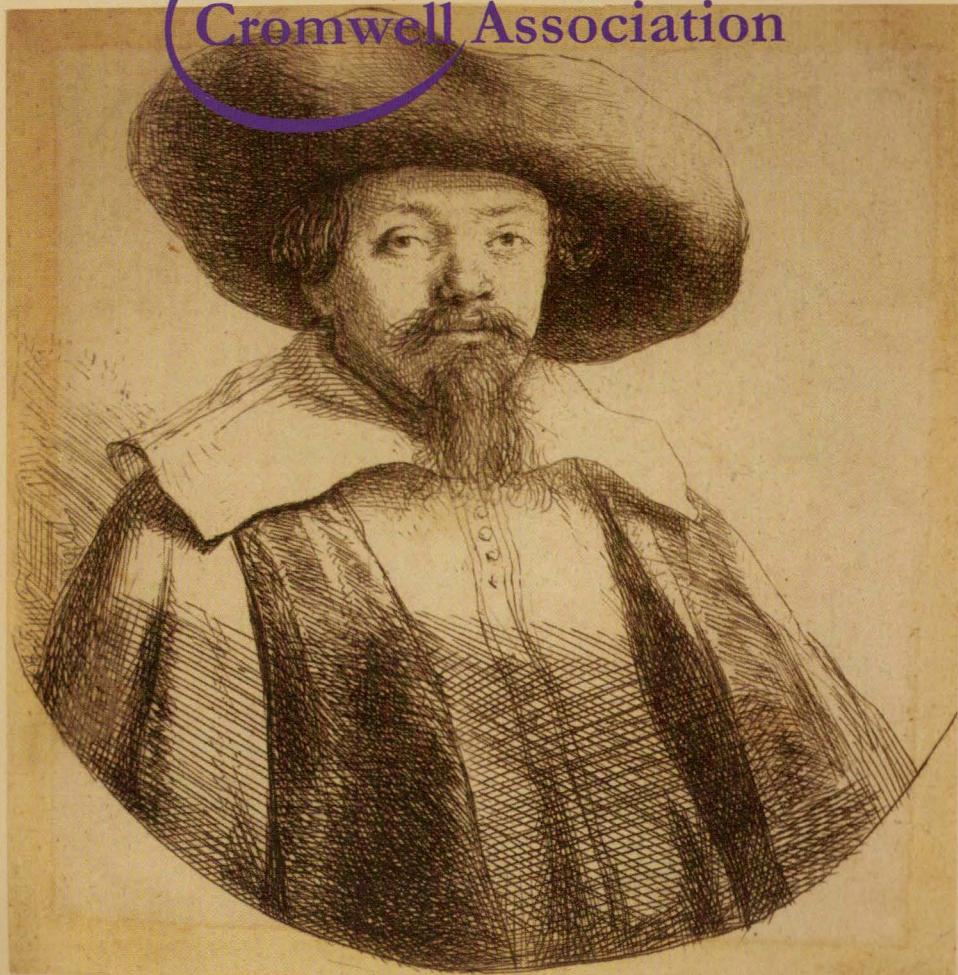


Cromwelliana

The Journal of

The
Cromwell Association



Series II

2007

No 4

The Cromwell Association

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

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

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CROMWELLIANA 2007

Editor Jane A. Mills

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ISBN 0-905729-19-6

EDITOR'S NOTE

This edition has taken on an international flavour with writers from Canada and Italy; and papers discussing Cromwell's connections with Holland, Italy and Spanish America.

The image on the front cover is Rembrandt's portrait of Menasseh ben Israel drawn in 1636. I must give special thanks to Edgar Samuel and the Jewish Museum for providing and granting permission to use the image.

On the back cover is the Coat of Arms of the Protectorate which includes a dragon supporting the shield as a reference to Cromwell's Welsh antecedents. The Latin motto *Pax Quaeritur Bello* translates as *Peace is Sought by War*. I would like to thank John Goldsmith for providing and giving permission to use the image.

I must draw attention to the last quotation in 'Oliver Cromwell's Sense of Humour'; Dr Little was concerned about the explicit nature of the writing but he wanted to illustrate the extent to which Charles II's court had become unsophisticated and depraved. I have decided not to censor the quotation and to print it in full as the author wished.

CROMWELL DAY ADDRESS 2006 OLIVER CROMWELL AND THE RE-ADMISSION OF JEWS TO ENGLAND¹

By Edgar Samuel

In 1656, the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, gave a small group of Portuguese Jewish merchants in London permission to meet for prayers in their private houses and to acquire a cemetery. He also allowed Jews to settle in England's Caribbean colonies and to open synagogues there. There were two strands to this decision: religion and economic policy.

King Edward I had expelled the Jews from England in 1290. In 1609 James I expelled a group of Portuguese Jewish merchants in London² because Henry IV's statute concerning heresy made any denial of Christian tenets a capital offence.³ In 1612 James I had two Unitarians burnt at the stake for heresy.⁴

One effect of the wide circulation of the English Bible was an increasing identification among Englishmen and women with the people of Israel and a more positive attitude towards the Jewish religion.

Two Puritan preachers, the Baptist Minister, Rev. Henry Jessey, and the Independent Minister, Rev. Hugh Peters, chaplain to the New Model Army, were active in promoting the re-admission of Jews to England, because they believed that their conversion would hasten the Second Coming. In 1647 Peters proposed that 'strangers, even Jews be permitted to trade and live with us'.

In 1648 a leaflet entitled *Apology for the honorable nation of the Jews and all the sons of Israel* proposed the admission of Jews to England. It argued that England's troubles derived in part from 'the strict and cruel Laws now in force against the most honorable nation in the world, the Nation of the Jews, a people chosen by God...[God putting their tears into his bottle] will charge their sufferings upon us, and will avenge them on their persecutors'.

The author claimed that he was persuaded to publish this short tract

not upon any man's motion of the Jews' Nation, but a thing I have long and deeply resolved within my heart...for the glory of God, the comfort of those his afflicted people, the love of my own sweet native country of England, and the freeing of my soul in the day of account.⁵

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The author's name was given as Edward Nicholas, gentleman, a young man of seventeen or eighteen who was then reading for the Bar at the Middle Temple,⁶ but it reads more like the work of a Puritan divine than of a teenage law student.

On Christmas Day the Council of War, in a spirit of goodwill towards all men, resolved that all religions should be tolerated in England 'not excepting Turks nor Papists nor Jews'.⁷ But then in *The Agreement of the People* they decided to limit their toleration to Christians.

On 5 January 1649, still in the Christmas period, the Council of War of the New Model Army received a petition from two English Baptists living in Amsterdam, Johanna Cartwright and her son Ebenezer, who had been talking to some Jews in Amsterdam. They petitioned

that the inhumane cruel statute of banishment made against ... [the Jews] may be repealed and they, under the Christian banner of charity and brotherly love, may again be received and permitted to trade and dwell in this Land as they do now in the Netherlands.⁸

The Council of War ordered the Cartwrights' petition to be printed. However, the expulsion of 1290 had been carried out by royal decree. There was no act of parliament to repeal.

The Cartwrights' argument was forceful because Amsterdam was the greatest trading city in the world. Its Portuguese Jewish community of about two thousand was orderly and prosperous. Their merchants had brought great trade to the city, without in any way threatening the Protestant religion or the social order. If England was to free itself from its subordination to the Dutch economy and build up its foreign trade it must copy Dutch methods.

It was in this climate of opinion that in 1650 the Amsterdam rabbi and printer, Menasseh ben Israel, dedicated the Latin translation of his Hebrew and Spanish book, *The Hope of Israel*, to the Commonwealth parliament and Council of State. An English translation appeared soon after. It concerns the alleged discovery of a tribe of Indians in the mountains of Ecuador descended from the ancient Israelites and practising Judaism. This book led Englishmen to regard Menasseh ben Israel as a representative leader and political spokesman of the Jews, which, as the third rabbi of the Amsterdam Portuguese synagogue, he most certainly was not.

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In November 1650 the Prince of Orange died and republicans seized power in the Netherlands. This led the Commonwealth to send two ambassadors, Chief Justice Oliver St John and Walter Strickland and their secretary, John Thurloe, to The Hague in March 1651 to try to negotiate a close alliance. They visited the Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam and had a conversation with Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel.

The treaty negotiations were a total failure. The ambassadors returned to England and in October 1651 parliament passed the Navigation Act restricting the landing of fish and English colonial and carrying trades to English ships manned mainly by English seamen. Once the confiscation of Dutch ships and cargoes started and the Commonwealth refused to return them, the Dutch went to war with England.

In 1652, John Thurloe was appointed Secretary of State and he sent Menasseh ben Israel an invitation to come to England, but because of the war, this had to be deferred.⁹

In December 1653 Oliver Cromwell was installed as Lord Protector. He confirmed Thurloe as Secretary of State and made peace with the Dutch. John Thurloe was keen to invite Menasseh to London, but Cromwell insisted that any such initiative must come from the Jews. Menasseh was then convalescing after a serious illness, but when urged to present a petition, he felt that since God had chosen him for this task, he had a religious duty to respond. He addressed a petition in French to Cromwell asking for the following concessions:

1. The admission of Jews to the Commonwealth under the protection of the Lord Protector and his officials.
2. Public synagogues, in England and in her colonies.
3. A Jewish cemetery outside London.
4. Freedom to trade in all commodities.
5. A person of quality, under the Protector, to receive passports and to register all who enter and leave the country.
6. Permission for the head of the synagogue to appoint two arbiters to decide disputes between Jews in accordance with Jewish Law.
7. If there should be any laws against Jews to repeal them.¹⁰

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In September 1655, Menasseh ben Israel arrived in London and published his *Humble Addresses to His Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland*. In this he argued that Jews were profitable and faithful citizens.¹¹

It was clear that the admission of Jews could not take place unless the Puritan clergy and the regime's supporters in the City of London approved of the idea. The Council of State, which consisted mainly of the senior army officers, appointed a sub-committee to choose leading clergymen, lawyers and merchants to attend a conference in the Council Chamber in Whitehall Palace on 4 December 1655 to decide two issues:

1. Whether it be lawful to receive the Jews?
2. If it be lawful, then upon what terms is it meet to receive them?¹²

At the start of the conference, Chief Justice Sir John Glynne and Chief Baron William Steele were asked to state the law. They ruled, to everyone's surprise, that there was no law against Jews living in England.

The conference had four meetings to discuss the conditions for allowing Jewish immigration. Many of the clergy feared that a public synagogue would tempt Englishmen to convert to Judaism. The merchants feared unfair competition. Cromwell made it clear that he had no sympathy with such defeatism. In his final speech on 18 December 1655, he said that the views expressed at the conference were a *Babel* of discordances. He had hoped that the preachers would have given him some clear practical advice but they had only multiplied his doubts. He had no engagements to the Jews but what the Scriptures held forth. But 'since there was a promise of their conversion, means must be used to that end, which was the preaching of the Gospel, and that could not be done unless they were permitted to dwell where the Gospel was preached.'

To the merchants he said

You say that they are the meanest and most despised of all people. So be it. But in that case what comes of your fears? Can you really be afraid that this contemptible and despised people should be able to prevail in trade and credit over the merchants of England, the noblest and most esteemed merchants in the world?

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It was clear that no help could be expected from the conference and that he and the Council would have to take their own course. He hoped that he would do nothing foolishly or rashly and asked only that the conference would give him the benefit of their prayers, so that he might be directed to act for the glory of God and the good of the nation.¹³

It has been fashionable for historians to argue that John Thurloe was a cipher and merely carried out the Lord Protector's instructions. Yet Thurloe was the man who brought the policy of re-admitting the Jews to fruition. He made the first approach to Menasseh ben Israel in Amsterdam. As Secretary of State, he invited Menasseh to England. He organized the conference at Whitehall Palace in 1655 and invited the judges to rule on the law and certainly obtained a preview of their opinion. As Secretary to the Council of State, he drafted the minute of the sub-committee reporting their recommendations to the Council in the light of the Whitehall conference. In doing so, he saw to it that this gave the Lord Protector authority to effect the readmission. This document shows Thurloe's skill in extracting a result he desired out of an unfavourable series of decisions. It starts:

That the Jews deserving it may be admitted to this nation to trade and traffic and dwell amongst us as providence shall give occasion. That as to point of conscience we judge it lawful for the magistrate to admit, in case such material and weighty considerations be provided for, about which, till we are satisfied we cannot but in conscience suspend our resolution in this case.¹⁴

He then listed all of the vehement objections to the proposal raised at the conference, after which, he wrote:

We humbly represent:

1. That they be not admitted to have any public Judicatories, whether civil or ecclesiastical, which were to grant them terms beyond the condition of strangers.
2. That they be not admitted either to speak or do anything to the defamation or dishonour of our Lord Jesus Christ or of the Christian religion.
3. That they be not permitted to do any work or anything in profanation of the Lord's Day or Christian Sabbath.

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4. That they be not permitted to have Christians to dwell with them as their servants.
5. That they bear no public office or trust in this Commonwealth.
6. That they be not allowed to print anything which in the least opposes the Christian religion in our language.
7. That so far as may be not suffered to discourage any of their own from applying themselves to any which may tend to convince them of their error and turn them to Christianity. And some severe penalty be imposed upon them who shall apostasise from Christianity to Judaism.¹⁵

Having started the process Cromwell went through with it, but he took the adverse reaction of many of his supporters into account. He could see that to put the matter to parliament would be unproductive, so he proposed no fresh legislation. He told the Jewish leaders that they could meet in their private houses for prayer without fear of molestation, which was more than Archbishop Laud's Court of High Commission had ever allowed Puritans to do.

The leader of the Jews in London at this time was a successful Portuguese merchant, Antonio Fernandez Carvajal. He had settled in London in 1635 and, as a subject of Spain, he attended Mass at the Spanish Ambassador's Chapel, while secretly practising Judaism at home. In 1654, when England went to war with Spain, he and his sons took English nationality and converted to open Judaism.¹⁶ In March 1656, Menasseh ben Israel, Carvajal and other Jews in London petitioned Cromwell for a written confirmation of his oral assurance that they could hold Jewish services and to ask permission to lease land for a cemetery.¹⁷ It is very likely that they were given a clear statement of the terms upon which a Jewish community was to be tolerated in England: that they must make no converts, nor speak against Christianity nor publish any books or pamphlets on religion in English, because the synagogue wardens enforced just these rules¹⁸ for the next hundred years. Carvajal saw no need to employ such a headstrong and publicity-seeking rabbi as Menasseh. He made it quite clear to him that there was no job for him in London. Menasseh petitioned Cromwell for financial help and was granted a £100 pension, of which one quarterly instalment was paid. On 19 December 1656 Antonio Fernandez Carvajal leased a house in Creechurch Lane, Aldgate, which he then fitted out with a

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synagogue on the first floor, large enough to seat eighty-five men and twenty four women.¹⁹ He also leased land at Mile End for a cemetery.²⁰

Cromwell limited Jewish immigration to recommended merchants and their families and encouraged Jewish settlement in Barbados and Jamaica.

In September 1657, Menasseh's son, Samuel, died in London, after asking his father to bury him in the Netherlands. Menasseh was ill and a disappointed man. He had not secured his objective for a privileged Jewish community in England, which could absorb refugees from Poland, Spain and Portugal. He returned to the Netherlands with his son's coffin and died a month later in Middelburg.

As soon as Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London petitioned the king to expel the Jews from England complaining that:

by ye corrupt interest of ye late usurper ye admission of Jews to a free cohabitation and trade in these dominions was found and felt to be a most heavy pressure on your Petitioners... they have found ye way to buy our native manufactures on ye best terms to ship them under English disguise & prostituted ye price of them in foreign parts.²¹

The king and his advisers ignored this petition. Competition may have been against the interest of the Merchant Adventurers, who dominated the Restoration Court of Aldermen, but it greatly benefited English cloth exports.

The Stuart governments continued the two economic innovations of the Interregnum, the Navigation Act and the granting of religious toleration to Jews. The Jewish contribution to the build up of English foreign trade was a minor one, as might be expected from a very small group of merchants. They were useful in the trade with the Caribbean colonies and with Portugal, which became England's biggest customer, but never became as important as in Amsterdam. But the principle of encouraging foreign merchants to settle in England with religious freedom was important. By copying Dutch methods and using the power of the state to build up her trade, Britain became an imperial power. Within a hundred years London had succeeded Amsterdam as the greatest trading city in the world.

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The admission of Jews to England was not Oliver Cromwell's idea. The first initiative came from Rev. Henry Jessey and other Millenarian visionaries. Oliver Cromwell was a man of decision. Once he had decided on a course of action he went ahead and put it into practice.

Notes.

1. This address was delivered on 4 September 2006 at the Cromwell Association's Cromwell Day Service in the Chapel of Central Hall, Westminster. It is a shorter version of a lecture given at The Jewish Museum London on Oliver Cromwell's 400th birthday, which was published in Edgar Samuel, *At the End of the Earth: Essays on the History of the Jews in England and Portugal* (Jewish Historical Society of England, 2004 & 2006), pp. 179-89.
2. Dispatch from the Tuscan envoy, Ottaviano Lotto of 12 August 1609 cited in Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England* 3rd edn (Oxford, 1964), p. 284.
3. H. S. Q. Henriques, *Jews and the English Law* (Oxford, 1908), p. 67.
4. *A True Relation of the Commissions and warrants for the Condemnation and Burning of Bartholomew Legatt and Thomas Withman... in Anon., The Narrative History of King James for the first fourteen years* (London, 1651).
5. David Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603-1655* (Oxford, 1982), p. 81.
6. H. A. C. Stugess, ed., *Register of admissions to...the Middle Temple* (London, 1949). He was a son of Robert Nicholas (1595-1667).
7. Katz, *Philo-Semitism*, p. 177 citing *Mercurius Pragmaticus* 19-20 December 1648.
8. Johanna Cartwright and Ebenezer Cartwright, *Petition of the Jewes* (1649).
9. Lucien Wolf, *Menasseh Ben Israel's mission to Oliver Cromwell...* (London, 1901).
10. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Interregnum, ci*, no. 115. The French text was published in Wolf, *Menasseh Ben Israel's mission*, p. lxxxiii.
11. Republished in Wolf, *Menasseh Ben Israel's mission*, pp. 73-103.
12. (Henry Jessey), *A Narrative of the late Proceeds at Whitehall concerning the Jews...* (London, 1655).
13. Ibid based upon Jessey's *Narrative...*; Nathaniel Crouch, *Judeorum Memorabilia...* (Bristol, 1796), pp. 175-76, and Spence's *Anecdotes* (sic).
14. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Interregnum, ci*, no. 118, published in Wolf, *Menasseh Ben Israel's mission*, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxv.
15. Ibid.

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16. Lucien Wolf, 'The First English Jew: notes on Antonio Fernandes Carvalhal with some biographical documents', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, II, 1895, pp. 14-46.
17. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Interregnum, cxxv*, no. 58.
18. See Lionel Barnett, *El Libro de los Acuerdos* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 11-12. Rule 30 prohibits publishing books without the express permission of the *Mahamad* (Wardens). Rule 31 prohibits religious disputes or arguments with Christians. Rule 32 prohibits converting anyone to Judaism who is not Spanish or Portuguese. Rule 34 prohibits anyone from setting himself up as to speak in the name of the Nation.
19. W. S. Samuel, 'The First London Synagogue of the Resettlement', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, X, 1923, p. 46.
20. Ibid, p. 23.
21. City of London Records Office *Remembrancia IX* 44/1-18.

Edgar Samuel was born in Hampstead and went to school in England, Australia and Canada. He trained as an optometrist and later, at the LSE, as a historian. He is a former director and curator of the Jewish Museum and a past president of the Jewish Historical Society of England, which published his book, *At the End of the Earth: Essays on the History of the Jews in England and Portugal* (2004). He is particularly interested in the Portuguese background of the Jewish immigrants to England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

EL PROTECTOR OLIVERIO CROMVEL – THE INVOCATION OF HIS IMAGE AND MEMORY IN SPANISH AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE ERA RHETORIC (1808-1826)

By Dr Karen Racine

Amongst unequals, no society – John Milton¹

Heroes and anti-heroes continue to prosecute their ideological missions long after their earthly deaths, often finding themselves resurrected in the least expected places. Just as the literary genre of medieval saints' lives was intended to provide guidance and moral lessons for pious followers to emulate, the invocation of the memory of specific historical figures situates the speaker in a particular political lineage and provides legitimacy by allying him with great powers from the past. In this way, the recruitment of long-dead figures into ongoing battles displaces contentious issues safely into the past, where personal attacks can be disguised as academic debate, and deadly serious matters of state formation evaluated without risk. Historical heroes and anti-heroes, therefore, often reappear in the strangest places and go on to provoke strong reactions in geographical locations and cultural contexts far from ones in which they originally operated.

Although it is generally (and incorrectly) assumed that the American and French republican models offered the greatest inspiration for change throughout the Atlantic world in the revolutionary age, radicals everywhere undertook a significant reconsideration of the era of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate as well. Indeed, parallels between the controversial historical figures of a long-dead Cromwell and the still-living Napoleon Bonaparte were too great for contemporaries to overlook, and it was common in England to invoke the memory of the former as part of any analysis of the latter.² What may be more surprising, however, is that Oliver Cromwell, his Protectorate, and the example of the English civil war also held a special resonance in the Spanish-speaking world. Cromwell's name, memory, and actions became a significant component of the rhetoric used by both Spaniards and Spanish Americans to explain and justify their various positions on the great issues of the day: political independence, free speech, religious toleration, republicanism and monarchism, liberty and tyranny. All across the political spectrum, Spanish American politicians and intellectuals surveyed the contemporary landscape for useful lessons to be derived from the ongoing turmoil in France, Great Britain, and the United States. They dusted off their library shelves to revisit the history of classical Greece and Rome, to reconsider Judeo-Christian legal traditions elaborated in the Bible and other religious texts, and decried the incomprehensible barbarism of

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Moors, Huns, Goths, Mongols, and Hottentots. In fact, the Spanish Americans were diligent students and savvy rhetoricians who were adept at analyzing their own conditions through the use of historical analogies. Both liberal republicans and conservative proto-monarchs regularly invoked the figure of Oliver Cromwell and the memory of his actions either to lend historical weight to their own proposals or to undercut their opponents' visions. Cromwell's moralism, military prowess, and his association with John Milton appealed to the patriot generals; his fanaticism and attacks on Church and King horrified both Catholic and conservative elites. Spanish Americans' regular and frequent invocation of Oliver Cromwell's name and memory sheds light on the ways they conceived of themselves and the issues they faced as they moved from their eighteenth-century colonial status to take their rightful place as modern nineteenth-century independent states.

Spanish American independence was a long and protracted affair.³ It was more than a military and diplomatic event in which American-born elites merely expelled European colonial administrators and assumed their privileged positions; it was a wholesale reconsideration of what it meant to be Spanish American. Two decades of war provoked intense debates about what sort of future these new citizens deserved. Much like North American colonists throughout the long eighteenth century, Spanish Americans also increasingly resented their mother country's attempt to claw back power and make the colonies more profitable. Known collectively as the Bourbon Reforms, Spanish administrators passed a series of laws intended to extract more taxes without offering representation, imposed monopolist regulations intended to stunt the growth of American industries, and required the colonies to shoulder more of their own defense. In 1808, when Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Spain and installed his brother Joseph on the throne, he inadvertently opened a constitutionally-legitimate avenue for Spanish Americans to create caretaker *juntas* (councils) that would govern local affairs until the true King, Ferdinand VII, *el Deseado* (the Desired), could return.

Spanish patriots fled to Seville and Cádiz, where they reorganized themselves as the *Junta Suprema Central* (Supreme Central Council) and initiated the infamous patriotic resistance against Napoleon. In rapid succession, however, liberally-minded creole Americans also assumed power in their own territories and declared themselves to be in control.

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The most significant Spanish American juntas emerged in Quito (1809), Buenos Aires (1810), and Caracas (1810), but the pattern was followed throughout the hemisphere. Only Mexico and Peru, the bastions of imperial control and centres of large, restive indigenous populations, remained firmly committed to the royalist cause. Over the next fifteen years, 1810-1826, Spanish Americans gained their independence through a complicated combination of military engagements, diplomatic efforts, rhetorical pronouncements, and the vagaries of international affairs. Over the course of a decade-and-a-half, in a highly politically-charged context, Hispanic polemicists and orators on both sides of the Atlantic regularly invoked the name and memory of Oliver Cromwell as a relevant historical reference for their desired outcome.

On 2 July 1811, congressional members of the soon-to-be-declared First Venezuelan Republic were debating José de Sata y Bussy's proposal that they assume greater powers for themselves, and suggested that in the name of security they should transfer their seat of government away from the colonial capital of Caracas to an inland location that was easier to defend. After listening to the various arguments for and against such an act, the famous General Francisco de Miranda, sponsor-patron of the *Sociedad Patriótica* (Patriotic Society), rose to his feet and slowly intoned

No one can be unaware that there were thirty tyrants in Athens, and that the Long English Parliament, that antechamber of despotism, was the organ that gave the authority to Cromwell to tyrannize the nation. Such an ignorance of history cannot be advantageous for a legislator. And if one listens more carefully to public opinion, and pays attention to the wishes of the Patriotic Society, that unjustly denigrated institution, one would see that you will not find similar errors there... it is therefore necessary to keep before us, the examples of the past, and those of our neighbours. Constituent bodies can also be tyrants when there is not a clear division of powers.⁴

Legislators of the First Venezuelan Republic, often derided as the *Patria Boba* (foolish fatherland), wanted to remodel their country quickly and dramatically. The citizenry, the ostensible beneficiaries of the reforms, were sometimes considered to be obstacles to their own advancement, and therefore men like Sata y Bussy wanted to avoid popular participation until

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the new regime was consolidated. Ironically, Miranda, who had his own authoritarian tendencies, was suspicious of individual strongmen figures and personally witnessed the slow decay of ideological idealism into pure lust for power. He had been jailed by Robespierre in the 1790s and, as a devoted man of the Enlightenment, was inherently suspicious of claims to religious or political absolutism. In that particular and important debate, just three days before Venezuela would declare itself to be an independent republic, the figure of Oliver Cromwell was invoked as a warning about the dangers of the concentration of power, and the ever-present threat of tyranny when republics are controlled by a small, unchecked group of interested people.

Throughout the independence era and all across the continent, Spanish American intellectuals and public figures adopted particular positions on the historical person of Oliver Cromwell based on their own political sympathies. For example, in 1820, as the patriot armies closed in on the monarchist stronghold in Peru, the radical liberal writer Manuel Lorenzo Vidaurre observed that it was 'painfully obvious that when an entire people take up arms to defend their violated rights, they cannot be called rebels.' To bolster his claim and to strengthen the patriots' pleas for foreign (particularly British) recognition of their independent status, he reminded the world that 'all the Monarchs of Europe recognized Oliver Cromwell's government as legitimate.'⁵ Righteous rebellion was nothing less than an honourable patriotic act. Similarly hoping to pressure the British to recognize his new country, the Argentine editor, journalist and diplomat Ignacio Benito Núñez gently pointed out the contradiction that England had given the world an example of a republican revolutionary, Oliver Cromwell, but was illogically failing to grant recognition to his nineteenth-century heirs in the nineteenth century, the Spanish Americans.⁶ As these forward-looking Spanish American liberal-patriots remembered him, Cromwell was a devoted patriot and an honest republican who embodied all the virtues to which they themselves aspired.

Others were less charitable. Antonio Ignacio Cortabarria, the commander of Spain's royal navy in Puerto Rico, described Cromwell as a 'tyrant' and considered him to have been an international threat in the same way that Napoleon Bonaparte was upsetting the balance of power well beyond French borders. Spanish liberal politician and literary figure Antonio Alcalá Galiano placed Cromwell in a bloody lineage of regicides and defilers of the

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Holy Faith, including the Protestants of the sixteenth-century Reformation, the French Revolutionists, and Napoleon.⁷ Writing as Amerícola, the voice of the continent, the deeply Catholic Chilean statesman Juan Egaña warned his fellow citizens about ‘the spirit of faction’ that had resulted from the Protector’s regime in England and worried that current conditions in his country threatened to have the same bloody results.⁸ All throughout the continent, conservatives regularly compared Cromwell’s tenure in office with ‘the bloody and extravagant experiments’ of the French Revolution, both of which failed to establish the democracy that they initially claimed they sought.

Oliver Cromwell’s title and position as the ‘Protector’ captured the Spanish Americans’ imagination. The name had a long and deep resonance in Spanish New World culture, particularly as it conjures up images of their colonial relations with indigenous people. Bartolomé de las Casas, the sixteenth-century Dominican friar whose vitriolic condemnation of the Spanish *conquistadores’* cruelties set the tone for much of the Black Legend rhetoric that would follow, himself was known as the Protector of the Indians. Not surprisingly, as part of their publishing campaign intended to discredit Spain’s claim to the Americas, Spanish Americans at home and in London regularly reprinted Las Casas’s *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (*Brief History of the Devastation of the Indies*) which sought to expose the Spaniards’ brutal and exploitative treatment of the New World’s indigenous people.⁹ The title Protector, therefore, already carried deep local roots in Spanish American culture. Spanish Americans polemicists tried hard to link their domestic memories of a protector-saviour to the English and English history, in part to fortify a historical lineage for themselves, and in part to flatter those whose military might and commercial treaties could help to repel Spanish efforts to restore America to its former colonial status. As part of this endeavour, Spanish Americans resurrected a rumour that the Peruvian contemporary of Shakespeare and Cervantes, *mestizo* (mixed race) poet-historian Garcilaso de la Vega claimed that there ‘among the Indians there existed a tradition that the Americans would recover their independence through the assistance of the English’.¹⁰ The notion of an England as a Protector loomed large in their collective consciousness.

But the clearest and most meaningful invocation of Oliver Cromwell’s Protectorate can be found, not surprisingly, in the figure of the moralistic hero-soldier. In an era when general-liberators liked to view their armies as

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purifying forces, clearing away Spanish indolence and vice and bringing a new ethic to America, the example of the New Model Army held a great fascination for them. Cromwell’s inspirational leadership was clearly and firmly in the minds of the leading Spanish American patriot generals when they thought of their own historical lineage. In fact, the two major patriot military figures of continental renown, Venezuelan General Simón Bolívar and Argentine General José de San Martín, both explicitly referenced Cromwell’s example as they prosecuted their own ambitious and creative campaigns. Bolívar, along with his fierce Venezuelan *llaneros* (plainsman-cowboys) fought a vicious War to the Death across northern South America throughout the 1810s but eventually vanquished the royalists and dominated the region until his early death in 1830. In 1818, San Martín and his Army of the Andes infamously crossed over the vast mountains on foot, routed the Spaniards and drove them out of Chile, and then moved northward to make an ultimately successful strike into the heart of royalist Peru in 1821. Both men were romantic figures who combined the roles of military general and statesman-lawgiver, who were acutely aware of their historical significance and took pains to craft the way they presented themselves and their cause. Cromwell, as a republican, a devoutly-moralistic Puritan, and successful military leader, provided much historical inspiration for these philosopher-generals who wished to see themselves as the fathers of a brave new order in their beloved homelands.

Still in the midst of battle, in 1819, Bolívar and his associates held a Congress at Angostura (today called Ciudad Bolívar, and located in Venezuela) where they drafted a four-part division of power that included not only the usual executive, legislative and judicial branches, but also an unusual fourth power which was a moral chamber that would be known as the Areopagus. Though obviously derived from the tribunal in ancient Athens, the Areopagus also intentionally recalled John Milton’s famous treatise on freedom of the press, the *Areopagitica*. Freedom of the press was a crucial issue for many creoles, and Milton’s name was both widely-invoked by writers and his works frequently translated and extracted in the Spanish American periodical press. Significantly, Milton had not only been Cromwell’s Secretary of State, his close friend and ally, and the intellectual polestar of the Protectorate, he was also able to correspond in Spanish and Portuguese and acted as a direct liaison between Cromwell and the Luso-Hispanic world.¹¹ Although he was genuinely popular during the wars, once the patriots settled down to the more difficult business of governing,

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factions inevitably arose and his great Colombian Vice-President and rival, Francisco de Paula Santander, stoked fears that Bolívar was secretly a monarchist who intended to stage a Napoleonic coup and install himself as lifetime Emperor. Although Bolívar's admirers venerated him as the Liberator, the great benefactor of his country, its Washington, his enemies complained bitterly that he was actually its tyrant and oppressor, its Cromwell.¹²

Argentine General José de San Martín's invocation of Cromwell's memory, however, was both more direct and more significant. Upon his triumphal arrival in Lima, at a speech held on 3 August 1821, San Martín, a man not usually noted for his theatricality or erudition, paid homage to the memory of Oliver Cromwell when he announced from the balcony that he was taking the title of 'Protector of Peru' as a mark of respect to the English general. With that historical responsibility in mind, he promised his citizens that he would 'administer strict justice to all, by rewarding virtue and patriotism and punishing vice and sedition wherever they may be found.' The patriot-general went on to declare his intention to imitate the austere Cromwell's good points and use his personal example to set a high standard for the moral behaviour of both public officials and subject-citizens alike.¹³ In honour of both San Martín and Cromwell, Antonio José de Sucre, the eventual liberator of Bolivia, gave specific instructions to his agent that their fledgling navy's best ship should be named the Protector.¹⁴ San Martín's opponents also later complained that he was not a democrat but an authoritarian counter-revolutionary, a tyrant.¹⁵ Not surprisingly, both men relied heavily on British recruits in their forces and alienated some of their countrymen by seeming to favour foreigners over natives in their inner circle.

By the early 1820s, as the wars were nearing their end and it was clear to everyone that Spanish America would become independent, local politicians and intellectuals began to turn their attention to the nature and forms of government that should succeed the Spanish monarchy. Although the liberal patriots also tended to be republicans, the general population and a surprisingly large proportion of the new countries' leaders retained a fondness for the stability they associated with their King and hoped that they could live under a constitutional monarch. In the context of this fundamental political debate, with tensions running high, both republicans and monarchists invoked the figure of Oliver Cromwell to illustrate their

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hopes and fears. In February 1818, the liberal editors of the Buenos Aires weekly newspaper *El Censor* printed a lengthy article in which they sought to refute the characterization of the patriots as usurpers of legitimate Spanish power. They offered a long list of historical precedents who advanced the cause of liberty although contemporary opponents had called them usurpers; this illustrious global genealogy included 'Oliver Cromwell who put the king on a scaffold, because the protector knew how to rule better than the king did.'¹⁶ In 1822, as Agustín de Iturbide was crowning himself Emperor and ignoring the Congress, a Mexican newspaper called *La Abispa de Chilpancingo* praised the moderating power found in independent legislative bodies by telling its readers that '[i]n the times of Charles I, the English tribunals under pressure from the Court's threats saved many enemies of liberty, but in Cromwell's era, the Parliament, although dominated by the Protector, absolved many citizens accused of loyalty to the Monarchy.'¹⁷ All across Spanish America, the liberals invoked Cromwell's memory as a way to advance their own arguments, and their implications were clear: power belongs in the hands of those who will use it on behalf of the citizenry, no person or institution alone has claim to perpetual power if it is not used well and wisely. As they saw it, the People are sovereign and therefore when the People's agents seize power back from those who have become tyrannical, that act of recovery cannot be considered usurpation.

The polarizing figure of Cromwell appeared in many Spanish American outlets during the 1820s. In Mexico, the popular journalist and novelist José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi satirized his opponents' monarchist views by putting their arguments in the mouth of a parakeet: The unthinking bird simply repeated the shop-worn argument that

England was never more oppressed than when it was under the command of Cromwell, and never had that country spoken of its rights and prerogatives with more vehemence. What luck that men seem to be satisfied by those who tell them they are happy and free and who offer them assurances of the safety of their persons and property, although in reality they are nothing of the sort. We deceive ourselves more easily than children.¹⁸

In another widely-read article entitled 'For the health of the fatherland, scorn a crown', Fernández de Lizardi bolstered the historical credibility of

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those Mexican republicans who had ousted Emperor Agustín I in 1823 and restored power to the Congress by invoking the names of previous hero-patriots who had also knocked crowns off the heads of self-important monarchs, a small group which clearly included Oliver Cromwell.¹⁹

In contrast, the proponents of hereditary monarchy looked to the Protectorate with horror, and instead invoked Cromwell and the English Revolution when they wanted to play up the dangers of mob mentality, the brutality of a regicide, and the spectre of a civil war. In Caracas in 1824, as suspicions about Bolívar's personal ambition were growing, the *Observador Caraqueño* published an article that outlined the arguments for and against hereditary monarchy, finally declaring that its greatest merit may be in the clarity of succession and the reduced threat of civil wars. The discussion was relatively balanced, although the editors did betray their own political opinion, when they pointed out in a short aside that England had suffered no fewer than eight civil wars, including Cromwell's revolution, and nineteen major rebellions.²⁰ The clear implication was that republicanism and religious tolerance led to more bloodshed and division, not less. As the spectre of civil war in northern South America loomed ever larger, the editors pessimistically concluded that 'the death of King Charles I was of no utility at all to the English people; Cromwell replaced him and was also a tyrant'.²¹ In Buenos Aires, the opinion-makers at *El Censor* were equally despondent about the hypocrisy of international diplomacy, remembering in 1818 that France had received ministers sent by King Charles (and his later partisans) and Cromwell equally, as it suited their interests at any given moment, without relying on deeper principles.²² Such was the Law of Nations, they lamented.

Another one of the most contentious issues throughout Spanish America was the debate surrounding the 'freedom of religion'. Although the vast majority of the region's citizenry was Roman Catholic by sincere faith or general cultural tradition, many of the patriot leaders were liberals who associated Catholicism with the censorship of the Inquisition, the emphasis on faith over reason, and an excessive demand for submissiveness and piety that was at best unbecoming in a republican citizen and at worst damaging to the national spirit of freedom and entrepreneurship. At the other end of the spectrum, conservatives viewed Catholicism as the central pillar of Hispanic society and a bulwark against social disorder. As congressional committees throughout Spanish America set upon the task of writing their

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new constitutions and debating whether or not to declare Catholicism the official state religion, the English Revolution, with its roots in the English Reformation, cropped up regularly in the arguments made by both camps.

For example, in Chile, in the 1820s, there were heated discussions about the advisability of permitting English Protestant merchants into the country in large numbers which had raised the thorny issues of cemeteries, burials, and the place of established religion in the new state. Liberals welcomed foreign immigrants and investors and were willing to accord them the freedom to worship as they wished. Conservatives were certain that the introduction of a new religion would lead to divisiveness and civil war, and regularly brought up the English Civil War as proof that their fears were not unfounded. Noted Chilean statesman Juan Egaña scorned the English for changing their state religion several times during the Tudor and Stuart period, seeing in those acts an insincerity of faith that inevitably degenerated into religious civil war under the tyrant Cromwell. He cautioned that 'Cromwell and the spirit of faction was not restrained, and as a result the Government suffered incessant mutations while the terrified People sought Democracy in vain, without encountering it anywhere. In the end, after many movements, shocks and shake ups, they ended up back with precisely the same form of Government that they had rejected earlier'.²³ Ignacio Benito Núñez agreed; Cromwell and the French revolutionists both had persecuted millions under the banner of religion and liberty, and there was no reason to suspect the most recent efforts to introduce similar beliefs and practices in Spanish America would not have equally sanguinary results.²⁴

The invocation of historical memory is a powerful tool for any politician or intellectual seeking to create a lineage or establish the legitimacy of a particular action or idea. By drawing analogies between contemporary events and those that have occurred in the past, a writer rhetorically universalizes the essence of the current issue and, paradoxically, both raises the stakes and lowers the risk. In the 1790s, for example, it was common for British radicals to justify republican revolution by returning to their own domestic historical precedent. What may be more surprising, however, is that Spanish Americans, an ocean away living with a different language and cultural context, considered English history to be part of their useable past as well. By regularly invoking the name of Oliver Cromwell during their own struggle for independence and in the early years of national state

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formation, Spanish Americans were trying to align their own historical experience with that of Great Britain, the country whose support and protection they most sought. The positions that various factions adopted on Cromwell and the Protectorate also revealed the issues and fault lines in the emerging split between liberals and conservatives, republicans and monarchists, the proponents of freedom of worship and the proponents of an official state religion. By arguing over the actions and fate of a long-dead Cromwell, these Spanish Americans, themselves engaged in a high stakes battle not just with Spain but also with each other, were able to diffuse some of the intensity and personal vitriol of their debates by using the figure of Cromwell as a proxy.

Notes.

1. Original quotation found in English in the *Observador Caraqueño* (Caracas), no. 41, (jueves, 7 octubre de 1824), p. 3n.
2. See Peter Kitson, “Sages and patriots that being dead do yet speak to us”: Readings of the English Revolution in the Late Eighteenth Century’, in *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution*, James Holston, ed., (London, 1992), pp. 205-30; and the same author’s ‘Coleridge, Milton and the Millennium’, *Wordsworth Circle*, 18, 1987, pp. 61-66; Simon Bainbridge, *Napoleon and English Romanticism* (Cambridge, 1995); and Joseph Nicholes, ‘Revolutions Compared: The English Civil War as a Touchstone in Romantic Literature’, in *Revolution and English Romanticism*, Keith Hernley and Raman Selden, eds, (New York, 1990), pp. 261-76.
3. Among the best comprehensive surveys are: John Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions 1808-1826: Old and New World Origins* (Norman, 1994); John Lynch, *Latin America: Between Colony and Nation: Selected Essays* (New York, 2001); Jaime Rodríguez, *The Independence of Spanish America* (Cambridge, 1998); Jay Kinsbruner, *Independence in Spanish America: Civil Wars, Revolutions and Underdevelopment* (Albuquerque, 2000); Victor Uribe-Urán, *State and Society in Spanish America during the Age of Revolution* (Wilmington, 2001); François-Xavier Guerra, *Las revoluciones hispanoamericanas: independencias americanas y el liberalismo español* (Madrid, 1995); *Modernidad e independencias: ensayos sobre las revoluciones hispanoamericanas* (Madrid, 1992).
4. Congressional session of 2 July 1811, reported in *El Publicista de Venezuela* #10 (jueves, 5 de setiembre de 1811), p. 75.

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5. Manuel Lorenzo Vidaurre y Encalada, *Votos de los Americanos á la Nación Española, y á nuestro amado monarca el Señor Don Fernando VII* (Reimpreso en Guatemala, 1820), p. 3.
6. Ignacio Benito Núñez, *Autobiografía* (Buenos Aires, 1996), pp. 60-61.
7. Antonio Alcalá Galiano, *Recuerdos de un anciano* (Madrid, 1907), p. 456.
8. Antonio Ignacio Cortabarria, *A los pueblos de las provincias de Caracas, Barinas, Cumaná y Nueva Barcelona* (Puerto Rico: 20 de setiembre de 1811), p. 9; Amerícola (Juan Egaña), *Del federalismo y anarquía* (Santiago de Chile, 1823), p. 18 & n.
9. The most important version was Fray Servando Teresa de Mier’s 1812 London edition of Las Casas’ tract, published as *Brevissima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (Londres, 1812).
10. [José de la Riva Agüero], *Manifestación histórica y política de la revolución de la América* (Buenos Aires, 1818), p. 172. The same apocryphal anecdote was reported in Buenos Aires weekly newspaper *El Censor* #56 (jueves, 19 de setiembre de 1816), pp. 10-11.
11. C. H. Patrides, ‘As relações de Milton com Portugal’, *Revista de Faculdades Letras*, Ser. 3, 6, 1962, pp. 79-85; E. Allison Peers, ‘Milton in Spain’, *Studies in Philology*, 23, 1926, pp. 169-83; J. G. Robertson, ‘Milton’s Fame on the Continent’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 3, 1907-1908, pp. 319-40. Attracted by the messianic theme of good versus evil, a boomlet of Spanish and Portuguese translations of Milton’s *Paradise Lost* and other essays occurred during the revolutionary era: J. A. da Silva (Lisbon, 1789), J. Escoíquiz (Burgos, 1812), C. Henríquez (Santiago de Chile, 1812), B. R. de Hermida (Madrid: 1814), and F. B. M. Targini (Paris, 1823).
12. H. L. V. Ducoudray-Holstein, *Memoirs of Simón Bolívar, President Liberator of the Republic of Colombia* (London, 1830), I, 75-76.
13. San Martín, Decree’ (Lima, 3 August 1821) reprinted in Basil Hall, *Extracts from a Journal written on the Coasts of Chile, Peru, and Mexico in the Years 1820, 1821, 1822* (Edinburgh, 1825), I, 269-73; Hall to Diego Paroissien, (Londres, 22 de diciembre de 1823), Essex County Record Office, Paroissien Papers, D/Dob.
14. Antonio José de Sucre to General Alvarado, (Calao, 8 de julio de 1823), in Sucre’s correspondence and memoirs, published as *De mi propia mano* (Caracas, 1981), p. 132.

15. Carlos Alvear to Bernardino Rivadavia (Washington, 12 de octubre de 1824), *Argentina, Archivo General de la Nación, Fondo Donado y Adquirido, leg. 190*, p. 133.
16. ‘Caracteres de una justa libertad y de un poder legítimo. Continuación.’ *El Censor* (Jueves, 19 de febrero de 1818), p. 5
17. *La avispa de Chilpancingo* #28 (12 de agosto de 1822), p. 458.
18. Fernández de Lizardi, ‘El hermano del perico que cantaba la victoria’, in *Obras, Vol 5 - Periódicos* (Mexico, 1973), p. 46. In this conversation, the parakeet misquotes the liberal anti-Inquisition writer Juan Antonio Llorente.
19. El Pensador (Fernández de Lizardi), ‘Por la salud de la patria, se desprecia una corona’, in *Obras, Vol 12 – Folletos* (Mexico, 1991), pp. 337-42. The pamphlet was dated 7 March 1823.
20. *El Observador Caraqueño*, #14, (1 de abril de 1824), p. 3.
21. ‘La idea de los gobiernos’. in *El Observador Caraqueño*, #5 (29 de enero de 1824), p. 2.
22. *El Censor*, #158 (26 de setiembre de 1818), p. 2.
23. Americola (Juan Egaña), *Del federalismo y de la anarquía*, p. 18n.
24. Núñez, *Autobiografía*, pp. 60-61.

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By Dr Jason Peacey

Recent years have witnessed a growing willingness on the part of at least some historians, whether political, religious or social, to engage in historiographical and methodological conversations with those engaged in what has come to be called ‘book history’, and it is probably fair to say that, from the perspective of historians of early modern Britain, there has never been a better time to traverse the scholarly fences and disciplinary boundaries between history and bibliography.¹ Any number of historians are now interested in scouring the back issues of journals such as *The Library* (now thankfully online), and finding a treasure trove of ideas and information. That this should be so reflects what might be called our ‘post-revisionist’ moment, for it is surely the scholars most often associated with this rather clumsy label who have rejuvenated historical interest in print culture. Integral to the attempts, by scholars such as Peter Lake, Tom Cogswell, Richard Cust, Ann Hughes, Alastair Bellany, and Ethan Shagan, to challenge the ideas of historians such as Conrad Russell and John Morrill, has been a response to the revisionist tendency to reject the value of contemporary printed sources, and early modern print culture.² In doing so, of course, ‘post-revisionists’ are not merely seeking to revive earlier narratives and approaches, whether Whig or Marxist, but rather are seeking to develop a rather different approach to print culture from that of earlier generations. Moreover, their methods and approaches to history, and their explorations of the interface between political, religious, social, and cultural history, are of some importance to any appreciation of the value of bibliography to history. Stated crudely, but not entirely unfairly, to the extent that Whig and Marxist historians were interested in print culture, they tended to be concerned with issues relating to freedom of the press, censorship, and political and religious heterodoxy, and although this sometimes generated fascinating insights regarding aspects of print culture, there were important ways in which they failed to engage in either scientific bibliography, or detailed engagement with the work of other bibliographers.³ It is these previously overlooked areas – relating to the sophistication of communicative practices in the early modern period, and our techniques for appreciating the subtleties of early modern print culture – that this paper seeks to address.

In essence, ‘post-revisionist’ historians share a determination to appreciate the ways in which printed texts were used by a variety of early modern interest groups, whether elite and non-elite individuals, more or less radical

religious and political associations and communities, or politicians of various hues. They have shown a particular fascination with early modern propaganda, and with demonstrating how print could be used, not merely to expound ideas in a straightforward manner, but also in rather more subtle, perhaps even disingenuous, ways, in order to court popular support, secure allegiance across the political nation, and below the political elite, and to create political parties, and even armies. In recognising the subtlety, even Machiavellianism, of those who occupied or entered the public domain in early modern Britain, post-revisionists differ from their predecessors by being as interested in the manner in which print was used, employed, and appropriated, as they are in the substantive content of the works produced. For this reason, post-revisionist historians tend to be much more attuned to the need to understand something about how printing worked.⁴ That an historian of the politics and parliaments of the 1620s such as Tom Cogswell should have accepted a guiding role in the development of the *English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC)* project based at the University of California at Riverside, encapsulates the willingness of current historians (and bibliographers for that matter) to engage with other disciplines.⁵

The specific aim of this paper is to highlight the obstacles encountered and lessons learnt during the course of research into the importance of print culture to mid-seventeenth century political culture, and of engagement with the work of bibliographers. The paper is divided into two sections, relating to both the 'factotums' and 'fliers' of my title.

I

My own engagement with scientific bibliography represented the final port of call in the protracted adventure which began with doctoral research into parliamentarian propaganda during the 1640s and 1650s, and ended with the publication of a monograph on *Politicians and Pamphleteers* during the civil wars and interregnum.⁶ This journey from political thought to bibliography – from Quentin Skinner to Fredson Bowers – was facilitated and necessitated in large part by the pamphlets of Henry Parker, one of the most important political writers of the 1640s. It involved realising that he was somewhat less interesting as a thinker than as a political factotum, and eventually that, in order to understand his political connections, it was necessary to explore print shop practices, and a rather different kind of 'factotum'.⁷

My point here can best be demonstrated with the help of Parker's most famous tract, the *Observations*, acquired by Thomason in early July 1642.⁸ If the old historiography regarding Parker was interested in this work for its ideas (parliamentary sovereignty), his more recent return to historical favour represents a recognition (by historians such as Michael Mendle) of his importance as a means of understanding the integration of print into political life.⁹ Parker, it transpires, was a kinsman, associate and sometime employee of various parliamentarian grandees, and various political organisations: from Viscount Saye (kinsman) to the Earl of Essex (secretary) and Oliver Cromwell (secretary again), and from the Long Parliament (clerk to the Committee of Safety) to the English republic (civil servant).¹⁰ Such connections are invaluable for understanding Parker's purposes and methods as an author, not least because it is possible to contextualise individual works in terms of the interests of his associates and patrons, and the very precise and local political battles with which they were involved. They also provide the key, however, to a further approach to his works, including the *Observations*, which involves engaging much more directly with bibliographical skills. The key to this approach involves aspects of this tract which bibliographers notice, but which historians tend to ignore: printers' devices and bibliographical descriptors.

By way of introducing historical appropriation of bibliographical skills, it is possible to mention the fascinating research being undertaken by scholars such as David Como and Elliot Vernon, whose interest lies in the radical tracts of civil war England, and who seek enhanced historical understanding through bibliographical analysis. The pamphlets of political and religious radicals from the 1640s provide a particularly fertile source, it transpires, given that they were generally, although importantly not universally, anonymous, in terms not merely of authorship, but also of printers, and booksellers. Como, therefore, employs fairly technical bibliographical skills – analysis of watermarks, initial letters, cracked and worn type – in order to identify printers, and make connections between particular works, authors and stationers, thereby enabling a reconstruction of political and religious networks which have not previously been acknowledged. Como claims to show that certain 'exile' presses were operating in London rather than Amsterdam long before civil war broke out, and that continuities of personnel between pre- and post-1642 radicalism, and between religious and political radicalism, require re-examination of the very nature of radicalism in the 1640s.¹¹ Vernon's research, meanwhile, seeks to use similar skills as part of a challenging reappraisal of the connection between the

Levellers, the agitators and the ‘new agents’ in 1647, or rather the lack thereof before the famous Putney debates.¹²

My approach to Henry Parker was similar to that being developed independently by Como and Vernon, albeit with the aim of revealing the sophistication of a propaganda campaign orchestrated by those elements within the Long Parliament with which Cromwell associated, in a six month period in 1642, either side of the outbreak of civil war.¹³ My foray into scientific (or perhaps pseudo-scientific) bibliography began with the realisation that Parker’s famous pamphlet was, visually, highly unusual. Lacking both a title page (and the printer’s ‘signature’ suggests that this is not merely an accident of survival) and a colophon, it was anonymous in terms of both author and stationer, in breach of recent parliamentary regulations. What quickly followed this rather superficial bibliographical awakening, however, was the realisation that Parker’s tract was actually not unique. Indeed, my trawl of the ‘Thomason tracts’ in the British Library soon revealed around a dozen other pamphlets from the second half of 1642 which bore remarkable similarities to Parker’s tract, in terms of the lack of authorial identification, title page and colophon, and the deployment of three very simple printer’s ‘devices’, deployed in order to form distinctive ornamental ‘headbands’. They also employed ‘factotums’, simple ornamental devices into which a standard piece of letter-type could be inserted, rather than elaborate initial letters.

Intrigued by the unusual visual appearance of these pamphlets, my aim soon became one of analysing and describing the phenomenon which I had discovered. This required not just bibliographical *language*, but also *techniques* for comparing different works, in the hope of confirming a hunch that these tracts emerged from the same press, and that the stationers involved could be identified. Here bibliography provided valuable clues, by confirming that the typographical style employed on Parker’s tract was used on only a small corpus of other works, but it did not solve the puzzle entirely. This required a variety of other approaches as well: textual analysis, biographical research, and historical contextualisation. Only alongside these more ‘conventional’ historical tools and methods was it possible to conclude that these tracts were united by more or less radical political content and more or less well-connected parliamentarian authors, rather than merely by bibliographical distinctiveness.

Only when these various research techniques were *combined*, in other words, did the whole picture emerge, and the typography makes sense. These were tracts (more than one of them by Parker himself as it transpired) which were outlining a particularly controversial version of parliamentarianism, written by men associated with a certain group of parliamentarian grandees. These men were not in a position to force their agenda onto what was effectively a ‘rainbow coalition’ of the king’s opponents in the Long Parliament, and as a result they turned to friendly authors in order to peddle their ideas and fly their political kites, repeatedly, and to a variety of audiences. The political subtlety of what appears to have been a concerted, if short-lived, political campaign made sense of the typography. The distinctive appearance was deliberate: anonymous in terms of author in order to ensure that there was no paper trail leading back to the corridors of power; and anonymous in terms of printer for the same reason. The lack of printer’s name, the lack of identifiable initial letter, the simplest and least traceable of printers’ devices, ensured that it would prove difficult to trace these pamphlets back to their source. The politicians whose interests they served, therefore, could plausibly deny their involvement if necessary, without fear of exposure. The final piece of the jigsaw was eventually provided by establishing which other printers owned such devices at this time (they were a lot less common than might be assumed), and deployed them in this distinctive way. It transpires that they were printed by the partnership of George Bishop and Robert White, two of the printers most closely connected to the parliamentarian grandees by whom these tracts appear to have commissioned.

Prompted, in other words, by a concern to understand the subtlety of parliamentarians’ use of print, and of seventeenth century political culture, it became clear just how important a weapon bibliographical analysis could be in the historian’s armoury. Nevertheless a number of questions arise from such work. In part they relate to the issue of how satisfactorily historians can acquire the required technical knowledge and certain pieces of equipment, for being rigorously scientific.¹⁴ But more problematic may be the resilience of disciplinary boundaries and the persistence of mutual suspicion by historians and bibliographers. Historians can be assured of incredulity, mockery and indeed pity from colleagues who observe them measuring initial letters and examining watermarks, and the practical consequence of this is reticence on the part of some bibliographical journals to publish work which is ‘too historical’, and on the part of some historical journals to support scholarship which is ‘too bibliographical’. Nevertheless,

it is possible to argue that only when such reticence is overcome will the significance of bibliography really become evident and the subtlety of early modern political culture truly become apparent.

II

Turning from 'factotums' to 'fliers' raises rather different issues, although once again this second set of questions can be shown to emerge from the career of Henry Parker. Such issues required research upon this most well-known of civil war pamphleteers to be taken in new directions, which too seem relevant to both the political culture of the early modern period, as well as to relations between history and bibliography. But if issues relating to factotums involved lessons to be learnt primarily by historians, those concerning fliers may be of greatest relevance to the activities of those responsible for compiling the bibliographies which have proved so invaluable to historians in recent decades, including the Short Title Catalogues prepared by Wing (1640-1700), and Pollard and Redgrave (1475-1640). The essence of these issues concerns 'printing without publication'.

Whether or not bibliographers such as Donald Wing were aware of these issues, historians have tended not to be, and as a result they have generally assumed that printing and publication were inextricably linked, if not synonymous; that the works surviving in libraries and listed in bibliographies were published for sale. To the extent that historians have confronted the origins of works which lacked provenance information on title pages and in colophons, they have tended to assume that authors and publishers were merely seeking to remain anonymous in order to evade punishment, while still seeking to be published in a commercial arena. This is, of course, clearly not the case, as historians of the period before 1660 are gradually realising. Historians of other periods may be much more alert to this issue, in which case the problem is a sadly familiar tale of historians allowing temporal barriers to prevent them from talking to each other. My suspicion, however, is that this issue is generally given far too little thought by all historians who are interested in print culture. As such, historians of all periods are guilty of ignoring the evidential elephant within their studies and libraries.

Scholars such as Justin Champion, it must be admitted, have gone some way towards demonstrating that particular tracts could be printed merely in order to be circulated within limited communities or reading circles.¹⁵ This

is true too of Henry Parker, not least with a widely misunderstood tract such as *The General Junto* of 1642, which was printed in a strictly limited edition, and in an unusual format, for private circulation to particular, and very important, opinion formers and political grandees, and as part of a behind-the-scenes campaign by certain parliamentarians at Westminster. Their aim was to promote plans for Anglo-Scottish union in the months before the outbreak of hostilities, or at least to persuade certain powerful individuals that they were willing to do so, without committing themselves to such a controversial policy in an overt and public way. They thus hoped to secure the political and military support of Scotland in the imminent civil war, without having to face the difficulty of securing parliamentary support for closer political union, and with the security of being able to distance themselves from such policy as and when they felt inclined to pursue a purely English agenda.¹⁶

The phenomenon which interests me here, however, is somewhat different. Despite the attention paid to Henry Parker's *oeuvre*, historians have largely failed to address critically certain printed broadsides produced by him in the 1640s, by failing to recognise that these were petitions prepared in order to air his personal grievances, but probably circulated privately among MPs, as well as being formally presented to Parliament, rather than sold in a conventional manner. Parker was producing printed lobby documents, in other words, rather than commercial pamphlets. The fact that these works survive in the Thomason tracts probably reflects the personal friendship between the two men, rather than that the famous London bookseller picked them up in the shop of another London stationer.¹⁷ Historians have also misunderstood certain other tracts for which Parker was responsible, and which ought to be regarded as printed lobby documents and petitions authored by him on behalf of others, whether individuals or London livery companies. In 1645, therefore, Parker wrote a pamphlet on behalf of a disgruntled engineer, William Wheeler, while in 1643 he was responsible for producing a lobbying pamphlet on behalf of the Stationers' Company. The latter may have helped persuade Parliament to introduce the ordinance for controlling the press, and introducing new licensers.¹⁸

Parliamentary historians, however, are only gradually beginning to recognise the importance of printed petitions and lobby documents, which can be shown to have emerged first in the 1620s, and which were printed for limited circulation, and directed to MPs and opinion formers, doubtless to exploit economies of scale, and to avoid extortionate scriveners' fees.¹⁹ By

the mid-seventeenth century, however, such items were being produced in large quantities, and individual MPs such as Cromwell may have found themselves inundated with printed petitions on a daily basis. Although few MPs appear to have preserved such items for posterity in their private collections, some of the best preserved archives nevertheless provide evidence of the scale of such private printing. The papers of Bulstrode Whitelocke, for example, contain dozens of printed petitions from the 1650s.²⁰ That printing made it cheaper to circulate petitions in large numbers, and thus ensured easier and more efficient participation in parliamentary affairs, is evident from the fact that within a matter of days of the opening of the second protectoral parliament in 1656, the Commons was forced to take steps to stem the flow of printed petitions being circulated among MPs and presented formally to the House.²¹

In addition to being used by individuals in relation to their private affairs, and circulated to particular individuals, print also came to be used in order to distribute texts freely in much less discriminate ways. Indeed, historians of civil war radicals have long known about occasions when tracts were scattered about the streets. This is true, for example, of the famous conclusion to Oliver Cromwell's letter from Bristol in September 1645, which had been omitted from an official pamphlet produced by the Long Parliament, on the grounds that it was too favourable towards religious toleration, but which was subsequently printed and distributed through London's street by Cromwell's allies among the parliamentary and City Independents.²² It is also true more obviously of seditious tracts, such as the Levellers' *Charge of High Treason* against Cromwell, which called for an armed uprising against the Rump regime, and which was scattered about the streets of London on 14 September 1653, to the apparent consternation of the authorities.²³ Nevertheless, historians are only gradually coming to appreciate the possibility that groups such as the Levellers were engaged in much more widespread use of non-commercial printing, for more or less indiscriminate distribution.²⁴

Beyond this, yet more ephemeral printing – blank forms, notices, and the fliers of my title – are finally beginning to receive the attention they deserve from historians. Peter Stallybrass, for example, is concerned to show how print (in terms of blank forms and almanacs) helped to foster basic writing skills, as well as the practice of keeping diaries.²⁵ My own recent research has been concerned to show how ephemeral printing formed part of a wider process whereby political participation was facilitated and encouraged

in the early modern period.²⁶ This process began with the church, in terms of indulgences, which were of course among the first printed documents to be produced in England in the late fifteenth century. Somewhat later, during the mid-sixteenth century, so-called 'job printing' was exploited by Tudor churchmen such as Bishop Bonner, as part of the administration of clerical taxation.²⁷ Such techniques later flourished in the commercial sector during the early seventeenth century, as printed forms were created by London's livery companies, not least for apprentice indentures, and in order to summon members to meetings. These were almost certainly produced on a regular basis and in large numbers, as an aid to organisational efficiency, and it gradually became clear that the advantages of print could be harnessed and exploited for the purposes of political lobbying. Forms and handbills in particular seem to have been employed in order to reach a substantial and dispersed audience quickly and cheaply. Print offered advantages, in other words, in terms of simultaneity. Only subsequently, particularly during the 1640s, were such practices appropriated by civilian administrations and political organisations, whether for passports, the organisation of public meetings, or the enlisting of troops. From here it was only a matter of time before such tactics were mimicked for rather less official political causes, in terms of the organisation of meetings and petitions, and the mobilisation of crowds.²⁸

By not realising that certain printed items were distributed freely (whether indiscriminately or in a selective fashion) rather than sold, historians are in danger of misunderstanding the nature of religious, commercial, administrative and political culture in the early modern period, not least in terms of the ways in which members of the public could and did participate in national affairs. Moreover, to the extent that scholars seek to engage with Habermasian ideas regarding the 'public sphere', they are in danger of thinking too much in terms of a thriving print culture and public politics which was commercial in nature. They may also be in danger of failing to appreciate the nature of political participation.²⁹

Research into non-commercial print in the early modern period raises two important questions about bibliographers. The first concerns the methods by which their bibliographies were compiled, and the likelihood that their coverage is complete, and the second concerns the assumption of publication and sale. Firstly, therefore, insufficient attention appears to have been paid to manuscript collections, despite the fact that non-commercial print, whether ephemeral forms and handbills, or more substantial lobby

documents, was often stored by its first owners among scribal archives rather than in libraries. It is possible to draw attention, therefore, to the array of fascinating printed items which survive among the private papers of the Harley family in the British Library, many of which are unknown to bibliographers, and which can be understood fully only by being studied within their archival context.³⁰ But it is also important to recognise the potential for new discoveries relating to the relationship between print and politics in the collections which comprise the National Archives, particularly in relation to 'state formation' and the growth of bureaucracy in the early modern period.³¹ Further research into such sources will almost certainly indicate the startling degree to which print became a significant aid to administrative efficiency during the civil war period, even if it suggests at the same time that historians have dramatically underestimated the amount of time which political and military grandees spent dealing with tedious paperwork. After the fall of Oxford to parliamentarian forces in 1646, for example, Sir Thomas Fairfax seems to have spent a significant amount of time signing dozens of printed passes produced in order to enable individual royalists to leave the city.³²

Such evidence presents an awkward problem for historians, depending on how such documents have been treated by previous generations of librarians and archivists. The transferral of such items from manuscripts collections to rare books rooms has ensured that they have been catalogued, and included in bibliographies, while their survival in archives has generally ensured that they have been overlooked, and that bibliographies are thus incomplete. On the other hand, solving the problem of comprehensive bibliographical coverage merely creates new problems. The removal of printed items from archives serves to decontextualise them, partly because non-commercial print can generally only be dated with some difficulty, and partly because it fosters, perhaps unwittingly, the assumption that such items were published for sale. Studying ephemeral and non-commercial print in its original archival surrounding enables thorough contextualisation, and enhanced appreciation of its production, circulation, and reception.

It seems likely that older generations of bibliographers were as guilty as most modern historians of failing to appreciate the importance of non-commercial print culture. This may be regarded as a natural oversight, particularly in the light of collections of seventeenth century books and pamphlets such as the Thomason collection in the British Library. Much more needs to be known about Thomason and his collection, in terms of

his methods of acquisition, and the nature of the items he amassed, not least in order to demonstrate the extent to which he collected items which had been distributed freely rather than sold. Historians and bibliographers, in short, need to re-examine Thomason's tracts and devise new ways of understanding the nature of the printed items which have come down to us, and which are listed in our favourite bibliographies.³³ But historians, bibliographers, librarians and archivists arguably all need to do much more to address the issue of printed artefacts which remain in manuscript collections, and which need to be dealt with in ways which bring them to light without decontextualising them.³⁴

III

The conclusions that appear to emerge from this discussion of recent research seem to fall into two categories. The first relates to the contribution which current scholarship can make to interdisciplinary awareness, in terms of fostering a conversation between historians and bibliographers. Firstly, there is a need for tolerance and patience within and between disciplines, and more importantly, collaboration on specific issues and projects, particularly in terms of scientific bibliography. Secondly, it is important to break down disciplinary boundaries in so far as they affect the world of academic publishing. This is clearly related to the previous point, but not indistinct. Whatever disciplinary jealousies and animosities persist between the practitioners of history and English literature, they provide much less of an obstacle to interdisciplinary publishing than they once did, while boundaries between historical and bibliographical research appear to remain largely intact. Thirdly, there is a need for consultation and collaboration between historians and bibliographers, not to mention librarians and archivists, regarding the best way to tap the wealth of printed material within manuscript sources, in order to satisfy the needs of all concerned, and how to address issues regarding the description and cataloguing of the products of non-commercial print culture.

The second set of conclusions relate to our awareness of the degree to which political culture underwent a more or less profound transformation during the early modern period. An appreciation of the benefits of bibliographical skills to historians will help in the development of a more subtle and accurate picture of the trajectories of more or less radical political groups, for whom concrete evidence is sometimes scarce. On some occasions it may enable connections to be made between groups and

individuals previously not regarded as being related, and on others it may offer a corrective to conventional wisdom regarding the influence and reach of well-known groups such as the Levellers. At the same time, such skills will help to transform our awareness of power, influence and tactical subtlety of at least some figures within early modern political elites, Cromwell among them, who recognised that print could form a useful weapon in political battles, and in the realm of what would now be regarded as 'spin', and the art of manipulating both public opinion and popular political perceptions. Moreover, awareness of the practical benefits of print, and the full range of uses to which it could be put, will ensure that historians gain a better understanding of profoundly important issues relating to the power of the early modern state, and the development of bureaucratic management techniques, as well as the participatory nature of early modern society, and the potential for members of a broad political nation to exploit print in order to intrude into, and interact with, early modern institutions, whether commercial, ecclesiastical, or representative. Indeed, until the power of print is properly understood, historians will fail to attain a proper grasp of early modern political culture.

Notes:

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at a joint Royal Historical Society-Bibliographical Society conference, at the Institute of Historical Research in November 2006.
2. For example: P. Lake, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat* (New Haven, 2002); A. Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2002); A. Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2004); D. Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture* (Princeton, 2000).
3. For example: W. M. Clyde, *The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press From Caxton to Cromwell* (Oxford, 1934); F. S. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776* (Urbana, Ill., 1952); C. Hill, 'Censorship and English literature', in *The Collected Essays I* (Brighton, 1985)
4. J. Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers* (Aldershot, 2004).
5. <http://www.rlg.org/en/page.php?PageID=179&dataGo.x=18&dataGo.y=21>.
6. J. Peacey, 'Henry Parker and parliamentary propaganda in the English civil wars' (Cambridge University PhD, 1994); Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*.
7. M. Mendle, *Henry Parker and the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 1995).
8. H. Parker, *Observations Upon Some of His Majesties Late Answers and Expresses* (London, 1642).
9. For example: W. K. Jordan, *Men of Substance* (Chicago, 1942); M. Judson, 'Henry Parker and the theory of parliamentary sovereignty', in *Essays in History and Political Theory in Honour of C. H. McIlholland* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936).
10. Peacey, 'Henry Parker', chapter 2.
11. D. Como, 'Secret presses, sectarian Puritans and political radicalism in the 1640s' (paper delivered at the IHR, 2005); D. Como, 'An unattributed pamphlet by William Walwyn: new light on the pre-history of the Leveller movement', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 69.3, 2006, pp. 353-82.
12. I am grateful to Dr Vernon for a discussion regarding his current research.
13. The following paragraphs are based upon J. Peacey, 'Fiery spirits and political propaganda: uncovering a radical press campaign of 1642', *Publishing History*, 55, 2004, pp. 5-36.
14. I am grateful to Ian Gadd for a discussion of this point.
15. J. Champion, 'Published but not printed: John Toland and the circulation of manuscripts, c.1700-1722'. I am grateful to Justin Champion for providing me with the text of this unpublished paper.
16. Mendle, *Henry Parker*, p. 17; J. Peacey, 'The politics of British union in 1642 and the purpose of civil war pamphlets', *Historical Research* (forthcoming).
17. H. Parker, *Memoriall* (4 May 1647, BL, 669.f.11/8); H. Parker, *Memoriall* (London, 1648, BL, 669.f.11/110); Mendle, *Henry Parker*, pp. 26-7. For the friendship between Parker and Thomason, see: Mendle, *Henry Parker*, pp. 1-2, 13; L. Spencer, 'The professional and literary connections of George Thomason', *The Library*, 5th series, 13, 1958.
18. Mendle, *Henry Parker*, pp. 15-16; Peacey, 'Henry Parker', pp. 98-9, 104.
19. Chris R. Kyle, 'Introduction', in *Parliament, Politics and Elections 1604-1648* (Camden Society, 5th series, XVII, 2001), p. 7; C. Kyle, 'From broadside to pamphlet: print and parliament in the late 1620s', and J. Peacey, 'The print culture of Parliament, 1500-1700', both in J. Peacey, ed., *The Print Culture of Parliament, 1500-1700* (Edinburgh, 2007); Derek Hirst, 'Making contact: petitions and the English republic', *Journal of British Studies*, 45, 2005.
20. Longleat House, Whitelocke Papers, Parcel 7.
21. *Commons Journals*, vii. 427.
22. Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, p. 245
23. Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, p. 264.

FACTOTUMS AND FLIERS: BIBLIOGRAPHY AND THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF THE ENGLISH CIVIL WARS

24. I. Gentles, 'London Levellers in the English Revolution: the Chidleys and their circle', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 29, 1978; N. Carlin, 'Leveller organization in London', *Historical Journal*, 27, 1984, pp. 955-60.
25. P. Stallybrass, 'Little jobs: broadsides, writing and the printing revolution' (unpublished). I am extremely grateful to Peter Stallybrass for allowing me to see this piece, and for many stimulating discussions on this topic.
26. This is the subject of the monograph project upon which I am currently engaged, provisionally entitled *Print and Popular Politics in Seventeenth Century Britain*.
27. A. J. Slavin, 'The Tudor revolution and the devil's art: Bishop Bonner's printed forms', in D. J. Guth and J. W. McKenna, eds, *Tudor Rule and Revolution. Essays for G. R. Elton from his American Friends* (Cambridge, 1982); A. J. Slavin, 'Thomas Cromwell and the printers: the Boston pardons', in G. J. Schochet, ed., *Reformation, Humanism and Revolution* (Washington, 1990).
28. J. Peacey, 'Orchestrating participation: Print and popular politics in the English Civil Wars' (forthcoming); J. Peacey, 'Bonds and covenants, petitions and crowds: the authority of print and its political exploitation in early modern Scotland and England' (forthcoming).
29. Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, pp. 303-32.
30. J. Peacey, 'Print and public politics in seventeenth century England', *History Compass*, 5/1, 2007, pp. 72-98, DOI:10.1111/j.1478-0542.2006.00369.x.
31. M. Braddick, *Parliamentary Taxation in Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1994), p. 172; M. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550-1700* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 167.
32. See for example: National Archives, Kew, SP 23/192, pp. 27, 53, 127, 135, 171, 231, 335, 367, 455, 487, 501, 552, 573, 580, 603, 621, 631, 649, 753, 761, 780, 795, 819, 836, 861, 871, 887, 896, 921.
33. These issues will hopefully be addressed at a forthcoming conference, entitled *Collecting Revolution: The History and Importance of the Thomason Tracts*, to be held at The British Library and University College London, in July 2008.
34. It is unclear to what degree this issue will be addressed by the forthcoming 'tract supplement' to *Early English Books Online* (EEBO).

FACTOTUMS AND FLIERS: BIBLIOGRAPHY AND THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF THE ENGLISH CIVIL WARS

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CROMWELL PRIZE COMPETITION 2006
A MOST LEARNED, CONSCIENTIOUS, AND DEVOUT EXERCISE: ANTI-CROMWELLIAN SATIRE IN 1649

By Nick Poyntz

I

If we are to get beyond the received interpretations of Cromwell, we need to listen to the silences in the record of him; or at any rate to put in our hearing aids and pay attention. Within the white sound of unsafe sources, there are still small voices to be picked out.¹

On 25 June 1649, the bookseller George Thomason acquired a pamphlet entitled *A Most learned, conscientious, and devout exercise, held forth the Last Lord's Day*.² The pamphlet claimed to be an account – transcribed by the recently appointed Master of the Mint, Aaron Guerden – of a sermon preached by Oliver Cromwell at Sir Peter Temple's house in Lincoln's Inn Fields on 29 April. The sermon is a meditation on Romans 13:1:

Let every Soule bee Subject unto the *Higher Powers*; for there is no Power but of God; the *Powers* that bee, are Ordained of God.

In the sermon, Cromwell argues that the plural form of 'Powers' refers to himself and Henry Ireton: the people are subject to the Council of State, the Council of State to the House of Commons, the Commons to the army, the army to Fairfax, and Fairfax to Cromwell and Ireton.³ Cromwell uses Romans 13:1 to argue that his audience should unite behind him in the forthcoming Irish campaign:

You owe us your lives and your limbs, and all that you have; whosoever wee demand them you ought to surrender, and that freely, not grumbling, for you must submit to the *Higher Powers* etc.

The pamphlet then leads into a complex analysis of the political factions in Ireland, pondering how to keep O'Neill and Ormonde from allying, and how to set Inchiquin against O'Neill.⁴ Cromwell admits he has used a similar tactic with the Scots, and quotes Machiavelli approvingly:

I have Reverenced that short but pithy Precept of my father Machiavell [*Divide & Impera*] so long as I could keepe them at odds amongst themselves, I feared not but to order them as I pleased.⁵

*A MOST LEARNED, CONSCIENTIOUS, AND DEVOUT EXERCISE:
ANTI-CROMWELLIAN SATIRE IN 1649*

Throughout the pamphlet, Cromwell presents himself as the architect of the events leading up to and beyond the regicide. He claims to have been the leading force behind moving Charles I to Hurst Castle, the army's Remonstrance, the establishment of the High Court of Justice, the execution of Hamilton, Capel and Holland, and the defeat of the Levellers.⁶ There is also a sensational passage that alleges that Obadiah Sedgwick, a divine linked to the Earl of Warwick, wrote to Lady Fairfax on the eve of the king's execution, urging that the sentence be remitted. On hearing of this, Cromwell is alleged to have taken two troops of soldiers to Fairfax's house in Queene Street to make him change his mind.⁷

The pamphlet is potentially a rich source of information about Cromwell's actions during the aftermath of Pride's Purge and the regicide. But from its internal dating alone, there are major caveats. Despite claiming to be a transcript of an event on 29 April, it contains references to the campaign against the Levellers that post-date the end of April: the army did not 'surprise the Levellers at Burford and Northamptonshire' until the night of 14 May, and Cornet Thompson was not killed until 17 May.⁸ In addition, the document's authenticity is made suspect by its style, which is in parts burlesque. It starts with a discussion of Cromwell's 'hot liver' (the reason why his 'face and nose are red'), accuses John Lambert's wife of being 'foggy and sunburnt', and proves that both women and men have souls.⁹

However, the pamphlet could still be a valuable and potentially under-used source for understanding Cromwell's actions in 1649.¹⁰ John Morrill has described it as 'full of knockabout stuff', but also points to the sophistication of its portrayal of Cromwell and stresses the need for 'further study'.¹¹ This essay is an attempt to analyse the pamphlet in more depth – to establish whether still small voices can be picked out from amongst the pamphlet's white noise. It seeks to answer four questions. Did Cromwell actually preach a sermon at Sir Peter Temple's house? If so, does any of its content survive in the pamphlet's text? Even if some or all of its contents are bogus, who wrote the pamphlet? And what were they trying to achieve by doing so?

Contemporary newsbooks contain several references to Cromwell being present in Lincoln's Inn Fields at about the time the pamphlet claims the sermon was given. An edition of *Mercurius Elencticus* from early May reported Cromwell's reaction to the publication of Lilburne's *Agreement of the People* on 1 May:

This so startled old Noll, that upon reading of it the next day after at Sir Peter Temples, hee professed passionately the kingdom could never be setled so long as Lilborne was alive, and that either he would stop his mouth or burst his Gall, rather than run the hazard of such discontents and mutinies as are daily contracted in the Army by means of his Seditious scribbling. He vow'd hee had corrupted very many Godly and judicious men, even of his owne Regiment. And the good Lady jumbled with him in opinion, pressing for justice against him and the rest in the Tower, rather than the Army should bee broke; yet verily shee had Reason to have befriended him better, who hath done her husband so much service in the 20 head of his agreement, whereby mens Persons are not to bee imprisoned for debt, so that by this Sir Peter Temple may safely run the other 4000.l. in debt, and yet feast Oliver bountifully in defiance of his Creditours.¹²

The date of 2 May does not quite tally with that of 29 April in *A Most learned exercise* – although there is no reason he could not have visited twice or more – but this does suggest that Cromwell was present in Lincoln's Inn Fields around this period. The timing is quite tight, since it was at the start of May that Cromwell left London for Hampshire to attend his son Richard's wedding to Dorothy Maior. But he seems to have been present in London both on the night of 29 April and on the night of 2 May, having been to Hampshire and back in between.¹³ Indeed, there is a reference in a subsequent edition of *Mercurius Elencticus* that suggests Cromwell may have visited more than once:

A Petition presented from the Creditors of Sir Peter Temple, wherein heavy complaint is made (very justly) against the old Cheating Traytor, whose fraudulent dealings hath undone many honest men, (unlesse this way repaired) which let them never looke for, so long as Oliver exercises in Lincolnes Inn Fields, and is there

so magnificently feasted (with Capon and Cock-broth) to sharpen the edge of his dull Spirit: for no sooner was this Petition of theirs read, but two more weare ready in the Clarkes hand to encounter it: one from Sir Peter, the other from his Lady (for you must understand, their Affections and Interests are distinct) upon reading whereof, a slender debate followed (all in favour of Sir Peter) and because his Petition spoke of certaine Entailes (whereby hee hoeps to avoid the payment of his debts) they were taken duplifter, and therefore referred to the examination of the Committee for releasing of poore Prisoners for debt, in which number Sir Peter is not ashamed to list himselfe, if any advantage may but accrue by it for his protection.¹⁴

Cromwell's alleged reaction to Lilburne's pamphlet chimes with other reports about his views on the Levellers. When Lilburne was brought before the Council of State on 28 March, he claimed to have heard Cromwell thump his fist on the table and say:

I tell you, Sir, you have no other way to deal with these men, but to break them in pieces; and thumping upon the Council table again, he said, Sir, let me tell you that which is true, if you do not break them, they will break you; yea and bring all the guilt of the blood and treasure shed and spent in this kingdom upon your head and shoulders; and frustrate and make void all that work, that with so many years' industry, toil and pains you have done, and so render you to all rational men in the world as the most contemptible generation of silly, low-spirited men in the earth, to be broken and routed by such a despicable, contemptible generation of men as they are; and therefore, Sir, I tell you again, you are necessitated to break them.¹⁵

The later edition of *Mercurius Elencticus* is also interesting for the gloss it puts on Cromwell's attendance at Temple's house. Temple's debts were notorious – his father accused him of frittering away a substantial income on drink and gambling – and he had been pursued by creditors since 1647. At his death in 1653 he had debts of nearly £26,000.¹⁶ The petition of Temple's creditors had originally been tabled in the Commons on 24 April.¹⁷ It was then put off until 29 May, when both the petition and counter-petitions by Temple and his wife were read.¹⁸ *Mercurius Elencticus* is

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correct that, after a debate, the Commons moved that the issue should be referred to the Committee for the Relief of Prisoners' Debts:

Ordered, That these several Petitions be referred to the Consideration of the Committee for the Act for Prisoners and Debtors, where Colonel Rigby hath the Chair; to examine the whole Business; and to present the State of it to the House; and if they find Cause, to bring in particular Acts for Relief to the Petitioners in these particular Cases: And Sir Peter Wentworth, Mr. Gourdon, Mr. Lechmere, Mr. Love, Mr. Reynold, Mr. Say, Mr. Millington, Mr. Humphrey Edwards, are added to that Committee: And they are to meet at Two of the Clock this Afternoon, in the Exchequer Chamber; and to bring in the publick Act To-morrow Morning; and to report these particular Cases with all Speed.¹⁹

After being referred to this committee, the creditors' petition seems to have sunk without trace. The committee does not seem to have reported back on the matter, and the issue most probably getting lost amongst the wider debate on prisoners' debts. What is also interesting about the consideration of Temple's debts is that it seems to have changed the complexion of the committee quite substantially. When the committee was originally set up on 31 January, it was dominated by radicals: Cornelius Holland, Henry Marten, Grey of Groby, Henry Smyth and John Lisle all featured.²⁰ Cromwell too was on the committee – he would later urge other MPs to 'hear the groans of poor prisoners'.²¹ The addition of other MPs on 29 May set the radicals against conservative lawyers: Nicholas Lechmere, Nicholas Love, Robert Reynolds and William Say were all added, bolstering Bulstrode Whitelocke's original presence on the committee. This latter group were to outmanoeuvre Marten and his allies during the debates over the bill, resulting in a lukewarm piece of legislation that did little to help poor prisoners.²² Their addition to the committee may have been one of the factors that allowed the petition of Temple's creditors to be quietly forgotten.

It is feasible that Temple could have held a feast for Cromwell in an attempt to influence the right decision about his creditors' petition. Cromwell, too, may have had ulterior motives in attending. We know that at this point Cromwell was extremely concerned about disunity within the new Commonwealth. In a speech to the General Council of the Army on 23

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March 1649, he commented that 'I think there is more cause of danger from disunion amongst ourselves than by any thing from our enemies'.²³ In April 1649, Cromwell appears to have launched a bridge-building exercise to reunite disaffected Independents and Presbyterians. In parliament, he moved that 'the Presbyterian Government might be settled, promising his endevors thereto... he likewise moved, that the secure and secluded members might again be invited into the House'.²⁴ A group of clergymen were also sent to the City of London to persuade Presbyterians (both political and religious) to support the new regime.²⁵ Is it possible that Cromwell's presence in Lincoln's Inn Fields was linked to this bridge-building exercise? The theme of his sermon suggests an attempt to rally former friends behind him. An obvious candidate would be the 'royal Independents' grouped around Oliver St John and Viscount Saye and Sele, who had split with the war party during 1648. Temple had family connections to Saye, who was his uncle via Saye's marriage to Temple's aunt Elizabeth. Although we should be wary of automatically equating kinship with political alliances, there is evidence that Temple was connected with some of Saye's political manoeuvres.²⁶ Could Cromwell have exploited these links to use Temple's house as a base to rebuild relationships with former allies? *Mercurius Elencticus* seems to have been the only newsbook that reported Cromwell's presence there, and hints only at what advantage it might have brought to Sir Peter, not to Cromwell.²⁷ All the evidence demonstrates is that Cromwell was in Lincoln's Inn Fields during late April or early May. We cannot tell what prompted Cromwell to attend. But there is a tantalising suggestion that there may have been more aspects to Cromwell's political diplomacy in April 1649 than solely his mission to win over the City.

There may be other methods of ascertaining whether Cromwell did preach a sermon while in Lincoln's Inn Fields. If the text is at all based on a real sermon, it may be possible to pick out traces of what we know about Cromwell's mode of speech. A large section of the pamphlet, for instance, analyses the factions in Ireland in 1649. An account also survives from 23 March of Cromwell's speech to the General Council of the Army about the Irish expedition.²⁸ There may well be some truth in the pamphlets' claim that Cromwell wanted to set the Irish factions against each other.²⁹ However, the two texts make for quite different reading. Cromwell's account stresses the barbarity of the Irish, and his humility in approaching the task of subduing them: 'it matters not who is our Commander-in-Chief if God be so'.³⁰ The pamphlet's account is quite different. It emphasises

Cromwell's central role in leading the army to Ireland, and praises the ability of the Irish as soldiers.³¹ A comparison of the two accounts does not in itself provide any evidence that the pamphlet may have been based on an original text by Cromwell. The theme of the sermon and the particular choice of scripture, though, are intriguing. Cromwell was to spend much of the 1650s vainly trying to reunite the fragments of the Independent alliance. A letter by Cromwell to Wharton at the start of 1650, for instance, attempted a scriptural justification of the regicide, and made a very similar point to the quotation from Romans 13:1 in *A Most learned exercise*: 'you were with us in the Form of things; why not in the Power?'.³² It is just possible that this quotation is all that remains of an original sermon, but there is no evidence to confirm this.

A further method is to examine whether incidents quoted in the pamphlet can be reconciled with what we know of Cromwell's actions in 1649. For example, there is the pamphlet's account of Cromwell's actions on the eve of the regicide. It claims that Obadiah Sedgwick had written to Lady Fairfax, urging a stay of execution for the king. On Sunday 28 January, Cromwell is alleged to have taken two troops of soldiers from his regiment and gone to Fairfax's house to put Sedgwick's ideas out of his mind. Sedgwick had been chaplain to Warwick's regiment and then in 1646 had moved to Covent Garden. He had Presbyterian sympathies, had preached to Parliament on various occasions and certainly could have had links to those opposing the king's execution.³³ There is also an account in the correspondence of Ormonde that claims that 'Cromwell put a guard upon Fairfax, accusing him of an intention to deliver the king'.³⁴ However, a contemporary newsbook reports that on 29 January, Fairfax summoned an emergency council of officers to discuss the Dutch ambassador's request to remit the king's sentence.³⁵ It seems unlikely such a meeting would take place immediately after an armed intervention by Cromwell designed to stop Fairfax wavering about the regicide. For now, then, this remains an intriguing loose end that deserves further investigation, rather than something that can help link the pamphlet's text to Cromwell.

III

If the pamphlet's text is not by Cromwell, then who did write it? The Thomason Tracts catalogue states that 'Aaron Guerden' is a pseudonym. Certainly it seems unlikely that the real Guerden would publish a hostile account of Cromwell only a month after being appointed into a well-paid

post by the Rump. This leaves us looking for other candidates for authorship. John Morrill has argued that 'whoever wrote this pamphlet was an Independent who wanted to portray Cromwell as a man whose personal ambition was destroying the good cause he has been in large part responsible for establishing'. Morrill's hypothesis is that the pamphlet reflects a real sermon – an attempt to reunite the Independent alliance – which backfired, and resulted in a hostile publication by someone who had been present.³⁶

There were many amongst the fractured Independent alliance who might have held this view of Cromwell in the early months of 1649. However, there are clues within the pamphlet that could suggest a rather different source of authorship. Early on in the pamphlet, on the first page, Cromwell makes reference to two contemporary royalist newsbooks:

my very face and nose are weekly malign'd and scandalis'd by
those scribbling Mercuries, *Elencticus* and *Pragmaticus*.³⁷

This prominent reference to *Mercurius Elencticus* and *Mercurius Pragmaticus* may point us towards the author of the pamphlet. I want to argue that it was included as a subtle hint for those readers in the know, to give the real author hidden credit for his work. If the pamphlet was a partial transcript of a real sermon, it seems strange that one of Cromwell's first references should be to his nose, the appearance of which was a commonplace amongst royalist writers at the time.³⁸ If, however, the author had some connection with both newsbooks, the reference begins to make more sense – a chance to attack Cromwell with familiar arguments, and also a chance to inform readers who were in the know of the real source of the pamphlet.

Reading the pamphlet against editions of the two newsbooks published during 1649 reveals some key parallels that provide evidence that its author may not, after all, have been a disgruntled Independent. We have seen that it was an edition of *Mercurius Elencticus* from the beginning of May that was the first and only newsbook to pick up on Cromwell's presence at Sir Peter Temple's house.³⁹ An edition from the end of May then continued the theme, dwelling in some depth on a Parliamentary debate about Temple's debts:

Oliver exercises in Lincolnes Inn Fields, and is there so magnificently feasted (with Capon and Cock-broth) to sharpen the edge of his dull Spirit.⁴⁰

There is a very similar reference to 'Capon and Cock-broth' in the closing sentence of Guerden's pamphlet:

I desire therefore... that you take especial care to strengthen and corroborate your selves with Capon and Cock-Broth.⁴¹

The same phrase then appears in an edition of *Mercurius Pragmaticus* from the end of May.

Now I say these sainted cut-throats, want nothing of Kings but Crownings, for they have setled a constant revenue upon themselves for publick house-keeping. That is taken care, for in the first place they intend to eat, drink and be merry, becouse they have not long to live, and I assure you 24000.l. per annum will keep a large table, for with that money they may fare r...ly, with capon, cock-broth and such like.⁴²

Two rival versions of *Mercurius Elencticus* were in circulation during the late spring and summer of 1649. Both the edition for 1-8 May and that for 28 May-4 June are attributed to the royalist journalist Samuel Sheppard. The edition of *Mercurius Pragmaticus* quoted above is also surmised to have been written by Sheppard.⁴³

Further examination of newsbooks published at this time also reveals links between Sheppard and the pamphlet. In particular, two editions of *Mercurius Pragmaticus* and *Mercurius Elencticus* in late May both took a keen interest in the appointment of Aaron Guerden, the pamphlet's supposed author, to the Mastership of the Mint.⁴⁴ His appointment was not widely reported elsewhere. A reference in *The Moderate* to the Rump's decision 'to bestow that place on Doctor Aaron Gourdon', and a report by *Mercurius Pacificus* that 'Dr. Aaron Gourdon (A Phisician) of London should have the place', seem to be the only other accounts of the appointment.⁴⁵ These accounts were far more benign than what was reported in either *Mercurius*. *Mercurius Pragmaticus* commented:

And first I find, that Doctor Gourdon must have 400.l. per annum aloud him to play the Traytor and coyne Money with the new

Stamp, and if hee be a good Boy, and serve the States diligently, he will be advanced to 400.l. more in a short time, besides what he can cheat from the States which will be double his salary.⁴⁶

Below, for comparison, is *Mercurius Elencticus*'s opinion about the appointment:

They take their time to reward themselves and friends, with favours and gifts ---- Achan Gourdon (that ugly villaine) hee hath bestowed on him the Mastership of the Mint; perhaps the reason is, because hee looks with a single eye, and therefore is not so apt to steal Golden Wedges: but what neede hee, so longe as hee hath 400.l. sallary allowed him? He might have pored on his pedantisme in Gersey till hee had lost the other eye also, yet never have met with such a stipend.⁴⁷

Looking at what we know about the authors of these two editions, we find that they too were associated with Sheppard.⁴⁸

The identical references to capon and cock-broth may also give clues as to the author's identity. One possibility is simply that this is the actual food that Temple treated his guests to, and that both the pamphlet and newsbooks are simply reporting this. But both dishes have certain connotations that make it more likely that this is a rhetorical tactic being used to portray Cromwell in a negative light. The capon was associated at the time with soft living and impotence.⁴⁹ Cock-broth had similar connotations: lions were supposed to be afraid of the cock, an idea popularised by Pliny the Elder and subsequent bestiaries and encyclopaedias.⁵⁰ Pliny also argued that cock-broth could act as a defensative against a lion, the king of the beasts.⁵¹ A possible reference here might be to Cromwell's involvement in the regicide: that it is only the hocus-pocus of potions that is preserving him from royalists exacting justice upon him. Contemporary references to cocks also stress their venery and willingness to take on the hen's role, which chimes with the capon's association with femininity.⁵² There is nothing conclusive in the reference to capon and cock-broth to link Sheppard to Guerden's pamphlet. The phrase also appears in a late June edition of *Mercurius Pragmaticus* that is attributed not to Sheppard but to Marchamont Nedham.⁵³ However, what does seem likely is that *Mercurius Elencticus*'s original reference to it was a

deliberate slur that was then picked up on by the author of *A Most learned exercise*.

The arguments in favour of *A Most learned exercise* being written by a royalist are further bolstered by its language and phraseology. The pamphlet is littered with rhetorical slurs against Cromwell that were all common features of royalist propaganda by 1649. There is the reference early on in the pamphlet to a member of Cromwell's family having been a brewer – an extremely common insult in royalist literature and propaganda from the mid-1640s onwards.⁵⁴ Indeed, an edition of *Mercurius Elencticus* by Sheppard from February 1649 lampooned Cromwell on exactly these grounds.⁵⁵ Cromwell's odd digression about Mrs Lambert's looks also bears strong parallels to another royalist satire from 1649, *The famous tragedie of Charles I*: it pairs Cromwell with Hugh Peter and has them plot the seduction of Mrs Lambert together.⁵⁶ More widely, the piece's sexual innuendo is firmly in a tradition of royalist criticism of Cromwell – for example, the implication that Cromwell slept with his landlady at the siege of Pembroke Castle echoes sexually libellous attacks on Cromwell, Scott, Bradshaw, Marten, Peter and others opposed to the Stuarts.⁵⁷ *A Most learned exercise* also has Cromwell make explicit reference to Machiavelli: a rhetorical strategy that had begun in Leveller pamphlets but which by 1649 had been firmly adopted by royalist writers.⁵⁸ There is also the positive gloss on the Levellers implied by Cromwell's boast that he was responsible for crushing the movement. Royalist writers in 1649 were divided about whether to support the short-lived Leveller uprising: Sheppard was supportive of their movement, commending Lilburne's *The Second Part of England's New Chains Discovered*.⁵⁹

IV

If the pamphlet's author was Sheppard or another royalist, it is fairly easy to reconstruct what his intended purpose was. Beyond the standard language of royalist criticism, there are a number of damning aspects to his portrayal of Cromwell. There is the comparison to Machiavelli, and the accusation that he and Ireton had been conspiring to replace the king – a message that would no doubt have played well with some of the members purged from the Commons in December.⁶⁰ There is the vigorous defence of Ormonde, at a time when the recent news of O'Neill's treaty with Monck had depressed royalist morale.⁶¹ There is also a hostile account of politicians in the City of London, and their refusal to contribute to the army's arrears of

pay. This account was calculated to offend given the context of Cromwell's mission to bring the City back on side – securing a loan from the City was a vital step towards restoring financial stability. Indeed, on 7 June the Commons and senior officers were guests at a lavish dinner in Grocers Hall, after which Cromwell and Fairfax were presented with gifts by the Aldermen. The pamphlet thus goes beyond the calculated anti-intellectual attacks of many contemporary pieces of royalist propaganda, presenting an image of Cromwell that seems designed to subvert his attempts to build a stable base of support for the Commonwealth during this period.

One question is why Guerden was named as the alleged author. Guerden was brought up in Jersey, and seems to have been an exile during the royalist occupation of the island. There is some suggestion that he may have been an Anabaptist – a pamphlet by William Prynne names him and several others as Anabaptists involved in making charges of corruption against the royalist governor of Jersey, Sir Philippe De Carteret. He seems to have had some previous connection with minting: Prynne also accused Guerden of lobbying on behalf of various counterfeiters of coins from Jersey, and Jersey's royalist mint was set up in Guerden's captured house.⁶² However, none of this would have made him a particularly exceptional target for the royalist press. It is likely that the reason Guerden was targeted in such a way was because as Master of the Mint, he would be instrumental in replacing the old Carolingian coinage with the new stamp of the Commonwealth. (The Commonwealth's new seal was widely reviled in royalist newsbooks).⁶³ The fact that Sheppard alone seems to have criticised Guerden at the time of his appointment – only for Guerden's name to appear shortly afterwards as the alleged author of *A Most learned exercise* – is another suggestion that Sheppard may have had some connection with the pamphlet. The inclusion of Guerden's name on a pamphlet presenting Cromwell in a poor light may well have been an attempt to kill two birds with one stone: to attack Cromwell, and to damage Guerden's career before it had really started.

V

The evidence above suggests that Cromwell was present at Sir Peter Temple's house in late April or early May 1649. Whether he preached a sermon there, who else attended, and his reasons for attending all still remain unclear. It also seems unlikely that much of the content is authentically Cromwellian. The white sound of unsafe sources remains, for the moment. What this analysis has shown, however, is that it seems

unlikely that the author of *A Most learned exercise* was one of the Independents who broke with Cromwell over the regicide. Instead there are hints, although not conclusive evidence, that it was Samuel Sheppard who authored the pamphlet. And there is certainly enough evidence to demonstrate that the author was, in all probability, a royalist journalist.

Recent studies have argued that historians have tended to underplay the vitality of royalist propaganda in the late 1640s. Laura Knoppers has uncovered the strength of attacks on Cromwell in royalist plays and pamphlets during the mid-to-late 1640s, even before he had assumed a truly central role in the Commonwealth.⁶⁴ Similarly, Jason McElligott has argued that in dismissing the burlesque or scatological approach taken by many royalist newsbooks in the 1640s, historians have ignored what are actually 'sophisticated tools that consciously deployed commonplace cultural and political symbols, references and allusions to create a complex but deliberately anti-intellectual critique of their Puritan enemies'.⁶⁵ What is significant about *A Most learned exercise* is that it is a particularly sophisticated satire even by these standards. It combines the sexual libels of the newsbooks with a sustained attempt to construct a Machiavellian character for Cromwell, matching a credible scenario with shrewd political analysis. Other satirical sermons or speeches by opponents of the Commonwealth regime during this period are far less sustained.⁶⁶ If *A Most learned exercise* was the work of Sheppard or another royalist writer, it certainly adds weight to arguments about the complexity of royalist propaganda during the late 1640s.

Notes.

1. J.S. Morrill, 'Rewriting Cromwell: A Case for Deafening Silences', *Canadian Journal of History*, 28, 2003, p. 577. Dates in this essay are old style but the year is taken to begin on 1 January. Spelling and punctuation of quotations from contemporary texts are quoted verbatim rather than in a modernised form.
2. Aaron Guerden, *A Most learned, conscientious, and devout exercise, held forth the Last Lord's Day*, British Library, Thomason Tracts, E561[10]. Henceforth referred to as *A Most learned exercise*.
3. Ibid, p. 6.
4. Ibid, p. 9.
5. Ibid, p. 9.
6. Ibid, p. 9.
7. Ibid, pp. 7-8.
8. Ibid, p. 7.
9. Ibid, pp. 1, 5.
10. Laura Knoppers, for example, has used the pamphlet as a source for an exploration of how Cromwell's mode of speech might have been viewed by contemporaries; L. L. Knoppers, 'The Politics of Portraiture: Oliver Cromwell and the Plain Style', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 51, 1998, pp. 1283-1319.
11. J.S. Morrill, *Cromwell and his contemporaries*, in his *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (Harlow, 1990), pp. 265-6.
12. *Mercurius Elencticus*, 1-8 May 1649, B.L., T.T., E554[10], pp. 11-12.
13. P. Gaunt, *The Cromwellian Gazetteer* (Stroud, 1987), p. 226.
14. *Mercurius Elencticus*, 28 May-4 June 1649, B.L., T.T., E558[9], p. 46.
15. W. C. Abbott, *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (4 vols, Cambridge, Mass., 1937-47), II, 36-39. But see B. Worden, *The Rump Parliament 1648-1653* (Oxford, 1974), p. 190.
16. J. A. Dils, 'Temple, Sir Peter, second baronet (bap. 1592, d. 1653)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).
17. *Journal of the House of Commons: volume 6: 1648-1651* (London, 1802), pp. 193-94, 24 April 1649.
18. Ibid, p. 219, 29 May 1649.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid, pp. 126-27, 31 January 1649.
21. Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, II, 325.
22. Worden, *Rump Parliament*, pp. 202-04.
23. Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, II, 38.
24. Clement Walker, *Anarchia Anglicana: or The history of independency* (1661), B.L., T.T., E1052[2], II, 57.
25. Walker, *Anarchia*, II, 57; Worden, *Rump Parliament*, p. 191.
26. During Saye's negotiations with Lord Savile about the betrayal of the royalist garrison in Oxford in 1645, Temple's wife had been a key go-between for the pair, with Savile staying at Temple's house whilst in London; P. Crawford, 'The Savile Affair', *English Historical Review*, 90, 1975, pp. 78-9.
27. Based on a trawl of *Early English Books Online* for publications between January and July 1649.
28. Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, II, 38.

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29. On 8 May Monck had negotiated a temporary truce with O'Neill. The wording of Monck's letter to Cromwell of 25 May informing him of the truce implies prior knowledge and approval of this tactic by Cromwell, a claim also made by Clement Walker. On 6 June, Jones wrote to Cromwell reporting on further efforts to set the factions in Ireland against each other. 'I have hitherto fomented, as I still do, the difference between Owen Roe and Ormonde, and am now on the same design for taking Preston off also with his Irish party'. Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, II, 78, 83; Walker, *Anarchia*, pp. 233, 246.
30. Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, II, 38.
31. Guerden, *A Most learned exercise*, p. 13.
32. Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, II, 189-90. The defence of the regicide is based on the story of Phineas in Numbers 25:6-8. Phineas took a spear and killed another Israelite who had fathered a child with a Midianite woman, thereby saving Israel from plague. The sentence quoted may be a reference to Psalms 110:3: 'Thy people shall be willing in the day of His power'. It may also draw on 2 Timothy 3:5: 'Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof: from such turn away'.
33. Barbara Donagan, 'Sedgwick, Obadiah (1599/1600–1658)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).
34. L. Daxon, 'The Politics of Sir Thomas Fairfax Reassessed', *Historical Research*, 90, 2005, p. 502.
35. *The Kingdomes faifthfull and Impartiall Scout*, 26 January-2 February 1649, B.L., T.T., E541[5], p. 3.
36. Morrill, *Cromwell and his contemporaries*, pp. 265-7.
37. Guerden, *A Most learned exercise*, p. 1.
38. L.L. Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print 1645-1661* (New York, 2000), p. 12.
39. *Mercurius Elencticus*, 1-8 May 1649, B.L., T.T., E554[10], pp. 11-12.
40. *Mercurius Elencticus*, 28 May-4 June 1649, B.L., T.T., E558[9], p. 46.
41. Guerden, *A Most learned exercise*, p. 14.
42. *Mercurius Pragmaticus (for King Charls p)*, 29 May-5 June 1649, B.L., T.T., E558[18].
43. J. Peacey, "'The counterfeit silly curr': Money, Politics, and the Forging of Royalist Newspapers during the English Civil War", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67, 2004, p. 55.
44. *Journal of the House of Commons*, 6, pp. 206-07, 10 May 1649; pp. 212-13, 21 May 1649.

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45. *The Moderate*, 15-22 May 1649, B.L., T.T., E.556[3]; *Mercurius Pacificus*, 17-25 May 1649, B.L., T.T., E.556[16].
46. *Mercurius Pragmaticus (for King Charls H)*, 22-29 May 1649, B.L., T.T., E.556[25].
47. *Mercurius Elencticus*, 21-28 May 1649, B.L., T.T., E556[19], p. 4.
48. Peacey, 'Money, Politics and the Forging', p. 55.
49. K. Edwards, 'Milton's Reformed Animals: An Early Modern Bestiary', *Milton Quarterly*, 39, 2005, pp. 250-51.
50. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, viii (52).
51. Pliny, *Naturalis*, xxvii (78).
52. Edwards, 'Milton's Reformed Animals', pp. 253-57.
53. *Mercurius Pragmaticus (for King Charls p)*, 19-26 June 1649, B.L., T.T., E561[16].
54. Guerden, *A Most learned exercise*, p. 2. For an extensive survey of royalist literature that adopted and shaped the idea of Cromwell as brewer, see L. L. Knoppers, "Sing old Noll the Brewer": Royalist Satire and Social Inversion, 1648-64', *The Seventeenth Century*, 15, 2000, pp. 32-52.
55. *Mercurius Elencticus*, 21-28 February 1649, B.L., T.T., E545[19], unpaginated.
56. Anonymous, *The famous tragedie of Charles I* (1649), UMI Wing 491:33, pp.32-33; Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell*, pp. 25-26.
57. Guerden, *A Most learned exercise*, p. 5; J. McElligott, 'The Politics of Sexual Libel: Royalist Propaganda in the 1640s', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67, 2004, pp. 82-86.
58. Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell*, p. 15.
59. A. Tubb, 'Mixed Messages: Royalist Newsbook Reports of Charles I's Execution and of the Leveller Uprising', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67, 2004, pp. 59-74.
60. Guerden, *A Most learned exercise*, p. 9.
61. Ibid, pp. 9-10.
62. J.S. Morrill, 'Guerden, Aaron (c.1602–1676?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).
63. See for example *Mercurius Elencticus*, 24 April-1 May 1649, B.L., T.T., E552[14], pp. 5-6. This edition is attributed to Sheppard.
64. Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell*, pp. 10-11.
65. McElligott, 'The Politics of Sexual Libel', pp. 80-81.
66. See for example: Anonymous, *Lieutenant Generall Cromwell's last will & testament: with the military directions he gave his field-officers a little before his death* (dated by Thomason to July 27 1648), B.L., T.T., E544[13];

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ANTI-CROMWELLIAN SATIRE IN 1649

Anonymous, *Hosanna: or, A song of thanks-giving, sung by the children of Zion, and set forth in three notable speeches at Grocers Hall, on the late solemn day of thanksgiving, Thursday June 7. 1649*, B.L., T.T., E559[11].

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WRITINGS AND SOURCES X.
OLIVER CROMWELL'S REPUTATIONS IN SEVENTEENTH
CENTURY ITALIAN WRITINGS¹

By Dr Marco Barducci

The rise to power of Oliver Cromwell aroused great interest in the Italian states. Several Italian seventeenth century authors, such as Maiolino Bisaccioni, Gregorio Leti and Alfonso Paioli, considered Cromwell the most famous personality of their century. The theme of 'greatness', as J. C. Davis has recently written, is a common feature of writings on Cromwell.² But the 'greatness' of Oliver Cromwell has been projected not only through time, but also through space. Cromwell's reputation is, in fact, far from solely a British matter, and the study of his representation in contemporary Italian writings contributes to the knowledge both of his historical personality and of political culture of the century.

The relative political stability of Italy in the seventeenth century allowed Italians to observe what was happening in other European countries. From the 1640s a number of Italian writings had as their subject the rise of Oliver Cromwell. But as a first step towards the comprehension of how he was perceived by Italian observers, it is necessary to consider the sources available. First are the diplomatic sources, such as the correspondence and the reports sent by the Italian ambassadors in London. The only states which had official representation in London during the years of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate were the republics of Venice and Genoa, and the Grand Dukedom of Florence.³ Secondly, news concerning Oliver Cromwell reached the Italian states through the periodical press. Finally, there was a substantial literature in Italian, generally printed by Venetian editors, a mixture of contemporary history, chronicle and romance, which made Cromwell the focus of attention. To establish whether we are speaking of one or of several images of Oliver Cromwell in the Italian writings of the seventeenth century, I will examine each of these types of source.

II
The Diplomatic Sources

Alessandro Salvetti Antelminelli represented the Grand Dukedom of Tuscany in London from 1599, but officially only from 1618.⁴ Until 1649, Oliver Cromwell appeared only sporadically in the correspondence that he regularly sent to the Court of the Grand Duke Federico II de' Medici.

Cromwell's name appears more frequently with the Irish campaign of that year. This man of extraordinary steadiness, wrote Alessandro Salvetti, subdued the rebel neighbour to the government of the 'free commonwealth', and he was sure he would bring the war to an end in a very short time.⁵ Nevertheless the situation of the Commonwealth appeared unstable to the Florentine resident owing to 'religion and to people's discontent with growing taxation'.⁶ In this context, in London news circulated concerning the wish of many MPs to proceed to the election of a king: in the opinion of Salvetti, this was the only way to rule a country 'which has always been governed by a monarch'.⁷ Who would have been crowned by parliament? Several voices, reported Salvetti, suggested the prestigious figure of General Cromwell, whose victorious return from Ireland was claimed by the Independents, of whom he was considered a leader.⁸

The prevailing image of Cromwell in Salvetti's correspondence between 1653 and 1654 is one of a moderate politician who adopted a tolerant religious policy. Although an orthodox Catholic, Salvetti was critical of English religious and social radicalism, and he was conscious of the shrewdness with which Cromwell dealt with the danger it entailed. In July 1653, John Lilburne, just released, was again prosecuted by Cromwell because he considered him 'factious and popular'.⁹ Later, opposing the growth of the Anabaptist faction, Cromwell, by that time Lord Protector, was obliged to end 'that authority in which he put them'.¹⁰

Salvetti's account of England's troubles was predominantly secular. Cromwell's policy was to put an end to the religious fragmentation of English society for the sake of the stability of government. There was no place in the Florentine correspondence for Providence or for the accomplishment of a religious or a legislative reformation. Cromwell was depicted as driven by the pragmatism of a man of state.

The depiction of the English situation changes under the influence of the stream of news available to Salvetti. The image of Cromwell arising from these sources is an image *in fieri*. So it is not surprising to read, after the exclusion of the Nominated Assembly, that the present government 'is now absolutely and despotically handled by Cromwell', while, after the election of the first Parliament of the Protectorate, Salvetti was convinced that 'although we will have no more king, nevertheless we will have a monarchical government'.¹¹ When in 1657 Cromwell refused the crown,

Salvetti's opinion was that the opposition of the officers of the army was decisive because they 'feared that such a change could be prejudicial to their authority'. However, he was sure that Cromwell was going to 'put this country back under a sole monarch'.¹² The lack of co-operation of his new bicameral parliament forced Cromwell to disband it, and to rule, as we read in the letters of Giovanni Salvetti Antelminelli, who inherited the office of resident after the death of his father Alessandro, 'with the sword...', considering that each government should be maintained in the same way it was 'acquired'.¹³

In the opinion of Alessandro and Giovanni Salvetti Antelminelli, who came from a noble but impoverished family of Lucca, Cromwell failed to achieve a balanced government in Britain. His incapacity to rule with an aristocracy forced him to rely excessively on military power, acting consequently as a despot.

The question of the duration and stability of the government as a sign of its validity also characterised the correspondence and reports of the Venetian ambassadors in London in the 1650s. Lorenzo Paoluzzi was appointed official correspondent in London from 1651. In the spring of 1652, he wrote that Cromwell, despite having no institutional role, was 'the arbiter, we could say, of the present government' because of his control over the army.¹⁴ In the Venetian correspondence of 1653, England was a country desperately in search of a settlement, where the main aspiration of the people was stability and peace, and Paoluzzi considered Cromwell's policy from the perspective of his capacity to accomplish these tasks. Cromwell's intention in calling the Nominated Assembly appeared 'to turn this Republic into that of Poland'.¹⁵ In August 1653, Paoluzzi reported that Britain was a 'Republic' ruled by an 'aristocracy', but dominated by a General with 'absolute control over the army'.¹⁶ After Cromwell was installed as Protector, in the opinion of Paoluzzi, the situation in England worsened. He wrote in cipher to the Senate of the 'bad constitution of this new government... reduced to the sole authority of Cromwell'. Cromwell held supreme authority over the three kingdoms of England, Ireland and Scotland, and the Venetian resident believed that he would soon assume the title of 'Emperor' of the Great Britain'. Paoluzzi acknowledged the Protector's aim of establishing a balanced government in a country traditionally ruled by a king-in-parliament, but he could not achieve this by force of arms. Paoluzzi's correspondence became increasingly critical after the dissolution of the first Protectoral Parliament in January 1655. He did

not criticise the personal ambition of Cromwell, but he agreed with those MPs urging him to take the crown and settle a balanced government.

In October 1655 Giovanni Sagredo replaced Paoluzzi as Venetian ambassador. Sagredo failed in his attempt to obtain the support of the Protector for the Venetian war against the Turks, but when he returned to Venice he prepared a paper to be read in the Senate, in which he focused on the English political situation. Cromwell, whom fortune had made the 'most famous [man] of this century', had risen to power taking advantage of the struggle between army and parliament; but behind the 'appearance of Republic' the Lord Protector ruled with 'despotic authority'.¹⁷ He guaranteed the support of the army by increasing their pay. As for religion, he utilised it for 'the interest of state'.¹⁸

After his departure from London, Sagredo left his secretary, Francesco Giavarina, as ambassador of Venice. Giavarina considered that Cromwell's indecision over kingship arose from fear of losing his unlimited authority.¹⁹ The manner of the adoption of the Humble Petition and Advice and the failure to create a satisfactory second chamber of parliament confirmed Giavarina's negative opinion of Cromwell's policy. He agreed with what he had heard from an English MP, that 'when we want a King, we need not to declare a new one, but calling [he to whom] lawfully and directly belongs this government', that is to say Charles II.²⁰

As we have seen, both the Florentine and the Venetian ambassadors shared a negative assessment of the Cromwell's behaviour as a statesman. He was a tyrant because he ruled with the support of the army, overthrowing the balanced constitution of the country, but most of all, beyond the question of his legitimacy, he had been unable to establish a form of government capable of ensuring peace and prosperity. Neither paid attention to the key issue of religion, because they saw religious policy as a mere *instrumentum regni*. However, not every Italian ambassador shared this point of view. Francesco Bernardi, consul of the Republic of Genoa from 1651 to 1660 and well acquainted with Cromwell's family, was a more sympathetic observer. In the course of a dinner with Cromwell and his family in November 1651, Cromwell confidentially told him he was struggling to achieve the 'settlement of peace and quiet of the present government'.²¹ In Bernardi's correspondence we find an awareness of the Commonwealth's instability, resulting from the tensions between parliament and army, and between royalists, 'Independents, Levellers and... Presbyterians'.²² After

Cromwell was installed as Protector, when other ambassadors did not hesitate to call him a tyrant, Bernardi reported that the title of 'Protector of the Republic' was a matter of 'great satisfaction among the people'. Thanks to his 'prudent and good government', Cromwell would have finally 'restored the quiet of the nation', by eliminating 'those turbulent spirits who always devoted themselves to upset him'.²³ Bernardi knew Cromwell personally, and perhaps this is the reason why he believed his aims were the peace and stability of his country. He portrayed the Lord Protector as a man driven by faith and moral purpose, instead of ambition and hypocrisy. Cromwell, from his standpoint, behaved as the *de facto* king within a balanced constitution, mediating between the army and the parliament. If Cromwell was, in the opinion of Bernardi, a fine politician, he was even more a godly man. His death occurred on the 3 September 1658, but announced in a letter only two weeks later, left Britain unsettled. Yet Bernardi honoured the former General with these words: 'He left the world with incomparable value, prudence and charity, more as a godly man than as an ambitious schemer'.²⁴ The same opinion about Cromwell's policy was expressed by the Genoese diplomat Ugo Fiesco, who had been sent to London in November 1654, as relations between Spain and Genoa became strained. In his account of the political situation of the British Commonwealth,²⁵ he wrote that behind the facade of a republic, 'absolute power was held by Cromwell, and its duration depended entirely on the army. The British Commonwealth was a "military republic... imitating the Roman in the admirable order of its armies", and Cromwell, despite his control over the army, ruled as a "good prince" pursuing the common good.

Yet not everyone in the diplomatic establishment of the republic of Genoa shared this opinion. The report of Giovan Luca Durazzo offered a different perspective and one very influential in seventeenth-century Italian historiography. Durazzo was in England from 12 October 1661 to 20 February 1662 with the aim of securing support for Genoese commercial policy in the Levant. When he came back to Genoa he wrote a 378 page *Relazione dell'ambascieria straordinaria in Inghilterra*, where he displayed his learning. Listing the causes of the late revolutions, he argued that 'the Commons with the support of the mob' had defeated the king and the old aristocracy, but it was ousted in its turn by a strong army led by the Independents party, which imposed a 'popular and violent government'.²⁶ In this context Cromwell rose to power with the aim of putting an end to the civil wars and limiting the claims of the army. The report continued: 'He dissipated his patrimony in his youth, and was by necessity itself educated

in the arts of the army and jurisdiction. By means of them he got on in the army, but most of all he won the multitude over. Showing a great ability in dissimulating, he imposed himself as leader during the revolution, exploiting his capacity to lead the army, and the more tolerant and widespread religion of the Independents'.²⁷ Moreover, Cromwell 'refused the Crown to consolidate his rule'.²⁸

Durazzo's report was clearly influenced by the tendency to condemn Cromwell which was widespread in the reign of Charles II,²⁹ but it reveals most of all the influence of the parallel with the emperor Augustus as portrayed by Tacitus, which was a particular theme of contemporary Italian historiography.

III The Italian Literature on Cromwell

Tacitus's narration of Augustus's rise to power in the aftermath of the civil wars which devastated the Roman republic presented remarkable similarities with the English Revolutions. In this context, contemporary Italian historians presented Cromwell as a man of humble origins, marked from childhood with great ambition and lack of scruples.³⁰ His career was shaped by the same influences as those of Augustus. They described Cromwell's participation in the civil war both as commander of the army and as 'tribuno' (that is to say MP), and they stressed his ability to win the army over and to lead the strongest faction of the Independents. They narrated his victory over Fairfax, and the consequential beheading of Charles I. An open-minded and able politician, trusted by the army and with many important offices distributed to members of his family, were further similarities between Cromwell and Augustus. Birago Avogadro wrote that Cromwell, having 'dissipated his modest patrimony, started trafficking in religion to restore his fortune; thus, mingling with the schismatic multitude and becoming their leader and Protector, he was appointed Senator with their support'; he was 'skilful in dissimulating', and he was animated by 'ambition, avarice and arrogance'. Cromwell, we read in the work of Avogadro, appointed as captains and officers of the army leading figures of his faction, and conferred other privileges on members of his family;³¹ afterwards, aiming to obtain the support of the people, he exploited the press to eulogise his regime. Facing Presbyterian claims for the disbandment of the army, Cromwell backed the protests of the soldiers till they seized the king from the control of a parliament which was trying to

find a compromise that would save the monarchy.³² It was Cromwell who worked behind the scenes to heighten tension between the army and Charles I, and after his decapitation 'the friends of novelty' abolished the monarchy, dissolved the House of Lords and 'turned the ancient kingdom of England into a popular state'.³³ In fact, behind the facade of a popular republic, the government was an oligarchy headed by Oliver Cromwell. In his *Compendi historici* (1668), Alfonso Loschi related how 'Cromwell was always the cause of the troubles of this kingdom and against peace with King Charles'. Having 'brought about the unjust parricide' and been appointed as 'General of the army', he devoted himself to 'abolish the name of king'. Together with other leading figures of the army, he first endowed 'the government of Great Britain with the title of Republic', and then he obtained the 'absolute dominium'.³⁴ Cromwell made use of his absolute power showing a 'simulated zeal for common good', although he reduced to silence the parliamentary opposition with the force of the army.³⁵ His appointment as Lord Protector, enabled him to pretend 'that we might obey only him, and that we recognize him as sovereign and independent'.³⁶

Another example of the parallel between Cromwell and Augustus is contained in the bestseller *Historia delle guerre civili di questi ultimi tempi* by Maiolino Bisaccioni.³⁷ This work paid considerable attention to the contrast between Thomas Fairfax, depicted as the leader of the Presbyterian party, and Oliver Cromwell, the Independents' leader. Before 1649 both aimed to overthrow the monarchy, but Cromwell prevailed as General of the Army after his successful campaigns in Ireland and Scotland.³⁸ The contrast between Cromwell and Fairfax, and between the 'democratic' Independents and 'aristocratic' Presbyterians, brought to mind that between Augustus and Anthony in the first book of Tacitus's *Annales*. The war against the Netherlands was conceived by Bisaccioni as an 'external war' started by Cromwell in order to keep control over the military.³⁹ Like Augustus, Cromwell refused the crown because he feared to give up, in the name of the traditions of the kingdom, his exceptional power. Finally, as his health deteriorated and struggles for the succession developed, he appointed his son Richard as his successor, just as Augustus did with Tiberius. Similarly, Alfonso Paioli compared Cromwell to Augustus,⁴⁰ and Maiolino Bisaccioni, commenting on Cromwell's refusal of the Humble Petition and Advice, recalled that 'Caesar [Augustus] refused the crown offered to him by the people: because he wanted absolute control over the army... nor he would be influenced by the will of the people which is fickle'.⁴¹

In the limited space available, he makes a detailed reconstruction of the abundant literature in the seventeenth century Italian states, portraying an Augustus-like image of Oliver Cromwell impossible. What is striking about the few examples given above is that apart from the approval of the Instrument of Government, none of the Italian historians attempted an analysis of the constitutional experiments of 1653 to 1657. But while the parallel with the Augustus of Tacitus was influential, it is also true that the contemporary Italian historiography drew heavily on Machiavelli's thoughts. Alongside the theme of the 'Principato nuovo' and of an amoral politics personified by Agathocles, the Italian authors adopted from Machiavelli the concepts of 'virtù', 'fortuna', 'dissimulazione' and 'ambizione' to show the means which Cromwell used in his drive to power. Tacitus himself had spoken of the many voices which, after Augustus' death, condemned his ambition and lust of power, and this perspective overlapped with a Machiavellian strain in Italian historiography.

The parallel between Augustus and Cromwell was not a peculiarity of the Italian historiography of the time. There was an analogous comparison in the writings of Thomas Hobbes. In *Bebemoth* Hobbes compared Cromwell with Augustus. As Richard Tuck has shown with regard to Hobbes and Tacitus, the author of the *Bebemoth* 'referred explicitly to the parallel between Cromwell and Augustus...; like Augustus, Cromwell ensured that his own power rested on the strongest faction in the State...; like him, he refused the title of king because of the danger it would bring to him...; like him he destroyed a republican form of government which was unpopular in his country'.⁴² Augustus achieved power by means of persuasion and deception, bestowing material benefits on the Romans, exploiting religion and starting an external war with the Germans just to maintain his control over the army.⁴³

Italian and English writings on Cromwell shared not only the background of the Tacitus's works, and particularly the parallel between Cromwell and Augustus. It is possible to discern the influence of some English tracts on the Italian literature about Cromwell. This is the case with *The Machiavilian Cromwellist and Hypocritical Perfidious New Statist* by William Prynne (1648). In this work we find the idea, espoused by almost all Italian authors here considered, that Cromwell's humble origins predetermined his future overthrow of the existing social order.⁴⁴ The famous novelist and historian Gregorio Leti wrote that during his English stay, he had heard 'strange and different things from the authors' about the familial origins of Cromwell:

'some suggested he came from a low and vile race, some from a needy condition, others from obscure origins'.⁴⁵ Since he was a child, Cromwell devoted himself to the knowledge of religions and sects, so much so that a professor at Cambridge said of him that 'if this pupil did not interrupt his studies, he will cause a great religious struggle in the kingdom, and probably one between the King and the Parliament'.⁴⁶ Leti had probably read the influential *Flagellum* of James Heath (1665), from which he took many unlikely episodes of Cromwell's life. A similar influence of vituperative English tracts about Cromwell is evident in the biography written by Alfonso Paioli in 1675. Cromwell, exhausted by the effort of maintaining a standing army and fleet, and an apparatus of spying capable of preventing the risk of conspiracies, 'died weakened' and tormented by 'horrible nightmares'.⁴⁷ The image of a Lord Protector oppressed by the remorseful conscience is not a product of Paioli's imagination. Its origins should probably be traced to works such as the *Relation d'un voyage en Angleterre* by S. J. Sorbière, published in 1666, in which the author, a leading figure of the French and Italian *libertinage*, wrote that 'le gouvernement du Protecteur estoit si violent qu'il ne pouvoit pas durer plus long temps, et l'on croit que le travail d'esprit dans lequel estoit Cromwel lui abregea la vie'.⁴⁸ Going further it is possible to argue that Sorbière was inspired in his turn by a collection of verses entitled *Cromwell's Conspiracy*, published in London in 1660, and there probably read by the French author. Here Cromwell was portrayed walking up and down the room, whispering: 'I cannot any patient be/ Furies do now torment me, and already/ I do begin to feel I cannot live/ Horrors and strange amazements seize/ upon me and now the blood that I have caused to flow/ and threatens for to drown me'.⁴⁹ Similarly Girolamo Graziani's tragedy *Il Cromuele* (1671) ends with Cromwell tortured by regret.⁵⁰

Evidently, we are dealing with a process of the circulation of certain images of Oliver Cromwell in a European context. Several Italian authors travelled in Great Britain after the Restoration, and there they were influenced by the prevailing English literary tendencies concerning the Protector. Nevertheless, it seems to me necessary to stress the specific contribution of Italian writings of the time to the definition of Cromwell's reputation in contemporary Europe. If we compare Italian writings on Cromwell with the literature which flourished in England from the mid-1640s to the 1680s, in the former we note an unvarying parallel with the Augustus of Tacitus. The main reason for this continuity is that while the English tracts about Cromwell reflected varying ideological perspectives, the Italian books were

a mixture of Renaissance historiography and romance, whose main purposes were to *delectare* and *docere* a conservative reading public. The centrality they ascribed to Cromwell in England's troubles was the result of an individualistic philosophy of history for which the course of events was shaped by the actions of 'uomini virtuosi', driven by ambition and shrewdness, but capable of defending existing privileges and countering any attempt at social change.

IV

The Periodical Press

Amongst the sources used by Italian authors were newspapers which circulated widely in the Italian states. But another Cromwell was diffused by the periodical press. From the 1630s many gazettes began to appear in the Italian states. In Florence (1636), Genoa (1639), Milan (1640), Bologna and Turin (1645), these early newspapers, together with the printed 'avvisi' and manuscript news, reporting principally diplomatic and military news from the Continent, gave pre-eminence to key figures like Mazarin, Turenne, Wallenstein and Cromwell.

The circulation of periodical news should be studied in a supranational perspective. In 1642 at Florence they copied the gazette of Genoa⁵¹ and the news from Venice.⁵² In Lucca they received copies of *Il Sincero* of Genoa,⁵³ and the same occurred in Rome and Naples. In these cities the news arrived after having followed some obligatory routes: from Madrid, Antwerp, Brussels, Paris and London, the carriers arrived at the Venetian republic, or alternatively, passing through Genoa and Florence, at the Pontifical State.⁵⁴

Between 1645 and 1660, the period in which Cromwell came into the European spotlight, many newspapers circulated in the Italian States. Of the Florentine gazette there are no issues remaining, and the same is true of the Roman one. In Venice the first periodical gazette began to appear in 1661, but before then there was a large circulation of 'avvisi' and of copies of diplomatic documents. In the Archivio Segreto Vaticano several issues of the gazettes of Milan and Bologna are available, but the biggest runs of Italian newspapers are those of the Genoese gazette *Il Sincero*, and of the gazette of Turin entitled *I successi del mondo*. Both were under the control of the authorities, and consistent with the pro-French foreign policy of Genoa and Turin, both were deeply influenced by the French government itself. So it is not surprising that the news about Cromwell published by *Il sincero* or *I*

successi del mondo was exactly the same as that in the official French gazette, the *Gazette de France*. The circulation of such consistent news generated a substantial homogeneity in representations of Cromwell's rule.

What, then, was the prevailing reputation of Oliver Cromwell in the Italian periodical press? Between 1645 and 1660 Cromwell was depicted by the European and the Italian gazettes and printed 'avvisi' as a moderate statesman. Until 1649, Cromwell rose gradually as a soldier who fought on the parliamentary side, but unlike the image of the schemer of the struggle between Presbyterians and Independents, and between the army and the parliament, reported in the *Mercuri* and *Historie* of the time, he appeared in these sources as subordinate to Thomas Fairfax. It was Fairfax who in 1646 seized Charles I from Scottish guardianship to bring him to Nottingham,⁵⁵ and it was still Fairfax who was charged by parliament with the defence of England from the Scottish invasion of 1648.⁵⁶ After the failure of the negotiations between Charles and the parliament, the gazette of Turin reported Fairfax seized the king and imprisoned him 'in the castle of Hurst'. This decision 'is not clearly understandable, although to all appearances we guess he would turn the Monarchy into a military Anarchy, and by means of the army, to become despot'.⁵⁷ Whether Fairfax was the leader of the army and the protagonist of the main events of those years, Cromwell appeared in few accounts and always in the role of moderator. When Charles I was urged to accept the Covenant and to hand control over to the army and parliament, the 'Lieutenant and General Cromwell' was commissioned to mediate between the parliament and the soldiers 'calling for the payment of salary arrears amounting to 600 thousand pounds'.⁵⁸ Charles's escape from Hampton Court, an episode that Italian historians ascribed to a Machiavellian Cromwell's plan, was interpreted by the news books as an attempt by Cromwell 'to cut the Agitators off' and restore the monarchy.⁵⁹ Cromwell was virtually absent from the news book accounts of the king's trial and execution. At that time his role in politics was still subordinated to the parliament and Council of State and his fame eclipsed by Thomas Fairfax. The campaigns in Ireland and Scotland demonstrated his rise to power, and the Italian gazettes then exalted his military status. After his return to London, Cromwell 'was engaged in the convocation of a new parliament',⁶⁰ but there was no mention to his supposed ambition and deceitfulness.

Unlike the Italian histories, for the news books Cromwell became central only with his appointment as Lord Protector. The image was of Cromwell

as a *de facto* monarch. The Spanish ambassador Alonso de Cardenas was reported as 'treating him as Highness'. The members elected to the first Protectoral Parliament were received by a Lord Protector seated 'dans une chaise dorée, élevée sur deux marches, en forme de trône'.⁶¹ The unicameral parliament assigned him 'a large income for the Court... and all the royal palaces' and there were rumours that he would be crowned Emperor 'of the British isles'.⁶²

The printed news from Cologne, Milan and Genoa gave much attention to Protectoral foreign policy. Despite Cromwell's control over the army and the parliament, his repression of political opposition and the removal of the 'ignorant, profane and scandalous ministers of religion', the newspapers which circulated in Italy did not make use of words such as 'despot' or 'tyrant' to describe his rule. Such a moderate assessment could be traced to the negotiations between Mazarin and Cromwell, but also to the absence of the Tacitean literary premises which characterised contemporary Italian historiography.

The last phases of the Protectorate appear confused in the Italian news books. We read that in June 1657, the parliament made a plea 'to Protector Cromwell for accepting of the Crown', but he persisted 'in his wish to continue the protection of these kingdoms without higher dignity',⁶³ and some days later the Generals of the army claimed that no one among the MPs 'talked about crowns and kings'.⁶⁴ Cromwell, far from pursuing his own interests, was trying to settle a balanced government according to the proposals of parliament, and with this purpose he blocked the pressures of a republican army unfavourable to any restoration of the kingship. In the stream of contrasting information which came from the British Isles, the news of his death did not attract great attention. We read in a printed news book that after the funeral of the former Protector 'the London's Parliament acclaimed his son Richard'.⁶⁵

Conclusion

After this brief survey of the sources which made Oliver Cromwell known to seventeenth century Italians, it is no longer possible to talk about Cromwell's reputation in Italy, but rather of Cromwell's reputations. As we have seen, there was an image of Cromwell derived from diplomatic correspondence and reports, where assessment depended on the sensibility and intelligence of particular observers, and with a circulation limited to a

Court milieu. There was a literary image of the English General built upon the parallel with the Roman *de facto* Emperor Caesar Augustus and addressed to an aristocratic audience addicted to news and wealthy enough to access an elitist book market. Finally, we have recovered a moderate Cromwell in the contemporary periodical press, available to people of a different social group as the prices of news books fell in the first half of the century. The prevailing representation of Cromwell might be that of a tyrant, but the availability of different sources allowed those contemporaries who were interested in the British affairs to form a multi-faceted opinion about the Lord Protector.

A further point could be made about Italian assessments of Cromwell's statecraft. Cromwell's conquests were not seen as a sign of Providential approval. Cromwell was considered, especially in the diplomatic correspondences, rather as a *Principe nuovo*, aiming to keep the dominion he had recently acquired. As a new prince, he could not impose radical constitutional changes, so that the Italian diplomats expected him to move to a reconciliation with parliament and a gradual disengagement from the army. The same secularised perspective, focused on stability and the duration of his rule, was applied to his religious and military choices. Cromwell's religious anti-formalism was seen by the Catholic Italians as essentially a sign of atheism and his toleration as a policy aiming to assure social peace in three kingdoms separated by their faith. The New Model Army was seen essentially as a formidable instrument of power in the hands of Cromwell, and it was kept standing for external war with the Spain and the United Provinces and the repression of the internal insurrections. For Italian diplomats, Cromwell failed not because he lacked a legitimate title, but because he did not rule with the consent of the parliament. The principal source of this negative assessment was the excessive influence of the army in the politics of the Interregnum. For this reason the Venetian ambassador Giovanni Sagredo identified Cromwell's rule as 'military government', and we read in an issue of *I successi del mondo* that the Lord Protector was 'despotic' because of his control over the army.

If Cromwell's réputation in Great Britain has been and continues to be disputed, his reputation abroad has always been less controversial. Since the seventeenth century he has been essentially perceived by Europeans as an ambitious politician, risen to an incomparable power in the context of the British civil wars, and the Italian sources played an important role in shaping his historical image for a European audience.

OLIVER CROMWELL'S REPUTATIONS IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
ITALIAN WRITINGS

Notes.

1. I am grateful to Professor Davis for his help in preparing this essay for publication.
2. J. C. Davis, *Oliver Cromwell*, (London, 2001), esp. chapters 1 and 3.
3. M. Barducci, *Oliver Cromwell negli scritti italiani del Seicento*, (Firenze, 2005), p. 10, n.2.
4. See M. Barducci, *Oliver Cromwell negli corrispondenza dei residenti fiorentini a Londra, Alessandro e Giovanni Sovetti Antelmanelli, 1641-1661*, (Il pensiero politico, 2003), I, 36.
5. Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, (A.S.F.), f4203, 10 September 1649.
6. A.S.F., f4203, 22 October 1649.
7. A.S.F., f4203, 17 December 1649.
8. A.S.F., f4203, 28 January 1650.
9. A.S.F., f4203, 25 July 1653.
10. A.S.F., f4203, 26 December 1653.
11. A.S.F., f4203, 29 December 1653.
12. A.S.F., f4203, 6 March 1656.
13. A.S.F., f4203, 12 April 1658.
14. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, Dispacci Francia (A.S.V.), f114, 14 May 1652.
15. A.S.V., f116, 25 June 1653.
16. A.S.V., f116, 18 July 1653.
17. G. Berchet, *Cromwell e la Repubblica di Venezia*, (Venezia, Naratovich, 1864); G. Sagredo, *Relazione al Senato*, p. 76.
18. Ibid, pp. 76-79.
19. A.S.V., Inghilterra, f48, 6 March 1657.
20. A.S.V., f48, 15 February 1658.
21. C. Prayer, *Oliver Cromwell dalla battaglia di Worcester alla sua morte. Corrispondenza dei rappresentanti genovesi a Londra*, (Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1882), XVI, letter of the 20 November 1651, p. 60.
22. Ibid, 23 February 1653, p. 74.
23. Ibid, 6 January 1654, p. 133.
24. Ibid, 16 September 1658, p. 500.
25. *Relatione di Ugo Fiesco ambasciatore della repubblica d'Inghilterra*, in M. Barducci, *Oliver Cromwell negli scritti italiani del Seicento* cit, pp. 233-51.
26. Ibid, p. 275.
27. Ibid, pp. 278-79.

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28. Ibid, p. 280.
29. Roger Howell, "That Imp of Satan"; the Restoration Images of Oliver Cromwell', in *Images of Oliver Cromwell. Essays for and by Roger Howell jr.*, edited by R. C. Richardson, (Manchester, 1993); see also Davis, *Cromwell*, pp. 48-49.
30. For a full treatment of this subject, see M. Barducci, *Oliver Cromwell negli scritti italiani* cit, ch. VII.
31. G. B. Birago Avogadro, *Della sollevazione del Regno d'Inghilterra*, in A. Zilioli, *Istorie memorabili de' nostri tempi*, (Venezia, Turini, 1657), p. 188.
32. Ibid, p. 190.
33. Ibid, p. 220.
34. A. Loschi, *Compendi historici*, (Vicenza, G. Amadio, 1668), p. 309.
35. Ibid, p. 310.
36. Ibid, p. 311.
37. M. Bisaccioni, *Historia delle guerre civili di questi ultimi tempi*, (Venezia, Eredi Storti, 1664).
38. Ibid, pp. 176-82.
39. Ibid, p. 231.
40. A. Paioli, *Il Cromuele*, (Venezia, F. Valvasense, 1675), p. 83.
41. M. Bisaccioni, *Historia delle guerre civili*, p. 233.
42. R. Tuck, *Hobbes and Tacitus*, in *Hobbes and History*, edited by G. A. Rogers and T. Sorell, (London, 2000), pp. 109-10.
43. Ibid, pp. 103-07.
44. See Howell, 'Restoration Images', p. 42.
45. G. Leti, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
46. Ibid, p. 135.
47. A. Paioli, *Il Cromuele*, pp. 135-36, 327-31.
48. S.J. Sorbiere, *Relation d'un voyage en Angleterre*, (Cologne, 1666), p. 120.
49. Cited in Howell, 'Restoration Images', p. 128.
50. G. Graziani, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
51. M.A. Morelli, *Delle prime gazette fiorentine*, (Firenze, 1963), pp. 6-7.
52. L. Piccioni, *Fra poeti e giornalisti. Note di storia e critica letteraria*, (Livorno, 1925), p. 51.
53. M.A. Morelli, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
54. *Il giornalismo romano delle origini* (sec. XVI-XVII), esposizione bibliografica, a cura di A. Bertone Pannain, S. Bulgarelli, L. Mazzola, (Roma, 1979), I, 1-12.
55. *I successi del mondo*, 23 March 1647.

56. Ibid, 10 June 1648.
57. Ibid, 14 January 1649.
58. *Il sincero*, 22 June 1647.
59. Ibid, 28 December 1647.
60. Ibid, 9 December 1651.
61. *Gazette de France*, n. 125.
62. *Avviso di Bruxelles*, 17 January 1654.
63. *Il sincero*, 9 June 1657.
64. Ibid, 23 June 1657.
65. *Avviso di Anversa*, 21 September 1658.

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By Dr Patrick Little

As with other aspects of his personality, Cromwell's sense of humour has become obscured behind layers of myth and wishful-thinking. The most famous incidents of Cromwellian 'fun' were usually recounted by those who had heard of them at second- or third-hand, and without exception made it into print only after the Restoration. The first example comes from the later memoirs of Edmund Ludlow (heavily edited by others at the end of the seventeenth century), which tell of the 'conference' between the army officers and republicans in the summer of 1648, when Cromwell suddenly 'took up a cushion and flung it at my head, and then ran down the stairs', followed by Ludlow's own cushion in return.¹ The second relates to the signing of Charles I's death warrant in January 1649, when, according to Colonel Ewer's later account, 'I did see a pen in Mr Cromwell's hand, and he marked Mr [Henry] Marten in the face with it, and Mr Marten did the like to him'.² These have naturally been seen as entirely inappropriate – however strong the need to defuse tensions on stressful occasions – and the latter has been condemned as the behaviour of a couple of 'grotesque schoolboys'.³ The third incident occurred just before the battle of Dunbar in September 1650, when Cromwell stopped his horse to laugh at the antics of a group of soldiers playing with a cream tub, a game that ended with the tub up-ended on the head of one of the soldiers.⁴ The fourth case involves the wedding of Cromwell's daughter, Frances, to Lord Rich in November 1657. The ceremony was followed by 'much mirth and frolics' and the Protector 'threw about sack posset [a sticky drink] among all the ladies to soil their rich clothes... and also wet sweet meats, and daubed all the stools where they were to sit with wet sweet meats, and pulled off [Lord] Rich his peruke [wig], and would have thrown it into the fire, but did not, yet he sat upon it'.⁵ This behaviour has been explained with reference to the 'horseplay' that Cromwell indulged in as a young man, but stories of his debaucheries at Cambridge University and (possibly) the Inns of Court are also derived from later writers hostile to the Protector.⁶

Understandably, Cromwell's modern biographers have tended to treat such incidents with caution. Peter Gaunt has little truck with 'stories that as a senior soldier and politician he continued to indulge in crude, childish humour' and points out that they 'generally rest upon a single author and cannot be corroborated'.⁷ Barry Coward is a little more inclined to believe later stories of the 'mirth and frolics' at the Cromwellian court in the 1650s, but adds that 'sometimes his sense of fun was fairly crude'.⁸ The most

indulgent (and perhaps most credulous) of recent biographers is Antonia Fraser, who recounts all the stories with loving detail. She approves of Cromwell's delight in 'an innocent jest', worries about him having 'a streak of the manic' about him, and thoroughly disapproves of his 'practical jokes' at court, especially the sweet meats joke, which 'the great ladies present had to pretend to take as a favour'.⁹ Those historians who have chosen to comment on Cromwell's sense of humour (and perhaps, by implication, those who choose not to) invariably dismiss it as 'crude', or even an indication of mental imbalance, but such judgements run the risk of anachronism. The problem is one of context. What was seventeenth century humour like? What do other, less hostile, sources tell us about Cromwell's own sense of humour? It is only then that we can decide how far stories of Cromwell's 'frolics' and practical jokes are likely to be accurate.

I

Humour in the seventeenth century has been neglected. The subversive and scurrilous – especially when obscene or scatological – has attracted the attention of historians and literary critics, usually seeking to understand the politics of the underclasses.¹⁰ Plenty of attention has also been given to 'comedy' in stage-plays (notably in the Jacobean period) and the sometimes humorous conceits of metaphysical poetry, but aside from discussing categories such as 'satire', 'parody', 'burlesque' or 'nonsense', and theorising about how humour might 'test and contest' social and political limits, modern students of literature seem not to be interested in what actually made people laugh.¹¹ Yet these various literary forms are surely integral to building a picture of humour, as they were intimately connected with the everyday. The artificial distinction between the performance and the audience was not as clear-cut in the seventeenth century, when there was a high level of participation, whether in the masques and anti-masques of the Caroline court, or the boisterous comic turns expected of students at Oxford and Cambridge or the Inns of Court. On a less formal level, there was also a fashion for witty word games and humorous verses, including those promulgated by private clubs such as the Mitre tavern group or the 'Order of the Fancy', or published as 'Poems and Fancies' by the Marchioness of Newcastle in 1653.¹² There was 'an insatiable public demand for comic material in the period from the mid-1650s through the Restoration and beyond, and publishers sought to meet this with anthologies of "drolleries".'¹³

There are strong links between literary and semi-literary comedy and the verbal humour used in private correspondence. This was often based on puns, nicknames and in-jokes, as with the slightly nauseating letters from Charles I as Prince of Wales and his friend and ally George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, to James I in 1623. Charles and Buckingham addressed the king as 'Dear Dad and Gossip', and signed themselves as 'your boys', or 'your baby' (in the case of the prince) and 'your humble slave and dog' (in the case of Buckingham). For Charles and James alike, Buckingham was always 'Steenie'.¹⁴ A similar brand of humour can be seen in the correspondence of the earls of Northumberland and Leicester in the late 1630s and early 1640s, with their friend the earl of Bedford being known by the nickname 'higgledy-piggledy', perhaps on account of his awful handwriting.¹⁵ Slightly more sophisticated than this was the correspondence of Archbishop Laud and Viscount Wentworth during the 1630s. Nicknames reappear, including the waspish use of 'Lady Mora' (the spirit of delay) for the lord treasurer, Lord Weston, and variously 'your Spaniard' and 'the Beads' for the pro-Catholic chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Cottington.¹⁶ Their jokes ranged from puns to gender-reversal to surprising crudities. In November 1636, for example, the archbishop commented on the courtly ambition of the groom of the stool, the earl of Holland, that 'a man that eats moderately may go to stool as well after sixteen dishes as after forty'.¹⁷

Such jokes are, of course, an indication of the closeness of the relationship between men like Laud and Wentworth, and sometimes the relationship itself could be the focus for humour. The most extraordinary case of this can be found in the letters of the Dorset Presbyterian, John Fitzjames, to his friend and former comrade in the parliamentarian army, Edward Cooke, in the late 1640s and early 1650s.¹⁸ The running joke was that Fitzjames and Cooke were an old married couple, with Fitzjames referring to Cooke as 'my masculine wife' and signing himself 'your nominal husband'. They accused each other being whores, and worse, and Fitzjames repeatedly addressed his 'wife' as 'dearest mine' or 'dear Ned, dear all'. In one letter, written on 2 August 1651, Fitzjames requested that Cooke find him a buck from one of the local parks, which, like an unfaithful wife, would 'furnish with a pair of horns, him that is your nominal husband and real friend'.¹⁹ Such homo-erotic banter was almost certainly not based on a real sexual relationship. The terms used were far too indiscreet for a crime that carried the death penalty, and Fitzjames made allusion to the joke in letters to other friends and relatives. But one wonders how many other such risqué in-jokes originated around the camp-fires of the civil war armies.

Private letters are the most accessible of sources for humour available to the historian, but they are still quasi-literary, as remarks were thought through, witty ripostes honed ready for the next packet. Jokes and banter made in company are invariably lost. There are some anecdotes in letters or diaries, including a couple of instances when even the po-faced Charles I was provoked into 'a roar of laughter' or ventured a jest of his own.²⁰ Jokes at the king's expense were not well received. When playing chess with the Marquess of Winchester in October 1640, shortly after the disastrous 2nd Bishops' war had come to an end, 'the king long studying how to play a bishop, the marquess of Winchester blurted out, "see, sir, how troublesome these bishops are", in jest and earnestly: the king replied nothing, but looked very grim'.²¹

The occasional example of visual humour survives, such as the ornate fountain in the enclosed garden of the 'Little Castle' at Bolsover, created for the Earl of Newcastle after 1628. This included not only four manikin pis, but also lecherous mythical beasts, and (if an early drawing is to be believed) a number of naked women squirting water from every imaginable orifice. Much of this was set below ground level, presumably to surprise visitors walking up to the fountain, perhaps after visiting the richly allegorical and highly cultured rooms of the 'Little Castle' itself.²² A similar effect was created by the courtier and lawyer, Sir Edward Phelps in the hall of his splendid mansion at Montacute in Somerset. At the south end, the room is dominated by an impressive classical screen, demonstrating Phelps's cultured tastes; but this is subverted by the north wall, with its crude plasterwork panel depicting a hen-pecked husband being attacked by his wife and then made to 'ride the strang' or be carried on a pole to be publicly humiliated by his neighbours.²³ These suggest a mischievous delight in putting together high and low culture in a 'burlesque' form, and, once again, anything sexual or scatological was guaranteed to raise a laugh. The 'broad humour' of the mid-seventeenth century also gave rise to the fashion for 'droll' or 'drolleries', the jesting short performances that (just) avoided the stigma of stage-plays, and these were clearly designed for an educated gentry and merchant audience, that enjoyed the rustic buffoonery with which they were invariably larded.²⁴

Practical jokes also survive in anecdote. In the summer of 1649 George Wither, a poet who had just been made a trustee for the sale of the late king's goods, reputedly dressed in the coronation robes, exposing them to 'contempt and laughter'. His aider and abettor in this was Henry Marten, who had only recently engaged in the ink fight with Cromwell over the

king's death warrant.²⁵ It was practical joking that inspired the wealthy London merchant and former lord mayor, Sir John Dethick, to tell the mad vintner, William King, 'that he was a parliament man, and thereupon he came and sat' at the beginning of Richard Cromwell's parliament in 1659.²⁶ There may have an element of satire in this as well, as King said later that Dethick had claimed 'he had seen the name of one King upon the list of returns' – meaning that the Parliament was full of crypto-royalists.²⁷ The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were the heyday of the *Jest book*, with tales of practical jokes and clever one-liners, and, as Noel Malcolm asserts, 'the fact that the concept of the Fool spanned both natural idiocy and comic cleverness did encourage a certain kind of deliberate cultivation of absurdity'.²⁸ This is an important point, which could be made of humour as a whole. This was something deliberately cultivated, often by the wealthy and the cultured, for others who were 'in' on the joke. The comic effect lay in the incongruity both of the subject matter and the person expressing it, and it also relied on a common understanding of the norms of behaviour and a shared level of education and experience. The result was quite sophisticated, and cannot be dismissed as either 'crude' or 'childish'.

II

Turning to Cromwell himself, it is necessary to start with less problematic sources than those post-Restoration authors discussed above. We are fortunate to have Cromwell's letters collected together in various editions, and that some of these are very personal in nature. The humour used by Cromwell in his private correspondence is fairly varied, although it keeps well within the social norms. He was capable of treating religion – the thing closest to his heart – with a lack of reverence that seems odd to modern secular eyes. In his letter to his daughter, Bridget Ireton, of 25 October 1646, Cromwell mentions the efforts of another daughter, Elizabeth Claypole, in seeking after God, and adds, 'thus to be a seeker is to be the best sect next to a finder; and such as one shall every faithful humble seeker be at the end. Happy seeker, happy finder!'.²⁹ This is of course an awful pun, turning on the double meaning of the term 'seeker', but it is perhaps typical of Cromwellian humour. Also typical is the use of nicknames. All the Cromwell children had their own nicknames: Dick, Harry, Betty, Biddy, Fanny, etc., and this was extended to other friends and relatives as well. Colonel Robert Hammond became 'Robin', Colonel Richard Norton was 'Dick'. Cromwell's letter to Hammond of November 1648 reveals the prevalence of nicknames in their political circle. Sir Henry Vane junior is

referred to as 'my brother Herne' and Cromwell signs himself 'Heron's brother'; other nicknames include 'my wise friend' (possibly William Pierrepont), 'Sir Roger' (John Lambert?) and 'brother Fountain' (Cromwell himself?).³⁰ Richard Norton is an interesting example, as Cromwell constantly teased him about his phenomenal workload in Hampshire. In March 1648 Cromwell pulled his leg about it, saying that he should 'be a little honest, and attend your charge' as an MP at Westminster,³¹ and by April 1650 he had christened him 'idle Dick Norton'.³² This 'inversion' of meaning was a common ploy in correspondence of the time, as we have seen, and shows that Cromwell's own humour went beyond straightforward punning. Family jokes could be gentle, as in July 1649 when he wrote to Richard Cromwell's father-in-law to make the joking complaint that Richard and his new wife, Dorothy, 'have so good leisure to make a journey to eat cherries', and added that he guessed that Dorothy was pregnant, and 'I hope she may have a very good pretence for it'.³³ But Cromwell did not always get the tone right. In August of the same year – as he set sail for the reconquest of Ireland – he wrote to his daughter-in-law directly, adding as a postscript that 'I hear thou didst lately miscarry. Prithee take heed of a coach by all means; borrow thy father's nag when thou intendest to go abroad'. One editor queries whether Cromwell was being 'ironical', but concludes that 'Oliver is not given to irony'.³⁴ Without knowing the precise context (was the miscarriage really caused by a coach accident?), it is uncertain precisely what Cromwell meant by this, but it does look horribly like another pun, this time on the word 'miscarry'. If so, it was but the first known occasion when Cromwell, perhaps carried away by the excitement of the forthcoming Irish expedition, misjudged what was appropriate for a given situation. Small wonder that Dorothy Cromwell reneged on her 'promise' to write regularly to her father-in-law.³⁵

Cromwell's letters showing the closeness of some of his friendships in the later 1640s are matched by how he behaved among his most intimate advisers in the later 1650s. In 1657 Cromwell had private meetings with Lord Broghill, John Thurloe, Sir Charles Wolseley, William Pierrepont and Bulstrode Whitelocke, and these often became more informal affairs, 'and laying aside his greatness, he would be exceeding familiar with them, and by way of diversion would make verses with them, and every one must try his fancy'.³⁶ Here again is a delight in language, reminiscent of the university/Inns of Court style of humour of his youth, and also with the prevalent culture of nicknames and badinage. It may have had a parallel in the activities approved by Bulstrode Whitelocke for his entourage when ambassador to Sweden in 1653-54, when, 'for diversion in these long winter

nights' his gentlemen held 'disputations in Latin, and declamations' on certain serious and comic themes.³⁷ Cromwell's playful approach to language may also provide a link with those literary figures he patronised as Protector, especially John Milton, Andrew Marvell, John Dryden, George Wither and Edmund Waller.³⁸

A pleasure in language also comes through in Cromwell's speeches. These are another fairly reliable source, even if the surviving texts are merely attempts by secretaries to keep up with *ad lib* performances which could go on for hours. At Putney in October 1647 Cromwell responded sarcastically to Leveller demands by reminding them that if they tried to 'jump out of all engagements' they might have to make 'a very great jump' – like that made by a man on a scaffold.³⁹ In his speech to parliament on 22 January 1655, Cromwell again uses facetious language about religion – this time Catholicism and the Anglican Church, whose followers he describes in cod-Latin as 'those men that live upon their *mumpsimus* and *sumpsimus*, their names and their service books'.⁴⁰ His words perhaps reflected not only common terms of abuse concerning the *hocus pocus* of the Catholic rites, but also the Latin parodies of the universities and Inns of Court. Similar distortions were also the stock-in-trade of nonsense poetry and 'drolls'.⁴¹ In a similar vein, on 21 April 1657 Cromwell told a committee of parliamentarians of his support for the 'triers and ejectors' who sought to root out malignant clergymen, and attacked the old way of certifying ministers: 'If any man could understand Latin and Greek, it was as if he spake Welsh, he was sure to be admitted'. Having made what (to a committee made up of Englishmen) was rather a good joke, Cromwell then went for a further laugh by elaborating on the Welsh language, 'which I think in those days went for Hebrew with a great many'.⁴² We are not far from Shakespeare's Fluellen, and the stereotypes familiar to all those who grew up in the early seventeenth century, given a further edge by the loyalty of many Welsh people to the Anglican church in the 1640s and 1650s.⁴³ This use of humour when addressing serious religious matters seems to have been one of Cromwell's favourite ploys, and it comes up elsewhere, such as the extraordinary incident recorded by Samuel Pepys in December 1657, when a number of Jesuit priests had been arrested, 'whose copes and other popish vestments the protector made some of his gentlemen put on, to the causing of abundance of mirth'.⁴⁴

Perhaps the most curious joke delivered by Cromwell during his speeches to parliament occurs in January 1655, when he made the apparently impromptu remark about the cavalier party that 'I could wish some of

them had thrust in here to have heard what I say'. The reaction of MPs – for whom a royalist-dominated parliament, or one invaded by enemy swordsmen, was unthinkable – can only be guessed at; but we can tell that the remark put Cromwell off his stride, and forced him into a rather lame retraction: 'the Cavalier party have been designing and preparing to put this nation in blood again, with a witness. But because I am confident there are none of that sort here, therefore I shall say the less to that...'⁴⁵ This was a telling mistake, not only because it showed that Cromwell was capable of provocative humour, but also that his taste for 'inversion' and burlesque was not always appropriate to the occasion. For not only was a cavalier parliament a shocking concept, the hint that he would have them 'thrust in here' sounded like a mirror-image of his own violent closure of the Rump Parliament in April 1653. Like the cruel joke at Dorothy Cromwell's expense, Oliver's quip to parliament, and his own double-take immediately afterwards, shows that his humour sometimes went too far.

A survey of Cromwell's letters and speeches allows us to reconsider the more outrageous 'frolics' discussed at the beginning of this piece. When seen in the light of contemporary tastes, and what can be discovered from more reliable evidence of Cromwell's own sense of humour, do any of these incidents appear more plausible? What we have seen of the closeness of Cromwell to some of the leading figures of the 1640s, and the nicknames that suggest not just intimacy but also a shared sense of humour, increases the credibility of Ludlow's story of the pillow fight in 1648, and Colonel Ewer's claim that Cromwell and another of that inner circle, Henry Marten, flicked ink at each other after signing the king's death warrant, but only a little. Without further evidence it would be best to say that such incidents accorded with Cromwell's own brand of burlesque humour, as seen with the dressing up in priests' robes in 1656, or the various irreverent jokes about religion. The incident with the soldiers and the cream tub is also impossible to verify, and is less interesting to us as Cromwell's part was passive rather than active, although his enjoyment of slap-stick humour seems to ring true. The frolics at Frances Cromwell's wedding are, however, very much to the point. Again, there is an insensitivity here, especially towards women, that seems very Cromwellian, as does the teasing of the bridegroom; and, as Roy Sherwood points out, the vulgarity as well as the extravagance of the party 'could be interpreted as yet more evidence of the re-establishment of traditions associated with royalty' – a theme that had dominated the year's politics.⁴⁶ It might be added that Cromwell's apparently boorish behaviour was entirely congruous with the burlesque idea of inverting, or subverting, the natural order. Here the godly Lord

Protector may have been performing a recognised role, like a 'lord of misrule'. It was perhaps the juxtaposition of Cromwell's forbidding reputation, and the dignity of his high office, with such high-jinks that created the comic effect.⁴⁷

In fact, judged by contemporary mores, none of these examples of 'crude' humour is the least bit exceptional or unacceptable, even in a ruler. The society that produced a Newcastle, a Phelps or a Fitzjames was more than capable of producing a Cromwell. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Cromwell's sense of humour, like his attitude towards democracy or his tastes in art and architecture, were those of a well-born gentleman of his time.⁴⁸ As yet, this humour was still usually good-natured and playful, however 'childish' and 'crude' it may appear to later generations and, under Cromwell at least, it was not marked by drunkenness, sexual incontinence and blasphemy. We are still a world away from the debauchery and depravity of the court of Charles II, where the likes of Lord Rochester, Lord Buckhurst and Sir Charles Sedley were considered wits, but wit had degenerated into the 'barbarous dissonance of Bacchus and his revellers' that so shocked Cromwell's old associate, John Milton.⁴⁹ There was nothing sophisticated about the sense of humour prevalent in the court of Charles II. To cite but one example of many, on 1 July 1663 Sir Charles Sedley climbed into the balcony of a house in Covent Garden in broad daylight

and showed his nakedness – acting all the postures of lust and buggery that could be imagined, and abusing of scripture and, as it were, from thence preaching a Mountebank sermon from that pulpit, saying that there he hath to sell such a powder as should make all the cunts in town run after him – a thousand people standing underneath to see and hear him. And that being done, he took a glass of wine and washed his prick in it and drank it off; and then took another and drank the king's health.⁵⁰

Notes.

1. C. H. Firth, *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow* (2 vols, Oxford, 1894), I, 185; for the later editing and distorting of the memoirs see Blair Worden, *Roundhead Reputations: the English Civil War and the passions of posterity* (London, 2001), chapters 1-4.
2. W. C. Abbott, *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (4 vols, Cambridge, Mass., 1937-47), I, 743.
3. A. Fraser, *Cromwell, Our Chief of Men* (London, 1973), p. 287.
4. Ibid, p. 176.

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5. Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, IV, 662.
6. Ibid, IV, 662n; Barry Coward, *Oliver Cromwell* (Harlow, 1991), p. 7.
7. Peter Gaunt, *Oliver Cromwell* (Oxford, 1996), p. 217.
8. Coward, *Cromwell*, pp. 105-6.
9. Fraser, *Cromwell*, pp. 176-7, 287, 641-4.
10. For recent contributions see the essays collected in D. Cavanagh and T. Kirk (eds.), *Subversion and Scurrility* (London, 2000).
11. See, for example, Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-60* (New Haven, 1994), ch. 9.
12. Noel Malcolm, *The Origins of English Nonsense* (London, 1997), pp. 21-2, 51.
13. Ibid, pp. 49-50; see also D. B. J. Randall, *Winter Fruit: English drama, 1642-1660* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1995), chapter 8. I am grateful to Edward Holberton for bringing this volume to my attention.
14. Sir Charles Petrie, *Letters, Speeches and Proclamations of King Charles I* (2nd edn., London, 1968), pp. 4-30, 40, 50, 55-6.
15. Arthur Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State* (2 vols, 1746), II, 664-5; Conrad Russell claims that Bedford was 'left-handed, dyslexic, and suffered from writer's cramp' (*The Fall of the British Monarchs, 1637-1642* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 240-1).
16. W. Scott and J. Bliss (eds.), *The Works of William Laud* (7 vols., Oxford, 1847-60), VI, 372, 385; VII, 102, 117, 129, 145, 161, 162.
17. *Laud's Works*, VII, 295.
18. These letters can be found in Alnwick Castle, Northumberland MSS 548 and 549.
19. Alnwick, Northumberland MS 549, fo. 113v.
20. Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, 1992), pp. 191-2.
21. A. B. Grosart (ed.), *The Lismore Papers, 2nd Series, viz. Selections from the Private and Public Correspondence of the 1st and Great Earl of Cork* (5 vols., 1887-8), IV, 146.
22. Lucy Worsley, *Bolsover Castle* (English Heritage, 2000), pp. 28-9; see also Lucy Worsley, 'A bawdy fountain at Bolsover Castle in the "artisan mannerist" style', *Renaissance Studies*, 19, 2005, pp. 83-109.
23. Malcolm Rogers, *Montacute House* (The National Trust, 2000), pp. 43-4; Malcolm, *The Origins of English Nonsense*, p. 13, notes that Phelps was a patron of the nonsense poet and humorist, Thomas Coryate.
24. Randall, *Winter Fruit*, pp. 147-56.

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25. This is a later story, and must be treated with caution. See the *Oxford Dictionary of Biography*, article on Wither by Michelle O'Callaghan. I owe this reference to Edward Holberton.
26. J. T. Rutt (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Burton, Esq* (4 vols, London, 1828), III, 77.
27. Firth, *Ludlow*, II, 53.
28. Malcolm, *The Origins of English Nonsense*, p. 114.
29. S. C. Lomas (ed.), *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, with Elucidations by Thomas Carlyle* (3 vols, London, 1904), I, 246.
30. Lomas-Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, I, 389-91; Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, I, 676.
31. Lomas-Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, I, 298.
32. Lomas-Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, II, 53. I am grateful to Jason Peacey for discussion of this.
33. Lomas-Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, I, 448.
34. Lomas-Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, I, 453; Abbott makes no comment at all (Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, II, 104).
35. Lomas-Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, I, 449, 498; Cromwell uses 'miscarriage' in the non-obstetrical sense elsewhere: see ibid, II, 485, and Ivan Roots (ed.), *Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1989), pp. 10, 12, 33, 44; the breach was only mended when Dorothy fell pregnant again in spring 1650: Lomas-Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, II, 52, 54.
36. Ruth Spalding (ed.), *The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-75* (Oxford, 1990), p. 464; see also James Welwood, *Memoirs of the Most Material Transactions in England* (1700), p. 104, which says that '[Cromwell's] conversation among his friends was very diverting and familiar, but in public reserved and grave'.
37. Spalding (ed.), *Whitelocke Diary*, pp. 343-4 and 344n. Interestingly, Whitelocke also encouraged the performance of masques by his gentlemen, but on one occasion had to censure them for using 'undecent postures' (BL, Add MS 37347, fo. 68.) – suggesting that the courtly and the burlesque were divided by a very thin boundary. I owe this last reference to Edward Holberton.
38. Cromwell appointed Wither as master of the statute office in July 1655 (*Oxford DNB*, Wither article); for his friendship with Waller see Lomas-Carlyle, III, 299.
39. Lomas-Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*, III, 359.
40. Roots, *Speeches*, p. 75.
41. See Randall, *Winter Fruit*, p. 151, for the use of nonsense language in drolls.

42. Roots, *Speeches*, p. 161.
43. See Lloyd Bowen, "This Murmuring and Unthankful Peevish Land": Wales and the Protectorate', in P. Little (ed.), *The Cromwellian Protectorate* (Woodbridge, 2007).
44. Bodl., MS Carte 73, fo. 175r: Pepys to Mountagu, 8 Dec. 1657, printed in Guy de la Bedoyere (ed.), *The Letters of Samuel Pepys* (Woodbridge, 2006). The echoes of George Wither and the humorous desecration of the coronation robes in 1649 are striking.
45. Roots, *Speeches*, p. 63.
46. Roy Sherwood, *Oliver Cromwell, King in all but Name* (Stroud, 1997), p. 112.
47. Cromwell's behaviour may even have been a deliberate attempt to distance his style of rule from the starchy, formal world of the court of Charles I. Unlike Charles, Oliver was capable of disassociating his office from his person – of 'laying aside his greatness' in Whitelocke's words (Spalding, *Whitelocke Diary*, p. 474) – especially when in the company of his courtiers. I am grateful to Edward Holberton for discussion of this point.
48. See David L. Smith, 'Oliver Cromwell and the Protectorate Parliaments' and Paul M. Hunneyball, 'Cromwellian Style: the Architectural Trappings of the Protectorate Regime' in Little, *Cromwellian Protectorate*.
49. Quoted in N. F. Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s* (Oxford, 2001), p. 177.
50. Pepys's diary, quoted in Keeble, *Restoration*, p. 177.

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CROMWELLIAN BRITAIN XX: FARLEIGH HUNGERFORD, SOMERSET

By Jane A. Mills

Somerset's name derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Sumeraeton* (a dwelling used in summer) even though the region had been inhabited since about 11,000 BC. Excavations have shown wooden causeways dating from about 4,300 BC though Iron Age hillforts did not appear until 700 BC. AD 43 saw the conquest of Britain by the Romans and the region was then populated by three different tribes: the Durotriges in the south (who unsuccessfully fought Vespasian and the 2nd Legion), the Dobunni in the north and the Dumnonii in the west. The Romans soon moved in without much opposition from these tribes, building a series of forts to protect what quickly became an important industrial centre for lead, silver, coal and iron mining, iron smelting, salt extraction and the production of pewter and glass. Several hill top pagan temples were built, the most notable at Bath (Aqua Sulis – Waters of Sulis) for the Celtic goddess identified with Minerva.

Farleigh Hungerford is a very small village 5.5km south-east of Bath, close to the River Frome, the natural boundary between Somerset and Wiltshire. The name is believed to have derived from the Anglo-Saxon *faern-laega* meaning ferny pasture but as there was a settlement here long before the Anglo-Saxons the name could come from *fair lay* meaning fair land. In the Domesday Book the area where the castle now stands was called *Ferlege*. Nearby there was a village called Rowley meaning rough land which, after its church became derelict, merged with Farleigh in the early fifteenth century.

During the Roman occupation the village probably supplied fruit and wine to the Roman citizens who lived in villas and farms in the surrounding area. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, excavations north of Farleigh Castle unearthed evidence of a very large Roman villa, bath house, some tessellated pavement and some coins. It was from this villa that some Roman pavement was found in 1683 and sent to Elias Ashmole's Museum in Oxford.¹ Another Roman villa was found to the north-west of the castle. To the east of the castle the terraced land was the location of vineyards which supplied wine to the Roman legions.²

The period AD 520 saw the defeat of the Saxon invaders but only after the area had suffered. It was monks who restored calm and set up the Church of St Leonard's in Farleigh.

At the time of the Norman Conquest the manor was given to Roger de Curcelle and after his death William Rufus gave the manor to the Monfort family who lived there until the fourteenth century. It was then sold to Bartholomew de Burghersh whose grand-daughter sold the property in 1369 to Thomas Hungerford, Sheriff of Wiltshire and Steward to John of Gaunt, who had been born in the village of Farleigh. In 1377 he was knighted and became Speaker of the House of Commons. Hungerford started work on transforming the manor house into a castle which would be more fitting to his elevated status and would serve as the centre for his vast estates which stretched from Wellow near Bath to Heylesbury in Wiltshire (including the Wiltshire Downs); his empire included sheep for wool production. The manor became a castle with four 197m high towers, embattled walls, two gatehouses, a moat and a drawbridge. As he had carried out the work without a licence he was fined 1000 marks (£665) by Richard II. He received a Royal Pardon and the licence in November 1383 and it was after this period that the manor and village became known as Farleigh Hungerford.

His son Sir Walter, the first Lord Hungerford, became Lord High Treasurer of England and first Lord Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset. He fought at Agincourt and served as a diplomat though he still had time to enlarge the castle, adding an outer bailey and another dry moat to enclose the parish church of St Leonard's. Over the next 150 years the manor changed hands several times between royalty and supporters, until Queen Mary Tudor sold it back to the Hungerford family.³

At the start of the Civil Wars Somerset appeared to be Royalist, the land owning gentry sided with the King, though in the major towns such as Bath, Bridgwater and Taunton the tradesmen were puritan and therefore supported Parliament. This became noticeable when the Marquis of Hertford arrived in Bath on a recruiting drive and was met with opposition, but in Royalist Wells he proved more successful.

The Hungerford family were also divided in their loyalties. Anthony and John Hungerford sided with the King, while their half brother Edward was a Parliamentarian. Edward's parents were both Hungerfords, his mother Lucy was the daughter of Sir Walter Hungerford IV (who recovered Farleigh Castle after it had been confiscated), and his father Sir Anthony Hungerford was descended from Walter, first Lord Hungerford, the second owner of the castle. Edward married Margaret Hallyday daughter of the Lord Mayor of London and step-daughter of the Earl of Warwick.⁴

Edward became MP for Chippenham in 1621 and served in the Short and Long Parliaments for the same constituency. When the war broke out in 1642 he sided with Parliament and on 11 July he was sent to Wiltshire to execute the militia ordinance and was put in command of the local forces. Edward appeared to become over zealous with his new appointment and even threatened to invade Lord Cottington's house in Fontwell unless he paid £1,000 to Parliament; he was reprimanded by the Speaker and told to desist. But unfortunately Sir Edward Baynton, the Parliamentary Governor of Malmesbury (Anthony Hungerford was elected MP for Malmesbury in 1640 to both the Short and Long Parliaments), was appointed commander-in-chief for Wiltshire, which did not please Hungerford who thought he was the obvious candidate. Baynton was often in dispute with fellow Parliamentarians (especially Hungerford) who thought he was treacherous. A violent argument broke out between the two and eventually after threats of treachery and each imprisoning the other, Parliament stepped in and decided in favour of Hungerford.⁵ Baynton approached the King, was imprisoned in the Tower and unfortunately his home Bromham House was burned by Royalist forces in May 1645 leaving only walls and chimneys. In 1654 Baynton built a new home at Spye Park using material from the old house; this house, which was demolished in 1864, was much smaller, though the original was the size of Whitehall Palace. John Evelyn visited Baynton and his house in 1654 and in his diary he gives an opinion of both.

...On the 19th to Sir Edward Baynton's at Spye Park, a place capable of being made a noble seat; but the humorous old knight was built a long single house of two low stories on the precipice of an incomparable prospect, and landing on a bowling-green in the park. The house is like a long barn, and has not a window on the prospect side. After dinner, they went to bowls, and, in the meantime, our coachmen were made so exceeding drunk, that in returning home we escaped great dangers. This, it seems, was by order of the knight, that all gentlemen's servants be so treated; but the custom is barbarous and much unbecoming a knight, still less a Christian.⁶

At the outbreak of war Farleigh Hungerford was not a Parliamentarian garrison. As the war progressed and the King proved to be successful capturing Bath and Bristol in 1643, due to its close proximity to Bath Farleigh's fortunes changed and it now became a Royalist garrison under the command of Colonel John Hungerford, Edward's half brother. The

garrison was used as a base for pillaging the surrounding area for supplies and horses.⁷ The Royalists now held the western counties except for the towns of Plymouth and Lyme Regis.

The summer of 1644 saw the Earl of Essex's attempt to regain the west and relieve the zealous puritans in Lyme Regis, who were valiantly holding off Prince Maurice and his army of 6,000 men. After relieving Lyme, Essex continued on into the west; this proved a mistake and he was defeated at Lostwithiel, though a contingent of his men escaped to Taunton and the town came under siege.⁸ Meanwhile due to the number of complaints about horses being stolen from around Farleigh, the Royalist garrison received a visit from two Parliamentarian raiding parties from Brickworth and West Deane. The first, commanded by Wansey, was able to carry off 60 horses from the castle. A second contingent, commanded by Dowett, arrived but decided against attacking the garrison and continued on to Norton St Philip and after a successful skirmish with Captain Pawlet, the governor of Nunney Castle, he was able to send Pawlet and thirty horses back to his garrison near Salisbury.⁹

Farleigh together with Nunney Castle were used by the Royalists as storehouses for clothing for their army. In December 1644 the King sent a writ to Sir Robert Walsh requesting him to go to Farleigh and Nunney and demand clothing and take it directly to the army.¹⁰ In March 1645 Sir William Waller chased Sir Francis Doddington and his army out of Trowbridge and they sought refuge in Farleigh Castle.¹¹

Parliament had to reassess its war efforts and changes had to be made, starting with the Self-Denying Ordinance; this paved the way for the New Model Army under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax. Fairfax with this superior force was now able to leave Cromwell to deal with Royalist Oxfordshire while he marched to relieve Taunton and the West County. Fairfax proceeded towards Bath and attacked the south of the city; the defenders surrendered. He sent Colonel Rainsborough and two regiments to Nunney Castle, whose garrison was mostly Irish and sheltering Catholic refugees; they eventually surrendered on 20 August after two days when the walls were breached by Rainsborough's cannon. Fairfax was there to witness the event and then moved on to Bristol. When Bristol surrendered on 11 September the garrison at Farleigh knew they would be unable to hold out.¹²

Edward Hungerford attacked Farleigh and John surrendered to his half brother on 15 September without any bloodshed. John and his soldiers were allowed to leave and the castle was once again in the possession of Edward Hungerford as a home and not a garrison; it saw no further action.¹³

Edward, like his castle, had suffered mixed fortunes during the war. He occupied Salisbury but due to lack of support he evacuated Devizes and fled to Bath. Waller made him Governor of Malmesbury which was abandoned by his nominated officer before he could take possession. Edward wrote a letter on 28 April from Bath to a member of the House of Commons giving an account of the proceedings in the hope of avoiding 'mistakes or misunderstandings' and 'an ill opinion, who have not deserved the same, which is all that I have at this time...'. The letter was published on 6 May.¹⁴ He fought at Lansdowne, Roundway Down and successfully besieged Lady Arundel in Waldour Castle.¹⁵ He died childless on 23 October 1648 and is buried in the castle chapel.

Edward's widow, Lady Margaret, designed a tomb for her late husband and herself; the work was carried out between 1658 and 1665. She reconstructed the side chapel dedicated to St Anne to house a white marble monument costing £1,100. The monument depicts Sir Edward in armour as a Civil War commander and Lady Margaret by his side. The floor was paved with black and white marble and the walls and ceiling were painted with scenes representing paradise as described in the Book of Revelations. This lavish chapel is very unusual considering she was a puritan. Sadly the chapel was badly damaged when the roof collapsed in the eighteenth century. All that remains of the ruined castle are a gatehouse, two towers, some curtain walling and the chapel of St Leonard's and the priest's house.¹⁶

Farleigh Castle then passed to Edward's half brother Anthony Hungerford, who had surrendered to Parliament and was imprisoned in the Tower during 1644; in order to avoid a fine he claimed he had been forcibly taken to Oxford by the King's men. In January 1646 the committee set his fine at £2,532. His fine was reduced to £1,500 as his half brother Edward had 'good affection' for parliament. Eventually in 1649 orders were given to seize his estates, which now included Farleigh Castle, due to non payment. He managed to convince the committee to further reduce the fine to £100. In 1652 he was petitioning Cromwell for help and all the time his estates and fortune were becoming larger. When he died in 1657 he was worth £43,000 and able to leave £3,000 to each of his six daughters.¹⁷

Anthony's son Edward now became owner of Farleigh. Edward was MP for Chippenham in Richard Cromwell's parliament. In order to assure his well-being he gave a large financial gift to Charles II before his restoration which guaranteed his investiture as a Knight of the Bath at the coronation in 1661. He later became involved in the Hudson Bay Company and entertained Charles II at Farleigh Castle in 1673. Though happy to support Charles, he could not give his support to the King's brother James. His involvement in committees opposed to the Duke of York led to Farleigh Castle being searched in 1683 for weapons after the Rye House Plot. He now fell from favour, losing most of his offices. He was very extravagant and his debts mounted but he continued to sit in parliament as a seat protected him from arrest for debt.

Ironically he was forced to sell his estates in 1686 to Henry Baynton of Spy Park, the grandson of his uncle's enemy. This marked the decline of the castle and it was sold for salvage in 1705. By the late 1700s part of the chapel's roof had fallen in; repairs were carried out by the then owner Colonel John Hulton who left money in trust for its upkeep. During this period the chapel was used to house antiquities such as armour and furniture. When the Hungerfords vacated the castle they left trunks and papers behind and it was not until 1738 that Edward Hungerford's nephew Walter sent a letter requesting the items: 'the old trunks, armour and papers therein now in the Chappell att Farley'.¹⁸ Hungerford never collected the items. Among the papers were two letters and a summons signed by Oliver Cromwell.

The first letter hung on the wall of the chapel until 1798 when it disappeared after Sarah Maddick, the caretaker, had been bribed. Colonel Houlton then received an anonymous request for ten pounds in exchange for the return of the letter. Houlton ignored the request. The original is now in the Tangye Collection.

For my Honour'd Friend Mr Hungerford The Elder, at his house:
These

London, 30th
July 1652

Sir, I am very sorry my occasions will not permit me to return (reply) to you as I would. I have not yet fully spoken with the Gentleman I sent to wait upon you; when I shall do it, I shall be

enabled to be more particular. Being unwilling to detain your servant any longer, with my service to your Lady and Family I take my leave, and rest, your affectionate servant,

Oliver Cromwell¹⁹

This first letter has caused speculation as to which Hungerford it might be. The Rev Jackson states in his book that it is Anthony Hungerford who petitioned Cromwell in 1652 over the order to seize his estates (including Farleigh Castle) due to non-payment of his fine. Carlyle also considers Anthony as a prime candidate. W. C. Abbott mentions a Colonel Anthony Hungerford who petitioned for £100 for money due to him. Colonel Anthony, son of Thomas Hungerford of Garsdon in Wiltshire, was a Parliamentary officer who fought in Ireland (including Drogheda); he received a head injury and left his regiment due to ill health. He did petition Cromwell in 1652 for £100 and in 1654 for £2,000 arrears and costs: the bullet was still in his head and he was unable to support his family. As a child his family seems to have been acquainted with Sir John Danvers who 'stood bound' together with Sir Edward Hungerford and Sir Neville Poole for a regiment of horse. But he did not reside at Farleigh Hungerford Castle.²⁰ Abbott and Carlyle mention another possibility, a Henry Hungerford who was acting as an agent of Sir Edward Hungerford's widow Margaret (who designed the tomb), who was petitioning for the payment of 'a public debt' incurred when her husband provided a regiment of horse.²¹

The second letter is:

For My Honour'd Friend Anthony Hungerford, Esquire:
These

Cockpit, 10th December 1652

Sir,- I understand, by my Cousin Dunch, of so much trouble of yours, and so much unhandsomeness (at least seemingly) on my part, as doth not a little afflict me, until I give you this Account of my Innocencie. He was pleased to tell my Wife of your often resolves to visit me and of your disappointments. Truly had I but once known of your being there and have concealed myself, it had been an action so below a Gentleman or an honest-man, so full of ingratitude for the Civilities I have received from you, as would have rendered me unworthy of human society. Believe me, Sir, I

am much ashamed that the least Colour of the Appearance of such a thing should have happened and could not take satisfaction but by this plain-dealing for my justification, which I ingenuously offer to you. And although Providence did not dispose other Matters to Mutual Satisfaction yet your Nobleness in that Overture Obligeth me, and I hope shall whilst I live, to study upon all Occasions to Approve my Self Your Familiar and Most Affectionate and humble Servant,

O. Cromwell

My Wife and I desire our
Service be presented to your Lady
and Family.²²

The second letter is taken from a copy which was made by William Turner and was found at Longleat by Rev Jackson. There are some discrepancies between the copies found in Jackson's, Abbott's and Carlyle's books. Jackson maintains that his version is correct and he cites two passages in the letter; the first in his letter reads *He was pleased to tell my wife* while in Carlyle's it says *She was pleased to tell my wife*. The 'He' would be Edmund Dunch, son of Mary Cromwell, daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, whereas the 'She' would be Mrs Dunch who was Bridget Hungerford, daughter of Sir Anthony Hungerford, a distant cousin of Farleigh Castle's Anthony Hungerford. The second passage in Jackson's letter reads *resolves to visit me* but in both Abbott's and Carlyle's it says *resorts to my house*. Sadly the original is longer available. In 1802 the solicitor and agent for the Farleigh Estate, Joseph Smith, had the original, and on his death his papers passed to his son-in-law, Dr Coke, a Wesleyan Minister; unfortunately Rev Jackson was unable to trace its whereabouts.²³

Notes.

1. Elias Ashmole (1617-1692) Fellow of the Royal Society gave his collection to Oxford University in 1677; it is now known as the Ashmolean Museum.
2. Rev J. E. Jackson, *A Guide to Farleigh Hungerford, Co. Somerset* (London, 1879).
3. C. Kightly, *Farleigh Hungerford Castle* (English Heritage, 2006).
4. *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 28.
5. Ibid; Kightly, *Farleigh*; J. Adair, *By the Sword Divided* (London, 1983).

6. W. Bray (ed.), *The Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S.* (London, 1862), p. 202.
7. Kightly, *Farleigh*.
8. J. A. Mills, 'Cromwellian Britain XVII: Lyme Regis, Dorset', *Cromwelliana 2004* (The Cromwell Association, 2004).
9. Jackson, *Farleigh*, pp. 12-13; Kightly, *Farleigh*.
10. Jackson, *Farleigh*, p. 12.
11. Jackson, *Farleigh*, p. 13; Kightly, *Farleigh*.
12. D. Underdown, *Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum*, (Newton Abbot, 1973), p. 112; P. Gaunt, *The Cromwellian Gazetteer*, (Stroud, 1987); P. Gaunt, *The English Civil Wars 1642-1651*, (Oxford, 2003).
13. Kightly, *Farleigh*; *Dictionary of National Biography*.
14. British Library, Thomason Tract E100 vol 2 (30).
15. A. Plowden, *Women All On Fire*, (Stroud, 1998).
16. Kightly, *Farleigh*; Jackson, *Farleigh*.
17. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).
18. Jackson, *Farleigh*, p. 25, letter to Mr Joseph Houlton from Walter Hungerford, 27 September 1738.
19. Jackson, *Farleigh*; T. Carlyle, *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (4 vols, London, 1897), III, 22; W. C. Abbott, *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (4 vols, Oxford, 1988), II, 568.
20. British Library, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, March 1654-June 1654, vol. LXVIII, p. 53; 1653-1654, vol. LXVI, p. 411; *Dictionary of National Biography*, pp. 818-19.
21. British Library, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1652-53, vol. XXXVII, pp. 421, 440-1, 456; 1653-54, vol. LXVI, pp. 410-11; March 1654-June 1654, vol. LXVIII, p. 53; Jan-Oct 1655, vol. XCIV, p. 27.
22. Jackson, *Farleigh*. On the bottom of the letter is written *Vera Copia ab Originali in Castro Farleiano in Com. Somerset, Scripsit Willus Turner*.
23. Jackson, *Farleigh*; Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*; Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches*.

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Michael Foot and Alison Highet, *Isaac Foot. A Westcountry Boy – Apostle of England.* (Politicos, London 2006). 352pp. ISBN –10:1-84275-181-6

An analysis of Hansard of Isaac Foot's contributions to parliamentary debates during his career as a Liberal MP would probably reveal that he quoted the Bible, and Cromwell, more than most of his contemporaries and successors. He fought thirteen elections, winning five and losing eight. Hugh Foot, one of his five talented sons, is quoted recalling that his father used to say proudly 'that our family has lost more parliamentary elections than any other family in England'.

This book, by another of Isaac's sons, Michael, and one of his grandchildren, Alison Highet, is not, nor does it claim to be, a biography of Isaac Foot, but rather an affectionate portrayal through writings and memoirs of a man of huge enthusiasms and high principles. Foot's roots lie deep in his West Country Methodism that drove him throughout his life. Coupled with his traditional Liberal politics, his belief was that 'Liberty is never something achieved, it is always something being achieved'.

His love of his native Plymouth, which he served as a Councillor and Lord Mayor, and his sense of history are reflected in his many writings and recollections gathered here. He was a dedicated keeper of anniversaries and centenaries, bi, and tri-centenaries. The erection of the Drake Memorial on Plymouth Hoe in 1888 was a recollection of his childhood, and perhaps encouraged his commitment to a range of memorials associated with his heroes.

For members of the Cromwell Association, Isaac Foot's significance is that he was a driving force and one of the three founder members. The creation of the Association in 1937 led to a spate of commemorative plaques in the first few years and the first of the annual services by the Thornycroft statue outside Westminster in 1949. His agenda for the Association as a non-political, non-sectarian body, to perpetuate the memory of the Lord Protector, is one that the Association follows seventy years on.

Cromwell was one of his many heroes, political, religious and literary. His devotion to them was based on immense knowledge drawn from reading on an Olympian scale, and an ability to recall passages read and references noted seemingly with apparent ease. Throughout his life he kept commonplace books where he transcribed his favourite passages – this

volume serves as a commonplace book for the Foot family to share in their celebration of this remarkable man.

For readers of *Cromwelliana* the book is recommended for two distinct reasons. The first, that it gives useful information about the Association and its activities under Foot's leadership. The second, and far broader reason, is that it illustrates one man's intellectual history that spans the late nineteenth to the mid twentieth century (1880-1960). To a significant extent his perspective remained more nineteenth than twentieth century, viewing Cromwell as a great national Protestant hero, but taking that position forward, which led to the Association itself and much more. It is curious to note that another great Cromwellian, and owner of a library and collection of *Cromwelliana*, Sir Richard Tangye, lived within a few miles of Isaac Foot in Cornwall, though it is unknown whether Foot ever saw the collection at Glendorgal.

Isaac Foot and the dynasty that he and his wife Eva headed deserve a detached biography, and given time that may yet be written. When it is, this book, along with the earlier book by Sarah Foot about her grandfather, will provide very useful companion volumes. It may also be the case that the Association should consider its own history – perhaps for the seventy-fifth anniversary?

Regrettably, particularly in a book honouring such a noted bibliophile as Isaac Foot, the computer generated justified margins make for rather jerky typesetting but that is a minor criticism.

John Goldsmith

Rose Clark, *Spalding 1625-1660. A Fair Town in a World Turned Upside Down.* (R. Clark, 2006). 61pp. ISBN 0-9551453-1-7 978-0-9551453-1-5.

Rose Clark, the former Head of History at Spalding High School, has devoted herself to researching, writing and publishing a book about the town of Spalding in Lincolnshire. She has given particular reference throughout the book to the Reverend Robert Ram who was the vicar of Spalding from 1626 to 1657. During the civil war Robert Ram, an ardent Puritan, served as chaplain to Colonel Edward Rossiter (from Spalding), and his regiment of horse and later became notable as the author of the *Soldiers' Catechism*, a tract written for the Parliamentary army to encourage

and instruct the common soldier – it was so successful that seven editions were printed by the end of 1645. After the war little is known about Ram other than he tended his parish and land; he purchased fifty-six acres which he formerly rented. Ram encouraged his parishioners to read, establishing a lending library in a small store room above the north porch of the parish church. It is recorded that Ram did a stock take on 26 December 1650 and there were 120 books in the library. In 1655 he wrote *A Countryman's Catechism*, a guide to the spiritual well-being for his parishioners. Unfortunately there are no copies surviving.

The town as part of the manor of Spalding was held by Queen Henrietta Maria and Charles I owned land nearby. After the Restoration the manor was part of Catherine of Braganza's dowry and then was bestowed on the Duke of Monmouth.

For such a small book of 60 pages including illustrations, it has detailed information on the development of Spalding, its industry and merchants and the day-to-day running of the town. The sections devoted to the civil war, while not extensive, do give some insight into the part played by Spalding and some of its inhabitants. I feel that the book will be of great interest and a welcome addition for education on its local history.

It is a shame that there are no portraits of the Reverend Robert Ram as I feel his image would be better suited to appear on the cover of this book.

Jane A. Mills

F. Henderson, ed., *The Clarke Papers V. Further Selections from the Papers of William Clarke* (Royal Historical Society, Cambridge UP, 2006). xiv + 401pp. ISBN 0-521-86267-1.

In the closing decade of the nineteenth century, that great Cromwellian historian and editor Charles Harding Firth prepared for publication substantial selections from Sir William Clarke's papers, duly published by the Camden Society as *The Clarke Papers* in four volumes between 1891 and 1901. However, Firth omitted lots of extant material from these four volumes, partly on grounds of space, but also because much of it survived only in Clarke's own shorthand, which Firth and his contemporaries were apparently unable to decipher. Even though it turned out to be one of the commoner forms employed during the seventeenth century, it was not until

the 1970s that Clarke's style of shorthand was successfully identified and it became possible to decipher the extensive shorthand material, principally large sections of a series of around a dozen notebooks which Clarke kept between 1651 and 1660 while based in Scotland, as secretary to the English parliamentarian army there. Deciphered and transcribed by Dr Frances Henderson over the past twenty years, they include information about the administration of the army in Scotland, as well as some personal material relating to Clarke himself, but the largest and in many ways the most important clutch of material comprises the transcribed texts of newsletters sent to Scotland from London and occasionally from other (English and Continental) cities, relaying a mixture of domestic and foreign, political and military news, supplemented by copies of the texts of a much smaller number of newsletters which Clarke wrote and sent in return from Scotland. It is this material, full and fully annotated transcripts of newsletters and other newsy correspondence freshly deciphered, which forms the core and focus of this fifth volume of the Clarke Papers.

A short introduction provides a brief history of the Clarke papers themselves, sketches out Clarke's biography, places him in the historical context of the British republic of the 1650s and also explores how and why he copied some of the material into his notebooks in shorthand rather than longhand – perhaps to save time and space, but also, Dr Henderson speculates, to provide an element of secrecy and to conceal and safeguard the contents of some of the more sensitive material. Thus out of a little over 400 shorthand, deciphered documents covered by this volume, there are particular concentrations in 1654, the year of the Glencairn rising and the so-called Overton plot, and late 1659, the period of Monck's growing clash with the London-based generals. Conversely, there is much less shorthand material from the early and the mid-to-late 1650s. The volume closes with a trio of appendices, identifying some of Clarke's correspondents, reproducing the longhand text of a particular incident (the court martial of Sexby) so that readers can compare it with the newly deciphered shorthand account from Clarke's notebook and exploring further the type of shorthand employed by Clarke.

The bulk of this volume, however, is given over to reproducing the texts of newsletters and other material which Clarke originally entered in shorthand and which are thus newly deciphered and made available to historians for the first time. What does this material tell us and what do we learn? In some ways, it is a bit disappointing and speculation that Clarke's shorthand texts

concealed startling new revelations about the 1650s has proved wide of the mark. As Dr Henderson herself notes, 'there is no sensational new dimension of Interregnum politics' here, but the newsletters do enable us to 'acquire a richer sense both of the world of army intelligence within which Clarke moved and of the broader picture of national events' (p. 5). Some incidents and short periods are particularly fully covered here, including Colonel Edward Sexby's trial in Edinburgh in summer 1651 (the only detailed record of a court martial of a commissioned officer surviving from this period), the eighteen months or so from spring 1653 to late 1654 (with London newsletters written by George Downing, Gilbert Mabbott and others thus giving fairly full information about domestic and foreign developments during the opening period of the Protectorate, including important material both on the establishment of the regime in December 1653 and on the first Protectorate parliament), the political and military developments in the capital of spring 1659 and the broadly similar developments, but now with a focus on Monck's attitude to them and on his role in reshaping events, during the winter and spring of 1659-60. Readers with a particular Cromwellian interest will also find two letters in this volume by Oliver, one already well known and published by Abbott, the other not (a fairly minor letter of April 1653 supporting an earlier parliamentary grant of land in Scotland to a junior officer), together with a scattering of other correspondence to him or mentioning his actions. Overall, this is an excellent volume, rich and thoughtful, meticulously researched, prepared and presented, and a rightful successor to Firth's exemplary work, which adds significantly to our knowledge of the republic in general and the Cromwellian Protectorate in particular.

David Farr, *Henry Ireton and the English Revolution* (The Boydell Press, 2006). ix + 277pp. ISBN 1-84383-235-6.

Despite or perhaps because of all the attention lavished on Lord General Oliver Cromwell, many of the other senior officers on the parliamentarian side who emerged from the civil wars victorious and with the potential – sometimes realised, sometimes not – to play a wider political role in the post-war state have been rather neglected by biographers. Thus even if there is insufficient material to compile full length biographies of John Disbrowe and William Sydenham, figures like Charles Fleetwood and Henry Cromwell surely deserve modern full length biographies. But the gaps are being steadily filled. John Lambert was accorded a full length study (also by

David Farr) earlier this decade and a rich study of Sir Thomas Fairfax by Andrew Hopper has just appeared. Now David Farr has contributed a detailed biography of Henry Ireton, Oliver Cromwell's son-in-law, a – perhaps the – leading figure in the army politics of the later 1640s, a firm regicide and then general in and Lord Deputy of Ireland until his death (from natural causes) outside Limerick in November 1651, just a few weeks after his fortieth birthday. Although Ireton receives a good, short biography by Ian Gentles in the *Oxford DNB*, no full-length study had appeared since R. W. Ramsey's pleasant but rather shallow account first published in 1949.

Unlike his earlier study of John Lambert, which focussed upon specific aspects of his personal and public life, Dr Farr has written a more conventional biography of Ireton, from cradle to grave, exploring in ten chronological chapters his life and times. Although the surviving evidence precludes detailed study of Ireton's first thirty years or more – rapidly promoted during the first civil war, he was not a really important military or political figure until the mid 1640s – in some ways Dr Farr's account of his early life forms one of the most important sections of this new study. More clearly and more fully than his predecessors, Dr Farr sets Ireton's family, kindred, education and early life firmly within a godly Nottinghamshire and Midlands context, showing how he was shaped by the puritan, godly zeal of his mother, his kin and kindred links and his 'interest'. Strong new evidence, drawn from meticulous research, is deployed to demonstrate his own and his family's – especially his widowed mother's – distance from the established Church of England of the early Stuart state.

The unfolding and elegantly written narrative follows Ireton's subsequent career through the civil wars, then as the 'penman of the army' and on to success and death in Ireland. The conventional view of Ireton in the later 1640s, as the leading political thinker in the parliamentary army, good and prolific on paper and in print, forthright and tenacious in debate, is confirmed and fleshed out. Ireton's relations with the radical preacher Hugh Peter and fellow-officer Thomas Harrison, as well as with his father-in-law, are also reassessed. Dr Farr stresses that Ireton's political position in the later 1640s was determined by his godly beliefs and his firm providentialism, just as his faith coloured his approach to Ireland in the early 1650s, where he saw himself leading a righteous and godly campaign, willing to work with and for 'innocent' civilians who had been misled into the false faith of Catholicism but taking a stern line with Irish Catholic leaders, priests and others who had blood on their hands. Like Cromwell

before him, he believed he was on a godly mission to bring the deluded Irish to the true faith. This well written and well researched account, with its detailed references and thorough bibliography, greatly enhances rather than radically alters our view of Ireton as a key figure in the events of 1647-49 – ‘without Ireton the how and when of regicide would have been different’ (p. 247) – and as ‘a driven individual’, ‘a driven, godly man’, whose ‘brutal commitment to dealing with the practical problems he encountered, no matter the cost’ (pp. 246-47), helped to bolster and advance the parliamentary cause during the key phase of the English Revolution.

Stephen Ede-Borrett, *Lostwithiel 1644. The Campaign and the Battles* (The Pike and Shot Society, 2004). vi + 157pp. ISBN 1-902768-23-1. Cliff Mitchell, ed., *The Art of Gunnery (1647) together with A Treatise of Artificall Fire-Works (1647) by Nathanael Nye* (The Pike and Shot Society, 2004). iii + 96pp. ISBN 1-902768-17-6.

The Pike and Shot Society, founded in the early 1970s to promote interest and research in early modern warfare, is very active in publishing and thus making available both important contemporary material and new research and writing in the field. These two perfect bound, paperback volumes, amongst the Society’s most recent publications relating to the English civil war, reflect this dual approach.

Stephen Ede-Borrett has written a good, new account of Lord General Essex’s doomed march into the south-west in summer 1644, from the initial move – sensible in itself and approved by parliament – to relieve besieged Lyme Regis, through to his drive westwards across Devon and into Cornwall in late July and August, and on to the final stand around and expulsion from the Lostwithiel area in late August and the mass surrender at Fowey on 1 September. This sad and sorry tale, told clearly and effectively, drawing upon a wide range of contemporary sources, confirms Essex’s grand miscalculation and ineptitude, though Mr Ede-Borrett also apportions some blame to others. Thus by underplaying the scale of his own earlier defeat at Cropredy Bridge, Sir William Waller allowed Essex to think that he had sufficient forces to distract and tie down the King’s army while Essex dealt with Devon and Cornwall undisturbed, whereas in truth he had no viable force left for this role; by giving very optimistic reports about the level of support he could give by sea, the Earl of Warwick as lord

admiral encouraged Essex to plunge into Cornwall, only to find his boats cooped up in Plymouth Sound by strong winds and thus unable to assist or evacuate Essex’s army; and by claiming that the people of Cornwall would rise up in support of parliament once the army crossed the Tamar, Lord Robartes encouraged Essex to head west, only to find the population overwhelmingly apathetic or antagonistic to his cause and fate. In a series of crisp chronological chapters, Mr Ede-Borrett underlines the errors of the parliamentary strategy and the collapse and defeat of the western campaign, while also stressing the effectiveness of the royalists and Charles I’s own strong performance in personal charge of the campaign. After a clutch of illustrations, mainly modern photographs of sites and locations, the second half of this impressive volume is given over to a range of supporting material, including biographical sketches of the senior officers on both sides, lists of the structure and composition of the two armies, the principal contemporary accounts and transcripts of other related documents.

The second volume is rather different, comprising in the main a transcription and reproduction of two contemporary accounts of gunnery, originally published in 1647 and written by Nathaniel Nye, a Birmingham-born mathematician, astronomer-astrologer and master gunner, who supported the parliamentarian cause from spring 1645 if not earlier, first at Evesham and then at Worcester – in his brief introduction, Cliff Mitchell provides some biographical information on Nye, though a little more is now accessible through Dr Stephen Porter’s short *Oxford DNB* study. In *The Art of Gunnery* Nye provides a practical guide to the use of artillery, including tips on how to recognise good gunpowder – it should not taste too sharp and, if a sample is laid in the palm of the hand and ignited, ‘you will not be burned’ – and the various arts, techniques and applications of artillery pieces, stressing the role of arithmetic and geometry. Also reproduced here is Nye’s shorter treatise on ‘artificall fire-works,’ for warre and recreation’, as the title suggests covering the manufacture and application of assorted mortars, grenades and petards and also of various small fireworks for delight and entertainment. The latter is a fascinating do-it-yourself guide, doubtless breaking all sorts of modern health and safety guidelines, involving paper, rulers, sticks, bodkins, pieces of leather, packthread, quills and glue, as well as gunpowder and rammers; brimstone and saltpetre, to produce rockets, stars, gold and silver rain, fuscigs or serpents (a small rolling pin is also needed to make these); firewheels and firelances. Don’t try this at home!

BOOK REVIEWS

Philip McKeiver, *A New History of Cromwell's Irish Campaign* (Advance Press, 2007). 224pp. ISBN 978-0-9554663-0-4.

This is a spirited new account of Oliver Cromwell's Irish campaign of 1649-50, based upon close reading of printed primary sources, especially Thomas Carlyle's edition of Cromwell's letters and speeches, and of a wide range of secondary works. Opening chapters look at the mythologizing of Cromwell and at events in Ireland from 1643 to 1649, providing the background to the main thrust of the volume, which is to re-examine Cromwell's role and actions in Ireland from his landing near Dublin in August 1649 until his departure from Youghal in late May 1650. In five principal chapters, Mr McKeiver explores different phases and aspects of the campaign – the storm of Drogheda, the storm of Wexford, the later campaign of the autumn and winter, the siege and attempted storm of Clonmel and the Cromwellian campaign viewed as a whole and as a stage in the bigger overall reconquest of Ireland – in each case beginning by setting out a number of myths, misunderstandings and misconceptions and then seeking to correct and demythologise those points. In the process, a wide range of historians and their views are explored and often taken to task, so providing a strong historiographical strand to this new account. Some of the myths and false ideas are quite easily and quickly disposed of – suggestions by earlier and less careful or more prejudiced historians that Cromwell campaigned solely against Irish Catholics and unleashed indiscriminate killing throughout his time in Ireland, that his campaign ranged across the whole of the island and encompassed the full reconquest of Ireland and, more specifically, that his Clonmel operation focused upon an attempt to conspire with a royalist commander to betray the town and its garrison in return for £500. Others, particularly the precise sequence of events, actions, aims and outcomes entailed in the operations against Drogheda and Wexford in September and October 1649, are more deeply ingrained and not only remain far more controversial but also call for detailed and careful reinterpretation. In the process, Mr McKeiver largely follows the revisionist, pro-Cromwellian line adopted most notably in recent years by Tom Reilly in *Cromwell, An Honourable Enemy*, while disagreeing with Mr Reilly's account in some points of detail. In concluding his vigorous reinvestigation, Mr McKeiver ruefully but surely correctly notes that 'it suited both nations to magnify the actions of Cromwell in Ireland, in ways that prostituted history to political and religious propaganda' (p. 188).

Peter Gaunt

SUMMER SEASON 2007

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Grammar School Walk,
Huntingdon.
Tel (01480) 375830.

April - October
Open Tuesday-Sunday 10.30am-12.30pm 1.30-4pm
Monday closed

November – March
Open Tuesday-Friday 1.30-4pm
Saturday 10.30am-12.30pm 1.30-4pm
Sunday 1.30-4pm
Monday closed

Admission free
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Oliver Cromwell's House,
29 St Mary's Street, Ely.
Tel (01353) 662062.

April - October
Open every day 10am-5.30pm

November – March
Open Monday-Friday 11am-4pm
Saturday 10am-5pm, Sunday 11am-4pm

Admission charge.
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The Commandery,
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Open Monday-Saturday 10am-5pm
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Admission charge

CROMWELLIANA

Published by The Cromwell Association, this annual journal of Civil War and Cromwellian studies contains articles, book reviews, a bibliography and other comments, contributions and papers. Further copies of this and previous editions may be obtained from the Honorary Secretary (at the address on the inside front cover), who can supply details of prices and availability. Alternatively details are available on our web-site: www.olivercromwell.org.

ISBN 0-905729-19-6



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