

THE NEWSLETTER OF THE CROMWELL ASSOCIATION

# The Protector's Pen

**Battlefield threats**

***Cromwell – a  
great General?***

**Association News**

AGM & Cromwell Day

New stained glass window

Schools' essay prize

**Cromwell's body –  
Part 2**

***Richard Baxter &  
Oliver Cromwell***

**News & Events**

In the press

Book reviews

Film review

Vol 23 Issue 1 February 2021

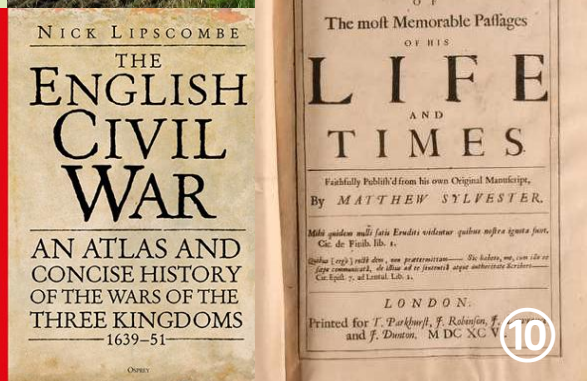
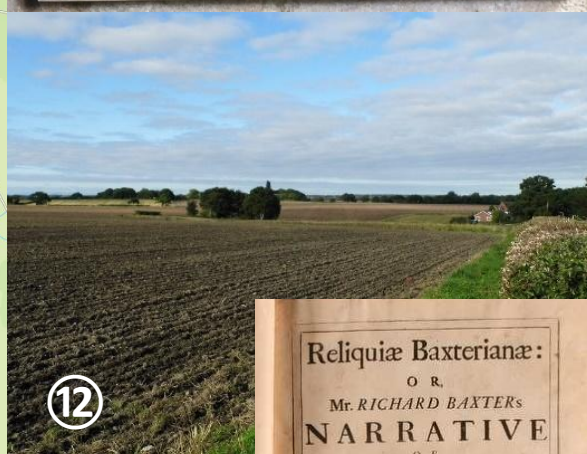
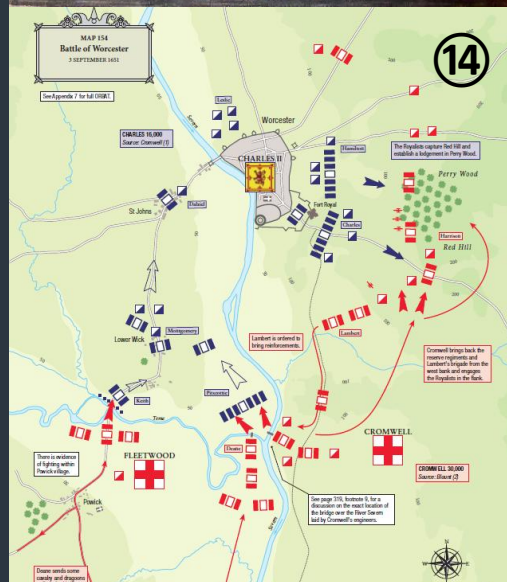




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*The Protector's Pen* is the newsletter of The Cromwell Association. It is published twice a year and distributed to our membership, and is also available on our website in the members' area. If additional copies are required, to help promote the Association 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](mailto:finance@olivercromwell.org)
- changes of address and email, contact our membership secretary, Paul Robbins – [membership@olivercromwell.org](mailto:membership@olivercromwell.org)
- all other matters, please contact our chair, John Goldsmith – [chair@olivercromwell.org](mailto:chair@olivercromwell.org)

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

President	: Peter Gaunt	 <a href="http://www.olivercromwell.org">www.olivercromwell.org</a>
Chair	: John Goldsmith	
Treasurer	: Geoffrey Bush	
Membership Secretary	: Paul Robbins	
		 <a href="https://twitter.com/Cromwellorg">@Cromwellorg</a>

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Front cover: Colonel Alexander Popham  
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# The Protector's Pen

## Notes from the Chair

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

Over the last ten months we have all had to adjust, as best we can, to new ways of doing things, forced upon us by the current pandemic. Choirs have learnt to sing with each other remotely, celebrations held remotely, quizzes and games played remotely, and societies and organisations like ours have delivered content remotely. Before Christmas, members were invited by the National Army Museum to join them for a series of lectures, given online, by Council member Dr Ismini Pells, and very good they were too. In January and early February, the Cromwell Museum's annual lecture series was similarly delivered this way, and I know many of you joined in.

After considerable thought, we will be holding our own Annual General Meeting online in April; for full details see page 4. I know that it is not ideal, and some of you may feel excluded, but in the circumstances it is the best solution to keeping the Association moving forward.

For those of you who have given us an email address, and that is now a considerable proportion of the membership, you should have received several emails giving an update on our activities, and the invitations to join the online lectures. As our hard copy mailings are only twice a year, we will continue to use this method to communicate with you. If you, or an organisation you are involved with, has information that you believe would be of interest to the Association, please get in touch. There is no guarantee that we will be able to pass it on to members, but it will be considered.

This is another 24-page edition of *The Protector's Pen* and I hope that you find plenty of interest to read. If there is a linking theme, it is new publications. Tom Charlton's article on Richard Baxter and Cromwell is a consequence of the publication of a new, comprehensive, scholarly edition of Baxter's collected works. At last there is also some positive news about the long-awaited new edition of *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (more on page 7), and come on OUP! Nick Lipscombe's article covers his new atlas of the civil war, which is also reviewed here by Peter Gaunt. A little more left-field is a review of Lord Naseby's book about Sri Lanka, but as you will see, there is a connection to be made with the English civil war. A big thanks to all our contributors and those who have given permission to reproduce relevant images.



Enclosed with this mailing is a card showing the design for the panel of stained glass, to be inserted in a window at St Giles' Cripplegate (see article on page 8). The panel is being made at the moment and the installation date is as yet unknown. We very much hope that at some date in the future we will be able to have some form of dedication of the window, to which all members can be invited.

John Goldsmith  
Chair

[chair@olivercromwell.org](mailto:chair@olivercromwell.org)

## Notes from Council

The continuing COVID-19 pandemic has prevented Council from meeting in person for over a year now, but thanks to the wonder of Zoom we have been able to meet on a similar schedule to normal. Since the last mailing we have met twice, in early November and in January. Although not as enjoyable as meeting face-to-face, we do all get to see our colleagues (and their delightful offspring, cats and dogs).

Ever since the pandemic forced these changes upon us, we have been guided by the advice of the Charity Commission, and are confident that all of the decisions we have taken are in the best interests of the Association.

Main points of interest – many of which are reflected elsewhere in this edition of *The Protector's Pen*:

- The Association needs to amend its constitution to ensure that it is able to operate effectively in the current, and any unforeseen future, crisis. Proposed amendments were discussed at the last meeting and approved by Council to put to the membership.
- It was agreed to proceed with commissioning the stained glass panel at St Giles' Cripplegate.
- Sales of Association merchandise will now be online via the new shop offered by the Cromwell Museum. As soon as we can hold actual events again our goods will be on sale at those as usual.
- No events in person are thought to be viable before the middle of this year at the earliest, but currently we hope that it may be possible to hold both the annual service and a study day in the latter part of 2021. Decisions on these will be taken at our June meeting and publicised in the summer mailing.
- Responded to the Policy Exchange's call for submissions on the issue of public statuary with our previously agreed statement.
- It was agreed that *The Protector's Pen* should have an ISSN bibliographic identifier (our journal *Cromwelliana* has for many years had an ISBN).
- Submitted comment to the government consultation on changes to the planning system with concerns about the need to protect historic battlefields.

Council will meet again in late March (via Zoom), before the Annual General Meeting.

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

As ever, Council welcomes comments, ideas and suggestions from you, our members.

Contact [chair@olivercromwell.org](mailto:chair@olivercromwell.org) or write to:

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



## Association News

### Cromwell Day 2020 & 2021

As was trailed in the last edition of *The Protector's Pen*, Cromwell Day 2020 was rather different to previous years. Our traditional service by the Thorneycroft statue of Cromwell, outside the Palace of Westminster, was not possible due to COVID-19 restrictions, nor were any other of our usual alternatives a possibility. So with the assistance and support of Stuart Orme of the Cromwell Museum in Huntingdon, a wreath was laid between two busts of Cromwell. As intended, the wreath-laying was videoed and put on our website, initially in the members' area, but now on the home page:

<http://www.olivercromwell.org/wordpress/>.

Rather than just a recording of the wreath laying

(which would be a very short video) the significance of 3<sup>rd</sup> September to Cromwell and hence to the Association, is briefly discussed.

At the moment it is premature to make a decision on whether or not we can mark Cromwell Day 2021 in a more meaningful way. It is certainly our intention to continue to mark the occasion with an event, open to all members, as soon as the situation improves. Details of how we will mark it this year will be in the next edition of *The Protector's Pen*, which we hope to have with you



towards the end of July. Information will also be posted on our website.

### AGM 2021

Saturday 24<sup>th</sup> April at 3.00pm BST

As no Annual General Meeting took place last year, and current circumstances prevent a meeting being held in the normal manner, Council has taken the decision that an AGM should be held this year, but that it would be virtual, rather than actual.

The date of the meeting is exactly as it would be if we were meeting in person, that is on the nearest Saturday to 25<sup>th</sup> April, Cromwell's birthday, which means it will take place on Saturday 24<sup>th</sup> April. Normally we would meet at 11.00am but in an attempt to open up the meeting to members in North America (where there are the greatest proportion of our non-UK members) the meeting will start at 3.00pm BST. The meeting will use Zoom as the platform. The number of participants is limited to 100 – about double the number we have at a normal AGM.

**To participate in the meeting it is essential that you register in advance, and spaces will be allocated on a first come, first served basis.**

The meeting will be recorded and then linked later to our website; so if you are unable to join us you will be able to view the proceedings after the event. To register your place please email [agm@olivercromwell.org](mailto:agm@olivercromwell.org) and put in the header of your email the name that you use on Zoom (as you may share a Zoom account with others in your household, or make use of a friend's for the occasion). Your booking will be acknowledged. You will be given instructions on how to join the meeting a few days before the event. Please put your name and post code in the body of your

email so that your details can be checked against our members' database.

**Please note, only fully paid-up members are eligible to attend and vote at the meeting.**

The papers for the AGM are enclosed with this mailing, and they will also be available in the members' area of the website. The papers are: the agenda, the *Annual Report for 2020*, the *Balance Sheet for 2020*, *Ballot paper 1*, and *Ballot paper 2*. The ballot papers are self-explanatory and Council strongly urge you to support the proposed amendments on paper 1, and the election of Officers and Council on paper 2. Postal ballots are something that the Association has never used before, but this is, to an extent, an exercise in democracy forced upon us by the current situation. For the first time, all members can vote, not just those able to attend the AGM. It would be very encouraging if there was a healthy return of papers.

**Please note that the deadline for the return of papers is Saturday 10<sup>th</sup> April. The results will be announced at the AGM.**

After the formal AGM business has concluded, which hopefully should take no more than 40 minutes, Stuart Orme, Curator of the Cromwell Museum in Huntingdon, will give a talk about the new edition of *Mrs Cromwell's Cookbook*. Disappointingly, he says it will not include a cookery demonstration, but please feel free to have your tea and biscuits whilst watching!

### Did you update your Standing Order?

A number of members who pay by standing order did not adjust the amount payable to the new rate for the year beginning 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2020. We appreciate that in the stresses of lockdown this may have been overlooked. If in any doubt please can you check your bank statement to see what you have paid. If you have paid at the old amount, we would be grateful if you would **BOTH** contact your bank to amend the mandated amount for the year beginning 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2021 (to £27 for a single UK member, £32 for a single plus one household member) **AND** pay the shortfall of £7 for the current year 2020/21.

We regret that failure to do so will result in suspension of membership and you will not receive the next mailing.

The shortfall may be paid by **PayPal** (using a debit or credit card) on [www.olivercromwell.org](http://www.olivercromwell.org) or by bank transfer to **The Cromwell Association**, branch 30-10-04 account 01139884, or by cheque to:

The Treasurer, Cliffhanger, Cuilfail, Lewes, BN7 2BE

**Please use your postcode as identification in any payment.**

Many thanks.

*Geoffrey Bush*

Treasurer, Cromwell Association



# The Protector's Pen

## Email communications from the Association

Since the last issue of *The Protector's Pen* there have been three emails sent to our membership. If you have given us your email address, but have not received the emails please can you resend your current email address to [membership@olivercromwell.org](mailto:membership@olivercromwell.org) together with your name so that our records can be checked and updated as necessary. It is always possible that an email from us ends up being filtered out (check your spam), or that your Inbox is overfull.

For those of you who have received them you will have seen that the Association has switched to using the MailChimp format. This enables us to include images and generally make them look more attractive. Hopefully all our main news can be communicated to you through the two hard copy mailings that are distributed each year, but inevitably things do arise that demand speedier methods. Where appropriate, information about events organised by others may be forwarded via this route, but only if we believe them to be of interest to a significant number of members.

## Merchandise – Solander Boxes / Slipcases

It has been suggested that solander boxes, also known as slipcases, would be an attractive addition to our range. They would be used (mainly) to store copies of *The Protector's Pen*.

To bring unit costs down to a reasonable level we would need to order 100 boxes, and have little idea how many we would sell. The anticipated price to members is around £10.

If you think you are likely to buy a box, please could you send an email to John Gibbon at [johngibbon@btinternet.com](mailto:johngibbon@btinternet.com), or phone 01480 469047, or write to:

8 Bury Close, St Ives, Cambs PE27 6WB



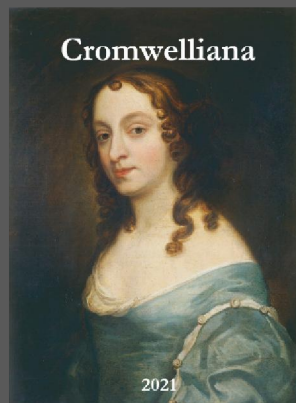
## Cromwelliana 2021

A themed edition of our annual journal will be available in July this year. As it was not possible to hold either a Study Day or a Cromwell Day ceremony in 2020 due to the coronavirus pandemic, there are no papers for these events as there would be in a normal year.

The theme I have chosen for the upcoming edition centres around women in the Cromwellian period, covering mainly the Cromwell family but also touching on the experiences of relatively unknown women.

Papers on other topics will be included in the journal, as well as the winning schools' essay, the usual round-up of significant journal articles and book publications, together with a number of book reviews to hopefully whet your appetite for further reading.

Maxine Forshaw  
Editor, *Cromwelliana*



## 2021 Essay Prize Competition

The Frederic L Borch III essay prize goes from strength to strength. This year's title is:

***Should the English civil war more properly be seen as just one of the wars of the three kingdoms of the mid-seventeenth century, all stemming from the so-called 'British Problem'?***

Once again the prize money will be £250. In addition, the winner will have his or her essay published in *Cromwelliana* and on our website. **Submissions should be with me by 30<sup>th</sup> July 2021**, emailed to [education@olivercromwell.org](mailto:education@olivercromwell.org), in Word format and no longer than 2000 words.

We have seen some very strong submissions over the past few years, and I very much hope you will read last year's winning entry in *Cromwelliana*. We look forward to what 2021 will bring!

Serrie Meakins

## Cromwell Museum – online shop

The Cromwell Museum in Huntingdon now has an online shop and this may well be of interest to Association members. The shop can be readily accessed through the museum's website: [www.cromwellmuseum.org](http://www.cromwellmuseum.org)

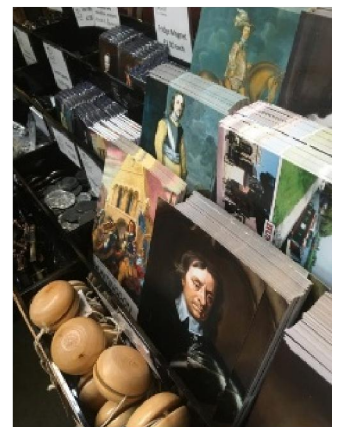
There are 4 sections: Art, Books, Cards/Postcards and Gifts. Art mainly comprises poster portraits of Cromwell, priced at £20 – 25. Almost 40 books are listed, mainly, as one would expect, about mid-17<sup>th</sup> century history and Cromwell in particular. However, there is also historical fiction set in the period, such as *The Puritan Princess* by Miranda Malins, and crime stories by S G (Shona) MacLean, not forgetting the long-awaited, newly published edition of *Mrs Cromwell's Cookbook*.

There is a small range of cards/postcards featuring Cromwell, his wife Elizabeth, Charles I, Fairfax, Lilburne, and some scenes of Huntingdon. Other gifts range from fashionable Monmouth caps at £25, and busts of both Cromwell and Charles I at £22.50, to appropriately decorated mugs at £6.50 and £8, and coins, key rings and fridge magnets at £2; pens and pencils are £1.

Association gifts available include our bookmark. It is expected all our merchandise will be available on the site in the next month or two. The site is easy to use and the items for sale are attractively illustrated. Using the discount code – **CromwellMembers** – will give you 10% off.

John Gibbon

Museum volunteer and Cromwell Association council member





## Thoughts after entering the Essay Prize

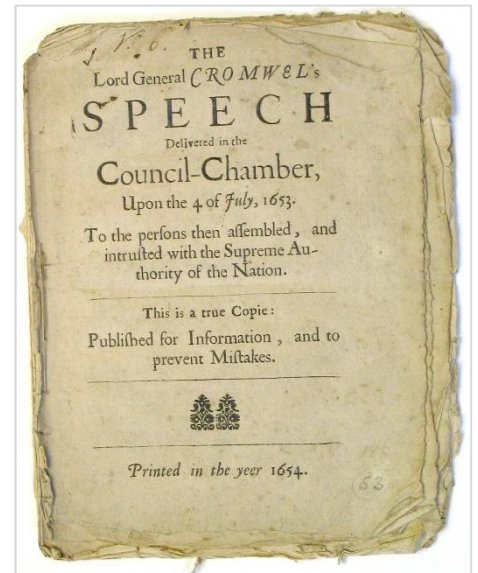
William Findlator was runner-up in the 2020 Essay Prize, and subsequently volunteered at the Cromwell Museum in Huntingdon. He was invited to contribute his reflections on what he had gained from both experiences.

**The mid-17<sup>th</sup> century is a time of supposed radical and decisive change – be it political, social, religious or economic. For many, Cromwell is the figure who pushed this change forward – for better or for worse. This narrative is a half-truth, which must be qualified significantly in order to reconcile public perceptions of Cromwell and his role to reality. Exploring this has become a historical hobby of mine and it is this that drew me to both entering the Cromwell Association Essay Prize and to volunteer for the Cromwell Museum.**

The Cromwell Association Essay Prize in 2020 dealt with perceptions of Cromwell. It asked the question of why Cromwell was at the receiving end of so much vitriol by contemporaries, yet – according to the 2001 BBC poll of the greatest Britons – he is today rated as one of the 'greatest Britons'. For me, this was an enlightening experience. It introduced me to the utter confusion that has shrouded Cromwell since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This confusion is partly a result of the complex nature of Cromwell's relationship to many events that he is said to be responsible for. In many cases, Cromwell played a purposefully reticent, controlled and often ambiguous role. Politically, he acted in a way that obscured his beliefs – making it hard, both now and then, to understand whether Cromwell was responsible for a specific action. He also often allowed events to unfold before taking a decisive role – ensuring he was always the last one to play his hand and often meaning he acted decisively. This attitude towards politics means that in many cases it is very hard to fully make Cromwell responsible for many of the acts that came about under his rule. A good example of this would be Cromwell's relationship with the gentry-dominated conservative faction in the late 1650s. Here, Cromwell waited to allow events to unfold – allowing the Commons to present him with the Humble Petition and Advice. When he was offered the Crown, he did not outright reject it. Typically, for Cromwell, he took his time – allowing the political atmosphere to cool somewhat. This also gave the impression that Cromwell was not outrightly opposed to the Crown – in fact, in his rejection speech, he stated that there was much that was desirable in the Commons' proposed constitutional settlement. When he did reject the Crown – ensuring the continued support of the military faction – he accepted a Protectoral office that was more regal in style. A second, more flamboyant investiture of Cromwell as Lord Protector signified this change – but the change was not just one of style. The powers of the Lord Protector grew to a level that they probably matched or exceeded Charles I – with the power to nominate his successor and to hold the office for life being granted to Cromwell. It's worth noting this was part political calculation and part religious motivation – the two combined in a way that makes the claim Cromwell was an evil Machiavellian disingenuous. Cromwell almost always acted in accordance with

his conscience. He was not the one pushing for himself to be a sort of quasi-monarch. Cromwell's attitude towards religion – where he would wait until it was clear that God wanted him to act in a certain way – was the main determiner of this pattern of action. Cromwell was never fully sure what his next move was, and would wait until he could act in a way that guaranteed his success. For Cromwell, when the path was clear, this was a sign, telling him that God wanted him to act.

Volunteering at the Cromwell Museum allowed me to further explore these themes. Working in the archives gave me access to several prints of Cromwellian speeches. The trickiness of Cromwell as a political actor was on display. His long rambling speeches show that to be an effective political actor doesn't necessarily mean ticking all the boxes. In fact, Cromwell's lack of clarity and tendency to go on long, unnecessary tangents was counter-intuitively just what was needed. Cromwell was able to continue the art of the fudge in parliament – able to maintain an appearance of straddling the divide between the seemingly opposed conservative and military factions.



Cromwell speech in parliament, 4 July 1653  
(Image courtesy Cromwell Museum)

Finally, working at the Cromwell Museum taught me something more basic about the nature of history generally. The museum – fantastically educational – bridges the gap between academic debate and popular perceptions. It made me think how utterly useless history is if it exists only in a vacuum. The past teaches us so much – about how to act, how not to act, the essential qualities of human nature, our national history, our national values and our political values. To do without this information in the realm of public debate means we act without context or grounding. The work of the historian is useful – so useful, that it is extraordinary detrimental to society not to have it as a common frame of reference in day-to-day discussion.

*William Findlator*



# The Protector's Pen

## Cambridgeshire floods highlight shape of English Civil War fort



Earith Bulwark, Isle of Ely, Cambridgeshire  
(Photo courtesy [terry-harris.com](https://www.terry-harris.com))

The Earith Bulwark was built in about 1643 at Earith in Cambridgeshire by Oliver Cromwell's forces to protect crossing points on the local rivers. Historic England said it was 'amongst the most elaborate fortifications' from the Civil War (1642 – 51). The central section of the bulwark covers about 60 square metres and is situated to the east of Earith. It was built on a narrow strip of land separating the man-made Old and New Bedford Rivers, both of which are fed by the River Great Ouse, which is about 150m to the south.

BBC Website: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-cambridgeshire-55707499>

Editor's Note: When the Association visited the site in 2008, on a dry spring day, the bumps in the ground were difficult to interpret. From a high vantage point and in flood, it is stunningly clear.

## The **new edition** of *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*

I am delighted to report that at long last the new edition of all Oliver Cromwell's recorded words has gone to press. It was delivered to OUP in June 2020 and although the pandemic is slowing down the production process, it is done. It will appear in three volumes with a companion to follow.

The guiding principle is that everything is included which reflects Cromwell's 'voice', so it includes all those documents which it is certain or likely that Cromwell wrote or dictated, and all those records of his speech-acts which were recorded at, or close to, the time of delivery. A significant number of items present in other editions – hearsay, documents he signed but did not compose – are omitted, making his distinctive voice to stand out. Against that we have found some new material (and in addition we have included for the first time the summaries made by those present of speeches he made in Parliament between 1640 and 1649) and most importantly we have tracked down perhaps 200 'lost' originals of documents previously edited from poor later transcripts. Where no original exists and we have had to rely on

different copies of lost originals, we have always been able to establish a primary of 'proof' text and then included all significant variants. It is our belief that this is an edition that is much more accurate, reliable and easy to navigate.

Every document is headed by a series of identifiers, and here is an example:

Item	1643 07 22
Date	22 July 1643
Title	Oliver Cromwell to the committee at Cambridge
Source	Privately Owned (by Mr Kevin Frostick of North Runcton, Norfolk and published with his consent and assistance). (Contemporary copy).
Introduction	[863 words]
Text	[363 words with 14 footnotes]

This is a hitherto unknown letter. I hope it whets your appetite.

*Professor John Morrill*

General editor (on behalf of the team of nine editors) and vice president of the Association



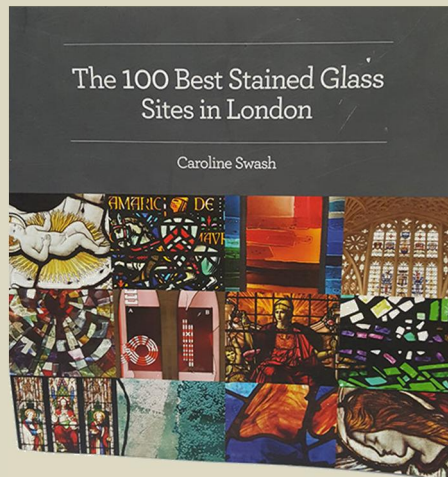
# The Protector's Pen

## New Cromwell memorial

One of the objectives of the Association is to commemorate Cromwell with plaques, panels and memorials, at sites associated with him. The last issue of *The Protector's Pen* included an article about the marriage of Oliver to Elizabeth Bourchier, at St Giles' Cripplegate, in August 1620. Although there is a plaque in the church referencing famous people linked to it, Cromwell's name is but one of several, and Elizabeth gets no mention at all.

Council tried several years ago to address this, with the enthusiastic support of the incumbent, the Rev Katharine Rumens, but higher church authorities were not so keen, and the proposal was put on ice. The opportunity to move this forward came last year when we were asked if we would like to memorialise the wedding by commissioning a panel of stained glass to be inserted into an existing window. As this approach came at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic we were initially hesitant, not knowing what our finances would be like in an increasingly uncertain world.

In the autumn it became clear that we could go ahead, and so the design process was started. Caroline Swash, a very well-established stained glass artist, is a parishioner of St Giles' and lives in the surrounding Barbican complex. In a conversation with Rev Rumens she had spoken enthusiastically about the lettering of stone memorials in the church, which led to an invitation to build on this theme by designing the lettering for a glazed panel to celebrate the centenary of the nearby City of London Girls' School. This was executed by Caroline, and installed at the end of 2019, with the main text painted onto opalescent glass to give the effect of a stone monument, but in glass. The main text is surrounded by a border which had scope for including other small images. The church then received a request to commemorate an early North American naturalist, Mark Catesby (1683 – 1749), which was done in a similar fashion, with plants and animals forming the border to the main panel. The Catesby window was installed in late 2020.



The Cromwell panel is designed to complement the other two, which form a triptych in the westernmost window in the north aisle. The choice of wording for the main panel was the easy part, though not without thought and discussion. A deliberate decision was taken that Elizabeth's name appeared first. The border presented a range of opportunities and challenges which the artist rose to with aplomb; it references Elizabeth with her initials, dates, map of London, her portrait and the Bourchier coat of arms, along with a quotation from a letter of hers to Oliver. Oliver is portrayed in a similar way, with a map of Huntingdonshire and the Cromwell rampant lion, and an extract from a letter from him to her. All this is achieved in a very small space, and is a masterpiece of compression.

It is hoped that a service of dedication will be possible at some point after the panel is installed. It is possible that this may happen before the next mailing, but arrangements are not yet in place. If so, details will be communicated with members by email and posted in the members' area of the website, with a full report in the next issue of *The Protector's Pen*.

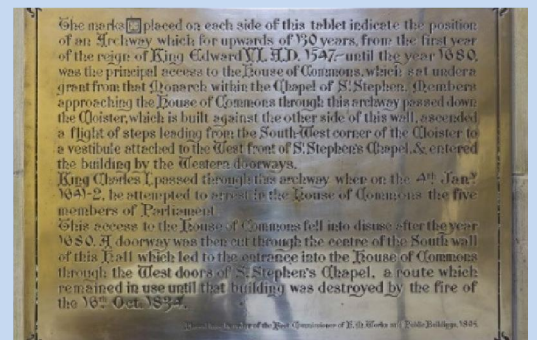


## Secret passage found in House of Commons

A 360-year-old passageway used by luminaries including Samuel Pepys, William Pitt the Younger and Robert Walpole has been uncovered inside the House of Commons. After researching the building's original plans, historian Dr Liz Hallam-Smith detected a concealed door in the panelling of a cloister – currently used by the Labour Party as offices and a cloakroom.



Dendrochronology testing revealed that the ceiling timbers above the little room date from trees felled in 1659 – which ties in with surviving accounts that state the doorway was made in 1660 – 61 for the coronation banquet of Charles II. Research showed the route was used by part of the procession which passed from the old House of Lords into the hall where the king and queen were seated. This is in contrast to the words on the brass plaque in Westminster Hall, which state the passageway was used in 1642 by Charles I, when he attempted to arrest five MPs, which the researchers believe is not accurate.



...a further surprise was awaiting the excavators in the form of 169-year-old graffiti by the bricklayer who helped close off the passage: 'This room was enclosed by Tom Porter who was very fond of Ould Ale'.

Extracted from various sources: BBC and Parliament websites, and *The Guardian*: 26 February 2020



# The Protector's Pen

## St Andrew's Northborough

Following a recent inspection by Historic England, St Andrew's Church Northborough has been placed on the Heritage at Risk register for 2020. The Grade 1 listed building, built in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century, has links to the family of Oliver Cromwell, whose daughter married John Claypole, owner of Northborough's Manor House, where Cromwell was a frequent visitor.



A survey undertaken in 2019 as part of a proposal for a small extension and internal improvements, revealed that the chancel roof needed replacing as a more urgent priority. St Andrew's parochial church council (PCC) is consequently now focused on the roof, and, if possible, the installation of heating and a servery to better facilitate the use of the building by local schools, for concerts and other village events. The church benefits little from land or legacy revenues and survives solely on the fund-raising efforts of its loyal parishioners who are determined to ensure that the structure is maintained for posterity.

The south transept, known as the De La Mare Chantry, or Claypole Chapel, was built around 1350 and contains the tomb of James Claypole and Elizabeth, wife of Oliver Cromwell, who died in 1665. The original inscription on Elizabeth's tomb has long since worn away but the Cromwell Association has placed a commemorative plaque close by.



After his 2019 survey, architect Peter Slinger noted that there were features in the stonework of the church which suggested that there may be a second crypt below the De La Mare Chantry. If so, it might accommodate the remains of Oliver Cromwell as described in the tradition recorded by St Andrew's rector, Rev Short in 1896. A ground-penetrating radar survey of the chapel floor was carried out by Dr Kris Lockyear and his team in August 2019 which showed that, although there was no second crypt, there were distinct anomalies immediately to the north of Elizabeth Cromwell's tomb that deserved further investigation.



By placing St Andrew's in its highest priority category, Historic England mean that the church is at 'immediate risk of further rapid deterioration or loss of fabric'. Many of the issues stem from the age of the building and the excessively high moisture retention in the walls and floor. St Andrew's PCC are committed to preserving the historic building and ensuring that it is maintained and improved to meet the needs of the local and wider communities. The PCC's proposal to repair the chancel roof, install an effective heating system and provide a small servery is designed to ensure that the church is still available for future generations to use and enjoy. However, this will be an expensive and lengthy project.

If you would like to help support St Andrew's please use either of the links below to make your donation.

<https://givealittle.co/campaigns/280fa163-29a3-4f83-b2e1-893669682b17>

<https://www.achurchnearyou.com/church/16689/page/58476/view/>



# The Protector's Pen

## Richard Baxter and Oliver Cromwell

Standing feebly in the dock, held up on both sides by his friends, Richard Baxter knew to expect little sympathy from his judge. The notoriously vituperative Lord Chief Justice, George Jeffreys, did not hold back:

*Richard, Richard, dost thou think we'll hear thee poison the Court[?] ... thou art an Old Fellow, an Old Knave – thou hast Written Books eno' to Load a Cart, every one as full of Sedition (I might say Treason) as an Egg is full of Meat. Hadst thou been Whipp'd out of thy Writing Trade Forty Years ago, it had been Happy. Thou pretendest to be a Preacher of the Gospel of Peace; as thou hast one Foot in the Grave, 'tis Time for thee to begin to think what Account thou intendest to give.*



Richard Baxter  
(Courtesy of the Trustees of Dr Williams' Library)

By the time of his trial for sedition in May 1685, Richard Baxter was one of the foremost nonconformist divines in Restoration England. A chaplain in the parliamentary army during the civil wars, but an opponent of the direction it took after it had been new-modelled, Baxter rose to prominence in the association movement of the 1650s, advocating a broad, inclusive church which might accommodate local structural, sacramental

and doctrinal differences. At the Restoration he was the chief spokesman on behalf of a delegation of moderate puritans appointed by Charles II to hammer out a compromise church settlement with the newly ascendant and belligerent bishops of the Church of England. These negotiations failed, in no small part because the restored bishops were in no mood to be lectured by Baxter, in whose interregnum books they found 'Maxims of Treason, Sedition and Rebellion'. After the 1662 Act of Uniformity cast him and hundreds of other ministers out of the church, Baxter set himself to writing, producing giant folios and single-sheet pamphlets on a range of topics from practical divinity to the existence of ghosts; his principal aim, however, was to articulate, justify and defend the reasons for his nonconformity. By 1685, unbeknown to Jeffreys, Baxter had already spent nigh on twenty years composing and compiling a manuscript 'Account' of his conduct, and writing, throughout the civil wars, interregnum and Restoration, published posthumously as the *Reliquiae Baxterianae*: or, *Mr. Richard Baxter's narrative of the Most Memorable Passages of his Life and Times* (1696).

Baxter had no desire to be a nonconformist; his profoundest wish throughout the Restoration was to unite 'moderate' Protestants

of any persuasion to forge a Church settlement whereby he could contribute to the Church of England as a member, not as an ecclesiastical outlier beyond the pale. It soon became apparent that the association between puritanism and the revolutionary turmoil of the preceding two decades was too strong for him to overcome. Royalist and church suspicion of Baxter was even stronger because of his writings: 'a flattering book to Richard Cromwell' didn't help, but worse was his attempt in his 1659 tract *A Holy Commonwealth* (printed just months before Charles II's restoration) to explain 'by what Reasons was I moved to engage myself in the Parliament's Warre?' His conclusion, that 'I cannot see that I was mistaken in the main Cause', was an incendiary read in the Restoration, and his very public refusal to conform to the rites of the Church of England led many of his opponents to claim that he still adhered to the 'known Treasons and King-killing doctrines' that led England to civil war, and the regicide, in the 1640s.

Such criticism, Baxter maintained, was grossly unfair. Yes, he wrote in 1659, he had supported the Parliament in the civil war, but 'on the Grounds we were engaged on', not to 'offer any violence to the Person of the King; but to rescue him from them that had seduced him into a War against Parliament [...] many things that since have been done, my soul lamenteth and disclaimeth'. So too he had written that Richard Cromwell had governed 'prudently, piously, faithfully, to his immortall Honour', but it was a logical fallacy to conclude from either of those positions that he supported the regicide, or the usurpation of Oliver.

These nuances held little truck in the Restoration, but it does mean that Baxter's life, and his '*narrative of the Most Memorable Passages of his Life and Times*', have frequently been turned to by historians keen to unpick the complexities of religious and political allegiance in England across the seventeenth century. Nowhere, perhaps, is this more apparent than in Baxter's dealings with, and feelings about, Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell was, for Baxter, the epitome of a good cause gone awry:

he meant honestly in the maine, & was pious & conscionable in the main course of his life, till prosperity & successe corrupted him [...] Hereupon Cromwells *generall* Religious zeale, giveth way to the power of that Ambition, which still increaseth as his successes do increase [...] He thought that [...] none but God had made him great [...] & if it were lawfull to fight against the King & conquer him, it was lawfull to use him as a conquered enemy.

The precise denominational nature of Cromwell's religion has fascinated and frustrated historians in equal measure.

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In *Cromwelliana* 2016 Dr Joel Halcombe elegantly explored the uses made of Baxter's revelation that he had in 1643 been invited to be the pastor of Cromwell's 'famous troop'. Baxter declined the opportunity to serve an Independent 'Gathered Church' – whether Cromwell ever joined a particular congregation remains unknown.

Writing up the narrative of his life in the 1660s, Baxter 'reprehended my selfe' for declining this invitation, and began to blame 'other Ministers & my selfe' for 'forsaking the Army', and leaving the baser instincts of the 'Sectaries' to take root within the troops. In the event, Baxter was to become a chaplain to Edmund Whalley's regiment in July 1645, not to push it towards, but to restrain it from, radicalism:

I set myself from day to day to find out the corruptions of the of the soldiers [...] So that I was almost allwaies when I had opportunity disputing with one or other of them, sometimes for our \civill Government/ (English Monarchy and for loyalty to the King), & sometimes for Church order & Government, sometimes for Infant baptisme, & oft against Antinomianism, & the contrary extreame: But their most frequent & vehement disputes were for Liberty of Conscience.

One of the principal impediments to his success, Baxter maintained, was the 'discountenance of Cromwell', who welcomed him 'coldly' to the army. Not that this discouraged Baxter from 'seasonably and moderately by Preaching and Printing condemn[ing] the Usurpation [...] I did in open conference declare *Cromwell* and his adherents to be Guilty of Treason and Rebellion'.

And yet, reviewing his life in the white heat of the Restoration's persecution of the nonconformist heirs of interregnum puritanism, Baxter was forced to admit of the 'abundant Advantage' that the Gospel received during Cromwell's Protectorship. Though he disproved of Cromwell's sectarian enthusiasm, and his usurpation, Baxter acknowledged that under his rule 'Godliness had *Countenance* and *Reputation* [...] For my part', he continued, 'I bless God who gave me even under an Usurper whom I opposed, such Liberty and Advantage to preach his Gospel with success, which I cannot have under a King to whom I have sworn and performed true Subjection and Obedience'.

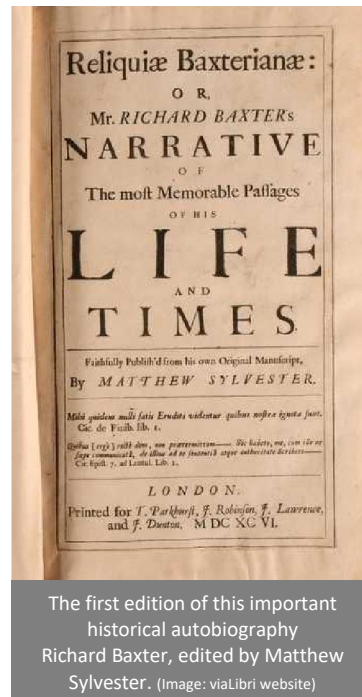
For a self-professed puritan moderate such as Baxter, then, Cromwell was a confused and confusing symbol of the abiding strengths and failures of the English revolution: a man who pursued a just war to an unjust conclusion; a Machiavellian usurper who nonetheless sought to consolidate his rule by 'doing good'. The tragedy of Cromwell's reign was that the good that he undertook was compromised by his usurpation; the tragedy of Charles II's reign was that he was persuaded to 'undo the Good which Cromwell \or any other/ had done, (or any other) because they were usurpers that did it, or discountenance a faithfull Ministry because his enemies had set them up'.

This much is, broadly speaking, already known to the historical record and readers familiar with the 1696 publication of Baxter's

autobiographical writings. A new edition of the *Reliquiae*, recently published by Oxford University Press, uses Baxter's extant manuscript as the basis for its text, however, and the results reveal just how self-conscious and careful Baxter was in his presentation of Cromwell. In the quotations above, '<...>' signal deletions, '\.../' interlined additions to the text. There are few passages concerning Cromwell in the manuscript that Baxter has not revisited to edit, tighten up, and make more precise, more persuasive. Recounting one of his few personal meetings with Cromwell in 1655, to discuss liberty of conscience, the '5 or 6' hours of 'tedious', 'ignorant' speeches to which he was subjected is, on second thoughts, whittled down to a more

credible '4 or 5'; Baxter has no wish for perceived exaggeration to undermine his criticism of Cromwell. Other changes improve the organization and accessibility of Baxter's material, as when he marks the margin of his manuscript with the heading, 'The character of Cromwell', drawing together and highlighting one of the key passages of his text.

Some alterations were left to his friend and posthumous editor, Matthew Sylvester. As Baxter discussed the vagaries of Restoration censorship, he made a comparison which Sylvester felt best to omit from the published text: 'I commend *Oliver Cromwell*,



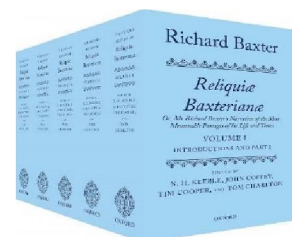
The first edition of this important historical autobiography Richard Baxter, edited by Matthew Sylvester. (Image: viaLibri website)

who though he had a great red nose, did never make a Law that no man should write or speake of noses'. As a one-liner, it reads as little more than a cheap quip. But in the context of the complex relationship Baxter had with Cromwell throughout the English revolution, charted throughout the *Reliquiae*, we can now see this restored line as exemplifying Baxter's verdict on Cromwell, as a well-meaning but ultimately flawed figure whose promotion of godliness compared favourably with that of the Restoration regime which followed him.

## Tom Charlton

Tom Charlton is a research fellow at the Dr Williams' Library, London. One of the editors of the *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (with Neil Keeble, John Coffey and Tim Cooper), he is also currently part of the team editing Baxter's correspondence.

Richard Baxter: *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, five volumes, OUP, 2020. ISBN 9780198834496





## Battlefield threats

The Battlefields Trust aims to preserve, research and present battlefields as educational and historical resources. The main threat we see to battlefields is from development.



But there are others, arising from: hobby metal detecting, which destroys the archaeological record as the finds usually go unrecorded and the detecting is not done in a systematic way; the use of certain agrochemicals which alter the pH value of the soil and causes metal objects to decay; and the hosting of events such as concerts or festivals on battlefield sites which leads to ring-pulls, coins and similar detritus being dropped, making any systematic metal detecting survey almost impossible.

Some protection is offered through registration of battlefield sites by Historic England (HE). This means their heritage value becomes a material consideration in the planning process, but if a development causes less than substantial harm then it is for the planning authority to decide whether to grant planning permission, based on whether the public benefits outweigh the harm caused. Registration does not prevent metal detecting, use of agrochemicals or the hosting of events on battlefield sites.

### ***So, which Civil War battlefields are threatened and what is the Battlefields Trust doing about it?***

Our main concern is Winwick (1648) where Cromwell overcame the remnants of the Anglo-Scottish army he had defeated a few days earlier at Preston. The northern part of the battlefield site, which was registered by HE in 2018, covers unspoilt land forming part of a former colliery. For many years St Helens Council has sought to redevelop the site and the latest proposal, which obtained planning permission in December 2019, is for large warehouses to be built there. This will destroy the New Model Army's deployment area and prevent re-creation of the sight lines enjoyed by Cromwell when he made his initial tactical decisions. Around 15 – 20 per cent of the registered battlefield area will be lost. HE has said



Winwick Battlefield (top)  
2nd Newbury – Donnington (middle)  
Gainsborough (bottom)  
(Photos courtesy Simon Marsh, Battlefields Trust)

the harm caused will be high, but not substantial, meaning the planning authority was able to agree the planning application based on public interest.

Since 2012, the Trust has critiqued the scheme (and an earlier one for a rail terminus) and the pre-development archaeological mitigation. However, following the granting of planning permission, the application was 'called-in' by the Secretary of State due to its impact on Green Belt land and a planning inspector is due to rule on the case in 2021.

At Second Newbury (1648) the battlefield has already been badly disturbed by the construction of the A34 bypass in the west and urban development on Speenhamland, where the royalists were partly deployed. However, there is unspoilt ground in the main areas of fighting which are now coming under increasing pressure from development. The Trust attempted to have the battlefield made part of a local listing, but this was rejected given the challenge of stakeholder consultation. In 2017 it applied to have the battlefield registered by HE, but earlier this year learned this had been unsuccessful because, in HE's view, there was insufficient topographic coherence to warrant registration. Protection of Second Newbury now relies on the more limited provisions for undesignated heritage sites in the National Planning Policy Framework.

There have also been some small-scale applications for development on Civil War battlefields. At Nantwich (1644) a proposal to build two houses at Acton, on the edge of the registered area, was initially refused following the Trust's objections on grounds of failure to follow the planning process. A second application has been made, but we have again argued against it as there is a lack of

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clarity about the public benefit it will bring. The archaeological mitigations proposed are also inadequate in the Trust's view.

At Marston Moor, the Trust has not objected to some building conservation work at Marston Grange farm in the centre of the royalist position. This work is likely to slightly improve the views across the battlefield and will remain within the existing building footprints.

At Gainsborough (1643) a planning application for housing has been agreed south of Foxby Lane. This will destroy the likely battlefield area. The archaeological work undertaken to identify whether the area encompasses the battlefield used trial trenching without metal detecting, which is inappropriate for identifying battlefield remains.

The Trust is in the process of finalising a battlefield registration application and is writing to the planning archaeologist complaining about the archaeology undertaken.

Whilst under no threat, the Trust also applied in December 2018 to have the registration of Naseby (1645) extended to incorporate the area of the royalist fighting retreat north and east of the battlefield. HE commenced work on this in August 2020.

Whilst the Trust campaigns against battlefield development, our experience shows that the best protection comes from local people caring sufficiently about their battlefield heritage to defend it. It is therefore imperative that all organisations interested in the Civil War continue to discuss its importance and seek to persuade others, through walks, talks and wider interpretation, to value this heritage.

The Battlefields Trust is therefore grateful to the Cromwell Association for its continued support in this.

*Simon Marsh*  
The Battlefields Trust



Naseby (above) and Marston Moor (below)  
(Photos courtesy Simon Marsh, Battlefields Trust)



Historic England



## Cromwell maligned

Sir, James Forsyth expresses a common misconception when he invokes Oliver Cromwell as a previous leader who cancelled Christmas ('An autumn of discontent', 19 September). It was not Cromwell who legislated against the celebration of Christmas and other holy days but parliament in the 1640s, when he was a mere MP. While Cromwell did not take steps to reverse this legislation when in power himself several years later, he is not recorded as ever having expressed an opinion on Christmas. As a Puritan, it is likely that he sympathised with those who considered the festival an extravagant survival of Catholicism with no biblical justification and so did not keep Christmas himself. But it is just as likely, given his dislike of those who 'trample on men's liberties in spiritual respects', that he would have taken little offence at others doing so.

*Dr Miranda Malins*  
Trustee, The Cromwell Association

Letter to *The Spectator*, 24 September 2020

## CROMWELL : BOURCHIER

Oliver and Elizabeth, married 400 years ago today at St Giles' Cripplegate  
[www.olivercromwell.org](http://www.olivercromwell.org)

Announcement placed by the Association in  
*The Times*, Saturday 22 August 2020

## Civil war massacre 'cover-up' exposed by historian

...About 160 died when Parliamentary troops stormed the Royalist stronghold of Shelford, Nottinghamshire, in 1645. Dr David Appleby believes the presence of 'European Catholics' among the dead and unease over the bloodshed led to the battle later being hushed up. He said: 'Shelford was covered up by both sides. The Parliamentarians wanted to forget the savagery, the Royalists, the use of unpopular foreign troops.'

Dr Appleby, from the University of Nottingham's history department, said he was prompted to research Shelford as it did not appear in histories of the war, but he noticed it mentioned in contemporary documents asking for financial aid to common as well as elite households.

'It is...perhaps a reflection of both sides' shame and embarrassment at the bloodshed and viciousness of the supposedly 'civil' Civil Wars', he said.

BBC News website: 18 November 2020

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-nottinghamshire-54973017>



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## Was Oliver Cromwell really a great General?

Ten years ago, the National Army Museum (in conjunction with *The Sunday Times*) opened a public vote to find out who was Britain's greatest general.

Twenty of the nation's all-time great military commanders were up for contention including, not surprisingly, Oliver Cromwell. The Parliamentary general did not win but he finished in the top four. The prolific and respected biographer, Antonia Fraser, wrote that Cromwell was 'a commander of genius at Preston, Dunbar and Worcester, he stands squarely alongside the other great Captains of history... there are few who can surpass him in his superb command of all aspects of war'.

But was he really that good?

Was he really a *great* general?

That should be an easy question to answer. Does Cromwell tick all the boxes? The problem is, there is no checklist to guide us though the process. There are plenty that list the qualities of a great leader but a great general, while undeniably requiring great leadership, needs more. Much more. The marvellous Sandhurst booklet *Serve to Lead* (given to all cadets) reminds us of the importance of morale. Which, in turn, encompasses (i) leadership, (ii) discipline, (iii) comradeship, (iv) self-respect, and (v) devotion to cause. The current army doctrine publication gets closer to the issue at hand. Great generalship is about the aspects of command (leadership, decision-making and control), and the three basic *components of command*: the conceptual, the moral and the physical. It is important to understand that these all overlap in some shape or form.

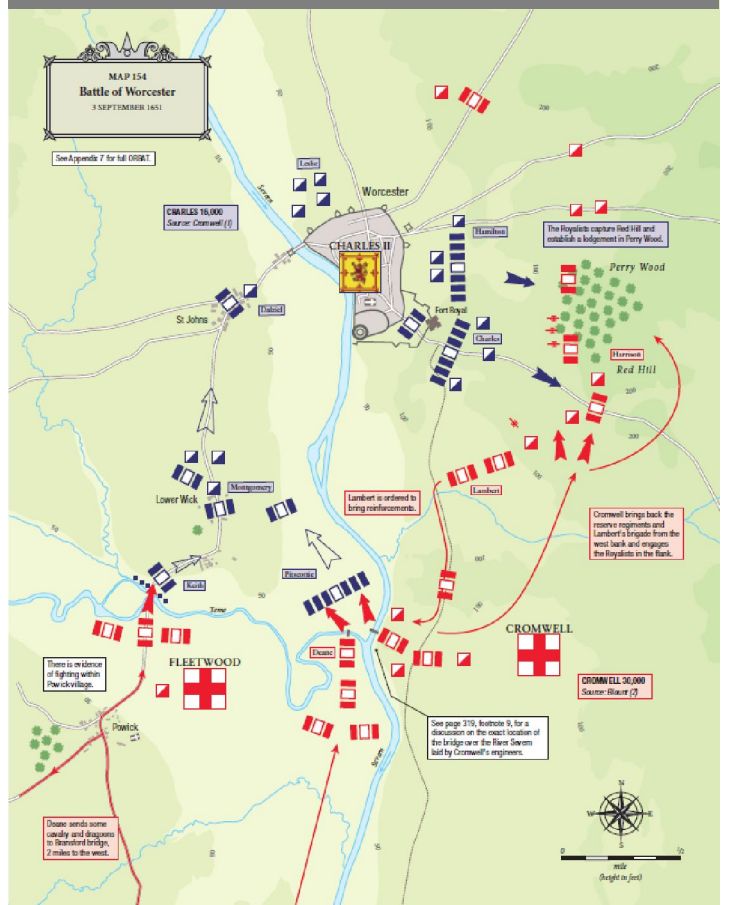
There have been attempts to list the qualities required of a general, great or otherwise. In 1920 General George C. Marshall, famous for his post-Second World War European financial recovery programme, but a general who never commanded troops in battle, suggested that the essential qualities include: having good common sense, a professional education, being physically strong, being cheerful and optimistic, being energetic, being extremely loyal, and finally, being determined. Using this list, I fear Cromwell would only tick half the boxes. But then Marshall was listing the qualities of a general not of a commander-in-chief. It is the latter we are concerned with here. The anonymous 1780 publication *Advice to Officers of the British Army* reminds us that 'a Commander-in-Chief is to the army under his command, what the soul is to the body: it can neither think nor act without him; and, in short, is as perfect a non-entity without its commander, as a wife is without her husband'. Rather sexist by today's values but you get the gist.

The fighting components of armies from the circa. fourteenth century to the First World War, consisted of the infantry, the cavalry and the artillery. The ability of a general was measured by his capacity to weave these components on the field of battle in order to achieve his tactical aims and, it could be argued, his

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The New Model Army rise above the crest at Closter Hill at the start of the Battle of Naseby in June 1645. Cromwell's cavalry charge into the flank of Astley's Royalist infantry, which advanced to meet them, proved decisive. (Photo of Sealed Knot courtesy of Martin Marix-Evans)



The Battle of Worcester in September 1651, was Cromwell's finest, and brought to an end the third and final civil war. His advance astride the mighty Severn River, and the opposed bridging operation, was a masterclass in tactical manoeuvre, outwitting the Royalists and Scots at every turn.

(Map from Lipscombe's *Atlas and Concise History*)



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short-term operational objectives. In other words, what we term today, combined-arms operations. In the seventeenth century there was no shortage of English (or Scottish) military manuals. However, none were written to cover combined-arms tactics.

In short, the three fighting components were not trained to fight together; instead, their training was specific to their arm and the business of combined-arms warfare was constrained to the views, capabilities and decisions of the commanders on the day of battle. As T. E. Lawrence wrote, 'nine-tenths of tactics are certain, and taught in books: but the irrational tenth is like the kingfisher flashing across the pool, and that is the test of generals'. This is exactly why there is no checklist and why the business of deciding who is, and who is not, a great general, is so subjective.

When lining Cromwell up against two other great generals of his era, he fares badly. Michael Roberts, in his seminal work *The Military Revolution, 1560 – 1660* explains that Maurice of Nassau (1567 – 1625), influenced by the treatises of classical Roman and Greek 'professors of tactics', most notably Aelian, Vegetius and Leo, developed new battlefield formations (battalia) to exploit all types of weapon. Roberts notes that Maurice's reforms were mainly defensive in nature. It was the even greater achievements of the King of Sweden, Gustav Adolf (1594 – 1632), who interwove the fighting components for offensive operations with significant and groundbreaking effect. Oliver Cromwell, quite simply, was not in the same league.

I am often asked by clients on my military tours whether Napoleon or Wellington was the better general. To which my response is that they are asking me to compare apples and Tuesdays. One was an Emperor, the other a public servant. When considering Cromwell, his military achievements are often muddled for comparable reasons. His performance as Lord Protector and head of state cloud his military achievements, one way or the other, depending on your point of view. Yet Cromwell was, as Martyn Bennett records in his biography, 'a successful general... [who] combined to destroy the republic's enemy's capacity for waging war'. It was the decisiveness of his victories in England, Scotland and Ireland, rather than the individual nature of the encounters, which is perhaps his greatness. But even here that decisiveness was in part due to some excellent subordinates. For example, Lambert in England in 1648, Jones who laid the groundwork in Ireland with his victory at Rathmines, and Ireton who finished the job at the walls of Limerick, and Monck in Scotland, who swept up as Cromwell headed south to engage Charles II at Worcester.

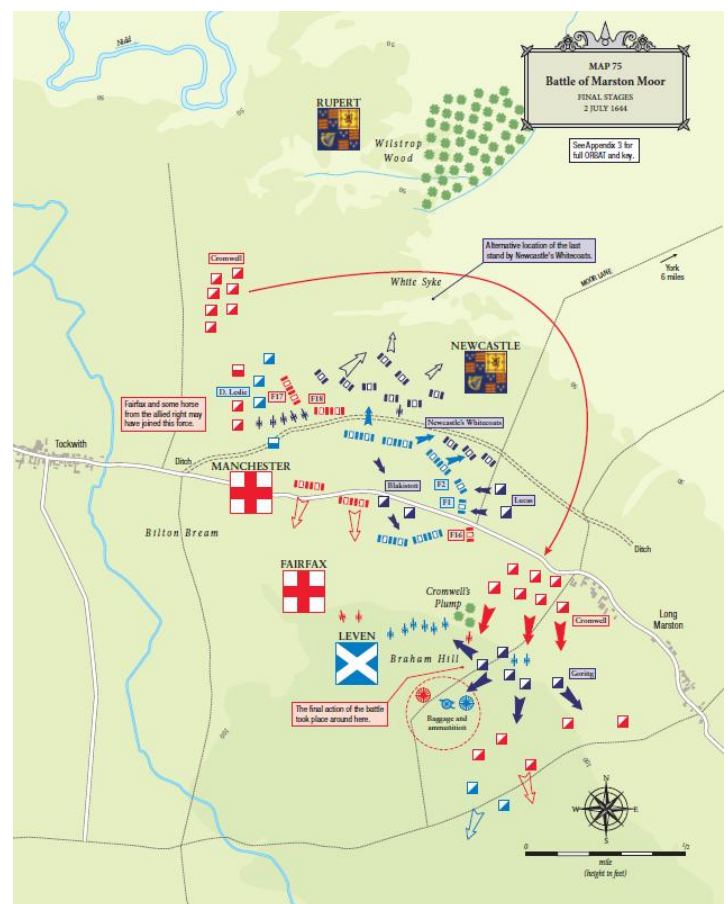
At the start of the first English Civil War in 1642, the (relatively elderly) 43-year-old Cromwell had no military training whatsoever. He suffered from occasional bouts of ague and was prone to bouts of depression. Frank Kitson, in his biography *Old Ironsides*, concluded that Cromwell was not suited, physically or temperamentally, to operational command of an army.

Furthermore, he was a religious fundamentalist. Yet it was his religion that drove him. It gave him energy, courage, decisiveness and, in contrast to his political utterances, clarity of expression.

He used his time as a tactical cavalry commander well during the First Civil War, and put what he had learned into practice in the Second and Third Wars. In so doing, he earned respect from the officers and men, grasped the importance of planning and logistics, understood the value of good timely intelligence, embraced mission command and involved the navy in his planning. Because of this, he was able to step up from being a tactical component commander to the operational army commander. Cromwell's generalship suited the situation in which he found himself. Although he was not tactically innovative (in the mould of Maurice or Gustavus), never fought against another great captain of history, or had to execute an operation in conjunction with an ally, his achievements on the field of battle, ably supported by some excellent subordinate commanders, justify his greatness alongside a strong field of other worthy national contenders.

## Nick Lipscombe

Colonel Nick Lipscombe MSc, FRHistS is a historian, tour guide and a tutor at the University of Oxford. He has written several books including the award-winning *Peninsular War Atlas*, *Waterloo: The Decisive Victory*, *Wellington's Guns* and *Wellington's Eastern Front*.



Cromwell's skill and courage as a tactical cavalry commander was instrumental in turning the tide and delivering a Parliamentary/Covenanter victory at Marston Moor in July 1644.  
(Map from Lipscombe's *Atlas and Concise History*)



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## Cromwell's Body – Part 2

In the second 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.

If Oliver Cromwell's body is not buried somewhere in the London area, where else might it be? The most romantic proposal is that it was interred on the field of Naseby, the site of his most famous victory. Advocates of the theory suggest that this reflected the Lord Protector's own wishes, although there is no documentary evidence. However the story appears to have originated within the Cromwell family, who were arguably in a position to know. (It might equally well represent wishful thinking on their part.)

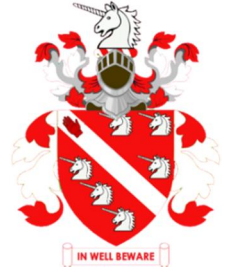
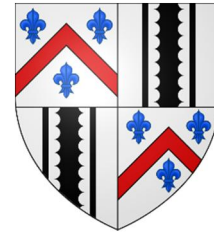
The last of the male line of Cromwell, Oliver Cromwell of Cheshunt Park, was a direct descendant of Lord Protector Oliver's fourth son, Henry Cromwell. He died in 1820. He maintained that he had heard the following tale from his mother, who lived to be a centenarian and who heard it in her turn from a very old servant who had once worked for Lord Protector Richard Cromwell. According to this tradition, persons loyal to Cromwell possessed themselves of his body by devious means. It was taken on a cart by stages, first to Cheshunt and finally to Northamptonshire. At each relay the horses, drivers and outriders were changed, so that the escort could not know exactly where the body was heading. Finally it was met by a team with a hearse. By this time the cortege was nearing Naseby. There, the body was interred secretly by night. The farmer who owned the ground then ploughed the field, sowing it with corn; the precise location was lost. It is thought to be to the

west of the battlefield, beyond Selby Hedges and the minor road that now runs there. The servant, who was a boy at the time, reportedly accompanied the body for most of its journey; he was the only person to do so.

Assuming that this story might be true, some act of substitution must have taken place. Mary, Lady Fauconberg – Oliver's eldest daughter – was best-placed to have carried out this manoeuvre by bribing the guards at the Red Lion Inn to substitute another body for Cromwell's.

A second candidate for Cromwell's last resting place is Newburgh Priory in the north of England. This belonged to the family of Lady Fauconberg's husband. One of its features is an unusual, kiln-shaped indoor tomb. There is no epitaph to indicate whose remains might be inside it.

Although the Priory is open to the public, the tomb is difficult to view because the interior of the house has been remodelled;



Belasyse and Wombwell Coats of Arms  
(cc-by-sa/2.0 - © Gordon Hatton)

it is now lying between two floors. Newburgh would be an obvious and safe place for Cromwell's body to be placed.

Successive owners of the Priory, down to the present day, have refused to have the tomb opened; even at the earnest personal request of King Edward VII.

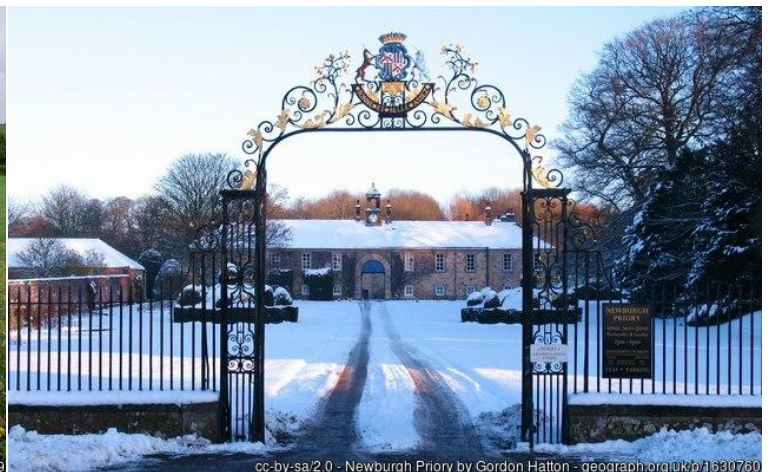
The present owners are the Wombwell family, who descend in the female line from the Belasyse Baronets, Barons, Viscounts and Earls Fauconberg, one of whom, as noted above, married Mary Cromwell, although that marriage produced no issue. The Fauconberg title is currently in abeyance.

*...to be continued!*

*Alistair Kerr*



Site of the Battle of Naseby



Newburgh Priory



# The Protector's Pen

## Access to free resources on the Internet

British History Online (BHO) have made all transcribed content on their site freely available in this new lockdown period, and it will remain free until 30<sup>th</sup> April 2021 in the first instance.

The BHO site is the home of the Association's *Directory of Parliamentary Officers*, which is always freely accessible, but there is some content of major interest to students of the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, which is normally behind the site's pay-wall. All the *Calendars of State Papers Domestic* from 1547 to 1704 can be viewed as well as those of the *Committee for the Advance of Money* 1642 – 55, and of the *Committee for Compounding* 1643 – 60.

For full details go to <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/>

A project being run at the University of Sheffield has also made some otherwise unavailable material open to everyone. *The Thomason Collection* is a huge resource of over 7,000 pamphlets and newsbooks collected during the mid-seventeenth century. The originals are in the British Library, and copies can be seen via the Early English Books Online (EEBO) website, but EEBO is a subscription site and only those with access to academic libraries are likely to be able to view the material.

The Sheffield project has re-keyed all the newsbooks for 1649 and made them available to view; more than that, the whole dataset can be freely downloaded, although I found it considerably easier to look at them directly online.

For full details go to: <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/newsbooks/nbcontext?about=resource>



## William Sebright, Sir James Bouchier and Elizabeth Cromwell (née Bouchier)

There is no doubt that William Sebright enjoyed as good an education as it was possible to get in Elizabethan England. It was the education of an Elizabethan gentleman and a man of affairs.

The office of Town Clerk to the City of London eventually reverted to William Sebright on 25<sup>th</sup> May 1574 and he retained that office for 39 years.

On 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1609, having exercised the place of Common Clerk, 'very painfully, faithfully and diligently' he requested that the former City Solicitor might be admitted as his deputy, as he was no longer able to execute his office, which he finally surrendered on 27<sup>th</sup> April 1613. Little is known of William's activities during his years as Town Clerk, there being only three references to him in the City of London records.

We do know, however that William was married twice but was never blessed with children.

His first marriage was to the daughter of a Mr Goldsten of London. His second wife, Elizabeth, a beautiful and wealthy widow and the mother of Sir James Bouchier whose daughter, also called Elizabeth and Sebright's god-daughter, eventually became the wife of Oliver Cromwell...

Extract from: <https://www.sebrights.org.uk/history/>

Editor's note: Bouchier is the spelling used on the website



## Statues and monuments to be protected from 'baying mobs'

Historical memorials should not be pulled down in a bid to 'edit or censor' Britain's past, Communities Secretary Robert Jenrick has said.

Any attempt to remove heritage assets in England will now require a 'considered approach' including planning permission and consultation with local communities. The proposed legislation, due to be announced in Parliament tomorrow, follows the toppling of a statue of 17<sup>th</sup> century slave trader Edward Colston in Bristol last year. Writing in the *Sunday Telegraph*, Mr Jenrick hit out at attempts to erase part of the nation's history 'at the hand of the flash mob' or by the decree of a 'cultural committee of town hall militants and woke worthies'.

Mr Jenrick said: 'We live in a country that believes in the rule of law, but when it comes to protecting our heritage, due process has been overridden. That can't be right. Local people should have the chance to be consulted whether a monument should stand or not. What has stood for generations should be considered thoughtfully, not removed on a whim or at the behest of a baying mob.'

*Metro*, Sunday 17 January 2021



Statue of Cromwell, Wythenshawe Park, Manchester  
(*Metro*, 23 June 2020, MEN MEDIA)



# The Protector's Pen

## Cromwell Curator's Corner

In the last issue I wrote about how it was strange to be writing for *The Protector's Pen* from home during lockdown. Six months later and (like everyone else) I am in the same situation, although the museum has been open for much of the intervening period.

The museum did reopen in July, with COVID-19 precautions in place, and was able to welcome visitors for the latter part of the summer and autumn. We have been delighted to see a growing number of people who came to visit and who have been very complimentary on the results of our refurbishment. We have had to adapt the way we work, with more events such as our (recently held) winter lecture programme being moved online in the light of the pandemic. If you haven't discovered our YouTube channel which has a multitude of different videos discussing aspects of Cromwell's life and times, including interviews with historians (so it's not just me burling on); go to our YouTube channel at: <https://www.youtube.com/c/CromwellMuseum>

you can purchase a range of souvenirs, Cromwell-related material and books. This can be found on our website at: <https://cromwellmuseum.selz.com/>

Cromwell Association members get a 10% discount on all purchases if they use the discount code **CromwellMembers** as part of their purchase.

One of the items which is on sale from the middle of January, via the online shop, is a newly published edition of *Mrs Cromwell's cookbook, The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth Cromwell*, originally produced in 1664. As most of you will know, the book was published originally as a piece of anti-Cromwell propaganda, a collection of 102 recipes purporting to have been used from Elizabeth's cookbook, along with an essay highlighting the 'evils' of the Cromwellian regime in general and her deficiencies most particularly. We have an original copy in the museum's collections, which has been newly transcribed for this edition. It is a fascinating window into some of the post-Restoration attempts to sully Oliver and Elizabeth, and more

particularly into some of the foods perhaps eaten by the Cromwells.



Hopefully, we will be able to reopen again soon. When we do, please come and see us, particularly if you haven't had the opportunity to see our refurbishment yet.

Amongst the temporary displays planned for later in the year will be one that looks at the Cromwellian Navy.

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

[www.cromwellmuseum.org](http://www.cromwellmuseum.org)

or our social media streams – we're on:

 @thecromwellmuseum  
 @museumcromwell

Stuart Orme  
Curator, The Cromwell Museum





**The Cromwell**  
Lecture Series 2020/21

A programme of talks on subjects from the Life and Times of Oliver Cromwell  
*All proceeds go towards the running of the Museum*

**'Providence Lost: Cromwell's Western Design'**  
The story of Oliver Cromwell's disastrous attempt to seize Spain's Caribbean territories, and the impact on his regime.  
A talk by historian Paul Lay  
Wednesday 13th January at 7.30pm, via Zoom

**'Sex and Sexuality in Stuart England'**  
A peek beneath the bedsheet of people in the 17th century and the saucy secrets of the Royal Stuarts.  
A talk by historian Andrea Zuehl  
Wednesday 20th January at 7.30pm, via Zoom

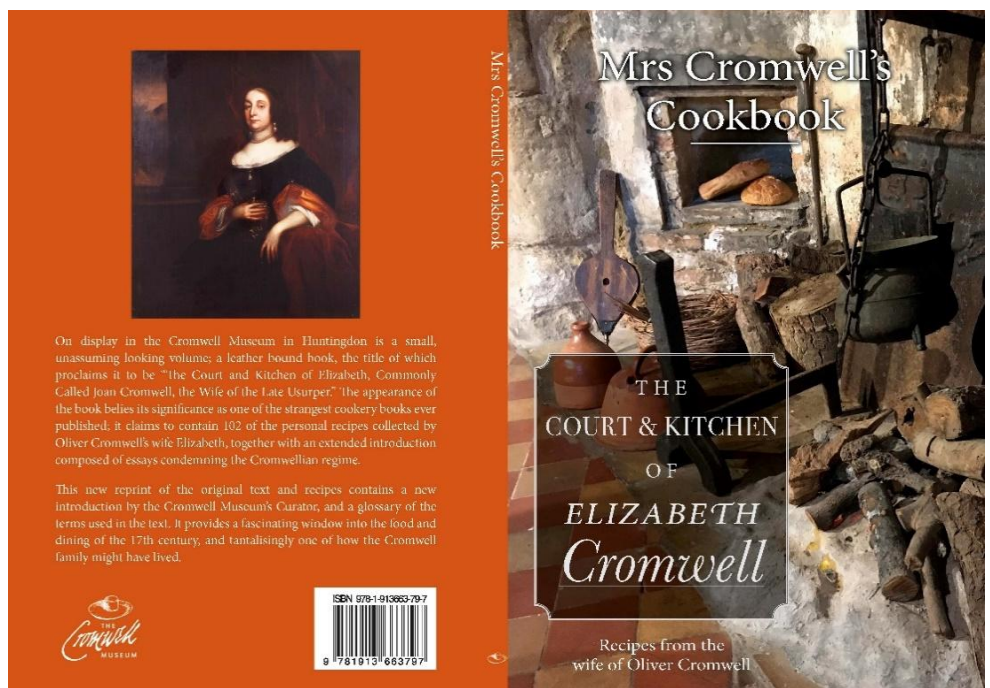
**'Imagining the Cromwells'**  
The challenges of producing convincing fiction about historical figures, by a novelist who has written about the Cromwell family.  
A talk by author and historian Miranda Malins  
Wednesday 27 January at 7.30pm, via Zoom

**'The London: Cromwell's Mary Rose'**  
A marine archaeological project to excavate a Cromwellian warship which sank in the Thames estuary and been remarkably preserved.  
A talk by Steve Ellis & Mark Beattie-Edwards  
Wednesday 3 February at 7.30pm, via Zoom

Tickets: £5 per talk (£4 students), Combined ticket for all four talks £17 (£13.50 students)  
Discounts for Friends of the Cromwell Museum

Tickets available at [www.cromwellmuseum.org](http://www.cromwellmuseum.org) for online booking

We have been busy with other projects in the meantime, many of which have been funded by grants which have also secured the museum during these uncertain times, from the Arts Council, DCMS Cultural Recovery Fund and the Wolfson Foundation. One of these projects has been the creation of a new online shop where





# The Protector's Pen



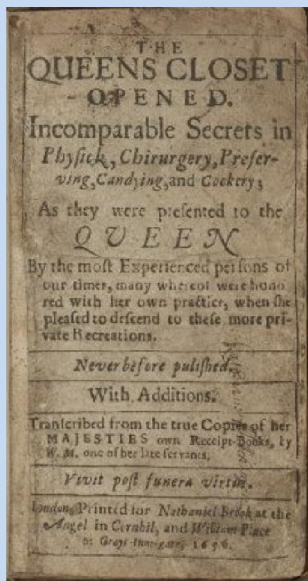
## Cooking in the coronavirus crisis is much more fun with old secrets from the Queen's pantry

Today, many people under lockdown have become COVID bakers or #quarantinecooks. Food shopping restrictions and fears of food shortages have contributed to a burst of #pantrycooking recipes that require minimal ingredients. New kinds of online community cookbooks share comfort foods to get us through lockdown, expanding the shape of thriving food blogger or online recipe sharing communities.

My research into English recipe books, women and food in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries shows that centuries ago, cooking served similar social purposes in difficult times.

### Royalist recipes

A group of recipe books published in the 1650s is especially interesting. In this post-Civil War era, royalists mourned King Charles I, who was beheaded in 1649. Queen Henrietta Maria and her son, the future Charles II, escaped into exile in France. Supporters of the monarchy soon found subversive ways to communicate their resistance to the new republican rule under the military general Oliver Cromwell — through recipes.



Two of the recipe books make direct reference to the former Royals. *The Queens Closet Opened*, first published in 1655, advertises itself as a collection from 'the true Copies of her MAJESTIES own Receipt Books.' It's a companion of sorts to the 1654 *Art of Cookery Refin'd and Augmented*, compiled by Joseph Cooper, 'chiefe Cook to the Late KING.'

### Community and connection

We might think of these books as bringing the Royal couple into the heart of the household: England's kitchens. The nation was still recovering from the years of conflict, but here, a restored

Royal couple promises 'infallible delight' and 'Incomparable Secrets' to feed and heal a war-weary public.

The books also invite readers to join the Royals at the table. Many of the recipes in these books are surprisingly accessible to common as well as elite households.

Extracts from:

<https://theconversation.com/cooking-in-the-coronavirus-crisis-is-much-more-fun-with-old-secrets-from-the-queens-pantry-137576>

(Image: Title page of 'The Queens Closet Opened.' Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division)

## In this year...1640

### A summary of the first 6 months events . . .

- Jan 12** Sir Thomas Wentworth elevated to the position of lord-lieutenant of Ireland and created Earl of Strafford.
- Mid Jan** The Estates give additional instructions to the commissioners appointed to go to London. New taxes imposed to pay for preparations for war.
- Early Feb** Ships arrive at Leith with 100 English soldiers, ammunition and other supplies for Edinburgh Castle.
- Feb 19** A letter signed by seven Covenanter lords sent to Louis XIII of France requesting his intercession on Scotland's behalf.
- Early Mar** A copy of the Covenanters' letter to Louis XIII handed to King Charles.
- Early Mar** Strafford leaves for Dublin with the King's authority to raise the Irish army with subsidies from the Irish Parliament.
- Mar 16** The Irish Parliament meets in Dublin. Coerced by Lord Strafford, Parliament grants subsidies to recruit an Irish army of 9,000 men to serve the King against Scotland.
- Mar 31** The Irish Parliament prorogued. Strafford returns to England.
- Apr 11** The King orders the arrest of Lord Loudoun and the Scottish commissioners in London. Other signatories of the Covenanters' letter to Louis XIII refuse the King's summons to answer charges in London.
- Apr 13** King Charles I summons the Short Parliament, bringing his eleven-year Personal Rule to an end.
- Apr 16** The Covenanters appeal to the English Parliament emphasising their wish for friendship and closer union between the two kingdoms.
- Apr 17** The House of Commons refuses to grant any money for the Scottish war until civil and ecclesiastical grievances in England are addressed.
- Apr 24** The King appeals in person to the House of Lords for support against the Commons.
- Apr 25** The Lords support the King in insisting that money for the wars should be granted before Parliament's grievances are addressed.
- Apr 27** The House of Commons protests that the Lords' interference is a breach of privilege.
- May 05** The King dissolves the Short Parliament when MPs refuse to grant him subsidies for war against Scotland.
- May 11** Riots in London in protest at the dissolution of Parliament.
- Jun 01** Covenanter leaders meet to discuss strategy for the forthcoming Parliament in Edinburgh.
- Jun 02** The Scottish Parliament meets despite the King's order that it should be prorogued for another month. The Committee of Estates appointed to govern Scotland and to prepare for war with England.



## BCW PROJECT

British Civil Wars, Commonwealth & Protectorate 1638-1660

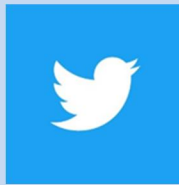
<http://bcw-project.org/timelines/the-english-civil-war>



# The Protector's Pen

## Twitterbox

Miranda Malins looks after the Twitter feed for The Cromwell Association. Below are some of the tweets that have been sent out or retweeted in the past few months, and a few others of note.



Miranda Malins Retweeted

**The Cromwell Museum** @MuseumCromwell · Jan 8  
#OnThisDay 8 January 1657 the last of several incompetent attempts to assassinate Oliver Cromwell led by Miles Sindercombe failed, this time an attempt to plant incendiaries in Whitehall. Sindercombe was captured, with part of his nose cut off in the scuffle. #17thCentury #OTD



John McCafferty Retweeted

**The Cromwell Museum** @MuseumCromwell · 21h  
#OnThisDay 18 January 1649 King Charles I was brought to London from Windsor by Colonel Thomlinson, in preparation for his trial. Portrait of the king in our collection. #17thCentury #OTD



**Cromwell Association** @Cromwellorg · Jul 29, 2020  
manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-m...

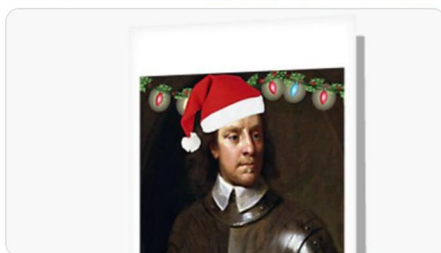


Cromwell's new stand: Plan for statue to move to Manchester's new 'Me...  
Proposals to re-instate a statue of Oliver Cromwell, which was moved from its old home outside Manchester Cathedral to Wythenshawe Hall i...  
manchestereveningnews.co.uk



**Miranda Malins** @MirandaMalins · Dec 19, 2020

In anticipation of Boris's announcement which may plunge us into #Lockdown3 can I please remind everyone before they take to the airwaves that #CromwelldidntcancelChristmas Please take note for the sake of Cromwellian historians everywhere! #History #Tier4 #ThePuritanPrincess



**The Cromwell Museum** @MuseumCromwell

It's a while since we've done one of our #FridayFun cartoons, but this week it seems very appropriate. We hope you have a good (and safe) weekend... #17thCentury #Museums #Collections #Humour

### LOCKDOWN 1655

"Let me explain it again... in Tier 1 Major General Districts households can mix as they are clearly Godly, but in Tier 3 they can't as the 'R' (Royalist) rate is too high..."



**The Cromwell Museum** @MuseumCromwell · Dec 16, 2020

We have an original copy of this constitution in our collection... twitter.com/jdmccafferty/s...



**History Hit** @HistoryHit · May 16, 2020

Paul Lay, editor of **History Today** joins Dan to discuss the rise and fall of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate (1653-1659), England's sole experiment in republican government and one of the most extraordinary but neglected periods in British history



~ The British Republic  
Paul Lay, editor of **History Today**, has written a great book about the rise and fall of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate (1653-1659), England's sole ...  
tv.historyhit.com

Cromwell Association Retweeted

**The Cromwell Museum** @MuseumCromwell · Nov 23, 2020

#OnThisDay 23 November 1658 was the state funeral of Oliver Cromwell, he had been interred privately 2 weeks before in @wabbey, whilst arrangements were finalised. This silk funeral banner in our collection is one of only four that survive from that day. #17thCentury #OTD



**James Hobson** @About1816

This reminds me of @SocialHistoryOx famous Jan 2018 tweet about Cromwell banning chocolate cake and the History Today comment that it was 'cake news'

**Jonathan Healey** @SocialHistoryOx

Happy #NationalChocolateCakeDay

#Cake Fact

Oliver Cromwell banned the eating of chocolate cake in 1644, declaring it a pagan form of pleasure. For 16 years, cake eating and making went underground until the Restoration leaders lifted the ban on cake in 1660.



11:04 AM · Jan 27, 2018

Cromwell Association Retweeted

**History of Parliament** @HistParl · Sep 3, 2020

Died #OTD 1658, Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth.

But who was Oliver Cromwell? Luckily we have a @YouTube video all about him!

Watch below and find out more about Cromwell's life and legacy.



Who was Oliver Cromwell?

Who was Oliver Cromwell? explores the parliamentary career of Oliver Cromwell: the highlights, the ...  
youtube.com

**Editor's Note:** If you haven't seen this 'piece of cake news' before (Jan 2018), go to the **History Today** website:

<https://www.historytoday.com/archive/editor/cake-news> where Jonathan Healey is described as a 'mischievous young Oxford historian'...



# The Protector's Pen

## Film Review

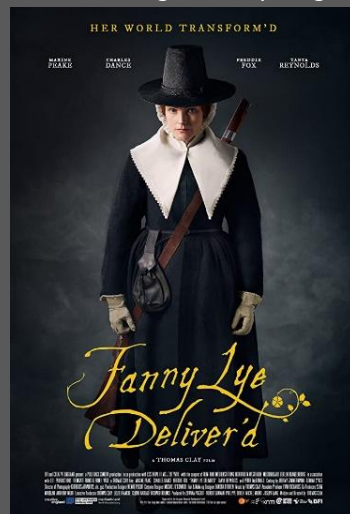


### *Fanny Lye Deliver'd* (2019)

This is a film defined by its sense of atmosphere and underpinned by the quality ensemble acting of the cast. This is especially true with the playing of the two main leads, Charles Dance and Maxine Peake. Mainly set in an isolated farmstead in rural Shropshire, the time is 1657 and the 'Good Old Cause' has started to slip into becoming more 'Old' rather than either 'Good' or 'Cause'. John Lye (Charles Dance) and his wife, Fanny (Maxine Peake) farm the property there together with Arthur, their ten-year-old son. A former Parliamentary Cavalry Captain, John Lye has seen service from Edgehill to Drogheda and rules his family with a rod of iron.

While they are away at church service, a young couple arrive in their absence and beg for assistance on John and Fanny's return. Thomas Ashbury and Rebecca (his lover) spin a tale of being waylaid by highwaymen and having all their worldly goods stolen from them, including their clothes. This is partially true as the audience has seen them naked, running for their lives. But they haven't been robbed. Very quickly, Thomas and Rebecca inveigle themselves into the Lye household, and all seems fine until the local Constable and two armed men arrive looking for this young couple.

The armed men purport to be the High Sheriff of the Council of State and his Deputy and seek Thomas and Rebecca for crimes including fornication, group orgy – you name it – at a local inn a couple of days before. Thomas grabs the child and threatens to kill Arthur if John Lye gives him and Rebecca away – and he means it. John Lye plays along and the three depart, leaving him and his family hostages to the young couple.



That's the First Act of the drama. As might be guessed, things now get progressively nastier for the family and this is a film where the 18 classification for the film is well justified. Thomas appears also to have been a soldier in the Parliamentary Army, although it's never quite certain if this is true or not. What is true is his ability and relish to hurt and humiliate the family, especially the husband. It's the former Captain's strong Christian faith that especially angers Thomas.

It's never clear what exactly Thomas's world view is. In a confused rant to the family, and especially to John Lye, it seems to be an atheism that denies God yet claims that a divine spark resides in each person. This means that what each person freely chooses to do is morally right for them. Empathy for others and

compassion does not figure at all in his beliefs. Finally, the husband manages to break free and capture Thomas and Rebecca.

This leads into the Third and final Act of the film. With the High Sheriff and Deputy returning there is the expected confrontation and it all ends in carnage with bodies littering the front yard of the farmhouse. Although the violence is brutal, it is short and does dramatically fit the narrative at this point. Fanny, John and Rebecca are the only ones left standing and the film ends with Fanny taking the High Sheriff's horse with Rebecca on the Deputy's horse. Both then ride off to their new lives. Fanny is now 'Deliver'd'.

This is not a great film but it's not a bad film either. It is well-made with good production values and follows the clear structure of the classic Three Act formula. In this case: conflict develops, the conflict worsens and then the conflict is resolved. Furthermore, although set in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, the story is the well-tested mechanism of a settled community into which strangers arrive. These strangers then disrupt the community and threaten its very existence. This threat has to be faced and dealt with – and is. Afterwards, the world that was has now changed and things can never go back to how they were before. So too, in this case.

Alongside the clear structure, good acting and straightforward plot, the sense of place and time of the film feels utterly believable. This farmstead could not possibly seem more remote and more isolated. This is credibly and creatively augmented by shooting many of the outside farm scenes in the early morning with the low-lying mist hanging in the near distance like a Gothic miasma. This just compounds the loneliness of the whole place.

All of this would be fine but it would still remain a collection of disjointed elements, linked with each other but not fused into a single organic whole. What does complete this integration is the addition of a voice-over by the character Rebecca. From the opening of the film, right to the end shots, she narrates a commentary that fills in the gaps and complements the action happening on screen. Like a blanket this wraps within it everything that is taking place on screen, and especially why.

In the final frames of the film it becomes clear that this narration is Rebecca speaking from the future, looking back on this as a past incident which took place years before. It is this narration that acts as a glue which binds the entire film together and locks everything into place.

The final word should go to Thomas Hobbes. Even given his caveat that life is 'nasty, brutish and short' – and for many of the characters in this film it most assuredly is – still, on balance, this is a film very much worth watching.

*John Newland*



## Book Reviews



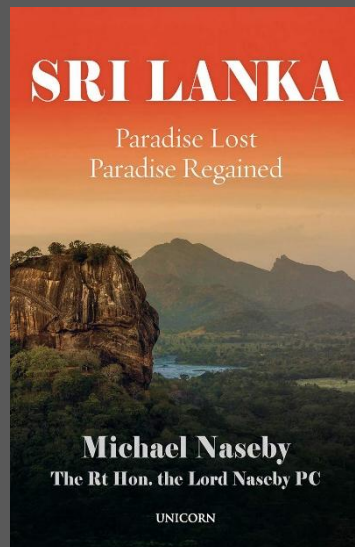
### ***Sri Lanka: Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained***

by Michael Naseby, The Rt Hon. The Lord Naseby PC

**Although the subtitle of the book references Milton's poem it is not a book that casts any light on the civil wars of the three kingdoms, or on Cromwell, but is an insight into a country that at first sight is completely unrelated to either of those themes.**

Michael Morris spent two years in Sri Lanka in the 1960s, which had a profound influence on him. Quite simply he fell in love with the place and its people. His account of his contacts with the country, and relationships at the highest levels, is both fascinating and illuminating, particularly about how the relationship between the UK and Sri Lanka worked in a post-colonial world. Sadly, civil war tore Sri Lanka apart for nearly thirty years until 2009, in a bitter struggle with Tamil separatists. The most powerful chapters are those which deal with the aftermath of the civil war and the case for a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, as there has been in both South Africa and Colombia. Lord Naseby is unwavering in his condemnation of the separatist movement led by the Tamil Tigers, but his efforts to gain access to unredacted reports of the British Military Attaché at the height of the insurgency, exposes the Byzantine ways of the Foreign Office and the duplicity of successive British governments. Lord Naseby upholds the strong tradition of holding the Executive to account.

The one connection between Sri Lanka and our civil war, in the book, is the first recorded tea estate in the country, which for some reason, unknown to the author, is named Naseby. But there is another unexpected connection between the battlefield at Naseby and Sri Lanka.



In the collections of the Cromwell Museum in Huntingdon there is what at first appears to be an extraordinary oddity – a carving fork and knife, with elaborate animal head handles, with the mount of the knife engraved 'Naseby 1645'. To add to the confusion, the silver mount has a late 19<sup>th</sup> century hallmark. All becomes clear when you study the magnificent portrait of Colonel Alexander Popham, in the collection of the Royal Armouries (see front cover) and spot the detail of the sword handle in his saddle holster. It is very similar to the carving set handles in the museum – and originated in Sri Lanka. Popham's weapon is a kastane, a short-handled Sri Lankan sword, decorated with the head of a mythical beast. Such weapons were fashionable in northern

Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, probably first imported by the Dutch, who had trading posts in Sri Lanka. After some thought, when responsible for the collection in Huntingdon, my explanation is that a kastane was lost on the field at Naseby and the landowner in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Mrs Mary Fitzgerald, or her heirs, had the relic made into a carving knife and had a second handle made to match it, and fitted it to a fork. Mary Fitzgerald's heir was Edward Fitzgerald, the translator of *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. Any link between that poem and Cromwell remains unknown.

*John Goldsmith*

Lord Naseby is one of the Association's vice presidents, a former MP and Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons, who sat as a Conservative for Northampton South as Michael Morris.



Michael Naseby, The Rt Hon. The Lord Naseby, ***Sri Lanka: Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained***, 224pp, Unicorn, London, February 2020, ISBN: 978-1912690749, Hardback £16



# The Protector's Pen

## Book Reviews



### ***The English Civil War: An Atlas and Concise History of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms 1639-51***

by Nick Lipscombe

**This is a wonderful volume, hugely impressive in its breadth and depth, very attractive in its cartography and presentation, which makes a weighty contribution to the history of the civil war in every sense – tipping the scales at almost 2 ¼ kg, this is not a book for bedtime reading!**

Although by no means the first atlas of the English civil war, it is much bigger, vastly more informative and far more incisive and appealing than any others. The focus is very much on English campaigns, battles and sieges, but as the subtitle indicates, it encompasses the rather limited campaigning in Wales during the first and second civil wars, plus the Scots Wars of 1639 – 40 and Cromwell's campaign in Scotland of 1650 – 51, together with key military developments north of the border in between – notably Montrose's campaign and battles of 1645; Ireland, too, receives decent coverage here, with maps and texts devoted to the Irish Rebellion, the Cessation, military developments of 1646 and 1647, and the English reconquest under Cromwell and his successors from 1649. The material is gathered into chapters, chronologically arranged, though in places moving backwards and forwards a little to pick up and flesh out events in different regions. A handful of maps illustrate pre-war contexts and the interregnum of the 1650s.

As an atlas, this volume will largely stand or fall on the quality and value of its maps. They are excellent, well over 150 of them, all in colour and richly annotated with an array of information. Some illustrate developments nationally or across a wide region, while others provide details of local campaigns and of the military situation in a smaller area.

A touch over fifty – so around a third of the total – illustrate specific battles and battlefields. All the main battles are here, with several of the biggest and more complex accorded two or three maps apiece illustrating the unfolding engagement, but it is good to see a generous selection of the smaller battles also given their own maps – engagements like Newburn and Adwalton Moor in the north, Hopton Heath, Ripple Field and Stow in the midlands, Braddock Down, Stratton and Torrington in the south-west, Maidstone in the south-east, Montgomery and St Fagan's in Wales. All of them are full of detail, aim to give an impression of the local landscape and its features at the time and also include other geographical information, especially contours, enabling readers to get a feel for the topography. A further thirty or so maps illustrate urban defences – such as those of London, Oxford and Hull – or civil

war sieges – most of them in England but including a trio in Ireland.

The maps are supported and enhanced by quite detailed textual discussion and interpretation, in the main providing a military-orientated narrative of the various campaigns and operations, which not only serves to place the accompanying maps in context and to elucidate what they are illustrating, but also in its own right provides a strong and informed analysis of the unfolding wars. The plentiful textual footnotes and the detailed bibliography indicate that the volume rests upon an impressive range of printed primary sources as well as secondary works. The textual material opens with a useful chronology of the civil wars and a brief discussion of the nature of civil war armies, weapons and tactics. It closes with an explanation of the principal sources for some (though not all) of the maps, appendices listing the estimated size and composition of royalist and parliamentarian armies in some battles, sieges and campaigns, and a useful glossary of terms, together with the bibliography. Alas, there is no index.

Given the very high quality of this volume, most criticism should be seen as lying at the 'quibble' end of the scale. Nonetheless, like any historical atlas, this volume is inevitably limited by the parameters of the cartographic format. The precise sites of many civil war battles and exactly how and where the two armies initially deployed and then engaged and the ground upon which various stages of a battle were fought are often unclear or hotly disputed and are matters for unresolved

(cont'd)

# THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

AN ATLAS AND CONCISE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF THE THREE KINGDOMS 1639-51

NICK LIPSCOMBE

*'There has long been a need for a good atlas of the English Civil War, and Nick Lipscombe, who has already fully met the need for one for the Peninsular War, now does so again... An important work that deserves wide attention.'*

PROFESSOR JEREMY BLACK

The Civil Wars that raged from 1639 until 1651 comprised the deadliest conflict ever fought in the British Isles and engulfed the entirety of the Three Kingdoms - England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. In this unique work, more than 150 maps depict in unprecedented detail the complete story, from the earliest skirmishes of the Bishops' Wars in 1639-40, through to 1651, when the Royalist cause was crushed with Charles II's defeat at Worcester, forcing him into a decade-long exile.

The maps are supported by a comprehensive yet concise text, providing a full explanation of the complex and fluctuating conflict, which represents a profound turning point in Britain's history.

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# The Protector's Pen

debate. That uncertainty and those alternative interpretations cannot easily be shown – at least, cartographically – in an atlas of this ilk, which has to pick one line and run with it. For example, the author has depicted the initial deployment of the two armies at Edgehill as aligned north-south, and so at an angle to the Edgehill escarpment, rather than the usual source-based interpretation of seeing them deployed north-east to south-west, at the foot of and parallel to the escarpment. There and elsewhere, not all civil war and military historians will agree with some interpretations adopted here.

It is in the nature of a reader or reviewer to want more and to regret omissions. For example, the battle at Whalley or Red Bridge in Lancashire in April 1643 was so important for overturning the Earl of Derby's royalist hold over the county that it is a shame it has no battle plan. Given the importance and value of Portsmouth, the parliamentary operation at the start of the war to recover Portsea Island and Southsea and the successful siege of Portsmouth itself could have merited a map. There

and elsewhere, we might also have had rather fuller coverage of naval operations and support, as the war at sea receives limited attention in the maps and the supporting texts. Most users of this atlas will probably not do so primarily for the opening texts, sketching out developments from the end of the medieval period to 1603 and then briefly surveying the reign of James I and of Charles I to the late 1630s; nor for the closing text which runs through the interregnum period. Perhaps that is just as well, as these are not the strongest sections of the volume; a few questionable assertions and sweeping interpretations are included and the footnotes suggest that some rather dated or simplistic secondary sources have been employed.

None of this detracts from the very high quality and wealth of information found here, the huge amount of work which has gone into the text and maps, and the impressive contribution to our grasp of the civil war. With just one rather more significant caveat – the complete and regrettable absence of an index, the inclusion of which would have been so helpful to a reader seeking information on a specific battle, siege, town, county or commander – the author and publishers are to be warmly congratulated on such an admirable and splendid publication.

*Professor Peter Gaunt*  
University of Chester

## Civil War Conference 1643 – Part 2

Organised by the **Battlefields Trust** and **Friends of the National Civil War Centre**, and following from the first conference in 2019, it is hoped to run this event at the **NCWC in Newark on 22 May 2021**

Talks will include: *Where 1643 Part 1 Ended* by Len Davis, *The Solemn League and Covenant* by Kirsteen Mackenzie, *The First Siege of Bristol* by John Dixon, *The Siege of Gloucester and 1st Battle of Newbury* by Chris Scott, *The rise of Oliver Cromwell in 1643* by Peter Gaunt and *Events affecting Newark* by Kevin Winter.

If circumstances dictate that a 'live' event is not possible, this event will run via Zoom.

Nick Lipscombe, *The English Civil War: An Atlas and Concise History of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms 1639 – 51*, 367pp, Osprey Publishing, September 2020, ISBN: 978-1472829726, Hardback £50.00

## Protector's Pen Quiz

### Answer to: Battlefield – July 2020

4	4	1	0	2	3	0	0	1	5
4	4	1	0	2	3	0	0	1	5
4	4	1	0	2	3	0	0	1	5
4	4	1	0	2	3	0	0	1	5
4	4	1	0	2	3	0	0	1	5
4	4	1	0	2	3	0	0	1	5
4	4	1	0	2	3	0	0	1	5
4	4	1	0	2	3	0	0	1	5
4	4	1	0	2	3	0	0	1	5
4	4	1	0	2	3	0	0	1	5

### A Walk in Parliament – February 2021

C	R	N	G	H	A	H	A	L	L
T	O	I	V	E	M	W	P	Y	E
E	M	N	E	H	E	I	R	R	E
B	W	E	U	R	N	D	E	I	T
R	L	L	B	O	O	L	F	N	O
O	L	I	L	D	W	E	O	N	B
C	R	B	S	H	T	E	S	A	L
W	A	L	E	A	R	R	I	G	R
A	D	R	C	R	H	C	O	B	A
H	S	A	H	E	I	R	U	E	V

Moving from letter to adjacent letter (no diagonal moves), create a continuous path of names through parliament in the 17<sup>th</sup> century – visiting each square only once.

Start in the shaded square

A list of names is given at the foot of the page – if extra help is needed!

All the names are connected but 2 stand out – why?

## 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 change or be cancelled. There is, therefore, no **Events Diary** in this issue of *The Protector's Pen*. You can find a list of links to websites (where details of potential forthcoming events will be posted as they are confirmed) in the previous edition of *The Protector's Pen* in the members' area of our website [www.olivercromwell.org](http://www.olivercromwell.org). We hope to bring this feature back in future issues.

A Walk in Parliament : Blagrove, Bourchier, Bradshaw, Charles, Corbet, Cromwell, Fleetwood, Harrison, Heveningham, Iretton, Lilburne, Pride, Whalley