of and commentary upon the diverse consequences of the untidy 1640s for an urban community, one unique, perhaps, in many respects, but contributing to the national portrait which is slowly emerging.

Todd Gray follows up the first part of his seventeenth-century *Devon Household Accounts*, devoted to three gentry families (reviewed in *Cromwelliana* 1996), with Part Two, the accounts of Henry, fifth earl of Bath, and Rachel, Countess of Bath, 1637-1655, (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, Exeter, 1996, £12.50 paperback to subscribers; various prices to others). Their papers, very diverse, were removed from Devon during the seventeenth century, some of them to find their way, in a peregrination related by the editor, into the Sackville papers now lodged in the Kent Archive Office. Not entirely unknown, they have been little used by historians. Dr. Gray's initiative in getting a substantial selection into print is to be welcomed, as is an Introduction which sets out the nature and purposes of great household accounts and provides an historical background. The character of the earl, the leading - if that is quite the word - royalist of Devon at the beginning of the civil war is sketched in. An oddity, cultured, a book collector, he has been described as 'a distinguished scholar but a poor politician...and a sour-tempered husband', though letters to his wife contain simple endearments. The monument in Tawstock church erected at his death in 1654 has been condemned as 'almost unequalled in singularity and absurdity', 'massive and ugly'. But others have found it 'splendid [and] relatively restrained'. It is certainly worth a detour. The countess, a Mildmay from Kent, showed keen interest in running the houses and estates throughout the war, while enjoying gaming, music and poetry - Donne's *Love's Diet* is inscribed in one of her account books. The accounts of both husband and wife reveal much of the elaborate round of life in a ménage which bought books, including the medieval constitutional text *Fleta*, *The Faery Queen*, Davila's *History of the French Civil Wars*, works by John Taylor the Water-poet, pamphlets, official publications etc., all alongside lavish expenditure on paintings, china and carpets. Much relates to public and private occasions. Tawstock was a constant centre of social activity. The sections on the civil war and its aftermath reveal some disruption of routine, underlined by the fact that Tawstock was variously occupied by both sides. The parliamentary sequestration inventory is rather cursory, e.g. 'the countess's lower chamber things valued at £35 00 00', whereas the postmortem inventory of the earl is detailed on the 'things' but offers no valuations. There is an impressive list of the mourners at the funeral. Clearly these documents contain a great deal of merely repetitive material, but overall they reveal changes in management, consumption and life style during three vital decades and can be used imaginatively in a variety of

historical enquiries.

Ireland from Independence to Occupation 1641-60 (Cambridge UP, 1995, £40) is a remarkable collection of interdisciplinary articles, edited by J.H. Ohlmeyer, following (loosely) a main editorial line that Ireland in the 1640s represents 'one of the most successful revolts in modern history', despite the aftermath of Cromwellian conquest, occupation and settlement and the consequent Restoration policies. Transcending somewhat the diversities of approach and conclusions of the contributors, the book acquires enough coherence to make it almost 'a history of Ireland during the 1640s and 1650s' or certainly enough to command some lines along which it could be written. A dozen thematic articles range chronologically from Nicholas Canny's 'What really happened in 1641' ('a popular rising which became a war of independence', needing to be rescued from its historiography) to Aidan Clarke on '1659 and the road to Restoration', to which Ireland (in a very broad sense) made some contribution. 1660 soon shewed in its acceptance of 'the massive transfer of land carried out by the usurping regimes of the 1650s' that there would be no going back to the position under the early Stuarts. Other essays contemplate the foreign policy of an independent Ireland which came for a while into the mainstream of European history (the editor), its economy during 'a ruinous decade' (Raymond Gillespie) and its military history (Scott Wheeler, Rolf Loeber and Geoffrey Parker), concluding that 'Ireland's eventual defeat and subjection stemmed essentially from political, not military, factors', giving a firm affirmative answer to the editor's initial query: did 1641 come to 'a failed revolution'? Other topics are fruitfully discussed, but Cromwellians will find most appeal in two pieces by T.C. Barnard, who has done much to elucidate Interregnum Ireland - one, 'The Protestant interest, 1641-1660' and the other drawing the volume to a 'Conclusion', on 'Settling and unsettling Ireland: the Cromwellian and Williamite Revolutions'. Together they show how the Restoration government's acceptance of the land upheaval, enfeebling the Catholics and reinforced by the Protestants' insistence that their religion more than their Englishness was 'the source of their trustworthiness', worked towards turning 'a protestant interest into an ascendancy', clinched by the success of the 1688 revolution.

Though the bulk of its population have not over the centuries been British, Ireland has been made by history a constituent of the British Isles. But the editors of the latest contribution to the elucidation of the British Problem or the New British History in the early modern period are more than willing to accept a fresh appellation for the complex of islands off the European westward seaboard: 'the Atlantic Archipelago', which can take in the Orkneys and the Channel Islands as well as Ireland. A useful concept, resonant to the susceptibilities of a congeries of peoples, and bringing in a European dimension, but fraught with difficulties of definition and scope, too. Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill's *The British Problem, c. 1534* - a date of Welsh significance - *to 1707* - the union with Scotland ('Problems in Focus', Macmillan, 1996, £14.99 paperback) carries the subtitle 'State formation in the Atlantic Archipelago'. Broadly chronological in approach, ten essays, including a

general Introduction by John Morrill - which stresses that we are still in 'the early days of a historiographical quest for an explanation of a story without an end...' - surely explanations and stories - tackle a range of problems, some bringing in all the constituents, others concentrating on one or two. Peter Roberts on Wales 1534-1641 is particularly to be welcomed - the Principality is so often overlooked, as if once pulled into union with England under Henry VIII it simply disappeared. Ireland and Scotland are, of course, more prominent in the search for 'the identity of Britain'. J.G.A. Pocock considers various developments within the Atlantic Archipelago and settles on 'The War of the Three Kingdoms' for 1640-1660, but goes on to insert 'First' before 'War', looking forward to 'the Second War of the Three Kingdoms 1688-91', which was 'in a strange invisible way the last of the English Civil Wars brought about by disfunction within the headship of the Tudor Church and state' - somewhat of a riposte, one might think, to a minimising revisionism. What is apparent is that war of the Three Kingdoms *tout court*, is inadequate. There were wars in each of the three Kingdoms and between each of the three Kingdoms. Perhaps the pursuit of 'the general crisis' of the British Isles (or if you will, of the Atlantic archipelago) would lead us further towards the true inwardness of the happenings and developments of 1640-60 or thereabouts.

The most relevant article for *Cromwelliana* in this wide-ranging, always stimulating if not always convincing, volume, is Derek Hirst's 'The English Republic and the Meaning of Britain', originally published in 1994 in *The Journal of Modern History*. Hirst emphasises that during the 1650s 'conquest and forcible union [with Scotland and Ireland] brought together relations among what had been the more or less discrete political units of Britain...offering an unparalleled opportunity to study the sense of place held by those who inhabited the core state [England] of the Atlantic Archipelago'. If there was a British policy, it was the result of circumstances rather than arising out of 'some coherent and supranational vision'. Security came first but 'the reshaping of Britain' was also driven by 'a powerful religious imperative', emerging from the 'millenarianist excitement' of radicals during the Commonwealth, producing an imperialism embracing a British policy. Hirst ties the threads together. What is particularly convincing is his argument that whatever union may have done for Scotland and Ireland - nothing very positive - it did not bring England 'unmitigated gains', either. Rather, the 'conquered lands exacted a toll from England in ways that were central to the self-determination of the republic'. One certainly was financial, the raising of money to maintain the forces which kept control of the three states, for if Scotland and Ireland themselves were heavily taxed, the English regimes never broke even. 'It can be argued that the British problem brought down the republic almost as surely as it did the early Stuart monarchy'. One must add that the Restoration was realised by an initiative from Scotland, if not by Scots, confirming for Republicans at least the observation by a member of the second Protectorate Commons that nothing good ever came out of the North.

Ivan Roots

SUMMER SEASON 1997

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