THE NEWSLETTER OF THE CROMWELL ASSOCIATION

The Protector's Pen

Association News

2020 AGM & Events Statues under threat What's on YouTube? New leaflet

Diseases in the Civil Wars

Churchill on Cromwell

Cromwell's Body

Richard Cromwell portrait found?

News & Events In the Press Book reviews

Vol 22 Issue 2 July 2020



.....promoting our understanding of the 17th century

Inside this issue

Notes from the Chair	1	
Notes from Council	3	
Epidemic diseases during the Civil Wars	Z	
Happy Anniversary	6	
In this year1649 (Jun–Dec)	7	
Reopening of the Cromwell Museum in Huntingdon	٤	
Churchill on Cromwell	ç	
How to trace Civil War soldiers (Part 3): Ireland	12	
Cromwell's Body (Part 1)	14	
Cromwell's Watch	15	
Long-lost Richard Cromwell portrait found?	16	
Association News		
 AGM 2020 Note from the Treasurer New Association leaflet Westmacott books David Horspool book What's on YouTube? 	17 17 17 18 18	
Cromwell Curator's corner	19	
Discover the London	21	
Book Reviews	22	
Quiz	24	
Events		
In the Press		

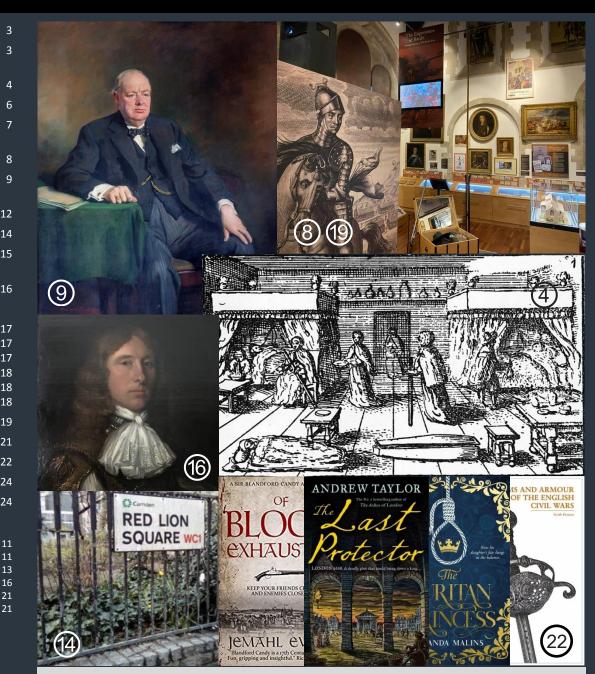
Harrow Alley & Hollywood	
Epidemic in Civil War London	
Nearly, Dettlefield Dusing	

- Trumpery
- Charles II & the Royal Oak
- Film: Fanny Lye Deliver'd



Front cover: Coloured woodcut of the Great Fire of London, Museum of London

Vol 22



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

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

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

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

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All opinions expressed in *The Protector's Pen* are the views of the authors and not necessarily those of the Association. *The Protector's Pen* is produced twice a year (March and July) for the Cromwell Association and printed by **The Printing Place**. All information is correct at the time of going to press. Copy date for the next issue: **15 Jan 2021**

copy date for the next issue. 19 Jun

Notes from the Chair

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

The current COVID-19 pandemic has changed so many things for all of us in the last few months. In the spring edition of *The Protector's Pen* the Annual General Meeting was trailed, as were the Schools' Day, Cromwell Day and an October Study Day. The AGM was the first to be cancelled, and by mid-May the decision was taken to cancel all other events planned for the year. These are curious times indeed.

The decision to cancel Cromwell Day was taken with particular reluctance as it is an event of significance to many of you, and for the first time we planned on holding the service at Sidney Sussex College in Cambridge. We hope to hold the service there in September 2021, but this year we have a gap. To mark the event a wreath will be laid on 3rd September this year, though without an audience. A video of the wreath laying, and some brief words to mark the anniversary of Cromwell's death, will be posted on the Members' Area of the website at 3.00pm on Cromwell Day. You will need to access the site using the new password that is printed on your membership card enclosed with this mailing. This is a new venture into the virtual world for us and it would be wonderful if you could look in online.

Hopefully this new and larger than usual edition will help to compensate for the reduction in what we can provide this year. Ismini Pells has written an interesting article on epidemic diseases during the civil wars, a very timely reminder of how common death was by contagion in the 17th century. We have two articles about objects: possibly a lost portrait of Richard Cromwell and a watch associated with Cromwell. In both cases provenance is everything. Member Alistair Kerr has contributed a piece about where Cromwell's body may or may not be located, and adds some interesting detail to the story. Allen Packwood has kindly provided a written version of the lecture he gave in Huntingdon in autumn 2019 on Churchill and Cromwell. There is one link he doesn't mention: Maurice Ashley. Ashley was president of the Association from 1960–1977, and therefore the longest serving to date. He was also Churchill's research assistant in the 1930s and later wrote on Churchill as a historian. Along with other articles, from tracing civil war soldiers who served in Ireland to a celebration of Oliver and Elizabeth's 400th wedding anniversary, there is plenty to read and enjoy. There are also more fiction book reviews than usual, so if you are stuck at home this summer you should find plenty to read. If you want something more academic, then there are still a number of titles about Cromwell looking for buyers, courtesy of the late John Westmacott.

The last time I wrote this column I made a plea for all members to provide an email address if possible. If you have previously given an address, but have received no emails from the Association since the last hard copy mailing, please resubmit your address to our Membership Secretary as something isn't working!

As has been notified previously, the subscription rates go up on 3rd September. I very much hope that you will continue to support the Association and remain in membership. Without members we are nothing, and without an income we can do nothing.

John Goldsmíth Chair

chair@olivercromwell.org

Notes from Council

Council has not met in person since January. Decisions about cancelling meetings were taken by email, and in the middle of June we held a Zoom meeting. Despite trepidation, on behalf of some of us at least, the virtual meeting was successful, with useful discussion and some decisions taken.

Main points worthy of note:

- Our constitution requires notice of business meetings, either Annual General or Extraordinary, to be given to all members in writing. Normally this works fine as hard copy mailings coincide with the dates notice has to be given to members. The cancellation of this year's AGM though required an additional mailing, which cost in the region of an unbudgeted £450. It is therefore Council's intention to propose changes to our constitution at the next AGM to allow for notices of meetings to be given by email where we have an address.
- Following an approach from St Giles' Cripplegate, consideration was given to installing a memorial panel in a window to celebrate Oliver and Elizabeth's marriage. The costs are not insignificant and a final decision has been put on hold until we have a clear position of our finances post-pandemic.
- Rather than attempt to replicate substantial content about Cromwell and the 17th century more generally on YouTube and other media platforms, we agreed that we would work with others as appropriate, and provide a guide to what is worth viewing.
- The postponed AGM for 2020 will no longer take place and the business will be covered in the 2021 AGM to be held on Saturday 24th April at Bridgwater, Somerset. Cromwell Day 2021 will take place in Cambridge on Saturday 4th September, and the Study Day scheduled for this October is provisionally planned for October 2021.
- An extended email, not quite an electronic version of *The Protector's Pen*, will be distributed later this year to all email addresses that we hold.

The next meeting of Council will take place in early November. As yet a decision is to be taken as to whether it is a Zoom meeting or a physical meeting, which will be dependent on the prevailing conditions of the pandemic.

The minutes of our meetings, once approved, are placed on the Members' Area of the website, accessible using the password printed on your annual membership card. Please let us know your views and opinions.

Contact contact contact contact contact chair@olivercromwell.org contact <a href="mailto:chair@olivercromwel

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



Epidemic diseases during the Civil Wars

During the current pandemic, some journalists have turned to instances of historical epidemics in the past – most commonly the plague – seeking parallels with contagion now. What was the impact of epidemic disease in the Civil Wars?

Diseases were by far the greatest causes of death in armies of the Early Modern period (c1500–1800). It has been estimated that only 15–20% of military deaths in this period occurred in battle. Of the remainder, diseases outweighed a combination of wounds and accidents as the causes of death by a ratio perhaps as high as 1.5:1. The arrival of large numbers of soldiers often brought disease, which quickly spread to civilians whether under siege or because of troops billeted on them. The spread of plague, typhus and other epidemics was not unknown prior to the Civil Wars; the difference during this conflict was that epidemics spread by soldiers became both commonplace and widespread.



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It has been said that 'a savage resurgence of epidemic disease was not the least important consequence of the English Civil War'. Bubonic plague was responsible for the most deaths from disease during the Civil Wars. The plague was caused by bacteria carried by rats, which was then transmitted to humans via fleas. Plague was at its most prevalent in summer, but in the winter months of the Civil Wars there were numerous outbreaks of what was called 'the new disease' or 'camp fever'. This was most likely typhus, a disease caused by bacterial infection spread by lice. Suffers experienced fever, delirium and a rash. Finally, typhoid was also common, which was spread by contaminated food and water. Like typhus, the symptoms of typhoid included fever

and sometimes a rash, but also abdominal pain, vomiting and constipation.

All these diseases flourished in the poor sanitary and overcrowded conditions of military camps and billets. Oliver Cromwell's son Oliver died, probably of smallpox, whilst on campaign. Lady Anne Fanshawe, who spent much of the Civil Wars in Oxford, observed 'the sad spectacle of war, sometimes plague, sometimes sicknesses of other kind, by reason of so many people being packed together'. Few regions of England remained untouched. Large outbreaks of epidemic diseases have been identified in a number of major English towns, as well as many smaller ones. Of course, it was not just England that suffered. Covenanter troops returning from the siege of Newcastle brought plague with them into Scotland, causing an epidemic that resulted in the deaths of between two and three per cent of the population. Ireland experienced its first outbreak of plague for half a century when the disease arrived in Galway in July 1649 and rapidly spread across the country with only Ulster untouched.

One of the best-known examples of epidemics during the Civil Wars were those at Newark. The town and its environs were host to several royalist armies from outside the region, who were besieged three times: in 1643, 1644 and 1645–6. Overcrowding, deprivation and filth resulted in several outbreaks of typhus, the worst of which occurred from November 1644 to April 1645.

Devastating though this epidemic was, it was overshadowed by the severity of the plague outbreak which occurred from March 1646 onwards. One occupant of the town, John Twentyman, was in no doubt as to the cause of this outbreak: 'the plague being brought in among them by soldiers which came from some other places'. Charles I himself had arrived at Newark on 14 October 1645, accompanied by around 800 horse. Hot on his heels, arriving two days later, was Prince Rupert with 300 horse. Rupert had surrendered Bristol the previous month, causing the king to cashier his nephew from his service. Rupert, determined to defend his actions, had ridden to Newark to confront his uncle. Plague was raging in Bristol during the time of the siege and it is therefore possible that Rupert and his men had brought the epidemic from that city to Newark. The disease ravaged the town to the extent that the wife of the governor of nearby Nottingham, Lucy Hutchinson, observed that 'it almost desolated the place'. By the time of (cont'd)



Newark's surrender on 6 May 1646, there were concerns that the plague would spread to the surrounding villages. Four miles from Newark, at East Stoke, the annual average of burials prior to 1645 had been seven. In 1646, 169 burials were recorded, of which 159 were marked with a cross. The parish register noted 'All those names that have ye crosse before them did dye of ye plague; from which plague good Lord deliver us'. The mortality rate was as bad, if not worse, than the most severe outbreaks of plague in London in the seventeenth century.*

Could anything be done to combat epidemic diseases during the Civil Wars? It seems that there was some awareness of the importance of basic hygiene in preventing disease. In 1651, Richard Elks published a pamphlet of basic first aid for soldiers based on remedies he had received from an English veteran who had fought in Ireland during the Elizabethan wars there. The directions in Elks's pamphlet included:

"...when you rest at your fires sit not upon the cold ground, but upon wood, straw, or such like; put off your wet clothes, and especially your stockings and dry them, etc. And carry in your knapsack a piece of steel to heat red hot, and quench it in your beer, water or milk, and as you travel gather the

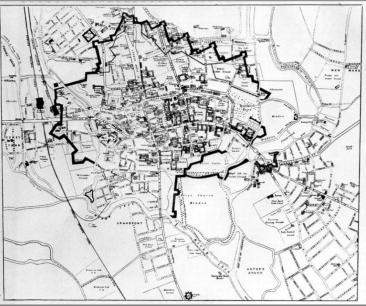
leaves and bark of the oak, and the leaves of the blackthorn, a bag of salt and oatmeal, that if the flux [diarrhoea] should take you, you might help yourself'.

For soldiers who succumbed to epidemics, some were fortunate enough to be treated in one of the military hospitals established. Royalist soldiers from Oxford were treated for the plague and other infectious diseases in the hospital at Yarnton Manor. Many sick soldiers were cared for by local inhabitants (especially women) in civilian homes, such as John Rawling, a soldier in Captain Smith's company in parliament's Eastern Association army, who lay sick for a fortnight in the

house of Widow Thorpe in King's Lynn. Some women managed to make a living from caring for sick soldiers. Rose Oldershaw of Nottingham was paid two shillings a week (plus extra sums to buy candles and coal) between December 1644 and May 1646 to care for sick soldiers.

Efforts were made to prevent the transmission of epidemic diseases. Plague orders, such as those issued by Charles I for Oxford in 1644–45, simply repeated the dictate of previous years

with little alteration. These included appointing people known as 'Searchers', 'Watchmen', 'Examiners' or 'Keepers' to identify who was infected with the plague. They had the power to ensure that infected houses were shut up and the inhabitants remained in them. They also bought food for those who were shut up using money raised by taxes and charitable collections. However, the ravages of war and taxation fatigue hampered the collection of charitable relief, which was rarely sufficient to meet



A map of the defences of Oxford during the Civil Wars. Overcrowding and insanitary conditions in the royalist capital made it an ideal stalking ground for epidemic diseases like typhus and the plague. (© Wellcome Collection, reproduced under a CC BY licence).



demand. Local governments were at least relatively familiar with implementing plague orders, though in Newark there seems to have been some tension between the civilian and military authorities over jurisdiction and responsibilities when it came to quarantine and burial.

Whilst some individuals did survive epidemic diseases, successful treatments were always going to prove difficult in an era that had no knowledge of bacteria.

Nevertheless, some advancements in understanding were made. Two pioneers of plague medicine were Thomas Willis and George Thomson, both of whom served the royalist cause in the Civil Wars, and later wrote separately about the Great Plaque of 1665 based on observation and recording. Thomson rejected astrological causes of the plague as 'absurd and ridiculous', whilst still accepting that plague was a judgement from God. He rejected medicine based on the Ancient Greek system of the 'four humours',

favouring chemical remedies, but still subscribed to the belief that airs might help spread the plague.

How grateful we should feel that we live in an age where a remedy for an epidemic is an expectation rather than an aspiration.

Ismíní Pells

* Read more on diseases in Newark during the Civil Wars in *Cromwelliana* 2020.

Editors Note: For further reading see *Plague: a very short introduction* by Paul Slack, (2012), OUP.



Happy Anniversary

This August marks the 400th anniversary of the marriage of Oliver Cromwell to Elizabeth Bourchier. The wedding took place at St Giles', Cripplegate, in the City of London, the venue of one of our recent Cromwell Day services.

There is much about this union which remains unclear. We know that Elizabeth was one of twelve children of Sir James Bourchier (unlike Oliver's father, still alive at the time of the marriage), a prosperous merchant and furrier who possessed or inherited property in Wiltshire and Essex as well as in the Tower Hill area of London. Neither the place nor the exact date of Elizabeth's birth can be found. She was probably born in 1598. Elizabeth was thus a year or so older than her new husband.

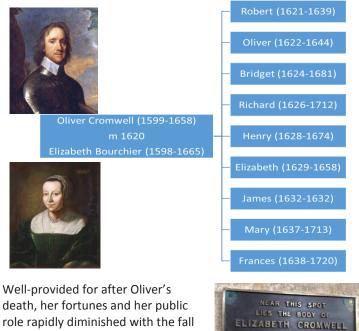


Oliver Cromwell and Elizabeth Bourchier married at St Giles', Cripplegate (John Salmon / St Giles', Cripplegate, London EC2 - Sanctuary / CC BY-SA 2.0)

How the couple met and how the courtship had proceeded and the degree of 'arrangement' behind the marriage remain unclear, for Cromwell makes no reference to it. Even the early hack biographers, who revel in telling apocryphal tales of Cromwell's early life, say little or nothing on the matter. The match may have come about as a consequence of earlier links between the two families: in 1614 one of Oliver's paternal uncles had married one of Elizabeth's maternal aunts, though that merely begs the question of how that couple had first met. Alternatively, Oliver and Elizabeth may have become acquainted through their mutual links in Essex, where much of the Bourchier property lay and to which the Cromwell family had several connections, not least through the marriage of Oliver's aunt Joan into the wealthy Barrington family of Barrington in Essex.

We have only meagre insights into the couple's married life in Huntingdon during the 1620s and in first St Ives and then Ely during the 1630s. Of their nine children, seven were born at fairly regular intervals between 1621 and 1632; all survived into at least adolescence and generally into full adulthood, with the exception of the last of these children, James (presumably named after the boy's maternal grandfather) who was born and died in 1632. The couple had no further children for another five years – maybe a legacy of the loss of young James, though perhaps more tellingly corresponding with the period when Cromwell, having lost out in a power-struggle in his home town of Huntingdon, sold up there and moved to St Ives as a tenant farmer. Rescued from that in 1636, he inherited from a maternal uncle significant land, property and business interests in and around Ely. This revival in the couple's fortunes corresponded with the birth of their final two children, both daughters, in 1637 and 1638.

Just as we know far more about Oliver Cromwell's life from the early 1640s onwards, once he was an important military and political figure, from that time onwards we gain a somewhat fuller picture of Elizabeth and their married life. Cromwell's civil war campaigns across England and Wales and then in Ireland (plans for Elizabeth to join him there probably came to naught) and Scotland, meant they were separated for long periods. The family was by then living in London. From 1651 onwards, once Cromwell's active campaigning was over, the couple were reunited and remained together until his death. Those were the years when Elizabeth played a slightly more public role, as the wife of the Lord General and, from December 1653, as Her Highness the Lady Protectress. As such, she occasionally took part in public processions, riding in a carriage alongside other female dignitaries, from time to time she hosted the 'women's table' for the wives of senior officers, ambassadors and suchlike at official dinners, and alongside her husband she lived in redecorated apartments at Whitehall and Hampton Court palaces.



of the Protectorate in spring 1659 and the Stuart Restoration a year later, and she spent her last years of quiet widowhood with one of her

(cont'd)



daughters and her husband in Northamptonshire, where she died in 1665.

A few years ago Dr Patrick Little and I were the principal contributors to a Radio Four documentary on Elizabeth's role and significance, focusing on the years of her husband's Protectorate. Encouraged by the interviewer, Patrick and I explored her possible political and religious influence within the marriage and on Protectoral policy and government, but it was all rather speculative, and the strong impression from the available sources is that her direct involvement in her husband's political world was negligible. Towards the end of the interview – as edited, they used my words to close the programme – I made the point that all this was probably missing the main contribution of Elizabeth and of the marriage. Although probably in part an arranged union, it clearly worked and provided mutual love, affection and support, a bedrock for them both in a turbulent and changing world through nearly four decades together. That is abundantly clear in the few surviving letters between the two, written while Oliver was in Scotland and his wife in London. Thus Elizabeth tells him that she longed to see him again, if that was consistent with God's will:

'I should rejoys to hear your desire in seing me, but I desire to submit to the provedns of God, howping the Lord, houe hath separated us, and heth oftune brought us together agane, wil in heis good time breng us agane, to the prase of heis name. Truly my lif is but half a lif in your abseinse, deid not the Lord make it up in heimself...'

For his part, Oliver was equally affectionate:

'Thou are dearer to me than any creature' – and wrote to his 'dearest' that 'I could not satisfy myself to omit this post, although I have not much to write; yet indeed I love to write to my dear, who is very much in my heart. It joys me to hear thy soul prospereth; the Lord increase His favours to thee more and more...'

That successful, affectionate, loving and mutually supportive married life began on 22 August 1620 in St Giles', 400 years ago this summer.

Peter Gaunt

•MEN-OF MARK. •CONNECTED WITH ALLS CHURCH ARK JOHN-FOX-AUTHOR BURIED-158 BISHOP AND REVISES VICAR-158 SIR-MARTIN-FROBIS MAVIGATOR BURL OLIVERCOM MULAVAR RIED-1674 STORING VIEW OF THE STORE Plaque commemorating marriage in St Giles' Cripplegate

In this year...1649

A summary of the last 6 months of the year's events . . .

- Jun 18 John Lilburne's pamphlet *The Legal Fundamental Liberties of the People of England* denounces Cromwell and his officers for creating a military despotism with Pride's Purge.
- Jun 22 Charles II arrives at Brussels in the Spanish Netherlands to negotiate for help from Spain. He is rejected by the Archduke Leopold, on the orders of King Philip.
- Jun 22 Parliament formally appoints Oliver Cromwell governor-general of Ireland for three years and commander-in-chief of the army to be sent there.
- Jul 24 Colonel Monck surrenders Dundalk to Lord Inchiquin after most of the garrison defect.
- Jul 31 Parliament forwards £100,000 to Cromwell, enabling him to complete preparations for the invasion of Ireland.
- Aug 10 John Lilburne publishes a fierce attack on Cromwell and Ireton in An Impeachment of High Treason Against Oliver Cromwell and his Son-in-Law Henry Ireton. Lilburne states that the Monarchy is preferable to Cromwell's military despotism.
- Aug 13 Cromwell's army embarks from Milford Haven for Ireland (35 ships land on 15th).
- Aug 24Cromwell issues a declaration ordering no violence against civilians in
Ireland.
- **Sep 05** A force of Danish mercenaries sent by the Marquis of Montrose arrives at Kirkwall in the Orkneys in preparation for a Royalist invasion of Scotland.
- **Sep 10** Sir Arthur Aston refuses Cromwell's summons to surrender Drogheda.
- Sep 17 Charles II lands at Jersey, hoping to move from there to lead the Royalists in Ireland.
- Oct 20 Representatives of the Marquis of Ormond and Owen Roe O'Neill sign an agreement at Finnea. In exchange for concessions to the Catholics in Ulster and the restoration of lands lost during the Plantation, O'Neill agrees to join Ormond against Cromwell.
- **Oct 24** Opening of the trial of John Lilburne at the Guildhall on charges of treason.
- **Nov 08** John Lilburne and the Leveller leaders released from the Tower on condition that they take the Oath of Engagement.
- **Nov 24** Cromwell arrives at Waterford and grants a five-day truce to allow the citizens time to consider his terms (siege abandoned on Dec 2).
- **Nov 26** Lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde arrive in Madrid hoping to win Spanish support for Charles II.
- **Dec 21** John Lilburne elected to the Common Council for the City of London (voided on 26th as he did not take the Oath of Engagement).
- **Dec 27** Henry Seymour reports to Charles II on Jersey regarding the hopelessness of the Royalist cause in Ireland.



http://bcw-project.org/timelines/the-english-civil-war



The reopening of the Cromwell Museum in Huntingdon

On Sunday 1 March 2020, on a brilliantly sunny day in Huntingdon, the newly refurbished Cromwell Museum was reopened to visitors. Following a reception and presentations in the Town Hall, members of the Sealed Knot marched through the town, and then Sir John Major, the Patron of the Cromwell Museum Trust, performed the formal reopening ceremony. ТНЕ ПОТНИТИИ МИЗЕИМ

The transformation of the museum's displays is an outstanding success and marks a huge improvement. The previous refurbishment was back in 1989, and the new display cases and lighting allow for more items to be displayed, and to much better advantage, than ever before. The new arrangements have the effect of making the single-chamber medieval building that houses the museum seem more spacious than hitherto, and its impressive Romanesque architecture is also more visible.

Some of the paintings have been cleaned and refurbished, and the magnificent fulllength portrait of Cromwell attributed to Robert Walker has been placed at ground level at the entrance, so that visitors now have the powerful impression of coming face-to-face with the Lord Protector as they enter the museum.

The displays are set out in a broadly chronological pattern to reflect the successive stages of Cromwell's life, and this timeline gives pleasing structure and coherence to the arrangement of the items. The new wood and glass cabinets are attractive, and the use of space – including pull-out drawers containing a range of coins, documents and other smaller items – is ingenious and efficient. The result is that more of the museum's holdings are now on view, including such treasures as a holograph letter from Cromwell to an unknown recipient dated 1 September 1652.

The presentation of the items is not in any sense dumbed down, but it is presented in a very lively and accessible way that will make a visit to the museum enjoyable for all age groups. School parties are encouraged, and it is very easy to arrange a tour which can be followed by a Question and Answer session. Some effective use is made of animations in the museum, including a vivid reconstruction



of the Battle of Naseby. There is also an excellent new guidebook which is very informative and beautifully produced and illustrated.

Such great improvements call forth real gratitude to all those who have made them possible. Around £170,000 was raised from donations, including £85,000 from the Association of Independent Museums, funded by the Biffa Award of the Landfill Communities Fund; £71,000 from the Wolfson Foundation; and £10,000 from the Huntingdon Freemen's Trust. To further safeguard the museum's financial future, there is also a new and imaginative 'Adopt an Object Scheme' whereby supporters can sponsor a particular artefact in the museum.

The designers of the new displays, JANVS/VIDAR, deserve much credit, and their work was assisted by an advisory panel of academic experts comprising Professor Peter Gaunt, Professor John Morrill, Dr Ismini Pells, and Dr Rebecca Warren. Above all, the museum's Curator, Stuart Orme, has been the driving force behind the whole operation, and his energy and vision have been crucial at every stage in planning and co-ordinating the refurbishment. The museum owes a great debt to Stuart and to his splendid team of volunteers whose seemingly boundless enthusiasm and commitment keep the museum running and ensure that visitors always receive a friendly welcome.

The museum is open Tuesday–Sunday, from 11.00 am to 4.00 pm, and admission is free. I can warmly recommend a visit. Even if you have been to the museum many times before, I am sure you will be delighted to see its new transformation.

Davíd L Smíth

Editors Note: When this article was written, there was little suggestion of the lockdown and closure of, in this case, museums. Please see the museum website for further information on opening times or follow the Cromwell Museum on Twitter – details in **The Curator's Corner** article later in this magazine.



Churchill on Cromwell

'Without Cromwell there might have been no advance, without him no collapse, without him no recovery.'

The first thing I want to say is hopefully very obvious. Namely, that in the absence of time travel, this article has to be about what Winston Churchill thought of Oliver Cromwell. We will never know what Cromwell would have made of our cigarchomping, whisky-drinking wartime Prime Minister.

However, it seems a fair guess that he would have been suspicious about a man who was born into the luxury of Blenheim Palace and wary of someone who always seemed to be easily satisfied with the best. Cromwell would probably have reacted with righteous fury to Winston's godless description of himself not as a pillar of the Church but rather as a buttress, supporting it from the outside.

Though, there again, perhaps they shared a dislike of all things high church. Churchill's childhood nanny, Mrs Everest, was responsible for instilling in him low church principles. Indeed, Winston describes in his autobiographical work *My Early Life* how he created a sensation at school in Brighton by refusing to turn to the East during the Apostles' Creed and so conform to practices he regarded as Popish.

And both Churchill and Cromwell could and certainly did mobilise their Bible in defence of their actions.

In August 1941, Churchill choreographed a divine service on board the deck of HMS *Prince of Wales*, the ceremonial high point of his first wartime meeting with President Roosevelt in waters off the coast of Newfoundland. British and American sailors, all deliberately mixed up together, sang 'O God, Our Help in Ages Past', 'Onward Christian Soldiers' and 'Eternal Father Strong to Save'; martial hymns that had been carefully chosen. This was an event that the British prime minister wanted reported to the world and one that he subsequently invoked in a later BBC broadcast; using biblical language to denounce the 'barbaric fury of the Nazis', to describe Hitler as 'a devil', and to contrast this with his conviction that 'we had the right to feel that we were serving a cause for the sake of which a trumpet has sounded from on high'. This, you suspect, is the sort of language Cromwell would have recognised and endorsed.

But the similarities can only be pressed so far. Churchill was a cavalier by temperament and he was also one by blood. It was in his DNA. He was descended from royalists. He was aware that he was not the first Sir Winston Churchill. His ancestor, the first Sir Winston Churchill had been a cavalier colonel, a West-Country gentleman from Dorset, born in about 1620, who had fought with the royalist horse at the battles of Lansdown and Roundway Down. His loyalty had cost him dearly; he had been forced to compound for his delinquency and spent the Commonwealth period in brooding internal exile. The Restoration saw him returned to Parliament and knighted but not fully compensated



Winston Churchill by Sir Oswald Birley arliamentary information licensed under the Open Parliament Licence v3.0

and with a clear sense of lingering injustice, preserved in the family motto that Colonel Churchill bequeathed down the generations to his namesake in the twentieth century – 'Fiel Pero Desdichado' – which means 'faithful but unfortunate', and recognises the fact that Charles II was never able to make full restitution to those that had served his father's cause. The strength of that feeling is also evident in the book that this first Sir Winston wrote about the divine right of British kings and dedicated to Charles II, and in which he describes Cromwell as a devil.

Churchill was aware of this family history. Indeed, he saw himself standing in a long historical tradition. But he also utilised history to launch and then underpin his career through his writing. And there was method in his motivation that went beyond the purely monetary.

His biographies of his father and John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, helped him emphasise his own political pedigree. He wrote *Marlborough* in the 1930s, and must have been aware of the contemporary resonances. Against the backdrop of the (cont'd)



emergence of a resurgent, militaristic, National Socialist Germany, he was describing how a Churchill had led a coalition of States against a European despot, then it was John Churchill against Louis XIV's France.

Throughout his political life, in his books, his speeches and even his letters, he drew inspiration from the past and channelled it for the benefit of the histories of the future, including his own. His heroes were Drake, Marlborough, Nelson and, interestingly Napoleon, but what of Cromwell?

The answer is that Churchill found Cromwell problematic. In his *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, initially written in the 1930s but not published until the 1950s, his views are at best ambiguous.

You can hear the Churchillian relish in Winston's description of Cromwell's success at Marston Moor: 'Now for the first time the heroic, dreaded Cavaliers met their match, and their master. "We drove the entire cavalry of the Prince off the field", wrote Cromwell. "God made them stubble to our swords...".'

Yet you do not sense he warms to Cromwell as a person or to his policies. He first introduces him as being 'rather rough in his manner' whose rule 'manifested itself in the form of numberless and miserable petty tyrannies, and thus became hated as no Government has ever been hated in England before or since'.

He is critical of Cromwell's 'merciless wickedness' in Ireland, arguing that 'the consequences of Cromwell's rule in Ireland have distressed and at times distracted English politics down even to the present day. ...Upon all of us there still lies "the curse of Cromwell".'

And ultimately his verdict on Cromwell's seizure of power is damning. For he writes that, 'We must not be led by Victorian writers into regarding this triumph of the Ironsides and of Cromwell as a kind of victory for democracy and the Parliamentary system over Divine Right and Old World dreams. It was the triumph of some twenty thousand resolute, ruthless, disciplined, military fanatics over all that England has ever willed or ever wished'.

Given when he wrote this first draft of his history, it is difficult not to conclude that he sees something of the fanaticism of the Nazis in the Ironsides. Cromwell's redeeming feature to Churchill is that he kept the wider excesses of these Puritan military forces, as well as the proto-communism of the Levellers, in check. He was all that stood between Britain and anarchy. Churchill's main theme in his *History of the English-Speaking Peoples* is the slow march of civilisation, the accrual of rights from Magna Carta to the twentieth century. To him the Civil War marked not a triumph in this process, but a breakdown of the State, and though 'in a tremendous crisis Cromwell's sword had saved the cause of Parliament, he must stand before history as a representative of dictatorship and military rule who, with all his qualities as a soldier and a statesman, is in lasting discord with the genius of the English race'.

And yet in his final analysis of Cromwell, Churchill grudgingly



Oliver Cromwell by Robert Walker ca 1720 Painting held at National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London)

admits that 'Without Cromwell there might have been no advance, without him no collapse, without him no recovery'.

Churchill's views on Cromwell must have been tempered by the fact he saw Oliver as a regicide and a republican. Clementine Churchill said that she thought her husband was the last believer in the divine right of kings. In 1934 Winston wrote an article lamenting the 'veritable holocaust of Crowns' that had resulted from the First World War. In December 1936 he was shouted down in Parliament when he tried to defend Edward VIII during the Abdication Crisis. Politically, Winston was a constitutional monarchist.

And yet, for all his partisanship, Churchill is too much of a historian and too much an admirer of great men and great deeds to completely abandon Cromwell. As First Lord of the Admiralty, the civilian minister in charge of the navy, in the Edwardian period, he tried – not once, but twice – in 1911 and again in 1912 to persuade King George V to accept the name HMS *Cromwell* for one of the new ironclad battleships.

Refusing to accept no for an answer, he sought to justify his request to the King's private secretary, writing: 'Oliver Cromwell was one of the founders of the Navy, and scarcely any man did so much for it. ...The bitterness of the rebellions and tyrannies of the past has long ceased to stir men's minds, but the achievements of the country and its greatest men endure'.

(cont'd)





Unsurprisingly, he did not win. The battleship in question became HMS *Valiant*, but Churchill did get to see a destroyer called HMS *Cromwell* laid down in 1943.

And ultimately it was Oliver Cromwell's ghost

that helped secure Churchill the premiership when, at the height of the Narvik debate over the failed Norwegian campaign, on 7 May 1940, the Conservative MP Leo Amery stood up in the House of Commons and spoke against Chamberlain, invoking the Lord Protector's words, 'You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing. Depart, I say, and let us have done with you. In the name of God, go'.

And it was Cromwell who was then mobilised during Churchill's wartime premiership in support of the defence of Britain, not as a battleship (and later as a tank) but as a word: the code word 'Cromwell' that was to be sounded if German invasion was attempted.



There is no doubt that Churchill would have approved. For all their differences he and Cromwell shared a role as warriors; fortunately, Cromwell was not called upon in 1940.

Allen Packwood

Director of the Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge

Harrow Alley: a long-lost Hollywood script



Harrow Alley is set during the plague in the 17th century and follows an English town as it deteriorates. It follows the fortunes of two men, likeable but lawless rogue Ratsey and well-meaning alderman Harry, who are both trying to survive the dangers of the time.

The original script was written by Walter Newman in the 1960s, but it never managed to make it to screen, despite the involvement of George C Scott and other high-profile talent, as a result of its dark subject matter and bigbudget requirements. Newman was nominated for three Oscars – Ace In The Hole (1951), Cat Ballou (1965) and *Bloodbrothers* (1978) – but called Harrow Alley the 'high point of my professional life, a creative frenzy for nearly 12 wonderful months'. His 172-page script



Two men discovering a dead woman in the street during the Great Plague of London, 1665. Wood engraving by J. Jellicoe after H. Railton. Credit: Wellcome Library, London

has been widely circulated online and used in film classes.

Harrow Alley could finally see the light of day after British actor and screenwriter Emma Thompson partnered with His Dark Materials producer, Bad Wolf, to develop it for the small screen. In episode 6 of Lockdown Culture with Mary Beard, Emma discussed the screenplay and read through a snippet of the script with her husband Greg Wise, giving a tantalising glimpse of the story.

BBC Lockdown Culture, iplayer

An MP and an Epidemic in Civil War London



On the History of Parliament's website the director, and vice-president of the Association, Dr Stephen Roberts, looks back at the parliamentarian Sir Simonds D'Ewes diary and his response to disease in the community around him.

An extract from the article about his diary [written in Latin] at a difficult time in London with the Civil War ongoing and disease spreading across the city:

'...Most of D'Ewes's weekly diary entries about death totals were made on a Thursday, publication day for the official, authoritative statistical source for deaths in London: the so-called 'bills of mortality'. These were weekly printed bulletins, which had begun to appear in the 1610s, and continued down to the nineteenth century. Each week the bill of mortality was first released to the lord mayor of London and other privileged persons, probably including MPs like D'Ewes, and then, at 10 am, made available to the general public...'

Posted 19 March 2020. The full article can be found at: <u>https://thehistoryofparliament.wordpress.com/2020/03/19/an-mp-and-an-epidemic-in-civil-war-london/</u>



How to trace soldiers who served in Ireland

The treatment of Ireland during the 1640s and 1650s is a complex topic. The Irish Catholics' rebellion against the English and Scottish Protestant settlers in 1641 was followed by Oliver Cromwell's invasion of the country in 1649, commonly regarded as one of the most controversial aspects of his entire career.

The many battles and sieges which took place under Cromwell's command caused widespread loss of life, both military and civilian. He had a large army at his back, an estimated 30,000 men from the New Model Army, and a further 10,000 raised in Ireland itself.

Trying to trace Irish ancestry is one of the banes of the genealogy community. In 1922 an explosion and subsequent major fire at the Public Records Office in Dublin destroyed hundreds of years' worth of documented history. Unknown treasures were lost in that tragedy, and tracing pre-20th century people or reconstructing events is a complex process. However, recent digital humanities projects are redressing the balance and making it easier to trace the soldiers who served in Ireland.

As with tracing any soldiers, traditionally it has been easier to reconstruct the careers of officers rather than rank and file. The Cromwell Association's *Online Directory of Parliamentarian Army Officers* notes military service in Ireland when it is known, and this resource is available free of charge through the *British History Online* website (www.british-history.ac.uk).

One way to approach this topic is to explore the testimonies of the Protestant men and women who survived the 1641 rebellion. A key resource for this is the *1641 Depositions* collection (<u>www.1641.tcd.ie</u>). The website requires a registration with an email address but it is free to use. This collection has digitised and transcribed over 8,000 depositions taken from Protestant and a small number of Catholic witnesses to the rebellion. To quote the website, 'The testimonies document the loss of goods, military activity, and the alleged crimes committed by the Irish insurgents, including assault, stripping, imprisonment and murder', Searching this website for the keyword 'soldier' returns over 100 depositions. Many of these were given by civilians describing the actions of soldiers, rather than depositions given by soldiers themselves, but they are an excellent resource for understanding military activity at a local level.

Another useful resource is the AHRCfunded collaboration between the Universities of Leicester, Nottingham, Cardiff, and Southampton called 'Conflict, Welfare and Memory during and after the English Civil Wars, 1642-1710' (www.civilwarpetitions.ac.uk), which was mentioned in my previous article. This is a free-to-use resource which brings together petitions for financial relief submitted to local and national government by maimed soldiers and war widows during and after the Civil Wars; and their supporting evidence often includes details of military service. Soldiers who served in Ireland form a smaller percentage of the total than those who fought on the mainland, but they are certainly present in the records, and the website is constantly being updated with new material.

For those brave enough to leave digital resources and attempt physical records when the lockdown due to the pandemic is over, the National Archives in Kew hold a selection of important material relating to soldiers who served in Ireland. There are a series of muster rolls described as 'mostly for service in Ireland' in the State Papers collection (SP 28/120–125) which cover the approximate period 1642–1651. Unfortunately these have not yet been indexed so there's no way of knowing which soldiers are listed without going through the files page by page. Nevertheless, they are a very rich resource and greatly underused. The documents commonly list the names of regimental commanders and record where they were stationed, before listing the full names and sometimes the status of each individual soldier.

PhD student Oresta Muckute is currently writing her thesis on this very topic at the University of Leicester. She is comparing the testimonies of maimed soldiers and war widows from the 1641 Irish depositions with the petitions of the English and Welsh counterparts in the Civil War Petitions project to explore how their experiences of suffering and loss differed, and what medical and charitable relief was available to them. I very much look forward to reading this research when she has finished because it will provide a fascinating new insight into the experiences of the English Civil Wars in Ireland.

A final element of tracing soldiers in Ireland, and something which often forms the basis of enquiries received by the Cromwell Association, is the matter of land settlements. In 1652 the Act for the Settlement of Ireland confiscated the real estates of those involved in the 1641 rebellion, and even issued a penalty of death against some of them. The idea of confiscating land had a precedent in

England and Wales, because Parliament had been seizing the property of royalists since 1643 through a policy of sequestration. In Ireland the land was then

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FREE online resources

Because of the current restrictions on visiting libraries and archives, many online resources are currently free. The **Institute of Historical Research** has compiled a list of these, including a good chunk of early modern material. The list is available here: https://www.history.ac.uk/library/collections/online-resources





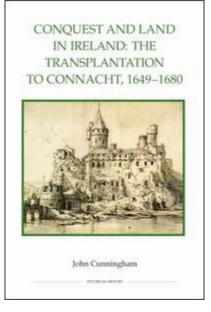


reallocated to veterans of the New Model Army, the Protestant inhabitants of Ireland, and settlers who were known as 'planters'.

Trying to find surviving documentation about the land transfers, however, is not an easy task. The contemporary administrators working under Charles Fleetwood were lax in their recordkeeping, and the destruction of documents since then has added to the problem. Nevertheless, if the name of the soldier you are trying to trace is known there are two printed sources containing indexes:

A Census of Ireland, circa 1659 (edited by Seámus Pender, Dublin, 1939).

The Civil Survey (edited by Robert Simmington, Dublin, 1931–61).



Another way to investigate the topic is to use the records created by two tribunals held in Ireland in 1663 and 1667-8. These were commissioned to investigate the claims of all those who had lost their land. These documents were published by the Irish Records Commission. Additionally, John Cunningham's Conquest and Land in Ireland (Boydell, 2011) is an excellent source for learning about the

settlement more generally.

The international collaboration *Beyond* 2022: Ireland's Virtual Record Treasury is gathering together archival material from over seventy repositories to substitute the documents lost in the fire of 1922. The material is being made digitally available free of charge on their website (www.beyond2022.ie), and can be explored by browsing or by keyword search. There will be data related to soldiers serving in Ireland in the 1640s and 1650s included in the project, so keep an eye on the website over the coming months and years to see what forgotten treasures they uncover.

Charlotte Young

My thanks are due to Oresta Muckute for her invaluable assistance with this article.

Author's Note: At the time of writing this article the world has been in lockdown for two months due to COVID-19, so access to any kind of non-digitised archive material is impossible at the moment, adding a further level of complication to this topic. Some of these resources are available digitally, but others will have to wait until the archives are open again.

Naseby Battlefield Project

The **Naseby Battlefield Project** (NBP) has had some good news in these unpredictable times. Lord Arthur Hazlerigg, Chairman and Patron of the Naseby Battlefield Project, reported that Kelmarsh Windfarm Community Benefit (KWCB) has agreed to fund NBP to ensure continued public access to the battlefield and to refurbish all of the on-site educational interpretation boards. The grant will also enable NBP to move forward with an education programme that they plan to develop with their partners **The Cromwell Association, National Civil War Centre** and **Leicester University**.



NBP looks forward to working with Serrie Meakins of the Cromwell Association to share



Naseby Monument (Photo © Tim Glover cc-by-sa/2.0)

educational resources in the future so that, together, we can provide a meaningful package for schools and colleges.

Lord Arthur Hazlerigg said: 'We are extremely grateful to KWCB. for their generous grant, which has been a lifeline for our charity as all our fundraising events planned for 2020 had to be cancelled due to COVID-19'.

This alone is great news, but NBP is hoping for more because they have also made an application for funding to Historic England. A response is expected in the near future, though inevitably the programme will be oversubscribed.

Fingers crossed for NBP!





Cromwell's Body

In the first of three articles, Alistair Kerr looks into the possible routes that Oliver Cromwell's body took following his burial at Westminster Abbey and subsequent disinterment.

With the publication of Charles Dickens's novel, *David Copperfield*, the expression 'King Charles's Head' meaning 'an obsession, especially one that keeps intruding irrelevantly into other matters', entered colloquial English. 'Cromwell's Body' could merit a similar usage, meaning 'a mystery that has never been solved'.



Following his death in 1658, Oliver Cromwell was buried in Westminster Abbey with the other illustrious dead of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. In 1660 the monarchy was restored; soon afterwards the bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw and Ireton were disinterred, tried posthumously for treason and subjected to the usual indignities visited upon traitors. Cromwell's head could be seen on a spike on Westminster Hall until a storm dislodged it in 1685. After many adventures, the head was buried in the porch of the chapel of Cromwell's old Cambridge college, Sidney Sussex. There is a memorial plaque, but so

controversial is Lord Protector Oliver, even today, that the head's precise location is known only to three college officials.



What of Cromwell's Body?

No one knows, although many scholars believe that, following their 'execution', Cromwell's body, like those of Bradshaw and Ireton, was flung into a mass grave nearby. It must therefore lie somewhere near Marble Arch, which occupies the site of the Tyburn place of execution. However, even at the time there were strong rumours that the body exhibited as Cromwell's was a substitute; the real body had been reinterred elsewhere. Here I deal only with the alleged burial site in Red Lion Square. There are, however, other proposed burial sites.

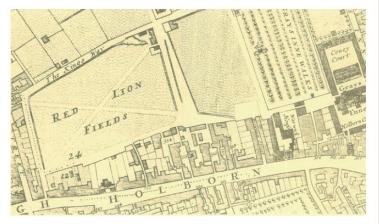
By the 17th century 'a Tyburn' had become the generic term for any place of public execution, just as 'a Bridewell' had become the term for any women's prison. The 'Tyburn' at which Cromwell, Bradshaw and Ireton's remains were beheaded could have been the one where Red Lion Square, Soho, is now. The night before their 'execution' the bodies unquestionably lay in an inn on the square, The Red Lion, which still exists. That would be reasonable if the 'execution' were to be carried out nearby.

Alternatively, Antonia Fraser, in *Cromwell Our Chief of Men*, states that, while the three bodies were definitely kept at The Red Lion the night before their execution, they were later taken through the streets

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to the original Tyburn (ie Marble Arch) and there beheaded. But were they buried in Red Lion Square?



Interestingly, Red Lion Square was developed as a residential area in the late seventeenth century by Nicholas Barbon, a son of the Puritan officer, 'Praise God' Barbon of the Barebones Parliament. According to one tradition, it was he, with John Milton and Ebenezer Heathcote, who had bribed the guards at The Red Lion, substituting other corpses. These were duly dishonoured and buried at Tyburn, but the three famous Puritans were secretly interred in Red Lion Fields, as the square was then named.

In 1737 a stone obelisk was erected at the centre of the Red Lion Square garden. Later a mysterious Latin motto, 'Obtusum Obtusioris Ingenii Monumentum. Quid me respicis, viator? Vade', was added to it. A proposed translation of the Latin inscription is: 'The dull memorial of a duller character. Why are you looking at me, traveller? Be on your way!' The motto seems to be deliberately obscure and misleading. The obelisk was destroyed soon after the inscription was added; no one seems to know why.

Four 'watch towers' were also erected at the corners of the square at the same time. Their bases still exist. Were they placed there to hold guards to deter body snatchers?

...to be continued!

Alístaír Kerr



Editor's Note – some further reading: https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryMagazine/DestinationsUK/Red-Lion-Square/ https://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol4/pp545-553 https://www.redlionsquare.uk/1650-1750/

Cromwell's watch resurfaces

In the 2004 edition of *Cromwelliana* an article by Jane Mills discussed the assorted claims of watches that were supposed to have once been owned by Oliver Cromwell, (see 'Cromwell's watch: somewhere in time' by Jane A Mills, *Cromwelliana*, 2004, Series II, No 1, pp 100–106).

Of the eleven referred to, the 'one with the best provenance for claiming to be Cromwell's' was a gift to the British Museum in

1786 from Sir Robert Rich, a descendant of Cromwell's son-in-law who was married to his daughter, Francis. A very similar watch, which by tradition had been given to an ancestor of a Colonel Bagwell at the siege of Clonmel in 1650 was described as 'whereabouts unknown', but has now resurfaced. It was auctioned at a sale in Carlisle at the end of July last year, and sold for £15,000 (plus premiums), to specialist watch dealer Jonathan Wachsmann.



The provenance of the watch is solid from its first appearance in the literature, when it was described and illustrated in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1808. As Jane Mills points out though, the Clonmel disaster was not something 'that someone would want to mark', and there is no provenance for the watch prior to the early 19th century. As the auctioneer was reported as saying 'You believe what you want to believe ... it's impossible to prove, but it's impossible to disprove too'.

What is beyond doubt is that the watch is an exquisite item, made and signed by William Clay who was working in Westminster from 1646–70. It is described as a mid-17th century verge watch with a calendar in a plain silver case and measures, without pendant, 32mm x 24.5mm x 16.5mm. The watch has now been fully restored and is in beautiful condition.

The likelihood of a more solid provenance emerging is very small, but should any reader have information that could shed light on the history of the watch from 1650 to 1808, please do let the Association know and it will be forwarded to the owner.

More information can be found here:

https://www.antiquestradegazette.com/print-edition/2019/august/2403/newsdigest/pick-of-the-week-pocketwatch-with-oliver-cromwell-connection-sells-incumbria/



Long-lost Richard Cromwell portrait found?

Over a year ago I spotted online a painting in a provincial auction house, an oil on panel portrait. There was something about the painting I liked and the young gentleman in the portrait was very well dressed with a lace cravat and a slight flash of armour beneath it. I took a gamble on the painting as I was unable to go to the viewing.

Come the day of the auction I placed a phone bid and went over what I meant to pay for it. When I picked up the 17th century portrait, I found it had been packed (badly) into a much later gilt frame with some awful rusty nails holding it in place. The size of the portrait was unusual, 30 x 30cm and had been painted with the grain of the wood going horizontally? For the majority of portraits the grain is vertical.

I had the painting lightly cleaned, restored and varnished. I then had the challenge of finding out who the artist could be. Most people I spoke to thought it was a continental portrait, either French or Dutch. It was frustrating me not knowing, as it was exceptionally well-painted.



One evening I decided to pick up a book I had recently bought John Michael Wright, The King's Painter. When I looked at the cover of the book, there is the portrait of Colonel John Russell (painted in 1659), who was part of the Sealed Knot. As I looked more carefully at his image, it suddenly dawned on me that his sleeve had been painted in an almost identical way to that of my portrait. Going further into the book I found a portrait of Sir William Bruce (painted in 1664) and he is wearing an almost identical cravat to my gentleman. Wright had an incredible career throughout Europe and in 1656 returned to the UK and worked for Cromwell as well as the Royalists. He continued to work for the Royal court during the Restoration. Wright painted one other known portrait on panel which is a posthumous painting of Elizabeth Claypole (Oliver Cromwell's daughter) in 1658 now in the National Portrait Gallery. I now knew who the artist was; however, this meant that it was an early painting produced in England. Being on wood meant it must be from the time of the Protectorate. Since he was working for the Cromwell family, it made me wonder if this could in fact be Richard Cromwell?

There are very few accurate portraits of Richard and the Cromwell Museum and other academics were in agreement with me. Such is life, however, some people weren't convinced. I therefore had to turn to science to prove my point. Ian Tyers, the leading dendrochronology expert in the country, conducted the analysis of the wood. These are some quotes from the report:

This board was derived from a tree sourced from the Gdansk area of Poland...

This last ring was a complete ring, so the tree was alive at least into the autumn of 1658.

This tree therefore could have been felled in late 1658, and it could have been painted in England in early 1659...

I can only say that reading his report was mind-blowing and also placed my painting within the narrow window in which Richard had been Lord Protector. I had a period frame made for him. We have now decided to keep him and share him with the nation. There was no provenance with the painting, so we can only speculate where he has been all this time. It was clearly a small intimate portrait, perhaps for his wife or mother. A part of me wonders if it was seized along with other items on 16 May 1660 from the fruiterer's warehouse, from which Oliver Cromwell's wife was trying to smuggle goods out of the country. I will leave it to your readers to decide.

Yann Ford



The long history of bad plague remedies, from bleach to bonfires and bad breath

.....The prize for bogus medicine, however, goes to the amulets and other trinkets people of 1665 carried to ward off the plague. Defoe

dismisses them as 'hellish Charms', and claims they were often seen hanging round the necks of bodies in the dead carts. He captures their essence in a word the Oxford English Dictionary defines as 'deceit, fraud, imposture, trickery'. The word? 'Trumpery'.

Extract from *i paper*, Wednesday 20 May 2020





Discover the London – a day of discovery

As trailed in the last edition of *The Protector's Pen* there was a full day of talks in early March about the wreck of the *London*, a second-rate ship of the line, built for the navy of the Protectorate, which sank off Southend in 1665. The event, held in The Forum at Southend, was well attended and provided a balanced programme of talks about the history of the vessel in the morning, and the archaeology of the site in the afternoon.



proceedings – a very effective method of capturing what was said and discussed.

On behalf of the Association I kicked off the day with a brief look at Cromwell and his career to try and put the ship into some kind of context. This was followed by a fascinating discussion of how the London was actually constructed and then JD Davies, the historian of the Restoration navy, gave a talk on the Pepys connection. After a break for lunch (the last enjoyed with Association colleagues pre-COVID-19) it was into the practical stuff. The difficulties of diving the site are extraordinary and the fact it is done at all is down to a handful of dedicated volunteers. The contribution from Historic England (HE) was enlightening but frustrating at the same time. HE is treading a tightrope between giving permission to excavate and overseeing the continuing degradation of the site by the continual movement of the seabed, caused by shipping movements very close to the wreck. The frustration of those most closely involved was evident – better to lift the material than to allow it to be destroyed. The final session was on the future of the London, given by the hugely energetic mainspring of the campaign, Mark Beattie-Edwards. Mark's vision

of lifting and locating the wreck *in toto* to a specially designed facility had everybody enthused and excited by the possibility.

Thanks to the wonders of modern technology all the talks on the day can be seen on **YouTube** – search for 'Save the *London* 1665'.

John Goldsmíth







The original culture war: why modern-day filmmakers are still drawn to 17th century England.

Thomas Clay's *Fanny Lye Deliver'd*, starring Maxine Peake, showcases an era of fighting for freedom and furiously challenging the status quo.

A nation divided and thrown into chaos, the old regime under threat, new dreams of freedom, equality and justice checked by violent oppression

masquerading as righteousness. No, not today; I'm talking about 17th century England, one of the most febrile times in British history, and one of the most cinematic, too...

More information on the film (please note rated 18) can be found at: https://www.imdb.com/title/tt5686112/

Extract from *The Guardian*, Monday 15 June 2020



Oak grove that saved Charles II is reborn

English Heritage is planting dozens of oak trees around the Royal Oak near Boscobel House in Shropshire to recreate the landscape that helped Charles to escape at the end of the Civil War. The tree is a descendant of the one which stood here when Charles hid from Cromwell's forces in 1651.

Extract from: The Times, Thursday 19 March 2020





DISCOVER

CALLED TO SEVERAL EMPLOYMENTS

Association News

2020 Annual General Meeting

Advice was taken from the Charity Commission prior to cancelling the AGM scheduled to take place on 25th April. We were advised that as trustees of the charity, Council had to take decisions in what we believe are the best interests of the charity, and to document decisions taken. Notes of the major decisions, as opposed to formal minutes of physical meetings, will be posted on the Members' Area of the website in due course.

Other than reports, the main item for the AGM is to elect officers and Council members. No officers were due for election this year. The two trustees whose term of office expired will continue to serve on Council until the 2021 AGM when they will submit themselves for re-election. No nominations were received for election to Council prior to the postponed meeting.

John Goldsmíth Chair, Cromwell Association

From the Treasurer

Subscriptions and Bank Standing Order

Instructions: as members will no doubt already be aware, the trustees have deemed it prudent to increase subscriptions after 14 years at the same rate and the change will take effect from September 3rd 2020. Details are shown on the enclosed insert. Many members pay annually by PayPal or by cheque, both methods being very acceptable, but we do encourage members who have a UK bank account to complete a Standing Order. Again, please see the enclosed for details. Thank you to those members who have already sent me their new bank Standing Order forms or confirmation that they have been online and informed their bank.

Gift Aid: we receive a handsome cheque from HMRC annually for refund of UK income tax. Thank you to all those who have completed the declaration form. Please note that it is not necessary to send me a replacement form each year unless your circumstances have changed (notably a change of address or you no longer pay sufficient tax).

The Association's finances: we have seen a

decrease in the number of new memberships since the start of the pandemic and we have had to defer events which usually bring a useful surplus. Thus, our income is reduced this year. However, our fixed costs are modest so we are not in any difficulty for the time being. Nevertheless, if members can introduce others to the Association that would be most welcome. And of course we are always delighted to receive donations, however small!

Geoffrey Bush Treasurer

Book offer to Members



New members are offered a copy of the brief biography of Oliver Cromwell by David Horspool, as an inducement to join. The same offer (now closed) was made to all members who switched to paying by Standing Order as a thank you.

Members who pay annually, whether by cheque or PayPal, can now buy a copy of the book at a special price of £4.00 which includes postage to a UK address. We regret that due to the high cost of postage we are unable to offer this book to members who live outside of the UK.*

Reviewed by Jonathan Fitzgibbons in a previous issue of *The Protector's Pen*:

"...a very readable survey of Cromwell's life replete with thoughtprovoking passages and memorable phrases ... This is a portrayal of Cromwell 'warts and all' ... This book packs a great deal into just one hundred and eleven pages ... I would probably recommend this book to anyone wanting to get up to speed quickly with Cromwell and his times...'

To get your copy at the offer price please enclose a note with your Membership Renewal Form and add ± 4.00 to the sum paid. Alternatively, if you renew by PayPal make a donation of ± 4.00 and use the Enter a note option which appears below where you enter the sum donated, to advise that this is in payment for a copy of the book. Please allow for up to three weeks for delivery.

*For non-UK members suggest that you try and purchase via Amazon if you are keen to get hold of a copy

What's on YouTube?

The short answer to that question is everything you could ever want, and a lot you certainly don't, but there is an increasing amount of material relating to Cromwell, and the civil wars, that is well worth watching.

In his column, Stuart Orme, Curator of the Cromwell Museum, refers to the weekly videos he is posting, and they really are excellent. They range from a lighthearted look at civil war sayings to an extended discussion with Paul Lay, editor of *History Today* and 

an Association member, about the Protectorate; just search for **Cromwellian Conversations**. **Save the London 1665** will bring up all the talks given at Southend on 7th March, and **Cromwell and the Fens** (a lecture from 2015) on that theme; **Scottish soldiers in the Fens** is the story of 17th century drainage work by prisoners of war. Our former president, and now a vicepresident, John Morrill also has several lectures on the YouTube channel, so just search for his name. If you feel the need for a bracing alternative, search for **Ronald Hutton Cromwell**.

The range of content is huge and it is the Association's intention to post on our website a brief guide to the best of what is to be found on YouTube.

If you have recommendations please send them to secretary@olivercromwell.org

Books for sale from the late John Westmacott

As mentioned in the last edition of *The Protector's Pen* a collection of books owned by the late John Westmacott is offered for sale, to raise funds for the Association. The intention was to sell by offers received by the end of March and the remainder to be offered for sale at the AGM.

With the cancellation of the AGM, the opportunity is still there to acquire some very interesting titles on Cromwell, at modest prices, and help raise funds for the Association. If you have looked at the list previously, do please have a second glance as there are a number of additional books now on the list. The list of titles remaining can be found on the Members' Area of the website. <u>http://www.olivercromwell.org/wordpress/?page_id=4021</u>

Offers for all titles are invited, without reserve. First come, first served. Closing date for all sales – 31 August 2020.



Statues under threat?

The appalling murder in police custody of black American George Floyd, set off a train of events which has echoed around the world. The toppling of the statue of Edward Colston in Bristol highlighted in the UK, not only the history of slavery, but also the relationship between statues, history, memory and empowerment.

As most readers will know there are four public statues of Cromwell in England, the most famous at Westminster where, by tradition, we hold our annual service of commemoration, as well as those in Warrington, St Ives and Wythenshawe Park (formerly in Deansgate in central Manchester). There was an inevitability that the debate about the role of statues would again raise voices questioning the suitability of representations of Cromwell being allowed to remain, focussed on the question of Cromwell and Ireland. Yes, we have been here before, with balanced discussion in the letters' pages of *The Times* and *The Guardian*. The current controversy is on an entirely a new level, complicated by the effect of direct action and the shared sense of outrage expressed by the Black Lives Matter campaign.



The Wythenshawe statue has been vandalised, as has the civil war memorial on the top of Fort Royal in Worcester. In both instances the Black Lives Matter tag has been sprayed on to them. In St Ives there have been calls for Cromwell's statue to be removed. Balanced discussion is becoming more difficult.

Richard Evans, an eminent historian of the Third Reich, in a long and interesting article in the *New Statesman*, pointed out that removing statues has a long history, and suggests that Cromwell's display 'in front of parliament is no longer justified', based on his view that in the '21st century, he is remembered for genocide ... in Ireland'. He argues that as

a consequence of our knowledge of the Holocaust, our idea of genocide is powerful in the public memory. It is a curious argument to make. Evans acknowledges that toppling monuments will not help us understand our history; nor will using a term like 'genocide' to achieve understanding of 17th century Ireland.

The Association's Council has discussed, at length, the appropriate response to the current situation and agreed the following statement:

The charitable aims of the Cromwell Association, in promoting our understanding of the 17^{th} century, include commemorating the life and the achievements of Oliver Cromwell. We would therefore be opposed in principle to the removal of any statues, memorials or plaques which fulfil that intent. Whilst we recognise there are problematic aspects of his career, these are subjects for debate and discussion based on the interpretation of evidence.

Manchester City Council are the guardians of the Wythenshawe statue and is implementing a review of all the statues and monuments in the city for which they are responsible. The Association will take all opportunities to engage with the Manchester review, and elsewhere as appropriate.

Have statues had their day?

Well probably not entirely. New ones are erected, though seldom of political figures; footballers, comedians and musicians are more likely subjects. It is undeniable that some sections of society are less well represented in statuary than others, and the sense of injustice evoked by some statues is both real and visceral. The late Justin Champion, a historian of the early modern period, gave a very entertaining and thought-provoking lecture, which now seems astonishingly prescient, to the Historical Association in 2018; his title was *Defacing the past or resisting oppression*. You can find it on the Historical Association website. I recommend it.

(https://www.history.org.uk/historian/categori es/448/resource/9840/podcast-defacing-thepast-or-resisting-oppression)



Cromwell, St Ives (Spaully / CC BY-SA)

Cromwell Association leaflet released...

A copy of our new leaflet is enclosed (2 cover styles). This will be circulated to a number of supporting organisations and museums to promote our Association.



copies are available on request to secretary@olivercromwell.org



Cromwell Curator's Corner

This piece – like most others in this issue I suspect – has been written from home in what can only be described in true 1640s fashion as 'distracted times'. Suffice to say that I very much hope Association members are managing to stay safe, well and sane during the lockdown.

The last few weeks have definitely been unusual for the Cromwell Museum. We had the high of reopening at the beginning of March, and very positive feedback from the initial rush of visitors who had come to see our refurbishment, only to have to close on 17 March with the coronavirus outbreak and the move towards a lockdown across the UK.

After months of work, planning, a few late nights, one or two hiccups and a great deal of rewarding and enjoyable work... the museum finally reopened after its refurbishment over the weekend of Saturday 29 February and Sunday 1 March.

On the Saturday our friends from the Sealed Knot came and staged their excellent performance of the *Trial of Charles I*, with four sold-out shows in the courtroom of Huntingdon Town Hall. These were very atmospheric with audiences joining in just as vigorously with the drama as they did at the real one in January 1649!

On the Sunday the weather held for us, and apart from a few brief spots of rain we had a lovely sunny day for our grand opening. After opening up for the Sealed Knot's members in the morning (very odd to see that the Roundheads had literally taken over the museum...) we had about 70 invited guests attend, who all got a look in the museum prior to the grand opening at 2pm. At 1.30pm Parliamentarian troops from the Sealed Knot – about 100 infantry led by two Cromwellian cavalry – marched from the Godmanchester side of the river, over the old bridge, and up the High Street before parading on the Market Square. There they were given a sermon by their Puritan preacher, before the opening ceremony which included brief speeches on the square from the Mayor of Huntingdon, Cllr Stephen McAdam; our

Chair of Trustees, Camilla Nichol; a blessing from the Vicar of Huntingdon the Rev. Jon Randall; and finally an



opening speech from our patron, Sir John Major. Sir John then cut the ribbon, allowing visitors to enter the museum.

All in all it went very smoothly, and we have had very positive feedback from all who came. Thank you to all the volunteers and trustees who worked so hard over the



day to make it a success, as well as our designers Janvs/Vidar who have made such a remarkable job of the museum. Particular thanks go to both our grant funders and donors, who have helped make this refurbishment (the first in over 30 years) through their generosity.

There are still a few last tweaks to do that had to be put on hold due to the virus pandemic, including improved exterior signage on the building. This includes a new full-colour interpretation panel on the Grammar School Walk side of the museum, providing information on Cromwell's connections to Huntingdon, which has been kindly supported by the Association.

During the closure period we have been keeping busy. Partly this has involved fundraising as, like many small independent museums, we have been hit hard by the lack of income from the closure. We are very grateful for the many individual donations we have received, including those from Association members, and are delighted to have received an Emergency Support Grant from the Arts













Council and additional funding from Huntingdon Town Council which ensures that we can get through this period.

We've also been producing a new series of weekly videos on different aspects of Cromwell's life and times, including interviews with historians (so it's not just me burbling on). You can find these on our YouTube channel at:

https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCRq 7dqSN79rOaW6Y7NmOIrQ

Based on current advice we expect to reopen in July, although with altered opening times and restrictions on visitor numbers amongst other precautions in light of government and sector guidance. I very much hope you'll take the opportunity to come and see the refurbished museum as soon as circumstances allow.

Do keep up to date with what we're up to via our website

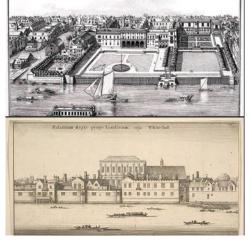
www.cromwellmuseum.org

or our social media streams - we're on:



Stuart Orme Curator, The Cromwell Museum The Cromwell Museum, Huntingdon 18 June at 07:59 · 🚱

#OnThisDay 18 June 1659 Parliament agreed to sell Somerset House and the Palace of Whitehall, with the aim of using the proceeds to clear the arrears of pay owed to the Navy and New Modelled Army. The plan fell flat when they couldn't find a buyer for either... **#17thCentury #OTD**



... one of a regular series of 'On this day' features

The Cromwell Museum @MuseumCromwell - Jun 4 We ve won an award!! Our Board of Trustees has won the Trustees team award from @SHARE.museums for their hard work and support. We couldn't do our work without them and are very proud of them @ % %







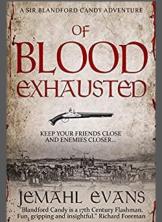
Book Reviews

Of Blood Exhausted

by Jemahl Evans

This is the third instalment of Evans' Adventures of Sir Blandford Candy series, and the most accomplished yet. Candy is, as the book blurb says, a '17th century Flashman', and the series offers an 'eyewitness' view of the events and personalities of the Civil Wars from the perspective of a less-than-godly Parliamentarian officer and scout. In truth, Candy is far less a dyed-in-the-wool rotter than Flashman, lacking the latter's cowardice and his wine and wenching being less central to the story, so even those 'of tender conscience' can probably enjoy these books!

This book begins in late 1644, and differs from the earlier books in not putting Candy at the centre of the major events of the period (though he does participate in the Battle of Naseby) but touching on them in parallel with the main narrative, often using contemporary newsbook reports on such things as the second Battle of Newbury and the creation of the New Model Army. Candy himself is mainly involved in trying to thwart an assassination plot concerning an



important foreign visitor to London, and the book is all the more coherent for this focus on its own story rather than using the narrative mainly as a device to get the characters to the right place at the right time. There is plenty of period detail to delight and intrigue, but the very considerable learning on display is used lightly and never didactically, and the book would read as well for the newcomer as for the expert in the period. The ugliness of much of 17th century life, and of civil war in particular, is well brought out – this is not a conflict fought by beer-filled re-enactors enjoying a fun weekend.

The first two books, *The Last Roundhead* and *This Deceitful Light*, have more 'Civil War' interest, with Oliver Cromwell, both 'ours' and his illfated son, featuring strongly in the second book, but for my money, or should I say 'coin', this is the best-constructed and best-written of the series. Start at the beginning, but should you find the first book not entirely to your taste I'd recommend persisting as Evans seems to be developing into a very good writer indeed, and it is always good to have something to read about our period which is not indulgent of the 'Wrong but Wromantic' royalists but looks at events from the side of the 'Honest Party'.

Ríchard Warren

Jemahl Evans, *Of Blood Exhausted*, pp 282, independently published, February 2019, ISBN: 978-1796281149. Paperback £6.99, Kindle also available.

Arms and Armour of the English Civil Wars by Keith Dowen

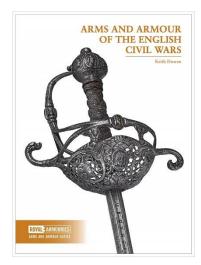
Over the last couple of years, the Royal Armouries have been publishing a handsome series of introductory volumes on aspects of their collection, each lavishly illustrated with colour photographs of objects from their world-class displays. Given that they house the most important collection of arms and armour in existence relating to the Civil Wars, it's no surprise that they should include a volume focussing on this. This volume has been written by Keith Dowen, Assistant Curator of Armour at the Leeds Armouries, who has written widely on the arms and armour of this period.

The volume is structured in terms of typology, examining briefly the representations of arms and armour in this period in art, before looking at cavalry and infantry armour, firearms, swords and staff weapons. It is richly illustrated with portraiture of the period, and most particularly with beautiful full-colour photographs of many of the fine examples in the Armouries' collections.

In terms of information, the book is pitched at primarily informing the interested generalist or enthusiast rather than being a detailed reference book, which is not a criticism in the slightest as it does this very well. It's engagingly written and

includes lots of examples and anecdotes to support the core information, many of which I had not come across before.

For the photography, information and at a very reasonable price this is a nice volume which is well worth acquiring; if I have a minor criticism, it is that the cover image really doesn't do the content justice, particularly given



some of the 'wow factor' photos used on the covers of other volumes in this series.

Stuart Orme Curator, The Cromwell Museum

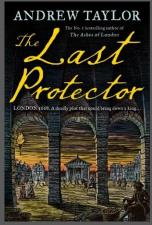
Keith Dowen, *Arms and Armour of the English Civil Wars,* pp 96, Royal Armouries Publications (Arms and Armour Series), April 2019, ISBN: 978-0948092909, Paperback £12.99



The Last Protector by Andrew Taylor

For regular readers of Andrew Taylor's series of novels set in Restoration London, this fourth book featuring James Marwood and Cat Hakesby, is an anticipated pleasure. For those who have yet to discover them, you have a treat in store. I strongly suggest you read them in order of publication, starting with *The Ashes of London* set in 1666, and follow how the characters develop.

Taylor knows the period well and combines real people and events to create engaging fiction. The principal character Marwood, is an invention who works for Joseph Williamson, a historical figure who was responsible for producing *The London Gazette*. Marwood's father had been a supporter of the Protectorate and there is always a hint of suspicion about his allegiances. Catherine Hakesby, the female lead, also has Cromwellian connections: her father was a regicide. Underlying the novel is the tension in the royal court between Lord Arlington and George Villiers, the second Duke of Buckingham. Williamson is Arlington's man, so therefore is Marwood, but sometimes events and his own moral purpose means that his loyalties are divided. It is in the style of the classic detective genre. An honourable hero, with a female not-quite partner, taking on various forces of evil and ultimately triumphing.



But it is so much more than that. It starts with Elizabeth Cromwell, Oliver's widow, giving deathbed instructions to Jeremiah White in the Claypole household at Northborough; the second scene has Marwood being given instructions to

spy on a duel between Buckingham and Lord Shrewsbury – an event which did take place. As the plot develops the different threads of the story pull together with Richard Cromwell, the last Protector, appearing as a central character,

along with his daughter Elizabeth who, by the late 1660s, was a teenager. Without giving anything away, the fictitious events sweep the reader along and any questions of plausibility are willingly suspended. The author has more than enough knowledge to throw in an odd detail here and there (as well as rich detail of 17th century sewers) which add to the overall credibility of the narrative.

Is it feasible that Richard Cromwell ever returned to England before 1680? His wife and family were in Hampshire; did he attempt to go and see them? There is so much about his time spent in self-imposed exile that is a complete mystery; this could provide a fascinating framework for more fiction.

John Goldsmíth

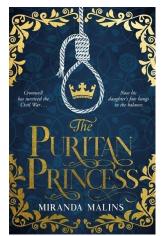
Andrew Taylor, *The Last Protector*, pp 432, Harper Collins, April 2020, ISBN: 0008325510. Hardback £12.99, Kindle also available.

The Puritan Princess by Miranda Malins

I was delighted to be given the chance to review Miranda's novel as I adore historical fiction (Jean Plaidy set me on the road to studying History) yet so much of it is, to be frank, rather cheesy. I can't decide if it's a disadvantage or not that Miranda's novel has been published during the lockdown... at least people have time to read. However, many, like me, will be turning to *The Puritan Princess* after finishing Hilary Mantel's latest tome, and it's a big ask to follow on from the great mistress herself.

So, it was with teary eyes at Thomas Cromwell's grisly death that I turned to this novel about his sister's great-great-grandson's

family. Ostensibly, the story is about Frances, the youngest daughter of Oliver Cromwell. Known to her father as his 'little scholar', Frances was a highly educated young lady who enjoyed life as a cosseted member of a ruling family. The book focuses mainly on the years 1657 and 1658, when the relative stability of life at the Protectorate court, with its masques and balls, is being threatened by political disagreement and assassination attempts. In parallel, Frances's secure position is being assailed by thoughts (and



threats) of marriage. The 1650s have seen many women achieve a degree of liberty; can Frances – potentially a valuable political pawn – manage to control her own destiny?

The story of Frances Cromwell is an intriguing one and Miranda tells it beautifully, imagining the emotions that lie behind her marriages very credibly and creating, in Frances, an attractive and engaging heroine. Yet layered on top of the romantic tale that lies at the heart of the book, there is a much more complex story. We get a very strong sense of how different life at court was for the two oldest daughters, Betty and Bridget, whose marriages had been of family, not national, concern, and who were married to men of very different political persuasions. The ensuing political rift had to be managed within the family and one of the most interesting characters is Elizabeth Cromwell, Oliver's wife, seen here as a strong, calm presence, holding together not only Oliver but the whole family.

The minor characters are in fact some of the most interesting, especially if you know the period well. Miranda's deep historical knowledge enables her to bring to life Master Thurloe, John Lambert and Richard Cromwell exactly as I always imagined them. She very cleverly inserts Cromwell's words and phrases into the narrative... we hear of 'russet coated gentlemen' in chapter one and when Oliver explains why he cannot accept the crown, he talks of 'not building Jericho again'. This all helps to build a realistic and colourful sense of the period.

She also grapples with questions that must have assailed young people in the 1650s. Frances wonders how the offspring of (cont'd)



revolutionaries can define themselves when their parents have been the greatest rebels of all?

In many ways this novel was very resonant. Brexit has divided families in a similar way to the divisive political allegiances that split families in the 1640s and 50s. Many mothers will sympathise with the older Cromwells, trying to hold the family together. Similarly, many children of great campaigners find it hard to find their place in the world. Miranda's novel does what great historical novels should do - tell a great story, illuminate the period and seek the universal questions that follow. Madame Mantel should watch out!

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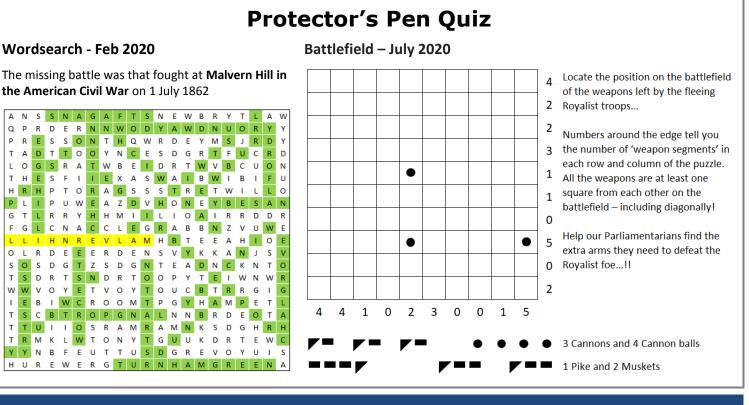
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Miranda Malins, The Puritan Princess, pp 448, Orion Fiction, April 2020, ISBN: 1409194798. Hardback £20.99, Kindle and AudioBook also available.

Editor's Note: An audio version of the novel is also available, which Maxine Forshaw briefly reviews.

I chose to listen to the audiobook of The Puritan Princess. Listening to a book is of course a very different experience to reading it yourself; I find that much depends on how well you, as the listener, are able to gel with the narrator. Karen Cass is a fine and skilled narrator and I thoroughly enjoyed listening to her – at 5 minutes short of 13 hours, this is a 'weighty' listen but the voices of the author and narrator blended perfectly. I really felt as if I was there, with Frances Cromwell talking directly to me - what greater recommendation could there be? I also felt quite bereft once the book had ended, and for me that's the sign of something special.



Exhibitions and Events

At the time of writing, with the uncertainty due to COVID-19, dates for events planned later in the year may well be changed or events cancelled. There is, therefore, no Events Diary in this issue of The Protector's Pen. A few links have been provided below to some websites should you wish to look up further details on forthcoming events as they are announced:

NCWC, Newark	http://www.nationalcivilwarcentre.com/events/	COMMANDERY Soliver Cromwell's
English Civil War Society	http://www.ecws.org.uk/	Commanderse Workester Crivil War Battle HO & Hardrois Bailing Crivil War Battle HO & Hardrois Bailing
Worcester Commandery	http://www.museumsworcestershire.org.uk/	
Cromwell Museum	http://www.cromwellmuseum.org/	
Cromwell's House, Ely	http://visitely.org.uk/cromwell/oliver-cromwells-house	
Battlefields Trust	http://www.battlefieldstrust.com/default.asp	SCOTTISH
Sealed Knot	http://www.thesealedknot.org.uk/	THE SEALED KNOT
Scottish Battlefields Trust	http://www.scottishbattlefields.org/events-1	LOVE HISTORY? LIVE IT WITH THE SEALED KNOT

