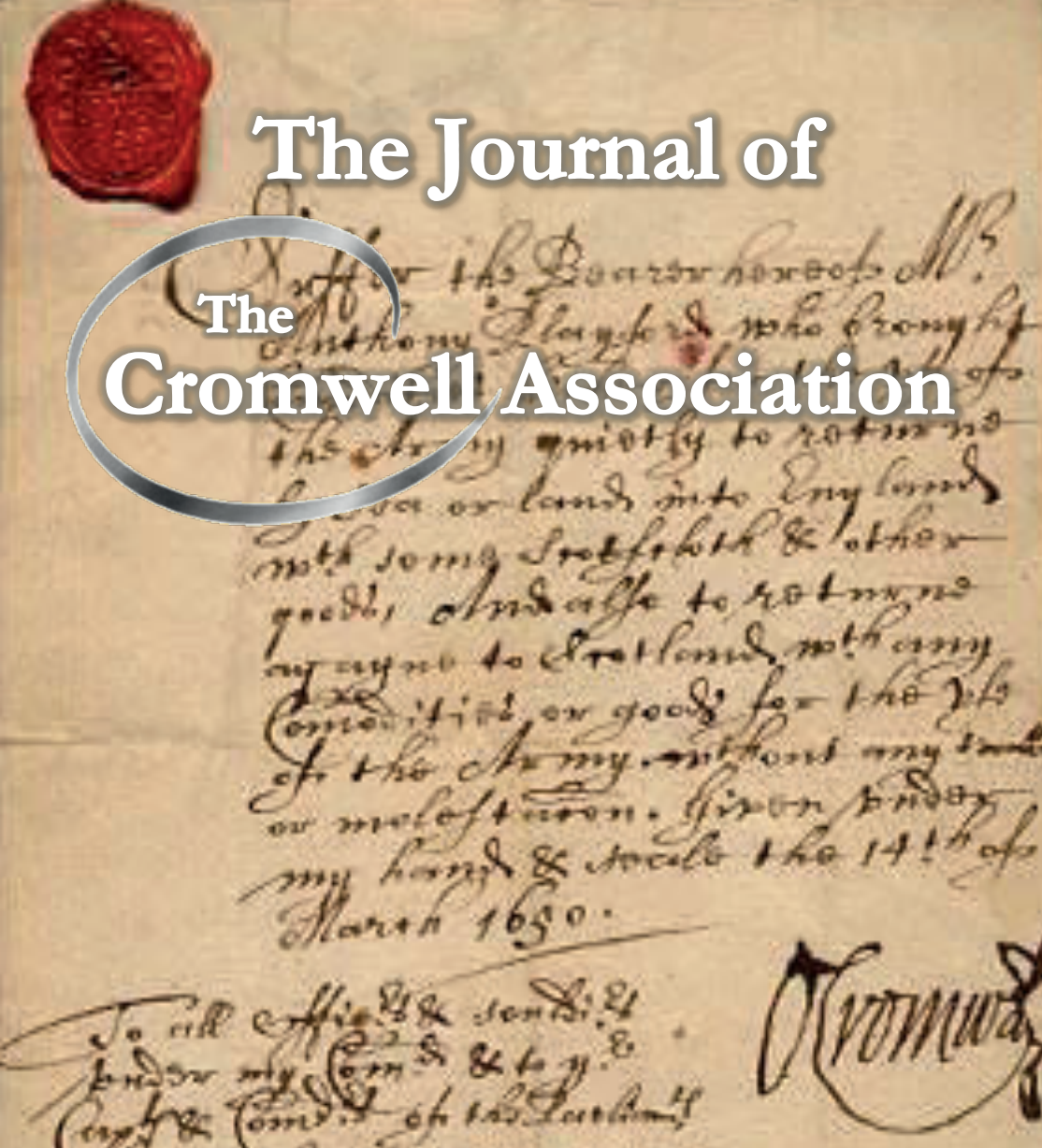
The Journal of

The Cromwell Association



Cromwelliana

2022

The Cromwell Association

The Cromwell Association was formed in 1937 and is a registered charity (reg. no. 1132954). The purpose of the Association is to advance the education of the public in both the life and legacy of Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) – politician, soldier and statesman – and the wider history of the seventeenth century.

The Association seeks to progress its aims in the following ways:

- campaigns for the preservation and conservation of buildings and sites relevant to Cromwell
- commissions, on behalf of the Association, or in collaboration with others, plaques, panels and monuments at sites associated with Cromwell
- supports the Cromwell Museum and the Cromwell Collection in Huntingdon
- provides, within the competence of the Association, advice to the media on all matters relating to the period
- encourages interest in the period in all phases of formal education by the publication of reading lists, information and teachers' guidance
- publishes news and information about the period, including an annual journal and regular newsletters
- organises an annual service, day schools, conferences, lectures, exhibitions and other educational events
- provides a web-based resource for researchers in the period including school students, genealogists and interested parties
- offers, from time to time, grants, awards and prizes to individuals and organisations working towards the objectives stated above.

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CONTENTS

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Cover image: 4 March 1650/1. Letter from Oliver Cromwell. A passport for Anthony Playford to leave Scotland and to return whenever necessary. This letter appears in Vol 2 of the new *Letters, Writings, and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (2022), cited as: John Wilson Manuscripts Ltd, No. 8150 (autograph, with seal)[1] (http://www.manuscripts.co.uk/stock/8150.HTM)

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EDITOR'S NOTE

A Cromwell Association study day in October 2021 was much welcomed after the hiatus of the previous year due to the COVID-19 pandemic. And what a brilliant day it turned out to be, covering the years of work which have gone into the new edition of *The Letters, Writings, and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* which will be published in September 2022.

The speakers on the day generously provided papers reflecting their talks, and reading these will give you a behind-the-scenes look at the background to the writing of this amazing new edition.

Turning our attention to the arts, Dr Stephen Brogan guides readers through the symbolism captured within engravings printed in John Nalson's *A True Copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice for the Tryal of King Charles I (1684);* and John Goldsmith considers the conundrum surrounding battlefield pictures painted by James Ward in the 1800s.

'Cromwellian Britain' makes a welcome return in this issue, Dr Jon Fitzgibbons heading to Lincolnshire and the battle of Winceby.

Thank you to all the contributors and my thanks, as ever, to Dr Patrick Little for taking the time to cast his eye over the journal just prior to the presses rolling!

Corrigendum *Cromwelliana* 2021: in the article 'The siege of Crowland, October – December 1644' by Dr Clive Holmes, there was an error on page 108, paragraph 3, line 1, where the name should have read Colonel *Thomas* Rainborowe.

If you are interested in contributing to future issues of the journal, please contact the Cromwell Association via the email address:
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CROMWELL DAY ADDRESS 2021
CROMWELL AND FRIENDSHIP

by Professor John Morrill

This is a revised version of the address given on 3 September 2021. It is relevant to note that the address was given in the chapel of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Quotations all come from the new edition of The Letters, Writings, and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell *(Gen. ed. John Morrill, 3 vols., Oxford, 2022).*

The earliest letter written by Oliver Cromwell to have survived, the first time we hear his voice, is a letter he wrote in October 1626 to Henry Downhall, inviting him to be the godfather of his third son, Richard. Oliver wrote:

> Loving Sir, make me so much your servant by being Godfather unto my Child. I would myselfe have come over unto you, to have made a more formall invitation, but my occasions would not permitt, & therefore hold me in that excused. The day of your Trouble is Thursday next. Let me intreate your company on Wednesday. By this tyme it appeares I am more apt to incroch upon you for new favours, then to shew my thankefullness for the love I have already found; but I know your patience, and your goodness cannot be exhausted by Your Freind & servant Oliver Cromwell.

Downhall was clearly a close friend, and Cromwell writes with an easy familiarity and wry, almost flippant humour ('The day of your Trouble is Thursday next'). But how had they become friends? By 1626 Downhall (who was ordained a priest in 1621) was Vicar of Toft, a parish seven miles west of Cambridge. He was to go on to be a notable pluralist, combining three livings with being a prebend of Lincoln Cathedral. In the 1640s he was a royalist army chaplain and was taken prisoner as such and spent the winter of 1643–4 under house arrest in the Bishop of Ely's house in Holborn. An unlikely friend, as events worked out. But how could they have become friends?

Downhall was born and brought up in Northamptonshire, but he overlapped with Cromwell in Cambridge and, quite possibly significantly, he was, during the year Cromwell spent at Sidney Sussex College, at the college closest to Sidney Sussex – that is to say St John's, as a brand new Fellow, having just graduated. Notably, in 1626 Cromwell wrote to him in his college not in his parish (he held the positions in parallel). Since we do not know the date of

Cromwell's conversion to 'godliness', the lack of seriousness in the note may suggest he did not yet care about Downhall's incipient careerism. The baptism duly took place five days later, on Thursday 19 October in St John's Church, almost immediately opposite Cromwell's home on the High Street in Huntingdon. The link is tentative but intriguing. The friends one makes at university, then as now, often remain friends through thick and thin. Is it chance that six months after Cromwell arrived in St Ives as the tenant of the Lord of the Manor, Henry Lawrence, Henry Downhall was presented to the living of St Ives – by the Bishop, but that would commonly be at the request of local gentlemen. And is it pure coincidence that Downhall was involved in a rare prisoner exchange just after Cromwell had spent a month in London in early 1644 and had then headed for Oxford from which the exchanged parliamentarian ministers would emerge? This may be fanciful, but it is not implausible. I will lean towards these possibilities until a better theory can be found. And it does seem as though this is consistent with Cromwell's gift for friendships that survived sharp differences of political and religious views.

I have been looking at the names of the small number of young men who were at the almost brand-new Sidney Sussex College (which opened to students in 1596) and who had enduring links with Cromwell. Jeremiah Whitaker was born in the same month as Oliver and matriculated a few months earlier. Whitaker became a leading puritan minister in Rutland and (from 1643) in London, but emerged as high Presbyterian and moderator of the Westminster Assembly in and after 1647. Shortly before his death in 1654, he dedicated his last work to Cromwell and wrote him a warm and generous letter strongly implying an ongoing friendship. And this despite his strong anti-tolerationist views and his closeness to Simeon Ashe, the confidante of Cromwell's bête noire, the earl of Manchester.

Another exact contemporary at Sidney Sussex with whom Oliver continued to have warm, friendly epistolary relations was Ralph Assheton, Major General in the parliamentarian army in Lancashire and MP for Clitheroe in the Long Parliament. Once more they were constantly on antagonistic wings of the parliamentarian movement politically and especially religiously – Ralph was a Presbyterian in every sense – but they had less problem co-operating than Cromwell had with so many other anti-tolerationist parliamentarians. There are others too whose connections need more work but who seem part

of Cromwell's Cambridge connection. One exact contemporary, but at another college, whose connection to Cromwell seems to have begun in Cambridge, was Oliver St John. St John was in a different league to Cromwell socially – the grandson of an (Irish) peer and of course he was a leading radical lawyer of the 1630s, principal counsel of Hampden in the Ship Money case in 1637–8. But their connections after Cambridge continue throughout the 1620s and 1630s, with Oliver St John giving legal assistance to Cromwell and witnessing several family contracts. He matriculated at Queens' College in the same month as Cromwell matriculated at Sidney. What makes this significant is that almost all of those on the Cromwell side of Oliver's family had been at Queens', including his paternal grandfather, his father, all his paternal uncles and several cousins. Indeed, two cousins were at Queens' in 1616, so the two Olivers may well have met as a result. Why our Oliver went to Sidney and not Queens' has never been explained. My educated guess is that Queens' (a royal foundation in the 15th century) was too expensive for the cadet branch of the Cromwell family. Oliver could have gone to Queens' as sizar (fees paid in return for menial duties) but he went instead as a much higher-status Fellow Commoner to Sidney Sussex which was far less expensive than it would have been at Queens'.

Oliver St John became more connected to Oliver Cromwell through both his marriages, first to a third cousin (Joanna Altham, d.1637) who was the granddaughter of Cromwell's formidable aunt, Lady Joan Barrington, and second to the orphaned daughter of Oliver's father's younger brother. It was to her that Oliver wrote his famous 'conversion narrative' letter in October 1638. If we look at the correspondence from the 1640s, Oliver Cromwell wrote more candidly and openly about his hopes and fears to Oliver St John than to any other male friend or acquaintance, except perhaps Henry Vane. And while the latter was eventually to have a terminal and bitter falling out with Cromwell, St John, despite his disapproval of the Regicide and much else, clung on to that friendship. Refusing to endorse the coup of December 1648, St John never went into opposition and eventually came back to the centre of political life, assisted by the patient courtship of Cromwell, especially once he was back from the wars in Ireland and Scotland.

So my suggestion is that Cambridge was important for Cromwell and that he made enduring friendships there. He had no abiding love for his college and

we have little evidence of any further contact between him and the college after he left. All Fellow Commoners had to make a gift of a significant piece of silver and that would have been a heavy charge to Cromwell's father. It was both valuable enough and valued by the Fellows so little that when in 1618 they needed to raise some capital to buy a piece of land adjacent to the college, they sold off the piece of silver, which might have been seen as quite a slight. Certainly, when Oliver came to Cambridge during the civil war he stayed not in the college but at an inn in Petty Cury (where the Cromwell Association placed a plaque just before the Covid-19 pandemic). In fact the only evidence of any contact comes from 1643 when he ordered the imprisonment of Samuel Ward, still Master of the College as he already was when Cromwell was a student there. Ward was imprisoned for sanctioning the printing of royalist propaganda. Ward's rough imprisonment seems to have hastened his death and Cromwell then used his troops to compel the Fellows to elect Richard Minshull as the new Master. And guess what? Richard Minshull had been Cromwell's exact contemporary as an undergraduate at Sidney.

Now that the new edition of Cromwell's recorded words is on the brink of publication (and especially once the searchable electronic version is available), the pattern of Cromwell's friendship groups will be clearer. What we can already say is that in many other areas of his life, his friendships were a lot more volatile. Look at how he fell out terminally with so many of those in the Army to whom he was close at earlier periods (Harrison, Lambert, Fairfax most obviously, but from January 1649, I will suggest in my half-written biography, Henry Ireton). And friendship as well as collaboration was lost with his closest Long Parliament allies, either in January 1649 or April 1653.

If we want to find the kind of loyalty we can associate with friendship in Cromwell's life, we need to look to those formed in his early life, amongst the local friends he made in Huntingdon, St Ives and less certainly Ely, as well as when he was in Cambridge, and most particularly in his family, both his blood relatives and his relations by marriage. Before turning to family, let me give you one of several lines of inquiry into his local connections: his links to William Hitch, the vicar of All Saints parish in Ely.

One of the glories of the great medieval Cathedral in Ely is the 14th century Lady Chapel, the largest in the country. Its many devotional sculptures were defaced in the early years of the Reformation and its highly painted walls were whitewashed. It was then converted into a parish church – Holy Trinity – with a curate drawn from among the cathedral clergy. From 1615 that curate was William Hitch, a recent graduate of Queens' College and contemporary of Oliver's Hinchingbrooke cousin, John Cromwell. He was also schoolmaster in the Cathedral Close and could well have taught three of Oliver's sons before they left for Felsted when they reached nine-years old. It is also possible that Oliver and his family, since he was farming the tithes of the Cathedral, attended Holy Trinity and not (as is often said) St Mary's which was even closer to the handsome house the Cromwells occupied on the edge of the Close. At any rate, recent work by Graham Hart has demonstrated that the well-known exchange between Oliver and William Hitch in January 1644 has been misinterpreted. Cromwell wrote as 'your loving friend' (n.b.) 'least the Souldiers should in tumultuarie or disorderly way attempt the Reformation of your Cathedrall church, I require you to forbeare altogether your Quire service soe unedifyinge and offensive, and instead to catechise the people, and to read and to expound the scriptures to them'. So Cromwell made clear his godly preferences. However, this was not a threat but a caution. It *followed* and did not precede spontaneous disruptive action by his troops. It *prevented* further out-of-control action. Cromwell does seem to be restoring order and advising a friend with whom he had differences. And what do we make of the fact that Hitch remained at his post until his death in 1658, being promoted while Oliver was still Governor of Ely from curate to vicar of Holy Trinity and with augmentations to his stipend from the Committee for Plundered Ministers which Oliver either secured or at any rate did not seek to block? And most telling and conclusive, his favourite daughter Betty [Elizabeth] married the Northamptonshire gentleman John Claypole on 13 January 1646 in Holy Trinity (the old Lady Chapel of the Cathedral let us recall) and the minister receiving their vows was – William Hitch. Can we doubt this was another friendship that transcended differences of view?

Cromwell had intense friendships with army colleagues and fellow MPs but they tended to blow apart under stress. He had more enduring friendships with those he met at university and in a context of neighbourhood. Which leaves his family. What were relationships like within his extended family? I

would suggest that the key word here is *loyalty*. There are no records of any feuds of the kind that caused such distress, bitterness, and destructive power within so many families. There is no evidence of jealousy, rivalry or point-scoring with the senior (and royalist) branch of the family at Hinchingbrooke and Ramsey, for example. Rather the reverse in fact. He wrote on behalf of royalist cousins to the Committee for Compounding; he wrote to help cousins and indeed those related only to him by marriage to secure posts or promotions that they were seeking. Two extreme examples are his effective interventions. First, his intervention in October 1646 on behalf of Thomas Lord Cromwell (one of the planter-peers in Ulster) who had six degrees of separation from Oliver but shared his name, an intervention which secured Lord Cromwell a significant reduction of his composition fine. Secondly, the following year, we find him writing a warm and positive response to a request for a favour by John Williams, archbishop of York, who shared the 'Williams' name that Oliver still used in legal documents, Oliver hailing him on little evidence as 'your cozen and servant' and addressing him as 'My Lord' (not the correct title for an archbishop – it should have been 'Your Grace') but still pretty startling given the abolition of episcopacy, the removal of Bishops from the House of Lords, and, above all, given Cromwell's view of prelates. And note the slight gush at the end: 'your kinsman shalbe very welcom to mee. I shall studye to serve him for kindred's sake', Oliver told this active royalist who had, as Governor, defended Conwy for the King.

Finally, there is the matter of his immediate family. It is important, I think, to recognise that while Cromwell did not fall out or strike out against any of them, he was much more comfortable with women than with men. After all, he grew up (until the age of 17) in a household of (father), mother and six sisters, and from the late 1620s he lived with his widowed mother, his wife and five daughters. None of his boys lived at home after the age of eight or nine, but went to school in Essex. There is a striking difference in the candour and openness with which Oliver wrote to the women of the family and how he wrote to the men. This is as true not only for his relationship with his daughters but also with his daughters-in-law, especially Dorothy Maijor following her marriage to Richard, and his openness with them is in striking contrast with his often prickly relations with his eldest surviving son Richard and with his sons-in-law. Most obvious is the way he was in despair about Richard's lack of deep faith, discussed with his wife, his daughter-in-law and

her parents. Thus he begged Dorothy, Richard's wife, 'to make itt above all thinges your businesse to seeke the Lord, to bee frequently callinge upon him,that Hee would manifest himself to you in his sonn, and bee listing what returnes hee makes to you, for Hee wilbe speakinge in your eare and in your hart, if you attend then unto itt will [ ], I desier you to provoake your husband likewise thereunto' and he was soon reporting to her father that it was having some effect. Although his attitude to Richard was not (in the surviving evidence) hostile, it was anxious and exasperated. He seems more relaxed about Henry, but he failed to trust him to make the changes to Irish policy that Henry thought necessary, and – at least in the surviving correspondence – he did not open up to Henry in the way he did to his wife and daughters. And although there were other reasons for this, it is very striking that his daughters, their husbands and their children were all housed in Whitehall Palace and its immediate environs during his final years, while Henry was in Ireland, and Richard, at least until the final months, spent more time on his estate in Hampshire than in Whitehall.

As is well known, Cromwell relied on those related to him by blood and by marriage to a remarkable extent in his time as Lord Protector, but it is difficult to find any evidence for any of them of the easy intimacy he appears to have enjoyed with friends made before the civil wars. Cromwell's circle of friends was small and did not rest as much as one might expect on shared values. Those he worked closely with in the 1640s and 1650s had their day in the sun; but most of them were discarded by him or abandoned him in the heat of political battle. War made him a terrible enemy and a difficult friend. Earlier vulnerabilities may well have made him easier to love and to remain in love with.

John Morrill is Emeritus Professor of British and Irish History at the University of Cambridge and Fellow of Selwyn College. His short biography of Oliver Cromwell was published by OUP in 2006 and a long biography, based on the new edition of *The Letters, Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* he has edited, is being published by Bloomsbury. He was, for the 12 years leading up the quatercentenary of Cromwell's death, President of the Cromwell Association.

DIGITAL CROMWELL

by Professor John Morrill

After twelve years of work, the new edition of Oliver Cromwell's recorded words is finally completed – *The Letters, Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (Oxford University Press, 3 vols, 2387 pp.), to be published late summer 2022. It is very different from previous editions and hopefully offers all Cromwellians a much better sense of the man, warts and all (as he may have actually said, but probably didn't).

The guiding principles of the new edition are that it should not be the product of a heroic sole scholar (Thomas Carlyle, Sophia Lomas, Wilbur Cortez Abbott) but a truly collaborative effort; that it should take advantage of state-of-the-art technology in its preparation; and that it should aim at letting us hear 'Cromwell's Voice' (a phrase we owe to Ann Hughes) more clearly. This meant tracking down and reproducing as accurately and precisely as possible what Cromwell actually wrote or dictated (with original spelling, punctuation and his idiosyncratic way of presenting his ideas on paper – such as the physical layout on the page of his holograph letters). Since so many of his letters and speeches exist only in copies of lost originals, and since so many of those exist in multiple early transcriptions, we saw it as a fundamental task to establish which existing version was likely to be closest to a lost original, and to present that as our proof text but with all the possibly significant variants found in other versions identified in on-the-page footnotes. We also decided that we would omit from the edition material which did not faithfully reflect his voice – the hundreds of pro forma letters, orders, and commissions that passed across his desk but that he did not compose. The most difficult decisions in this regard are the many diplomatic letters from the Protectorate. By excluding these, we believe that we get to see the man, to recover the mind, and, yes, to hear the voice of Cromwell far more clearly than before.

We had even more difficulty in deciding which 'conversations' to include. Our basic principle was to include all those which were recorded by people present when the conversation took place where there is some evidence that a record of the conversation was made soon after the event. Third-party accounts of conversations and those only recalled more than a couple of years later have been excluded. We have of course included as appendices details of all

'omitted items' (about 800 in all), the vast majority from the years when Oliver was lord protector.

Our edition includes about 200 items that are not in previous editions. Most of these are the short summaries of speeches Cromwell made in the Long Parliament between 1640 and 1648 and recorded by fellow MPs as he made them. But we have also found about 40 items which are not in Carlyle/Lomas or Abbott, many of which appeared in libraries or sales rooms while we were completing our edition – most dramatically a letter written to the Committee in Cambridge in the build-up to the battle of Gainsborough in July 1643 and which turned up on *Antiques Roadshow* from Cromer pier! The fullest account of that battle came up for auction at about the same time and allowed us to see that the nineteenth-century transcriptions made before it was lost to view contained a whole series of very major mistakes which hide its true significance (eg by misidentifying the recipient which in turn affects how we read the letter). Our edition includes more personal letters and far more speeches than previous editions but far fewer 'writings' and official letters than Abbott's edition, prepared between 1938 and 1948.

In essence, Carlyle's first edition had 243 items, and his last edition of 1858 had 318. The appendix to Mrs Lomas's edition of 1904 raised this to just over 500. In contrast, Abbott, with a great deal of dross, raised this to above 2,000 items. Our edition consists of 1206 items in four categories:

	Vol.1 (to Jan 1649)	Vol.2 (Jan 1649–Dec 1653)	Vol.3 (from Jan 1654)
Letters	186	223	132
Writings	56	197	68
Speeches	155	10	37
Reported conversations	6	25	11

More important than new material, as illustrated above, is that thanks to the digitisation of library catalogues around the world (and much searching in digitised and non-digital auction house catalogues) we have rediscovered almost 200 holograph and autograph letters that had previously been edited, often from poor eighteenth- and nineteenth-century transcriptions. We have

also avoided the disastrous policy of Abbott who produced hybrid versions from variant versions of the speeches, and the interventionist editing of, for example, Sir Charles Firth's version of the Putney Debates where he silently corrected syntax, added words he thought implied, and changed not only word orders but sentence orders in order to create a clarity that was lacking but which also imposed meanings which may not be there (on one occasion even adding a 'not' to reverse the meaning of what is in the manuscript). Sophia Lomas was by far the best editor of Cromwell so far, but while she silently removed mistakes from Carlyle's transcriptions and saw better versions of some writings, she failed to remove his crass and confusing interjections, she modernised spelling and punctuation and her choice of which version of many Protectoral speeches to Parliament to use as her text was unexplained and often flawed. She also made the use of the volumes difficult by having three separate chronological sections, one of the original 1843 edition, one of Carlyle's 32 'appendices' and her own 175 'supplements'.

So, this new edition will be a much more reliable edition of the surviving writings and recorded words of Oliver Cromwell. The texts are all presented clearly and made easily searchable. They are richly contextualised. Each text is headed by a unique date code, followed by a descriptive title, a note of the kind of document it is, full information about the date, and details of provenance. To take a couple of examples:

1646 01 27[?]

Title: Summary of speech by Oliver Cromwell to 3,000 'recruits' in Devon

Date: January 1646 (probably between 24 and 29 January)

Source: The Moderate Intelligencer: impartially communicating martiall affaires to the kingdome of England no. 48 for 29 January–4 February 1646, p. 280 (N&S, 419.048; Thomason / E 320[11])

Here the [?] at the end of the header indicates that there is either no date or an unreliable date on the document and that our date is a best guess. On two occasions we rather redated documents by a whole year!

And to take another example:

1647 11 11(c)

Title: Letter from Oliver Cromwell to [William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons]

Date: 11 November 1647

Source: Samuel Pecke, ed., A Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament no. 224 for 8–15 November 1647 (N&S, 504.81; Thomason / E520[5]) (contemporary print version)

In this case the (c) in the header indicates that this was the third item created on that day. On the day after the battle of Dunbar there are eight separate letters denoting eight items (**1650 09 04 a-h**).

After these headings, which establish the nature of each of the 1206 items, there is an introduction which can be anything from 100 to 5,000 words. The aim of the introduction is to allow the reader to evaluate the *integrity* of the text and also provides enough *context* to allow the reader to understand or evaluate the content. Let us take these in order.

Since no Cromwell archive survives, we have to gather his writings and records of his speeches from those who came to possess them or to transcribe them while in the possession of the recipient or other third parties. In the case of letters and writings we have three broad categories: holographs, autographs and copies. The holographs are straightforward in the sense that Cromwell's handwriting is distinctive and unmistakable. The only difficulty is with identifying the intended recipient. Often that is also given in Cromwell's own hand but often too it is not, and it is necessary to evaluate the probability of that ascription being correct, especially when the ascription is added in a significantly later hand. This is normally straightforward. Autograph letters are also reasonably straightforward especially since so many of them are in the hand of one of Cromwell's regular scribes and often include, as we indicate, alterations in Cromwell's own hand. Just occasionally this is not so and the signature is not completely characteristic and so the edition alerts

readers to possible problems. In one case, in a letter of June 1643 from John Hotham, Sir John Gell, Cromwell, Sir Miles Hobart and Lord Grey of Groby to Lord Fairfax, declining to give him the military support previously promised him, at least three of the signatures (those of Cromwell, Gell and Hobart, when compared to other examples of their signatures) seem to be forgeries. Possibly the content was agreed at a meeting but then written up when the parties had scattered, but more likely this was a deliberate act of sabotage by Hotham which would help explain the vindictiveness of Cromwell in hounding Hotham to death for treason shortly afterwards.

The third group of letters are copies of lost originals: contemporary copies, later copies, and print copies. In each of those categories there is frequently more than one surviving version and a primary task of the editors was to establish which is likely to be closest to the lost original. In all cases, and especially in the case of the letters which appear in the newspapers and pamphlets, we found that it was possible to show that one of the copies was earlier than the others and was the source for the others which were, in effect, deteriorated versions. And in the case of the newspapers and pamphlets which printed Cromwell's official campaign correspondence, it was also possible to work out which printer at that time was being favoured by the leaders of the parliament or council of state as their first choice of official publisher. This almost always confirmed the internal evidence. Our aim, as the above would imply, was to find the text likeliest to be closest to what Cromwell actually wrote or dictated. Where there was any chance of another version of a speech or letter having a separate view of a lost original, all significant variants are noted in footnotes. Just occasionally there is a tension between getting back to a lost original and printing a text which was better known to contemporaries (even to historians), even though it was probably less close to the original. In March 1650 there was published in London a 16-page version of a tract written by Cromwell denouncing the lies, as he saw it, in the declaration of the Irish Catholic Bishops and other senior clergy accusing him of coming to Ireland to extirpate Catholicism and the Catholic population – rebarbatively entitled *A DECLARATION OF THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND, For the undeceiving of deluded and seduced People*. This London version is the only one ever noticed or cited by historians, but it is different from two versions printed six weeks earlier by printers under the control of the English army in Ireland. The London printing was a

freelance publication by a printer with no links to the regime. But it was that latter version which influenced opinion in Britain at the time and in Britain and Ireland since. Nonetheless, in our edition we have made the earliest, Cork printing, the proof text, with differences in the London printing noted in the footnotes. So establishing the authenticity of all our texts is the first purpose of our introductions. Their other purpose is to clarify the circumstances in which the writing was issued, or the speech given, and to tell the reader about the events described or Cromwell's previous links with the recipients of the letter/writing or how and why he was speaking on that occasion. In the case of his contributions to debates – in the Long Parliament or in the Army Council, the content of speeches by others leading up to or away from Cromwell's contribution are summarised to make sense of what he said.

After the introduction, we print the text itself, reproducing as closely as we can the words in our source – including the original spelling and often eccentric punctuation. We include all crossings-out, amendments, and additions and we indicate where damage to the document has destroyed characters or words, and wherever possible we provide [in brackets] what we believe the missing letters or words to be, often with a commentary in the footnotes. And those footnotes come in two forms – textual and contextual. They certainly identify variant readings which could affect the meaning of the text, and comment on things that cannot be reproduced typographically – where an agitation in the writing suggests a particular mood, where Cromwell starts writing in very small characters as he uses up every millimetre of the paper in front of him, and so on. And they seek to stabilise the name (rendering it in full and in the agreed modern form) and providing a bibliographical reference in all but a few cases so that the reader can find out more about the person concerned. All places and events are identified again by standard modern name/spelling and location (eg Little Swaffham = Swaffham Prior, a village in Cambridgeshire; Tredagh, a seventeenth-century name for Drogheda in County Meath). Similarly with events. In effect, all proper names where not self-evident to a modern reader worldwide are identified upon first appearance.

This consistent and very full annotation – prefatory matter, introductions and footnotes – account for more than half the 1.2 million words in the edition. And we hope that having a fully itemised list at the front of each volume,

having most of the guides to use, including the General Introduction, together with the indexes to all three volumes appearing in each of the three volumes, we have produced by far the most user-friendly edition of the words of Cromwell and indeed of any early modern figure.

I do not need, in *Cromwelliana*, to explain why a comprehensive, accurate and densely annotated edition of the words of Oliver Cromwell is important. But perhaps I can say a bit more about *how* we prepared it, why I call this account of it 'Digital Cromwell' and how it has changed my view of him – while suggesting that it will help *all* of us to deepen our knowledge of him, be it to put him on a higher plinth or to pull him down!

How has the edition been prepared and what was the role of digital technology? I was invited in 2008 to undertake a new edition and immediately realised it needed to be a collaborative project. One of the first decisions was to assemble three teams of three which I would oversee. Three of them would be full-time, funded posts and the others would be established scholars working for nothing (as was I). The volunteers were (for the period down to the Regicide) myself and Andrew Barclay, author of the brilliant reconstruction of Cromwell's early life; for the period between Regicide and the establishment of the Protectorate, Micheál Ó Siochrú of Trinity College Dublin, a specialist in Cromwell's Irish campaigns and Jason Peacey of UCL (University College London), an expert on print culture; and for the third volume, David L. Smith and Patrick Little who had already written extensively on Cromwell and the Protectorate and specifically on Parliament. Andrew and Patrick are Senior Research Fellows at the History of Parliament Trust. This team, together with an advisory board who assisted us until the project was fully designed and funded, then undertook a number of scoping exercises and feasibility studies and held graduate workshops in Nottingham, Cambridge and Dublin. In the process of this, with a Major Research Grant secured from the Leverhulme Trust, we were able to appoint three Research Associates, the hugely experienced Tim Wales (for vol.1), Elaine Murphy (a naval expert who had worked with me on the 1641 Irish 'Massacre' depositions project (for vol.2), and Joel Halcomb, whose doctorate was on the rise of Congregationalist churches (for vol.3). It was quickly agreed that they would be co-principals with the established scholars.

An office was set up in Cambridge and off we went. In essence, the three associates were charged with locating, cataloguing, and acquiring (wherever possible) digital images of all items and then transcribing them, those transcriptions then being checked by another member of the team. Decisions were made collectively over which version to establish as the proof text where no original survives, and all nine of us then set to work to 'edit' all 1,206 items – ie to produce a rich textual and contextual support and evaluation of each item. There was almost daily contact within the teams of three and the team of research associates at the sharp end. I was in the office at least once a week, and I met with the research associates for a whole-day review once a month, and with all nine editors every three months. By the time the Leverhulme Grant lapsed we had identified, captured and transcribed almost everything. Elaine and Joel secured teaching posts at the Universities of Plymouth and East Anglia respectively and Tim moved on to other research projects. The editing was not well advanced at this stage and without the impetus of the office and the financial backing we slowed right down so that it took five more years to complete a version we could send to OUP (Oxford University Press), followed by more than two years in production, with many problems along the way, not least with creating the indexes.

So much for the manual labour. There was exceptionally dedicated teamwork throughout. But the achievement, such as I hope it is, was also predicated upon the advance of digital technologies. First, the digitisation of library and auction house catalogues around the world allowed us to identify many items that had been lost to view after the many private collections were auctioned off in the nineteenth century. Second, the digitising of all surviving printed texts in Britain or in the English language before 1700, with excellent searching aids (ie Early English Books Online and English Short Title Catalogue). Third, the existence of digital cameras and the rapid spread of permissions for scholars and others to make digital images of manuscript material in most libraries (we were held back by the conservatism of the British and Bodleian Libraries but they fell in line eventually and just in time). I should add that many libraries, especially in North America, generously made high-resolution images available to us at no charge. We came to possess 12,000 images of well over 90 per cent of all the texts in our edition. With high-resolution digital imaging came the opportunity to enlarge images and see things not possible without it. Possessing the images also allowed us to

share them with one another as we strove to transliterate difficult hands or damaged paper and add to our stock of editing conventions. It also made it easier to identify authors by comparing documents to established examples of their handwriting – for example, this was essential for evaluating the probable fraud by Hotham, discussed earlier. But more important than all of these was our ability (with the help of the Digital Humanities team in Trinity College Dublin) to create a virtual research environment (VRE), a laboratory within which we could all work with greatly heightened efficiency.

This was a tailored version of a commercial VRE known as 'Alfresco'. It can be imagined both as a warehouse and an intranet social networking site. All nine editors could see everything that had been done and which was in the process of being done. Crucial to the 'warehouse' dimension was the creation for each item of a folder in Microsoft Word with its own unique eight-digit number based on its date: year, month, day. So a document written on 29 July 1643 would be **1643 07 29**. In the minority of cases where there was more than one item in a single day, an alphabetical signifier was added (thus **1643 07 29** but **1643 07 31a** and **1643 07 31b**). This had the great advantage of putting them into a continuously updating chronological order. Within the folder created for each item, there were sub-folders for any or all images, for transcriptions (earlier versions being held as well as the latest), for notes, and for the various stages of the editing process. It was exceptionally easy to navigate and search.

The reconfigured Alfresco was also a kind of social networking site. Any member of the team could contact any one or more of the others. Some of us had particular skills (eg knowledge of obscure military terms or obscure biblical or other religious references) and could be queried. If an editor came across an issue not addressed in our style guides, everyone could be asked for a view. The ability to hold and process so much information within Alfresco, hosted from Dublin, was exceptionally important and contributed to making the outcome as consistent as it is. Funds were found from Cambridge to keep it 'alive' for two years after the Leverhulme Grant had expired. At the end of that process, transferring all the data (which took most of our PCs 15 hours to upload!) was one of the greatest times of stress. But if communication between members within Alfresco ceased in 2016, at least all members had all the data for the whole project as it stood at that time – all 12,000 digitised

images and almost all of the transcriptions, if not of the fully-edited texts. The project could not have been done in this way, to this standard, and in this time without it.

And finally, how has it changed my view of Cromwell? I do not have the space to say much, and I want to hold back quite a lot for the big biography I am currently writing, based on this edition. But I can certainly give some general impressions based on a very close engagement with all the items for the whole of his life. The first, reflected in my Cromwell Day Address 'Cromwell and Friendship' (see page 5), is his deep loyalty to – and degree of openness with – close members of his family, and much more with the women in his family than with his menfolk, and his loyalty to friends he made before his public career took flight. His tolerance of difference of opinion and outlook from friends made before his fortieth birthday compares strikingly with his ruthlessness in ending friendships with those he was for periods close to in the army and in parliament in later years.

A second quality I had not previously grasped was his generosity to former enemies who fell on hard times and appealed to him for help. His intercession on behalf of many Irish men and women is the most striking example of this, but his willingness to help those who approached him is much wider than that.

Thirdly, I think I also have a much clearer idea now about the depth and the idiosyncratic nature of his personal, private faith. He only uses the word puritan twice in his life – and at the very end of it – reminding Parliament on 17 September 1656 that ' it was a shame to be a Christian within these 15. 16. or 17 yeares in this nation ether in Cesars house, or elsewhere, it was a shame, it was a Reproach to a man; and the Badge of **Puritan** was put upon it, and whatever is next of kinn to that, and most agrees with that which is Popery'; and on 20 January 1658 he reminded Parliament that the Laudians aimed 'soe to innovate as to eate out the Core, and Power, and heart and Life of all Religion by bringing on us a company of poysonous popish Ceremonies, and imposeing them upon those that were accompted the **Puritanes** of the Nation, and professors of Religion amongst us: driveing them to seeke their bread in an howleing Wildernes'. Close attention to his religious language shows that his favoured words of approval of those who shared his faith were

all non-denominational, especially 'godly' and 'honest' and 'christian'. All are terms that he applies to himself. He never uses the word 'congregationalist' and rarely the word 'Independent', and never implying a first-person engagement. The more I study him, the less Calvinist I find him, except in relation to his providentialism, and the more I find him leaving wriggle room for personal choice in coming to faith. God invites but we need to respond. He is anti-ceremonial, anti- (Anglican, Presbyterian, Catholic) priestcraft. And he is drawn to Quaker emphasis on the indwelling Spirit. But above all he is drawn to the Bible as a living text that reveals God's purposes for him, for those he leads, for the nation, in the present. His prayer is a dynamic encounter with God alive in word rather than sacrament and he is drawn to a providentialist but not an apocalyptic promise. He anticipates a new Promised Land, not a Second Coming. His experience not only of so many powerful sermons he had heard, but of those he had delivered was central to him. For me, his speeches at the Putney Debates are much more about God than they are about the King or about the voting right of 'the poorest he that is in England'.

And because he believes himself close to God, he sees himself as called to lead the people of England – all of them, not just the elect or saints [these also being words he rarely uses] but *all* of them to a new Promised Land where there will be not so much milk and honey as justice and peace and a source of strength wherever Anti-Christian Roman tyranny prevails. And because his vision is fundamentally providentialist, he is utterly pragmatic about the necessary political means to religious ends. So when he says at Putney that forms of government are but 'Drosse & Dunge in Comparison of Christ' or denies 'that wee are wedded and glewed to formes of Governement' he was saying something rather important. He believes in the ends of government not in the means, and his constant casting aside of failed experiments is all to do with this. He never lost sight of God's plan in 'these revolutions' – liberty from all forms of existing tyranny in monarchy, bishops and in new forms of parliamentary or presbyterian tyranny. But the means to convert the people at large to the responsibilities of the liberty he and the army had achieved for them proved elusive and, of course, wrapped him up in paradoxes and contradictions. The greatest of these was finding that God wanted him to act as Protector of the nation (and that title, taken literally, meant more to him

than its historical sense of Regent). He did not seek and did not enjoy the responsibilities of power.

He was a man like some I have known whose personality was magnetic. When you were with him you felt you were the only person who mattered to him. And if that filled you with a warm glow, to be on the wrong side of him was to feel the temperature in the room fall by at least ten degrees. So much is clear from the memoirs of all who wrote about their meetings with him.

And he was a man who worked with binaries: Christians and Unchristians (a term he used far more than I had realised); us and them. The first and greatest of the 'thems' were the royalists, except that never once in all his surviving writings and speeches does he use the word 'royalist'. He does use the word 'cavalier' but only once before the autumn of 1648 and after that mainly in reviews of the past in his final years. Overwhelmingly he simply calls them 'the enemy'. He rarely calls Catholics 'Catholics', he calls them 'papists' and their religion 'popery'. He does not refer to his radical critics as enemies, and he never uses euphemisms in public or in private. His word painting was always in bold primary colours, never in pastel shades.

What comes across most from his writing and speaking is his intensity. He can be fiercely witty or scornful, and he could be lyrical and poetic, especially in bible paraphrase. And he could be ruthless in order to protect the liberties his victories had made possible, involving some draconian measures not least of course in Ireland. And while the Ayatollah side of him called him to painful duty, the coarsening effect of wading through blood on battlefield after battlefield made him more ruthless than I have previously recognised. Ruthless and guileful. I have been thinking about Henry Ireton's disillusionment with him and their deteriorating relationship in the last two years of Ireton's life, Ireton, not Cromwell, being the one who broke the close friendship (I will be publishing on this soon). That break followed what Ireton took to be breaches of the laws of war during the sack of Drogheda.

The longest introduction to any item in our new edition is one I wrote myself, to the version of the speech he made in the Commons launching what has been called 'the Quarrel with Manchester' on 25 November 1644. That version, I suggest, has little relation to what Cromwell actually said on that

occasion and was deliberated altered so as to protect him from Manchester's inevitable counter-attack and to protect him from his enemies in the Commons. It was a lethal fabrication. On that too I will be publishing soon.

Inevitably, getting up so close and personal to Cromwell has complicated my sense of him. But for me he remains a man of strong and idiosyncratic faith who struggled to realise his vision of God's purposes within the world as it was. To paraphrase Clem Attlee, Cromwell did not live in the world as though it was already the world he sought to create. He lived with the tension better than most of us do. His vision did not override his sense of realism and the limits of the possible here and now. Like the intuitively gifted soldier he was, he knew in matters of state when to advance, when to stand his ground, when to retreat to higher ground; and like the great soldier he was, he knew how to feint, to set traps, to play dirty when he had to. I do not find him more attractive than I used to do, but I have fallen ever more under his spell. Michael Maclagan, my old medieval tutor in the 1960s, used to say to us, when we went to lunch with him, 'if you were having a dinner party for the eight most interesting people in History, who would you invite?' Confining myself to Britons, Oliver Cromwell would be top of the list, followed by Cardinal Thomas Wolsey and Lady Margaret Beaufort. And I would tell my footman that if Henry VIII turned up, he was to be sent away with a flea in his ear (or Charles I, for that matter).

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EDITING CROMWELL'S SPEECHES: VOICE, AUTHENTICITY, AND 'TOO LONG A DIGRESSION'

by Dr Joel Halcomb

One of the most famous and evocative accounts of Oliver Cromwell speaking is found in the memoirs of Sir Philip Warwick. He recalled coming into the House of Commons at the beginning of the Long Parliament, himself 'well clad' in the style of a 'courtly young gentleman', seeing 'a gentleman speaking (whom I knew not) ordinarily apparelled' in a plain cloth suit 'made by an ill country tailor'. Cromwell's linen 'was plain, and not very clean' and he had 'a speck or two of blood upon his little band which was not much larger than his collar'.[1] This description seems impossible to separate from Cromwell's famous love for the 'plaine russett coated captaine, that knows what Hee fights for, and loves what Hee knowes'.[2] It is part of the folkloric image of the rough-hewn, heroic Cromwell, man of the people, defender of liberty who rose from obscurity to conquer, heal, and settle a troubled nation.[3]

But Warwick also provides a rare depiction of the character and sound of Cromwell's spoken words: 'his voice [was] harsh and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour'.[4] No one studying Cromwell's speeches can ignore the fervour. Time and again those of us producing the new edition of *The Letters, Writings, and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* were presented with the undeniable passion and force with which he spoke. And as Ronald Hutton's new biography highlights, Warwick was one of the first, in a long line of contemporary observers, to note the persuasive power of Cromwell's speech. In Hutton's account, 'this coarse-featured, untidy and grubby provincial was "very much hearkened to", convincing even the haughty royalist Warwick himself that the government had been guilty of serious injustices'.[5]

Just as Cromwell's passion captivated Warwick, it has captivated generations of historians who have studied his speeches in the hopes of evoking his essence or understanding his mind. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Thomas Carlyle's iconic *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*.[6] Here Carlyle transformed and adapted surviving accounts of Cromwell's speeches as the spirit moved him. In a hair-raising introduction to his editorial practice he proudly claimed that Cromwell's words had to be read through the 'dark incrustations' of their textual remains: their seventeenth-century spellings, punctuations, and 'unelucidated' and 'unintelligible' forms. The challenge, he claimed, was to recover the words of Cromwell and 'the meaning *they* had'.

He collected these 'authentic Utterances of Oliver' as his 'reading yielded them' and proceeded 'to correct them, elucidate and make them legible again'.[7] This meant finding whatever copy of a speech piqued his interest, adding in words of clarification, deleting the occasional dark phrasing, and adding in his famous interpolations: 'Sentence catches fire abruptly, and explodes'; 'Sentence gone: meaning left clear enough'; 'Sentence involving an incurable Irish bull; the head of it eating the tail of it, like a Serpent-of-Eternity; but the meaning shining very clear through its contortions nevertheless'.[8] When reading his edition it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the voice of Cromwell from that of Carlyle – the two men so often become one.

Wilbur Abbott's mammoth four volume edition of Cromwell's writings and speeches was similarly 'intentionalist', in that it sought to reconstruct what Cromwell 'actually' said. Like Carlyle, Abbott created 'imagined' versions of Cromwell's speeches, in his case combining parts of different speech copies to create one 'master text' of a given speech. His approach is best summed up in what must surely be his most famous footnote: after listing five variants of Cromwell's second kingship speech in 1657 he judiciously declared that 'the present version follows no one source more closely than another'.[9] The reader was none the wiser about which words came from what source, nor did it occur to Abbott that this might be important.

John Morrill long ago drew attention to how damaging these approaches are to studying Cromwell.[10] Our new edition of *The Letters, Writings, and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* has taken a radically different approach to those of Carlyle and Abbott.[11] We have laid bare the 'dark incrustations' of the surviving accounts of Cromwell's speeches, believing that any attempt to understand what he may have actually said must necessarily deal with the complications of our surviving sources: their provenance, textual idiosyncrasies, and material remains. Cromwell did not write out his speeches. Every source we have for them comes from his audience, from those present who wrote down what they heard or remembered. So in practice, it is impossible to separate Cromwell's voice from the ears of his listeners. We must ask: what did *they* hear? How did they record Cromwell's words? And what words did they choose to preserve and share? To work with Cromwell's speeches, as Jonathan Fitzgibbons has recently argued, we must 'excavate, where possible,

the different layers of their creation'.[12] Our edition, then, is built on an insistence that the texts we present are accurate to the original sources, so that our readers are fully aware of the possibilities and limitations that they may have. At times, as we shall see below, this approach might seem to destabilize the 'authenticity' or reliability of surviving accounts of Cromwell's speeches, but it also invites new questions for us to ask. This article will give a brief overview of these issues by considering speeches Cromwell gave during his time as Lord Protector. These speeches are all printed in volume 3 of the new edition, edited by Patrick Little, David Smith, and myself, and what follows is drawn from our experience preparing the new edition.

Across the three volumes of our edition we have printed 211 recorded speeches. The majority are in volume 1 (over 150) covering Cromwell's early life up to the regicide. Though largest in number, most of these mainly civil war speeches are short, summary interventions in parliamentary debates. By far the largest quantity of Cromwell's spoken words can be found in volume 3 covering the Protectorate, where 38 Cromwell speeches make up almost half of the volume's word count. But neither the number of speeches nor their volume in the final edition quite do justice to the sheer scale of what survives from Cromwell's Protectorate: behind the 38 speeches we printed in volume 3 there were just shy of 180 individual variant copies of those speeches, each of which needed to be transcribed and compared for the selection of proof texts and footnotes. As a result, there was a huge amount of work that went into producing our edition that is not immediately evident on the finished page.

Inevitably our approach involved some compromises. For instance, it would have been unhelpful – and financially unviable – to print every variant copy of Cromwell speeches, many of which are more or less the same except for small inconsequential differences, usually relating to spelling or punctuation. Nor would this approach have helped compare differences across variant copies of a speech. It proved equally impossible to reference every textual variation; there are hundreds of thousands of subtle little scribal differences between speech copies, most of which have little bearing on how we might interpret Cromwell's words. We therefore had to make value judgments about which copies to print as our 'proof text' (the main text that our readers will read) and of what textual complications we needed to make our readers aware.

A number of principles guided our decisions. In general we prioritised as our proof text the fullest surviving account we had for a speech, or if we had multiple similar copies we printed the most 'official' account (fine copies presented to parliament, for example).[13] Official parliamentary copies, as we shall see below, appear to have undergone a fairly careful construction process. In some instances we favoured previously unprinted or unknown manuscript copies of a speech. For Cromwell's speech to the two houses of parliament on 20 January 1658, we prioritised as our proof text a version held in the Harley manuscripts in the British Library because it contains a paragraph and some phrases not present in the widely available 'official' copy recorded in the *Journal of the House of Commons* and all previous editions of Cromwell's speeches.[14] Occasionally we printed multiple copies of a speech when we thought that surviving copies were so different that any proper analysis would require scholars to have different versions in front of them.[15] The four surviving copies of Cromwell's famous speech to the army officers on 27 February 1657, just days after the Remonstrance was read before parliament, are so different, and that speech was so important to understanding the kingship debates, that we decided to print all four versions for scholars to consult.[16] Whatever the speech, discussions of provenance and source survival were raised out of the footnotes they so often inhabited in previous editions and were placed in the main text of each of our document introductions.

Considering the importance of the audience and provenance when thinking about the 'authenticity' or 'accuracy' of surviving copies of his speeches, it is perhaps surprising that we have few, if any, analyses of how his speeches were delivered, heard, and preserved.[17] Nonetheless, some crucial details are well known. We know, for instance, that Cromwell did not write out his speeches. When MPs asked Cromwell for a copy of his speech on 25 January 1658 so they could print it for the nation, he replied 'That he spake to the Houses those Things that did lie upon his own Heart; and that he did acquaint them honestly and plainly how Things stood, in Matters of Fact; but, of the Particulars, he doth not remember Four Lines'.[18] Occasionally he spoke from 'heads', key talking points that he had either memorised or had written down in front of him.[19] One of the clearest expressions of this former approach, if we are to trust him at his word, comes in his speech to parliament on 25 January 1658:

> I have not prepared any such matter or rule or Speech to deliver my selfe unto you \in/ as perhaps might have been fitter for me to have done, and more serviceable for you to have understood me in, but shall onely speake plainely and honestly to you out of such Concepcions as it hath pleased God to set upon me.[20]

While this may be accurate, Cromwell is clearly appealing to puritan cultures of 'plain speaking' and Christ's instructions to his disciples not to 'take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak, neither do ye premeditate: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye: for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost.'[21] The very act of being unprepared was used to legitimate his words: he spoke what the Lord gave him to say. Contemporaries and later editors have often shared his concern that this approach might not have produced results that were as 'fit' or 'serviceable' as they could have been.

The best detailed example of Cromwell speaking from notes can be found in his speech to the kingship committee on 21 April 1657. On that day Cromwell talked extensively through two papers, which he then presented to the committee: a paper of objections to the Humble Petition and Advice and another on the Petition and Advice's provisions for revenue. Both of these papers survive, drafted in secretary Thurloe's hands with annotations by Cromwell himself.[22] Details and phrases from both papers litter his surviving speech. These sources provide scholars with an opportunity not only to study how Cromwell analysed the Humble Petition and Advice and prepared for the kingship debates, but also how he used notes and preparation to engage and address his audience.

Significant information also exists about Cromwell's hearers. Most speeches were probably recorded 'live' through shorthand and expanded later,[23] and we can often see the evidence of this in surviving variant copies of a speech, where different recorders present the same words in different order. We know that Thomas Burton, MP for Westmorland, recorded Cromwell's late protectoral speeches and that his notes were often used for official copies presented to parliament.[24] We get occasional anecdotes about audience reactions, such as applause, shouts, and hums.[25] Some observers noted gestures that Cromwell performed.[26] And while we rarely know exactly who

recorded a speech copy,[27] studying the provenance of different variants can be helpful in thinking about what aspects of Cromwell's speeches circulated within different groups. Numerous surviving speech copies include underlinings, which could be used to gauge reader responses to Cromwell's words.[28] All of this information can help us think critically about what it was like to hear Cromwell speak, what impact this might have on our accounts of his words, and which parts of his speech resonated or became contested.

The remainder of this article will give a few examples, taken from our edition, of how scholars might investigate the experience of hearing Cromwell further. First, we have some surprisingly consistent evidence about how fast Cromwell spoke when addressing parliament. Contemporaries occasionally reported how long Cromwell took to deliver his speeches. Below is a table of six parliamentary speeches for which we have information on the time they took to deliver. The average words per minute is calculated for each speech using the longest surviving copy.[29]

Table 1: Timing Cromwell's Speeches

Date	Time (hours)	Surviving words	Average words per minute
1653 07 04	2	9850	82.08
1654 09 04	3	5709	31.72
1654 09 12	1.5	7277	80.86
1655 01 22	2	9379	78.16
1656 09 17	2.5	12770	85.13
1658 02 04	0.5	2491	83.03

Overall average	73.50
Corrected average	81.85
Corrected standard deviation	2.59

There are some obvious necessary caveats about the reliability of this information. We have only anecdotal accounts about how long these speeches took and six speeches is a small sample size. Surviving estimates were also all rounded to the nearest hour or half hour, so we might wonder how accurately these observers kept time. The reports for how long it took Cromwell to

deliver his longest speech are also questionable.[30] Finally, there is an outlier: the French ambassador claimed that it took Cromwell three hours to deliver his opening speech to the first protectoral parliament on 4 September 1654, but this is far too long for the number of surviving words we have. Either the ambassador got the length of the speech horribly wrong or we are missing much of what Cromwell said – or a combination of both. Nonetheless, ignoring our outlier, we find a surprising consistency across the other speeches, with an average speaking rate of roughly 82 words per minute (wpm) with a standard deviation of 2.59 – that is a remarkably small standard deviation, considering the type of loose, anecdotal evidence with which we are dealing.

Perhaps this small standard deviation is merely luck in the sources, but I would argue that the exercise is at least useful in raising questions about Cromwell's style of speech. For instance, 82 wpm is a relatively slow rate for spoken English. Most people today speak at around 150 wpm, with set speeches often slightly slower at between 125–140 wpm. For context, Churchill's 'We shall fight them on the beaches' speech, which most of us have probably heard at least in part and which has a slow and methodical pace, has a rate of 128 wpm. Cromwell's speed of 82 wpm is closer to that of an undergraduate lecture, with slides and rests for students to take notes.[31] This speed suggests that we are probably dealing with a style of speech that involved numerous pauses and hesitations, and this holds for Cromwell's rousing speech to the Nominated Assembly on 4 July 1653 and his angry dissolution of the first protectoral parliament on 22 January 1655.

This impression is borne out, I would argue, in the scribal evidence present in manuscript copies of Cromwell's speeches. Scribes clearly struggled at times to translate the words they heard into comprehensible written prose, exactly because many of Cromwell's speeches were full of stops, starts, and hesitancies – remember Carlyle's interjections: 'Sentence catches fire abruptly, and explodes'. Take, for instance, a set of four different speeches that came from the offices of Samuel Hartlib, a leading intellectual of the mid-seventeenth century who also worked as an intelligencer during the 1650s.[32] Hartlib employed a team of scribes to copy important political and intellectual information, to be shared among his contacts. This included manuscript copies of Cromwell's speeches before parliament, and these are easily

identifiable because they contain a very distinctive use of parentheses, or brackets, combined with colons: '(: :)'.[33] These brackets reveal someone's, perhaps desperate, attempts to grammatically render Cromwell's speech patterns into written words. This could be particularly difficult in those moments where Cromwell was unsure about his message (such as the kingship debates) or when he was trying to impress his parliamentary audience with complex oration (as in the following case, where we find a rare example of Cromwell using Latin just before this tortured sentence):

> This is furnished (:give me leave to say:) for I beleeve it is true, with the best People in the World, possessing soe much Soyle; a People in Civill & Rights (:in respect of their Rights & Priviledges:) very Auncient & honourable: And in this People, in the midst of this People a people (:I know every one will heare it:) that are to God as the aple of his Eye…[34]

This quote from Cromwell's speech to parliament on 27 January 1657 is not the sort of phrasing that you rush through orally. It is laboured and ponderous. The parenthetical phrases, at least those rendered by this scribe, capture caveats, qualifications, and hesitations which read as if they represent the cognitive gymnastics that occurred as Cromwell attempted to balance his 'intended' message and an awareness of his audience. We can read these scribal patterns as evidence of Cromwell thinking on his feet, a product of his extemporary style, and this style was probably slow. But the larger methodological point is that this perception of Cromwell's style is mediated through an unknown scribe: we hear Cromwell through the ears and pen of Hartlib's scribe.

A final example of this process comes from Cromwell's speech to parliament on 25 January 1658. We have at least five copies of this speech which allow us to trace the 'live' recording of his words as they were given, through a drafting process involving multiple listeners, to a final polished copy presented to parliament three days after the speech was given. The final official copy, now held in the Nalson papers in the Bodleian Library, was written from a working draft copy involving multiple hands and corrections, now held in the Sloane manuscripts in the British Library.[35] We know from Thomas Burton's diary that this working copy was produced when he, John

Smythe, and John Rushworth compared notes after the speech. We also have notes Burton made in his own diary.[36] Together these sources trace the full process from hearing, recording, and refining versions of Cromwell's speeches for presentation.

Scrutinizing this process can be reassuring, when we see large amounts of text cleanly presented in draft copy with few corrections, but it can also raise questions about the stability of our texts, especially for those speeches where we might only have a single surviving copy. Consider the following section of the 25 January 1658 speech. First, here is Burton, Smythe, and Rushworth's working draft:

> And I beseech you Consider a little consider, the Consequence of that, for what doth all this signify, it is only a noise, or hath it an articulate sound with it? Men that are not true to that religion wee professe (~~there are noe men that professe religion in any collected body in any part of the world as wee doe~~) \(I am persuaded with greater truth uprightuosse & syncerity then it is by one collected body so neerely gathered together as these nacions are in all the world.)/ God will find them out I beseech you consider how thinges doe cooperate? ~~& thought~~ \~~[?]~~/ this may seeme \~~to be~~/ ~~a thing~~, ~~desig but~~ \but to be a ~~but only~~ designed against your well being \it is against you your very being,/[37]

Compare this with its equivalent section in the fine copy presented parliament:

> And I beseech you consider, a little, consider the consequence of that, for what doth all this signify? is it onely a noise or hath it an articulate sound with it? men that are not true to that Religion Wee professe (I am perswaded with greater trueth uprightnes, and sincerity then it is by any collected body soe nearely gathered together as these Nations are in all the world). God will finde them out. I beseech you consider how things doe coopperate, this may seeme ~~to be a thing~~, \but/ to be but a Designe against your Well being, it is against your very being[38]

In the draft copy we can see Burton, Smythe, and Rushworth struggling to establish exactly what Cromwell said, correcting first drafts with new additional phrases and painfully trying to pin down the final two lines. These listeners heard and recorded differently and the text reported back to parliament was an amalgamation of their notes and memories. Note as well the adaptations in punctuation in the first sentence. The commas used in the fine copy determine the pauses we might project on how Cromwell spoke these words; alternative punctuation could suggest a different oral presentation of these words.

All of this reveals how surviving copies of Cromwell's speeches are not straightforward accounts of his words. They are creations of his (often unknown) audience. To understand him, we must consider them. The words, phrases, and punctuation we quote are not his own, or at least not merely his own. By drawing more attention to issues of provenance, textual differences, and contextual details, we hope our edition will inspire scholars to think more seriously about the ears that heard Cromwell's 'harsh and untuneable' voice. This need not move us away from studying Cromwell himself, for our surviving speeches originate from people who did actually hear him speak! Yet surely any attempt to understand a charismatic leader, so famous for his power to persuade his contemporaries, should place the experience of those who interacted with him at the centre of their analysis. The results of doing so are likely to be a far richer understanding of Cromwell and the contexts in which he lived.

1 Philip Warwick, *Memoires of the Reign of King Charles I with a Continuation to the Happy Restoration of King Charles II* (London, 1701), p. 247.

2 Andrew Barclay, Tim Wales, and John Morrill (eds), *The Letters, Writings, and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell: Volume 1: 14 October 1626 to 29 January 1649* (Oxford, 2022), p. 167 (item 1643 08 30[?]).

3 On problematizing this characterization of Cromwell, see J.C. Davis, *Oliver Cromwell* (London, 2001).

4 Warwick, *Memoires*, pp. 247-8.

5 Ronald Hutton, *The Making of Oliver Cromwell* (New Haven, 2021), pp. 61-2.

6 Carlyle's ground-breaking edition was first published in 1845, though most scholars rightly cite Sophia Lomas's brilliant revision: Thomas Carlyle and S.C. Lomas (eds), *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (3 vols, London, 1904).
7 Carlyle, Lomas, *Cromwell*, 1:67.
8 Carlyle, Lomas, *Cromwell*, 3:60, 66, 174. Firth bemoaned Carlyle's interjections in his introduction to Lomas's edition: Carlyle, Lomas, *Cromwell*, 1:xxxviii.
9 Wilbur Cortez Abbott, *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (4 vols, Cambridge, Mass., 1937-47), 4:446, n.180.
10 John Morrill, 'Textualising and Contextualising Cromwell', *The Historical Journal*, 33:3 (1990), pp. 629-63.
11 C.L. Stainer's edition of *Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, 1644-1658* (London, 1901) has fared better among historians. He refrained from creating hybrid texts, though he did relegate context and source provenance to the end of his volume.
12 Jonathan Fitzgibbons, 'Recording, reporting and printing the Cromwellian "kingship debates" of 1657', *Historical Research*, 89:245 (August 2016), p. 487.
13 For example, the speeches of 22 Jan. 1655 and 25 May: Joel Halcomb, Patrick Little, and David L. Smith (eds), *The Letters, Writings, and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell: Volume 3: 16 December 1653 to 2 September 1658* (Oxford, 2022), pp. 129-50, 423-6.
14 Halcomb, Little, Smith, *Cromwell*, pp. 460-1.
15 For example, the speeches of 15 Sept. 1654, 13 April 1657, and 4 Feb.1658: Halcomb, Little, Smith, *Cromwell*, pp. 99-103, 366-83, 490-8.
16 Halcomb, Little, Smith, *Cromwell*, pp. 339-45.
17 For exceptions, see Fitzgibbons, 'Recording, reporting and printing'; Benjamin Woodford, *Perceptions of a Monarchy Without a King: Reactions to Oliver Cromwell's Power* (Montreal, 2013).
18 Halcomb, Little, Smith, *Cromwell*, p. 487.
19 For examples of this, see Halcomb, Little, Smith, *Cromwell*, pp. 306, 372, 470, 476.
20 Halcomb, Little, Smith, *Cromwell*, p. 470.
21 Matthew 13:11.
22 Halcomb, Little, Smith, *Cromwell*, pp. 401-17.
23 S ee Halcomb, Little, Smith, *Cromwell*, p. 69.
24 Halcomb, Little, Smith, *Cromwell*, pp. 351, 468.
25 Halcomb, Little, Smith, *Cromwell*, pp. 68, 101.
26 Halcomb, Little, Smith, *Cromwell*, p. 497.
27 Thomas Burton, John Smythe, and John Rushworth took notes on Cromwell's speech of 25 Jan. 1658; Burton, *Diary*, 2:351. Fitzgibbons reasonably speculates

that Henry Scobell, who was responsible for taking notes on 20 Jan. 1658, may have performed this task throughout 1657. Fitzgibbons, 'Recording, reporting and printing', p. 501, n.81.

28 See, for example Bodleian Library, Oxford (hereafter Bodl.), MS Ashmole 749, item 11, pp. 1–16; Halcomb, Little, Smith, *Cromwell*, p. 367.

29 This information is compiled from our edition; references to timing are provided in each document introduction in the new edition.

30 The table uses an average (2.5 hours) and it seems sensible to use a shorter time than the longest figure of 'almost 3 hours': *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1656-57*, p. 113. For a full discussion of the length of the speech, see Carlyle, Lomas, *Cromwell*, 2.553n*.

31 Colleagues at my university who keep full scripts of their lectures reported word counts between 3,600 and 4,100 for a 50 minute lecture, which gives a range of 72–82 wpm, not counting deviations.

32 Samuel Hartlib (*c.* 1600–1662), educational reformer and writer. See *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

33 For speech copies emanating from Hartlib's office, see Halcomb, Little, Smith, *Cromwell*, pp. 331, 346, 469, 490.

34 Halcomb, Little, Smith, *Cromwell*, p. 332

35 Halcomb, Little, Smith, *Cromwell*, pp. 468-9; Bodl., MS Nalson 16, fos 368ar–381v; British Library (hereafter BL), Sloane MS 2905, pp. 1–32.

36 BL, Add. MS 15861, fos 106v–110v; Thomas Burton, *The Diary of Thomas Burton Esq.*, ed. J. T. Rutt (4 vols., 1828), 2:351.

37 BL, Sloane MS 2905, p. 10.

38 Halcomb, Little, Smith, *Cromwell*, p. 473.

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OLIVER CROMWELL, INSTITUTIONAL INTERVENTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL INNOVATION

by Professor Jason Peacey

In 2022 the Cromwell Museum in Huntingdon acquired on long-term loan a previously unknown Cromwell document. It is not particularly dramatic, and might even be regarded as fairly routine, because it involved Cromwell encouraging a fellow MP – Sir Peter Wentworth – to intervene in a minor piece of House of Commons business. The aim was to promote the cause of Lady Caulfield, who was seeking help having seen her estate 'torn from her by the rebels in Ireland', and who was suffering 'great wants' because three sons remained in the English army, while another had 'died in the parliament service', and yet another had been 'murdered' by Irish Catholics. Cromwell's hope was that MPs would restore an allowance of £4 per week that had recently been suspended, 'until by the blessing of God upon the Parliament's forces in Ireland she may be restored to so much of her own there'.[1]

Although this might seem trivial, the new document highlights a central aim of this article, the ostensible purpose of which is to reflect upon the challenges involved in, as well as the opportunities arising from, the business of editing Cromwell's papers from the period 1651–3. In my own case this means being one of three editors responsible for volume 2 of *The Letters, Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, which deals with the period between the regicide and the establishment of the protectorate. Indeed, since it made sense to divide the editing duties for this volume between three phases – the Irish campaign, the Scottish campaign, and the period between Cromwell's return to England and his nomination as protector – this article will concentrate more specifically upon this last phase, for which I was primarily responsible.[2] This meant dealing with vital months that are often associated with famous episodes (the dissolution of the Rump), evocative conversations (the possibility of some kind of monarchical settlement), and rhetorical performances (the speech to the Nominated Assembly in July 1653).

The aim, however, is to highlight the value of looking beyond these well-known dimensions of Cromwell's career, and of setting them alongside less striking aspects of his activity, not least in cases like those of Lady Caulfield. Cromwell's workload during the republic was extremely varied, and dealing with each different phase of his life threw up very particular issues, but it is also true that every editor was confronted with many different kinds of

document, and thus with a range of editorial challenges. It would also be fair to say that within our little editorial team – and within the 'Cromwell project' more generally – different editors had slightly different interests and approaches, as well as different – complementary – areas of expertise. As such, they had different experiences, got different things out of it, and will reflect on the whole process in different ways. As such, this article offers a very particular perspective, based upon a fairly discrete aspect of the project. Nevertheless, the aim is to highlight dimensions of Cromwell's life and work that might have broader relevance and interest.

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My own contribution to the Cromwell project rested in no small part upon a certain degree of expertise regarding seventeenth-century print culture, in terms of how to interrogate and handle contemporary pamphlets and newsbooks. These were, after all, crucial to the project. One thing that made this venture so challenging – and to which the new document about Lady Caulfield attests – was that the sources for Cromwell's writings and speeches are so scattered and complex. This was not the kind of project that could draw upon a discrete 'archive' of 'authentic' original documents – the 'Cromwell papers'. Of course, very few editing projects can rely entirely upon the possibility that the papers they need are neatly collected in one repository. Nevertheless, few projects can have faced such a daunting task in terms of material that is quite so dispersed. Cromwell is one of those historical figures who have attracted collectors (including 'signature hunters'), and many documents have been bought and sold – often as individual items – many times. Other items, like the note to Sir Peter Wentworth, have remained with the descendants of those to whom they were initially sent, presumably as intriguing heirlooms. It thus remains possible for new items to come to light, but it is also the case that tracking down known items can be challenging. One example involves a very rare piece of familial correspondence: Cromwell's letter to his elder sister, Elizabeth, from December 1651. Here, the original document has not (yet) been found, making it necessary to work from a transcript that was made for, and published by, Thomas Carlyle by an auction house, by whom the original was sold in 1853. It is this document upon which Cromwell scholars have been reliant ever since.[3]

Another challenge, however, lay in the fact that only a proportion of the items that merited inclusion were original manuscripts, bearing Cromwell's own signature, let alone holograph letters (ie both written and signed by him). As such, editors certainly needed to consider whether individual documents merited inclusion as indicative of Cromwell's 'voice', rather than being the work of secretaries and colleagues. The new Wentworth document is mostly in the hand of a secretary, but was perhaps dictated by Cromwell, who certainly added the final words, as well as his signature and seal. If it had been known about earlier, it would certainly have met the criteria for inclusion!

In other cases, documents have only come down to us – or have only been identified – as copies, made perhaps in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. Many others only exist in civil war pamphlets and newsbooks. Documents in this last category, moreover, presented an additional challenge. Only sometimes was it possible to be fairly certain about 'provenance', a vital issue for editorial projects like this, in terms of being confident that what was available in print could be traced back to Cromwell. A case in point involves Cromwell's declaration of 22 April 1653, explaining his reasons for dissolving the Rump. The original no longer seems to survive, making it necessary to rely upon contemporary pamphlets. In this case, fortunately it was possible to use a version that emerged from the press of Henry Hills and Thomas Brewster, the army's official printers. Their involvement made it possible to be fairly confident that we possess a more or less uncorrupted text. Here, as with other Cromwell documents, it was necessary to choose between different contemporary printed editions; in a situation where we could not reasonably reproduce every version, it was necessary to prioritise one version that was deemed to be more authentic, while of course being attentive to any significant differences between different versions. Another way of describing this process involves the idea that the goal was to identify the printed version upon which other printed versions were probably based, which required knowledge of the contemporary print trade as much as knowledge about Cromwell.[4] Mostly, this process was more or less straightforward, but this was not invariably true, and at least occasionally it was necessary to consider the possibility that things which appeared in print may have been little more than fabrications.

Sometimes, moreover, manuscript documents proved to be less than entirely straightforward. A striking example involved what many would regard as a vital Cromwell text: his speech at the opening of the Nominated Assembly – or 'Barebone's Parliament' – on 4 July 1653. This was an extraordinary occasion. The speech was delivered in a hot and crowded Commons chamber – a building that was not fit for purpose, and that certainly would not pass modern health and safety regulations – and it also seems to have been an extempore performance, perhaps two hours long, during which Cromwell may occasionally have been close to tears. This is the stuff of nightmares for editors: something that absolutely needed to be included but where there is not – and may never have been – an 'authentic' source. One version apparently came into the hands of John Milton, along with letters in which gathered churches recommended members of the Nominated Assembly. This document then passed to Milton's friend, the Quaker, Thomas Ellwood, and then to Joseph Wyeth, by whose widow it was handed to the antiquary John Nickolls. It was by Nickolls that the document was first published, and it was by his family that it was donated to the Society of Antiquaries (1746). This 'Milton' version was then privileged by Thomas Carlyle as being 'the more concise, intelligible and everyway better' version. At the same time, Carlyle opted to print 'a tertium quid' – ie a blend – of this text and the version that was printed in 1654. This would now be considered as very poor editorial practice, although it certainly highlights the difficulty of privileging one version over another.[5]

There are grounds for thinking that this 'Milton' version contains the words recorded by an MP or clerk, or else something that was copied from notes that no longer survive. There are aspects that seem appropriate for an extempore speech, not least how crucial points were given particular emphasis. Other passages perhaps involve things misheard or mis-transcribed, while certain alterations and corrections seem to have been made after comparing the text with the version that subsequently appeared in print. We might want to conclude, in other words, that the 'Milton' version involves an early but imperfect version of Cromwell's speech, which was subsequently modified, perhaps with a view to publication. It may or may not be thought to offer a reliable guide to what Cromwell said, or to what he meant.

The provenance of a second – printed – version of Cromwell's speech is more obscure. It dates from the autumn of 1654 (it was acquired by George Thomason on 13 October), but it did not appear from the presses of officially recognised stationers, and it certainly did not profess to have appeared 'by authority'. In fact, the printer's 'devices' (or decorative ornaments), including the initial letter 'I', suggest that it appeared from a press that was used to produce a *response* to another of Cromwell's speeches, namely his oration at the opening of the first protectoral Parliament (4 September 1654). It seems to have been published, in other words, by a critic, because that response emerged from the pen of the Fifth Monarchist, John Spittlehouse, and was published by a radical bookseller, Livewell Chapman. It was acquired by Thomason five days after the tract containing Cromwell's speech, and the aim seems to have been to draw comparisons between Cromwell's comments regarding the 'saints' on the two occasions. It seems to have been this version that was used by the editors of the *Parliamentary of Constitutional History of England* (1763); and that was subsequently used in Charles Stainer's edition of Cromwell's speeches (1901), where at least some attempt was made to compare it with the 'Milton' version. Sometimes, the differences between these two versions are minor, involving diction and punctuation, but it is also possible to discern an attempt to produce a tidier version of Cromwell's unscripted speech. The 'Milton' version may thus have provided its source, but it is impossible to rule out the possibility that it relied upon a different text. It is also possible that both of these versions drew upon a common source that has not survived. As such, the editorial task involved making annotations which highlight – without necessarily resolving – such matters. An attempt was made to highlight key changes, not least the moments where a more substantial version of Cromwell's point is provided. Efforts were also made to demonstrate where the syntax had been tightened, and to highlight passages where Cromwell's meaning seems to be clearer, not least when his speech was notably complex. Finally, attempts were made to demonstrate how contemporaries sought to ensure that Cromwell's biblical citations and glosses were clearly identified.[6]

The third version – from the Tanner manuscripts in the Bodleian Library – is a seventeenth-century fair copy of 'notes' taken of Cromwell's speech. It involves two scribes (the handwriting changes at the start of the third of four sheets), although it seems to involve one note-taker. This text is noticeably

shorter than other versions, but also reveals a remarkable degree of similarity with other versions in terms of precise phrasing. It would thus be tempting to suggest that it was simply drawn from another version. However, there are important differences between this text and both of the other versions, and it seems likely that it was not straightforwardly drawn from either one of them. Some of its features, and its interesting phrases, may indicate not just the attempt to summarise, but also that it originated from a different hand, and perhaps even a source that was common to all three versions, but that is no longer extant.[7]

One reason for outlining such complexities is to convey the nature of the editorial challenge, and to demonstrate why it was ultimately decided not to privilege one version of Cromwell's speech, but rather to reproduce all three. It is also worth noting that, editorially, the goal was not to resolve the textual differences, but rather to highlight the most important moments where an auditor may have misheard, where a scribe or copyist may have mis-transcribed, or where a different sense emerges about what Cromwell said or meant. Another reason for raising such issues is to reiterate that different editors were intrigued by different dimensions of the project, and brought different kinds of expertise to the task. Some will certainly wish to use such headline texts to get at Cromwell's ideas, attitudes, and beliefs, and there is certainly a debate to be had about how to grapple with Cromwell's 'meaning' and 'identity'. A new edition of Cromwell's writings and speeches will facilitate that discussion, but it should also prompt reflection upon the confidence with which historians – and not just Carlyle – make pronouncements about what Cromwell said or wrote. Some might even argue that it is more interesting to reflect upon the processes by which Cromwell's words have come down to us – in ways that were sometimes haphazard, but also the product of manipulation – than to try and use his words to recover the 'real' Cromwell.

Beyond this, however, Cromwellian documents from the period 1651–3 also raise other issues for historians. One fascinating challenge – at least for some editors – involved chasing down obscure references and leads, particularly in terms of individuals mentioned in a document that were undramatic, but which nevertheless merited inclusion as evidence of Cromwell's 'voice'. This involves what some call 'archive grubbing', or what Tom Cogswell calls 'going

down into the weeds', and the instincts of the 'microhistorian', who revels in what can be gleaned from even the most obscure characters and episodes. These microhistorical instincts are not merely antiquarian. Indeed, they relate to two vital aspects of seventeenth-century 'politics' or 'public life': administrative and bureaucratic processes, and 'everyday' or 'quotidian' business. The mistake with such things is to treat them as insignificant, as they are arguably highly revealing. 'Low-level' actions and interactions, and the lives of unsung people, highlight facets of life that might not otherwise be discernible. The key, of course, is that going 'down into the weeds' is good so long as the historian remembers to 'surface' once again. Put another way – and employing the language of microhistorians – the value of 'zooming-in' to a microscopic scale lies in zooming back out again; 'small' things can shed light on 'big' things, and indeed make visible things that are not otherwise visible, so long as attention is paid to the need to 'scale up' again. With Cromwell, indeed, it might even be argued that the difficulty of getting to grips with a fundamentally complex character provides particular incentives for using less direct forms of evidence, including neglected texts and neglected aspects of his activity. For the remainder of this article, therefore, the aim is to highlight two aspects of Cromwell's work during the period 1651–3 that are particularly interesting.

The first involves Cromwell's willingness to get involved in the nitty-gritty of business relating to specific individuals and supplicants, some of whom were fairly humble. As the letter about Lady Caulfield attests, this often involved soldiers and their families, and attempts to deal with the everyday legacies of civil war, including the problems encountered by those whose kin had suffered at the hands of the king's forces, either in prison or on the battlefield, and who faced delays in receiving recompense. He can be observed, for example, writing to the Commissioners for Compounding on behalf of a war widow – Deborah Franklyn – in November 1651, and pursuing her cause as late as September 1655. This represents one of those occasions when Cromwell's intervention involved endorsing a petition that was laid before him.[8] He can also be observed writing to JPs in Wiltshire in February 1652, about a maimed soldier called William Daws, in the hope of securing him a pension.[9] And he can be observed providing a certificate to the JPs of Hertfordshire in February 1653, regarding the service of Henry Stanborowe of Caishoe, who was 'slain' at Banbury in the mid-1640s, and whose widow

had been awarded a few shillings in 1649, but who evidently remained in straightened circumstances.[10] Such documents highlight the scope that exists to reflect upon – and to undertake more research into – what it means that men like Cromwell troubled themselves with such cases.

The second aspect of Cromwell's quotidian workload that can be highlighted involves the easily-overlooked evidence about his actions as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, as documented in many letters to the university's convocation – and copied into their registers – in the months after the Battle of Worcester. Thanks to Blair Worden, of course, we know a good deal about Cromwellian Oxford, most obviously in terms of the activities of Cromwell's appointees and allies, including Daniel Greenwood (Vice Chancellor), John Owen (Dean of Christ Church and Vice Chancellor), and Thomas Goodwin (President of Magdalen College).[11] Attention can also be drawn to Jonathan Goddard (formerly his personal physician, and subsequently a member of the Nominated Assembly) – as Warden of Merton – and Peter French, who was married to Cromwell's sister, Robina, and who became one of the 'visitors' who were instrumental in effecting reform within the university. When he placed the chancellorship in commission for 6 months in October 1652 – citing 'the present burden of public affairs' – it was to such men, as well as to the polymath, John Wilkins, that Cromwell turned.[12] Such appointments have rightly been regarded as intriguing in the context of serious tensions over plans for godly reform in Oxford, over structures of decision making, and over plans for the removal of 'popish relics'. This forms part of the wider issue of the nature of the Cromwellian church. Amid the waxing and waning of Puritan strength, Cromwell's appointees were clearly 'godly', but they were also somewhat diverse. Owen and Goodwin were leading Independents, although they did not always see eye to eye, and while they were both capable of cooperating with Wilkins, the latter was often a rival, and a much more conservative figure when it came to puritan reform. To the extent that the factions around Wilkins and Owen were willing to collaborate – in defence of the university – they did so in the face of its most severe critics and advocates of radical reform, including another Cromwell appointee, William Sprigge, a fellow of Lincoln College who later became a central figure in Cromwell's ill-fated scheme for a new – and very different kind of – university at Durham. It is obviously possible to view such appointments as reflective of personal connections and loyalties, but it is also tempting to discern something else.

This involves a willingness to foster reform – Cromwell recommended Greenwood for his 'ability and zeal for reformation' – as well as a balanced or ecumenical reproach, and a desire for unity.[13] Noticeably, in placing the chancellorship in commission, Cromwell expressed concerns about 'differences' and 'complaints', and about disharmony and disunity in Oxford. Noteworthy too is that when Cromwell set up a new visitation, it was dominated by Independents, but not to the exclusion of other voices, including Presbyterians, and that the visitors strove for piety but not unnecessary confrontation.

However, there is also another dimension to Cromwell's interventions as chancellor, and one that links back to his engagement with pleas made by individual petitioners: the recommendation of students and recently intruded scholars for preferment within the university. This inevitably involved Cromwell rewarding loyalty and obliging friends: here a brother-in-law of John Owen, there a son of the scoutmaster, Sir Samuel Luke. A case in point involves the physician Peter Fiott, who had been made a fellow of Exeter College by the parliamentary visitors in 1648, having petitioned the Earl of Manchester as a 'distressed' scholar who had the ability but not the means to attend university following his widowed mother's enforced exile from their native Jersey for supporting Parliament. Fiott got his place, and his wife was awarded £100, and at Cromwell's behest he was made a Bachelor of Medicine in July 1652.[14] In another case, Cromwell secured an MA for Thomas Appletree, son of a loyal parliamentarian – and university visitor – who became one of the triers and ejectors in 1654.[15]

However, there was more to such patronage than rewarding loyalty, or even nepotism. Most commonly, Cromwell promoted young men with solid godly credentials, many of whom subsequently lost clerical livings in 1662 and became nonconformists (John Hartcliffe, Jonathan Bowles, John Tickle).[16] This is interesting, although so too are exceptions like Lewis Atterbury, who became a restoration Anglican.[17] Cromwell's influence secured a doctorate in medicine for Jonathan Maude in June 1652, not just as 'a constant friend to the Parliament', who had served the army as a medic, but also as someone known for being 'pious and sober'.[18] The importance of this ideological dimension is that it extended to privileging good men over strict observance of conventions and regulations. This seems to have underpinned Cromwell's

endorsement of a petition from a group of students and college fellows – led by Thomas Stephens of Exeter College, and including the son of a Long Parliament MP, Thomas Wise – who wanted degrees to be conferred.[19] It may also have led him to respond kindly to a petition from George Gale, which had the backing of a local grandee from Devon, Francis Rous, Provost of Eton and member of the Westminster Assembly, and soon to be Speaker of the Nominated Assembly. Thanks to Cromwell, Gale got his bachelor of medicine degree before completing the requisite course of exercises.[20]

Such recommendations seem to reveal something of a pattern. In early 1652, Cromwell gave explicit dispensation to Greenwood, Goodwin, and Goddard to confer BA degrees upon men of 'approved integrity and competent learning' (Christopher Abdy, Edward Rood, William Stane, Thomas Woolnough, Charles Hampton), and on a number of occasions Cromwell explicitly asked for rules to be waived in order to permit the graduation of students who had not completed residency requirements – individuals for whom there was 'some defect in point of time' but about whom he had received 'good testimony'.[21] These included a son of Isaac Knight, a lay preacher and army chaplain who participated in the Whitehall debates (1648), who was described as 'studious' and as someone who 'deserves favour'.[22] They also included Zachary Maine, a member of Goodwin's gathered congregation in Oxford, who later became a lecturer at Abingdon and schoolmaster at Exeter, and who was described as 'eminently godly'.[23] Cromwell evidently knew that such interventions might cause friction, but while stressing that he did not want to create precedents, and that he would use his influence sparingly, he made similar moves on other occasions. In July 1652, he favoured the regicide and councillor of state, Cornelius Holland, by taking up the cause of a nephew, Thomas Shelton, for whose education Holland had taken responsibility. Here too, Cromwell sought the award of a degree for someone who 'wants only one term to go' in terms of the residency requirement. Here too, Cromwell acknowledged likely concerns regarding protocols, asking for Shelton to be 'indulged' because there would be no prejudice to his college.[24] Yet another case involved Ralph Worsley, future vicar of Egmanton in Nottinghamshire, who got his degree with Cromwell's backing, as someone who had not fulfilled his residency requirement, but whose 'conversation during his abode in the University has beene such as has spoken him civill in his life and faithfull to the state'.[25]

Perhaps the clearest case of this kind involves John Boncle (or Bunkley), who seems to have been favoured having lost his position as tutor to Charles I's captive children, and who had not met the technical requirements for an MA when he was sponsored by Cromwell in October 1652. Here too, Cromwell tried to be sensitive: 'I desire to be tender in the engaging you to confer academical degrees upon persons who have not, by converse amongst you, or performance of exercises according to the statutes of the university, approved themselves deserving the same'. Nevertheless, he pressed the case of 'a person … whose eminent learning and worth is such, that I account I may very freely commend him unto you, and desire of you that hee may be created Master of Arts, which degree in the judgment of learned men, to whom he is known, he is like to adorn'. Subsequently, Cromwell nominated Boncle as the senior of the two 'bedels' in divinity, whose task was to offer administrative assistance to the chancellor and proctors regarding discipline, teaching, and ceremonies. Thereafter, Boncle became master of Charterhouse School (1653), and headmaster of Eton College, and in 1655 he participated in council debates regarding the readmission of the Jews.[26]

A tentative suggestion – in the spirit of suggesting lines of inquiry about his workload as much as his words – is that Cromwell's responses to petitions, as well as his support for specific individuals, help us to reflect upon his 'anti-formalism'. This is sometimes thought of as his indifference or antipathy towards human rules and laws, and it has been said to characterise his views on the church and England's political system. It was most obviously expressed in the famous lines about not being 'wedded and glued to forms of government', and about constitutions being 'dross and dung in comparison of Christ'.[27] By making connections between such statements and Cromwell's more mundane activities and interventions it is possible to suggest that his anti-formalism was much more *pervasive*, relating to things far beyond his views on the church, or on the English constitution. It should be remembered, after all, that anti-formalism was not just a matter of providentialism, and of antipathy to outward forms in favour of substance, but also something that privileged unity over division. Reforming zeal could be accompanied by a determination to achieve or sustain unity, not least on the basis that godliness took many forms and could be found in many places. There are certainly hints that Cromwell's patronage reflected his famous – and famously censored – comments about the potential for harmony between

Presbyterians and Independents following the capture of Bristol.[28] Here, it is worth highlighting recent work by Rebecca Warren on Cromwell's promotion of 'faithful' more than 'factional' men, including Presbyterians and Episcopalians.[29] Indeed, we might also echo Warren by reflecting more directly upon Cromwell's political approach or style. In grappling with the issue of whether Cromwell was hardliner or accommodator, Colin Davis has usefully addressed the possibility of detecting attempts at coalition-building, but another possibility involves a rather practical kind of problem-solving.[30] Cromwell's approach clearly involved taking advice, but it was also remarkably 'hands-on', and this hands-on approach – emblematised by his engagement with petitions – probably reflected a personal preference, as well as the nature of the early modern state, which, even amid 'state-building', remained localised and participatory, in ways that affected those at the centre as well as those in the localities. One effect might be thought to have been the incentivisation of pragmatism, which could temper the willingness to challenge conventional protocols and processes.

Thinking along these lines – Cromwell's perhaps uneasy blend of pragmatism, problem-solving, and anti-formalism – might make it possible to integrate and examine more closely other episodes. One that springs to mind, and that has already been explored in the pages of *Cromwelliana*, involves the negotiations with a Dutch delegation to resolve the First Anglo-Dutch War. Here too it is possible to observe a remarkably hands-on Cromwell, a Cromwell who refused to be bound by protocols and who was prepared to abandon established constitutional forms, and a Cromwell who was willing to innovate. His aim, moreover, was unity, and indeed a radical version of union, rather than merely alliance.[31] This may have represented the most extreme example of his willingness to reject established 'forms', as well as a pragmatic desire to seek some kind of constitutional settlement, and to do so in the interest of resolving problems, and of making conflict much less likely and costly. How far this blended kind of anti-formalism can be discerned more generally is something that we might all try to establish as the presses are preparing to produce the final fruits of the long-running, sometimes infuriating, but also stimulating, Cromwell project.

1 Cromwell Museum, Oliver Cromwell to Sir Peter Wentworth, 19 June 1650. Caulfield's pension had been renewed in June 1650, and her case was one of a number referred to a committee for consideration in December 1650: *Commons Journals*, vi. 233, 513.
2 *The Letters, Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, general editor John Morrill (3 vols, Oxford, 2022) (hereafter *Letters, Writings and Speeches*).
3 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 521.
4 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 615.
5 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 664.
6 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 687.
7 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 706.
8 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 512.
9 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 529.
10 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 594.
11 Blair Worden, 'Cromwellian Oxford', in *The History of the University of Oxford, volume 4: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed., Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford, 1997), 733-72.
12 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 568.
13 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 500.
14 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 539.
15 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 540.
16 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 526.
17 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 527.
18 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 542.
19 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 551.
20 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 555.
21 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 529, 534.
22 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 533.
23 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 535.
24 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 554.
25 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 556.
26 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, ii. 570, 584.
27 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, i. 451, 465. See: J. C. Davis, 'Against formality: one aspect of the English revolution', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 3 (1993), 265-88.
28 *Letters, Writings and Speeches*, i. 305-16.
29 Rebecca Warren, 'The ecclesiastical patronage of Oliver Cromwell, c.1654-60', in *Church and People in Interregnum Britain*, ed. Fiona McCall (London, 2021), 65-83.

[30] J. C. Davis, 'Oliver Cromwell', in *The Oxford Handbook of the English Revolution*, ed. Michael J. Braddick (Oxford, 2015), 223-42.

[31] Jason Peacey, 'Permanent and inviolable: Oliver Cromwell and the idea of Anglo-Dutch union in 1653', *Cromwelliana*, series 3, 7 (2018), 52-67.

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STUDY DAY DEBATE BETWEEN RONALD HUTTON AND JOHN MORRILL

by Dr Charlotte Young

During the afternoon of our Study Day in Oxford on 16th October 2021 the Cromwell Association was privileged to host a debate between Professor John Morrill and Professor Ronald Hutton, two of the foremost scholars of the 17th century. The debate was moderated by Professor Peter Gaunt. Their topic was 'Can we take Cromwell at his word?', and an audio recording can be found on our website. This is my summary of the debate.

The debate began with Professor Hutton stating that the debate would not be a knock-out fight, but rather a complementary set of views because both he and Professor Morrill agree on a number of aspects. His first point was to argue that some of Cromwell's early letters concerning his military engagements are misleading, and that they do not represent his true actions. He cited the example of Belton in Lincolnshire, one of Cromwell's earliest military engagements. A letter from Cromwell was afterwards printed in a newspaper claiming that he had enjoyed an early victory. However, Hutton contrasted this with the fact that Cromwell himself later gave a contradictory account of the battle during the court martial trial of his co-commander, Sir John Hotham. He acknowledged that the battle had ended in a draw, and placed the blame on Hotham by claiming that he had failed to launch his attack at the same time as himself. What was an outright victory in the printed letter was a drawn fight in the court evidence.

Hutton argued that similar examples could be taken from the Battle of Gainsborough. What had begun positively with the death of the enemy commander was overshadowed when the royalist field army came down from the north to reinforce their comrades. Cromwell and his men were forced to flee, with Cromwell going all the way back to Cambridge. He then wrote a series of letters trying to highlight what he had achieved during the battle, and downplay the retreat. He framed their initial success in the morning as evidence that the parliamentarian forces were able to win; Hutton described his words as a 'damage limitation exercise'. The Cromwell Hutton has come to see through the letters was 'more devious and ruthless' than he has generally been painted in earlier published accounts of his life, which is evidence in itself that there is still much to learn about him.

Professor Morrill then gave his opening statement in response. He argued first that to get to the inner man it is necessary to look at Cromwell's intimate letters. As he was dying he surrounded himself with the important women in his life. It is in these letters that we get the true sense of Cromwell's religious fervour, which played an important part in all of the decisions he made.

After the Putney Debates Cromwell waited to receive God's confirmation before destroying Charles I, even though the army was already pushing for his removal. Morrill did not deny that there was a ruthlessness about Cromwell by the end of the first Civil War, and cited his actions in Drogheda as evidence. However, Morrill argued that Cromwell had good reason for being ruthless, and for destroying those standing in his way.

He countered Hutton's arguments about Cromwell's letters by stating that they were taken out of context. The letter he wrote after Belton was a private missive and was not intended for public consumption. His intention was not to give a balanced view, but to explain what his own actions had been. Similarly, of the four letters written following the Battle of Gainsborough, Cromwell was a signatory to one but he was not the primary author. It was a composite account written by commanders in Lincolnshire, and Cromwell then used it as a basis for his own accounts. These documents were written with no expectation of publication, and were sent to the press by others.

Rather than trying to manipulate his own image, Morrill argued that Cromwell was reflecting on the hand of God; he was demonstrating what had already been achieved with the help of God. He was trying to mobilise people who didn't want to be mobilised by framing the parliamentarian military campaign as a holy crusade. Cromwell truly believed that it would be godly, honest men who would win the war.

Hutton countered this point by claiming that Morrill may have contextualised Cromwell's letters differently, and that it is dangerous to read them in isolation. Biographers are faced with the enormous task of trying to condense Cromwell's life into a book, and Hutton claimed that previous authors have made the mistake of using the letters as a framework on which to hang his life, rather than fully analysing them. He emphasised the importance of

different scholars having different interpretations of the same texts, and that we must celebrate that because 'otherwise it screws up what we do'.

Morrill highlighted that he had been troubled for 40 years by the fact that Cromwell gave a coherent account of his religion, but that virtually every one of his contemporaries thought he was a canting hypocrite. They all arrived at this conclusion at different times, usually when they fell out with him on a personal or professional level. The more you interrogate their claims, Morrill argued, the harder it is to find evidence for their allegations. With the caveat that his opinion could change, Morrill stated his belief that Cromwell was not involved in self promotion as much as a desire to present a view of himself and his men doing God's work. He wrestled with the problems of faith and tried to live a godly life. He was constantly striving to find out how to make his faith effective and honest in very trying circumstances.

Hutton agreed that nobody since 1844 has seen Cromwell as a canting hypocrite, and that scholarship is united in acknowledging his faith. However, he finds it convenient that Cromwell's God always wanted him to emerge victorious, with superior men and resources, and end up in power, but without asking him to take responsibility for his failures. Hutton described Cromwell as a feline politician who was good at covering his tracks and making sure that there was no evidence against him.

The concluding remarks by Morrill were that Cromwell was a civilised man with a rough sense of humour. He was willing to pay a heavy price to promote his cause but ended his life with a deep sense of exhaustion and disappointment. He had a deep sense of foreboding that the country would turn back to monarchy. He had made enormous personal sacrifices in becoming lord protector but died disillusioned.

Hutton concluded that Cromwell's contemporaries sensed something wily in him. The accounts of his life presented in the Carlyle and Gardiner books do not reflect this; they were deliberately edited with an agenda. The view of Cromwell in recent years has become more subtle and complex, but Hutton's sense of him is a man of sincere piety combined with instinctual deviousness.

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CROMWELLIAN BRITAIN XXX
THE BATTLE OF WINCEBY, 11 OCTOBER 1643

by Dr Jonathan Fitzgibbons

Colonel Oliver Cromwell died on 11 October 1643 – of this the royalist governor of Lincoln, Sir William Widdrington, had no doubt. Writing to the Marquess of Newcastle to give his report on the battle that had taken place that day in the hamlet of Winceby, on the southern edge of the Lincolnshire Wolds, Widdrington had little to celebrate in what had been an emphatic defeat for the royalists. The sole crumb of comfort was that the cavalry commander who had led the initial parliamentarian charge 'being conceived to be *Cromwell*' was 'certainly slain'.[1] At 44 years of age, and having accomplished several notable, if relatively minor, victories in the opening months of the war, Colonel Cromwell was killed in what amounted to his most important action to date.

Of course, Widdrington proved to be mistaken. Yet, the fact remains that Winceby was a defining moment both for Cromwell and the parliamentarian cause. It was at Winceby that Cromwell arguably came closest to being killed in battle. It was also at Winceby that Cromwell and Sir Thomas Fairfax fought alongside one another for the first time. More broadly, this battle in a field in Lincolnshire had significant repercussions for the course of the war across Britain.

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The situation in Lincolnshire in the early stages of the civil war was fluid. While the parliamentarians seemed to be in the ascendency initially, their stranglehold over the county proved illusory. In December 1642, the royalists occupied Newark-on-Trent in Nottinghamshire and one month later captured the stronghold of Belvoir Castle in Rutland. The presence of these two formidable royalist garrisons so close to Lincolnshire's western border ensured that large swathes of the county, particularly Kesteven, were terrorised frequently by Cavalier raiding parties. Some royalist footholds were established within the county: Gainsborough fell to the Newarkers in January 1643; Grantham was briefly occupied twice in the opening months of the year; Crowland declared for the king in March 1643. The royalist position in the county was strengthened further on 11 April when the parliamentarian commander in Lincolnshire, Lord Willoughby of Parham, was routed on

Ancaster Heath near Grantham by royalist troops commanded by Sir Charles Cavendish.[2]

Given the precariousness of the situation in Lincolnshire, it is hardly surprising that the army of parliament's Eastern Association assumed a prominent role within the county. Lincolnshire rested just to the north of the Association's territories and was effectively the only buffer between the royalists and the parliamentarian heartland of East Anglia. Equally, any assault against the royalist north and west would necessitate securing Lincolnshire and its lines of communication. As such, from the spring of 1643 the Eastern Association army moved into Lincolnshire, initially helping to flush out royalist garrisons on the county's southern border and then pushing on along the western edge of the county. It was during those operations in Lincolnshire that Oliver Cromwell rose to prominence. In late April, Cromwell led the successful siege operations against royalist Crowland; in May he scored a victory against royalist forces at Belton near to Grantham. Perhaps his most noteworthy engagement, however, was the cavalry battle on the outskirts of Gainsborough on 28 July 1643. A week earlier, Lord Willoughby had managed to take Gainsborough from the royalists by surprise only to be immediately besieged by the forces of Sir Charles Cavendish. Reinforcements under Cromwell and Sir John Meldrum were sent to Gainsborough's relief, meeting up at North Scarle on 27 July. On the following day, the parliamentarian forces advanced on Gainsborough, engaging the enemy on a hill just to the south of the town. During the battle, Cromwell kept troops in reserve to complete the rout of the royalist cavalry; the royalists were pursued by Cromwell's troopers into marshland by the Trent where Cavendish was killed. As the parliamentarian MP and lawyer Bulstrode Whitelocke noted in his memoirs, these military successes in Lincolnshire marked the beginning of Cromwell's 'great fortunes, and now he began to appear to the world'.[3]

Yet, just as the parliamentarian stranglehold over Lincolnshire seemed secure, it suddenly disintegrated. Just hours after Cromwell had lifted the siege of Gainsborough, the marquess of Newcastle's army was spotted on the horizon coming to retake the town. Faced with this formidable force, Cromwell and his men made a controlled retreat south towards Cambridgeshire, while Willoughby surrendered Gainsborough on 31 July and ended up falling back first to Lincoln and then to Boston. In effect, parliamentarian control in the

county was reduced to Boston and the surrounding region of Holland. Lincolnshire, and the parliamentarian heartland beyond it now seemed to be at the mercy of the royalists. Yet, Newcastle did not seize the opportunity. Conscious of the continued threat posed by the parliamentarian garrison at Hull to his rear, Newcastle returned to Yorkshire to resume his campaign against the Fairfaxes. Sir William Widdrington, installed as the new royalist commander in Lincolnshire and governor of Lincoln, fortified the royalists' gains in Kesteven and Lindsey rather than flushing out Holland.

The defensive mindset of the royalist command in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire gave the parliamentarians precious time to regroup and reorganize. In August, Edward Montagu, Earl of Manchester, was made commander-in-chief of the Eastern Association forces. On 20 September, Lincolnshire was joined with the existing six counties of the Association – effectively eclipsing Willoughby's command in the county.[4] From late August 1643, Manchester and his forces were back on the offensive, beginning with the siege of King's Lynn in Norfolk, which had defected to the king. By the time Lynn surrendered on 16 September, Cromwell was already back in Lincolnshire where he joined with Willoughby to execute a daring march north through the county towards the Humber. Despite Newcastle's close siege of Hull, Cromwell crossed the Humber and entered the town on 22 September, with Willloughby following a day later. There they conferred with the Yorkshire parliamentarian commanders Lord Ferdinando Fairfax and his son, Sir Thomas. With the northern cavalry more of a burden than a help in Hull, it was decided to ferry Sir Thomas with around twenty-one troops of horse and dragoons into Lincolnshire to aid the Eastern Association's efforts to regain the county.[5]

It is testament to the parliamentarian mastery of the seas that Fairfax's men were transported over the Humber and along the Lincolnshire coast unmolested. The bulk of the forces apparently landed at Saltfleet Haven around 26 September where Cromwell and Willoughby met them with their cavalry to cover their march southwards via Louth and over the Wolds towards the safety of Boston.[6] Along the way, they were pursued by a force of up to 5,000 royalists under the command of the governor of Newark, Sir John Henderson.[7] Writing from Boston on 28 September, Cromwell notes how at their 'last quarter' on the edge of Holland, Henderson came close to

cutting off their retreat thanks in no small part to 'five troops we set to keep the watch failing much of their duty'.[8] According to Fairfax's memoirs, the surprise took place near Horncastle, the miscreant out-guards being newly raised troops from Lincolnshire who, upon encountering Henderson's forces, 'fled towards Lincoln, without giving any alarm to our quarters'.[9] As Cromwell saw it, 'if God had not been merciful', the enemy would have 'ruined us before we had known of it'. Ultimately, the parliamentarian force reached the safety of Boston with the loss of just four men.[10]

Soon after, Cromwell travelled to King's Lynn to acquaint Manchester with the safe arrival of the Yorkshire cavalry and to warn of the enemy's advances. By 6 October, Manchester and the bulk of the Eastern Association infantry arrived in Boston. Three days later, Manchester's forces set out for the royalist garrison at Bolingbroke Castle in Old Bolingbroke, 15 miles to the north of Boston and about 7 miles to the south east of Horncastle. It was apparently Manchester's intention to besiege the castle to lure those royalist forces that Henderson had gathered in Lincolnshire into mounting a relief, with the aim of effecting a confrontation between the two armies. Ten companies of Manchester's infantry besieged the castle, with the rest of his foot soldiers stationed to the immediate south of Bolingbroke in the villages of Stickford and Stickney.[11] The cavalry were quartered in various locations eight to ten miles away from the castle, with some of Fairfax's troops stationed as far away as Thimbleby and Edlington to the north west of Horncastle, waiting in anticipation of the royalist force coming to Bolingbroke's aid.[12]

While little more than the foundations remain today, the medieval castle at Bolingbroke was still a formidable fortress in 1643. On 9 October, Major Knight of Colonel Hobart's infantry regiment summoned the castle in the name of the Earl of Manchester, but received the curt response that 'his bugge-beare words could not make them quit the place'. [13] The parliamentarians then set about fortifying a 'little house' between the castle and the nearby church and 'resolved the next night to indeavour to breake open the Church doores, and there to mount a Morterpiece, and thence fire the Castle'.[14] Soldiers from the castle took pot shots at the parliamentarians as they surveyed the fortifications and made their preparations for the siege, killing 'one or two' soldiers and injuring Quartermaster General Batholomew Vermuyden.[15]

On the afternoon of 10 October, the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell, who rode together from Boston, arrived at Kirkby, one mile to the south of Bolingbroke and were met by Lord Willoughby.[16] Soon after, Manchester received a letter from Fairfax, who was with his troops in the villages outside of Horncastle awaiting the enemy's approach. One of Fairfax's regiments at Edlington had raised an alarm prompting him to send some troopers 'to discover what it might bee'. An hour later, another letter arrived to say that Fairfax's scouts had returned without sighting the enemy and he conceived the alarm was 'a mistake'.[17] To be on the safe side, Fairfax resolved to stay around Horncastle until nightfall before making his way to Manchester at Kirkby. Yet, it seems this false alarm was enough to stir Manchester to prepare for an imminent confrontation. In agreement with Willoughby and Cromwell, he ordered his forces to rendezvous at Horncastle that evening in anticipation of a likely assault.[18] As Manchester and his men reached the southern edge of the town, they received news that the royalists had fallen into the quarters at Thimbleby to the north-west and were swarming around Horncastle. It seems Fairfax's scouts had proven neglectful and that the 'false' alarm was true after all.[19] Unsure where the enemy was, or how great their numbers were, and with his army strung out on their march, Manchester swiftly turned about and ordered his forces back to Kirkby and the hill above Bolingbroke.[20]

Before retiring back to Kirkby, Manchester heard 'great shouting and noyse' coming from Horncastle, which he feared to be 'the enemies triumph'.[21] In fact, despite being surprised by the enemy, the parliamentarian horse quartered in and around Horncastle managed to get away with relatively few losses. The action was confused and frenetic. Two of the Eastern Association troops, under the command of Captains Samuel Moody and Thomas Player, who had apparently been in quarters 'within seven miles of Lincoln', found their way to the rendezvous at Horncastle cut off by the approaching royalist army.[22] As one parliamentarian report put it, these troops, realising that they had to 'passe through the enemy or become all prisoners or worse', decided to make a 'great noyse as if they were the forlorne hope of an army marched up', discharging their pistols at close range to give them a more deadly effect.[23] Another report gave a similar story of their exploits, noting how the troops 'resolved to put the best face on it' and charged upon them 'crying and shouting' in such a manner that it 'did exceedingly amaze the enemy, and gave

our men the easier passage through the middest of them'.[24] Having broken through, these troops soon found themselves among another group of royalists 'through which they got also with some losse'.[25] According to the colourful account later supplied by John Vicars, the troopers used a more subtle tactic to get past this second group:

> they discreetly agreed to goe soberly toward them, every man making answer to him that asked any question, nothing but *Friends, friends,* as if they had been of the enemies troopes, and were going upon some design, it being, yet, dark; therefore when the enemies called to them, *Who is there*, the other all answered, *Friends, friends*, and so they passed, but as soon as they were past, and thought themselves secure, they turned faces about, and asked the enemie, *Who are you for?* They answered, *for the King.* Then, said they, *Wee are for the King and Parliament*, and charging the enemy, fled toward *Horncastle.*[26]

Trying to escape through an unnamed settlement, possibly Horncastle or one of its outlying villages, the fleeing troopers found 'the People had made a stop and would not permit' them through.[27] The two troops eventually found their way to Kirkby; their exploits reportedly cost them between eight and twenty men and the loss of the colours of Moody's troop.[28] It seems other cavalry detachments had an equally fraught night as they struggled to find their way to the new rendezvous at Kirkby and Bolingbroke, with three or four troops taking a circuitous route near the royalist garrison of Tattershall.[29] Yet, by the following morning of 11 October the vast majority of Manchester's forces reached their rendezvous point relatively unscathed.

At this point it seems there was irresolution among the parliamentarian officers about whether to stand and fight the approaching royalists or to retreat to safer quarters. Receiving intelligence that the royalists were preparing to march to Bolingbroke that day, Manchester drew all of his horse and foot together into battalions on the high ground of Bolingbroke Hill (most likely modern-day 'Horncastle Hill' to the north-west of Bolingbroke). Manchester, in his report to parliament the following day, claimed that he 'thought it my Duty not to quit the Place where I was, unless it were by marching to meet' the enemy.[30] Other parliamentarian reports, however, noted how Manchester initially took position on the hill, 'having a very safe

place of retreat into Holland'.[31] It also seems that not everyone believed a confrontation was wise, particularly after the exertions of the previous evening. Cromwell, for one, was reportedly in 'no way satisfied we should fight, our Horse being extreame wearied with hard duty two or three dayes together'.[32]

By noon, Manchester received news that the royalist army was indeed on its way and only a few miles from their position.[33] At this point, he decided to march his forces along the ridge that slopes gradually upwards towards the north-west, along the line of the Asgarby Road, to seek out the approaching enemy. Despite Cromwell's apparent misgivings about the confrontation, Manchester gave him 'command of the Horse' to lead the attack. The infantry regiments, under Manchester's command, followed about half a mile behind the cavalry.[34]

As the parliamentarian forces climbed the gentle slope they 'began to descry' the royalist forces on their march from Horncastle, 'little by little comming towards us'.[35] Unperturbed, the parliamentarians were reportedly filled with 'joy' at the prospect of the looming confrontation and continued forward 'in several bodies singing Psalmes'.[36]

The circumstances in which the two forces eventually came together is not entirely clear. The best account is provided by Fairfax in his memoirs, who recalls how parliament's cavalry, 'choosing a convenient ground to fight on, we drew up the army there. The enemy did so, on the side of another hill, close by, having a little plain betwixt us'. [37] This seems to imply that the parliamentarians arrived on the field first, chose their ground and awaited the royalists. The letter written by the royalist governor of Lincoln, Widdrington, on the day after the battle confirms that the ground was 'chosen' by the parliamentarians, apparently to the disadvantage of the Cavaliers.[38]

The precise location of this ground is open to debate.[39] While the engagement is known as the Battle of Winceby, it is not entirely clear where the initial action took place. The registered battlefield, as marked on Ordnance Survey maps, is in fields about half a mile to the west of Winceby, within the area now enclosed by the B1195 and the A158. The terrain features two high ridges, roughly parallel, which run south-west to north-east and curve round

to form a horseshoe at the north-eastern edge on the highest ground at Round Hills Holt. Between the two ridges is a dip, possibly the 'little plain' alluded to by Fairfax. To the south-west, at the open end of the horseshoe, the ground plummets sharply into a valley created by the North Beck. If the location is correct, the royalists, arriving from Horncastle, would have deployed on the westernmost ridge (in the vicinity of the modern battlefield information panel in a lay-by on the B1195); the parliamentarians, coming from Bolingbroke, would have formed up on the eastern ridge closest to Winceby and roughly along the line of High Barn Lane. Whether this is the precise location, however, is complicated by the fact that to the immediate south of Winceby, and down to Asgarby to the south-east, there are a series of further ridges and valleys that might fit the broad description of the ground from the surviving accounts. Unfortunately, the area has not been subject to rigorous archaeological study; while finds of military equipment and bodies have been made in the vicinity over the past two centuries, these have not been mapped or examined systematically.[40]

The exact size of the forces that took part in the engagement is also unclear. It seems that both sides fought only with cavalry and dragoons – as already noted the parliamentarian infantry lagged behind the horse on their march towards the enemy and it is probable the same was true of the royalists.[41] According to the most detailed printed account, produced by the parliamentarians, the royalist force comprised 74 troops of horse and 21 companies of dragoons – a total of 95 colours.[42] At full strength, this would have equated to a force of around 6,000 men, but it seems that the real number was much lower as many of the ranks were depleted. Commanded by the governor of Newark, Sir John Henderson, the army comprised of men taken from various royalist garrisons, including Newark, Lincoln and Gainsborough, as well as the northern cavalry regiments of Sir William Savill and James King, Lord Eythin. The parliamentarians had a force that was roughly equal to that of their opponents. As the same parliamentarian account admitted, while they had 'not many more then halfe so many Colours of horse & Dragooneers' as the royalists, they did have 'as many men'.[43] This is also borne out by the royalist commander Widdrington, who admitted that the parliamentarian horse were 'betwixt fifty and sixty Troops, being very strong' and 'extraordinary armed'.[44] Earlier parliamentarian reports estimated that Manchester's combined forces at Bolingbroke were 3,000 horse and 2,000

infantry, which is consistent with the fifty to sixty troops described by Widdrington.[45] Typically, the parliamentarian press exaggerated the numbers of their opponents to amplify their ultimate victory. *Mercurius Civicus* claimed that the enemy had 'about 8000 men' and 'not 4000 of the Parliaments to oppose them'; *The Scottish Dove* claimed that the royalists outnumbered the parliamentarians 'two for one'.[46]

Cromwell divided his forces into six 'Squadrons' for the battle.[47] The forlorn hope was assigned to five troops under Quartermaster General Vermuyden, who had presumably recovered from his injury of the previous day.[48] Cromwell led the vanguard of the attack, which comprised his own regiment on the left and centre and Manchester's cavalry regiment on the right. Sir Thomas Fairfax had command of the second line, or reserve, including his own troops, which would fall in after Cromwell's charge.[49] According to Widdrington's account, the royalists had difficulty deploying their forces. The narrow nature of the ridge on which they formed meant they were only able to form up three 'divisions' to face the enemy. These consisted of two divisions in the centre and on the right flank formed of troops from Sir William Savill's Yorkshire regiment and Sir Ingram Hopton's regiment from Gainsborough, and a division on the left flank of eight troops formed from the regiments of Lord Eythin and Sir John Henderson.[50] It was a frustration to the royalist commanders that they could not deploy more units on the ridge, with a proportion of their force having to form behind in reserve rather than engaging in the first charge.[51] As Widdrington complained, the topography worked against them: 'the ground they [the parliamentarians] had chosen would not admit of above three divisions of Horse to charge at once'.[52]

A parliamentarian report suggests that, having taken their positions, the two sides faced off against one another for around an hour.[53] Finally, the royalists took the initiative. It seems they had little choice: as Manchester explained in his letter to parliament, the royalists caught sight of the approaching Eastern Association infantry, headed by the Norfolk regiments of Miles Hobart, which 'did dishearten the Enemy much ... and made them charge the Horse sooner and more confusedly than otherwise they would have done'.[54] The battle started with exchanges by the dragoons on both sides. It seems the five 'troops' commanded by Vermuyden as a forlorn hope were part of this action,

riding out onto the plain to clash in 'a very sharp encounter' with their royalist counterparts before dismounting and taking shots at one another.[55] With the dragoons deployed, Cromwell then began to trot onto the plain towards the enemy. The royalist dragoons fired a volley at the approaching parliamentarians, after which Cromwell then 'fell with resolution upon the enemy' by moving into a charge. The dragoons were 'so nimble', however, that when Cromwell's horse got 'within halfe Pistoll shot' of them 'they gave him another' volley.[56] It was at this point that disaster struck for Cromwell. Apparently charging 'at some distance before his regiment' – his mount was killed under him by the fire of the dextrous dragooners. The horse threw him to the ground and, according to some reports, fell upon him.[57] Unhorsed and in the middle of a cavalry melee, Cromwell was in a perilous position. As he rose to his feet, he found himself in the midst of the first charge of the royalist cavalry, he was promptly 'knock'd downe againe' by a Cavalier officer, most likely Colonel Sir Ingram Hopton.[58] Miraculously, or 'by God's good providence' as one account put it, Cromwell was unscathed – struggling back towards his own lines, he 'recovered a poore horse in a Souldiers hand', perhaps a dragooner's mount, and got back into the action.[59]

Yet, if Cromwell was incapacitated momentarily, it seems the charge he led was highly effective, particularly against the royalist centre and right flank, comprised of Savill's divisions. As one parliamentarian report put it, 'this charge was so home given that the enemy stood not another, but were driven backe upon their owne body that was to second them, and put them into disorder'.[60] For their part, the royalists were quick to place the blame for their defeat on Savill's troops. Widdrington, writing to the marquess of Newcastle on the day after the battle, confirmed that it was 'Savill's Regiment totally running disordered' that 'put to rout our whole Army'.[61] The royalist newsbook, *Mercurius Aulicus* claimed that Savill's troops misheard 'the word of *faces about*' and went 'off in disorder' leaving the rest of the army exposed.[62]

Not all the royalists were in disarray, however. While the first charge had sent their right and centre reeling, it had less impact on the royalist left. As Widdrington noted, the third division on the left wing, comprising of detachments from the regiments of Lord Eythin and Henderson, held its own and actually 'put the Enemy to disorder'.[63] It was the deployment of the second line under Fairfax that ensured the battle became a rout. It seems likely

that Fairfax, seeing the stubborn royalist left, moved along the ridge on which he was deployed, towards the higher north-eastern point at Round Hills Holt on the royalist left flank. Charging down the hill and onto the plain, Fairfax forced the royalist third division back into the disorganised and fleeing right and centre.[64] In all, the main action of the battle, from the skirmish of the dragoons through to Fairfax's intervention, lasted little more than half an hour.[65]

Inevitably, debate has raged over who exactly was responsible for securing parliament's victory at Winceby. Contemporary reports suggested that the first charge, led by Cromwell, was – quite literally – the decisive blow.[66] Yet, once Cromwell was unhorsed and left exposed on the battlefield, his role was likely to have been modest – it is not clear, for instance, how quickly he was able to get back into the fight or how significant his injuries were. The extent to which Cromwell, who had been assigned command of the cavalry by Manchester, made tactical decisions on the deployment and choice of ground is also unclear. Cromwell's commitment to the fight is itself doubtful. As already noted, some parliamentarian reports hint at Cromwell's reluctance to face the enemy that day, albeit his cavalry charge, which reportedly saw him riding a little ahead of his men, suggests an enthusiasm to get at the enemy that bordered on recklessness.[67] Unfortunately, Cromwell's own thoughts on the battle – and his role in it – are unknown; unlike many of his other military engagements, none of his surviving letters describe the action at Winceby.

As Peter Gaunt suggests, it was Fairfax, not Cromwell, who 'made the decisive contribution at Winceby and who brought victory'.[68] Writing the day after the battle, Manchester – who had not witnessed the battle personally as he was some way behind with the infantry – believed that the second charge had dealt the winning blow. While he noted that Cromwell 'behaved himself with Resolution and Honour', he reserved his greatest praise for Fairfax: 'a Person that exceeds any Expressions as a Commendation of his Resolution and Valour'. It was Manchester's opinion that 'after the Second Charge', led by Fairfax, 'our Men had little else to do but to pursue a flying Enemy'.[69] Some elements of the parliamentarian press amplified Fairfax's exploits. *The Scottish Dove* carried a colourful account of how Fairfax, seeing the great number of royalists before him 'moved with undaunted courage, saying *Come let us fall on, I never prospered better then when I fought against the Enemy three or four*

to one'.[70] Other reports, such as that printed in *The Parliament Scout*, downplayed Fairfax's role: while he 'did bravely in the Chase' he only engaged the enemy when 'they were routed'.[71] Interestingly, but perhaps unsurprisingly given the period in which he was writing, Fairfax's post-Restoration memoirs do not dwell on the specifics of the battle or trumpet his role in securing victory.[72] The safest conclusion to draw, particularly in light of the lack of any report from Cromwell, is that the victory was a joint effort between the parliamentarian front and second line. Winceby would be the first, but not the last time that the double act of Cromwell and Fairfax would combine to devastating effect for their enemies.

What seems clearer from contemporary reports is that Fairfax took charge of the deadly denouement to the battle, pursuing the royalists from the field for miles. Reeling from the blows dealt by the parliamentarian first and second charge, the royalists fled south-west down the steep valley at the open end of the horseshoe ridge that delineated the field of battle. While those soldiers on horseback 'ranne for it', the royalists left 'all their Dragooners which were now on foot behinde them' on the field.[73] Unprotected by their cavalry, and unhorsed, the dragooners ran down the valley after the rest of their army. Many were cut down by Fairfax and his troopers in these fields, now named 'Slash Hollow' in remembrance of the death and destruction that likely took place there. It seems that recent wet weather had swelled the North Beck at the bottom of the valley; contemporary accounts allude to men drowning in 'the adjacent river and fens' as they attempted to flee the pursuing cavalry.[74] Those who sought cover were hunted down: 'in one Gravill pit above one hundred were hid, some breathing their last breath'.[75] After the dragooners were dispatched, Fairfax's men continued the pursuit of the royalist cavalry for miles as they fled westwards towards Horncastle and beyond. It can be no coincidence that the section of the B1195 that leads from Winceby towards Horncastle now bears the name of 'Slash Lane'. As one parliamentarian account noted, 'our men pursued' the royalists 'and did execution on them about five miles' from the battlefield, 'all the way being strewed with broken armes, dead men and horses'.[76]

While a recent biographer has pointed to Cromwell's exceptional savagery and 'habitual bloodthirstiness' towards his enemies, which led him to cut down a fleeing enemy with glee at earlier encounters such as Belton and

Gainsborough, it seems that it was Fairfax who led the carnage on this occasion.[77] According to one parliamentarian report, Fairfax did 'execution' upon the enemy 'for the space of eight miles' contributing to the 'effusion and the showers of blood which were caused in the tempest of that days Battel by the wildenesse of swords'.[78] Intriguingly, one parliamentarian account, based on a letter from an eyewitness in Manchester's army, even hinted that the savagery of this pursuit stretched the bounds of military decorum. The chase 'went on so violently, that they slew more then they should have done'. Such was the ferocity and confusion that 'many of our owne men were wounded by our owne, having either forgot the Word, or would not be beleeved when they told it'.[79]

As with the size of the forces involved, the newsbooks of both sides gave wildly different accounts of how many men were killed, wounded or taken prisoner in the battle. According to Manchester's report to parliament, 800 prisoners had been sent to Boston and more were being taken every day. He guessed that around 300 royalists had been 'killed upon the Place'. By contrast, no more than 20 parliamentarians were killed 'and hurt about sixty'.[80] Other parliamentarian accounts placed the number of royalist dead much higher, 'about 600' slain according to *The Scottish Dove*, with '114 ... found slain in the water and mires the next day'.[81] Another account estimated the royalist dead at 'under one thousand' while 'We lost very few, none of note'.[82] The royalist press mocked the inconsistent tallies given by parliamentarian reports. As *Mercurius Aulicus* put it, some papers said '600 were killed, Another sayes 900, Another says ... he conceive them to be under 1,000', to which the royalist editor rasped that '100 is under 1000'.[83] Rather, the same royalist newsbook calculated 'all our losse of all sorts both killed, hurt, and taken' at 'not full 500'.[84] Perhaps nearer the truth was Widdrington's assessment of the losses in his letter to Newcastle on the day after the battle. While he believed that most of the cavalry had got away and had been dispersed, he admitted that the royalists had 'in a manner totally lost our Foot and Dragoons' who were on the field 'being near 800' in total.[85]

As was usual in battles during this period, the losses of the elite were given prominence over those of the lesser ranks. One parliamentarian account could not say for certain 'what persons of note were killed' but observed how among the royalist dead there were 'some faire and white skins' both 'upon

the place where the fight was, and in the high-way much farther off'.[86] It seems the most notable of the royalist casualties was Sir Ingram Hopton, the man who had allegedly knocked Cromwell down in the first charge after he had been unhorsed. Sometime after the battle, Hopton's body was taken to nearby Horncastle where it was interred in St Mary's Church. A later story, probably apocryphal, claims that after the battle Cromwell personally ordered the inhabitants of the town to fetch Sir Ingram's body from the field and 'inter it with the honours due to his rank; observing that though an enemy, he was a gentleman and a soldier'.[87] A memorial to the knight in the church, undoubtedly dating from after the Restoration, paints a much less flattering picture of Cromwell, noting how Sir Ingram 'paid his debt to Nature and duty to his King and Country in the attempt of seizing the arch rebel in the bloody skirmish near Winceby'.[88]

Winceby was a key battle in the First English Civil War. It was part of a series of events in late 1643 that heralded a momentum shift towards the parliamentarians. Following Winceby, the parliamentarian forces pushed on through the county, retaking Lincoln on 20 October and Gainsborough on 20 December. Elsewhere, the tide was also turning against the royalists. On the same day as the battle, over the Humber, Sir John Meldrum's forces sallied out of Hull to attack the royalist siegeworks. On 12 October, the Marquess of Newcastle abandoned his siege. Even more worryingly for the royalists, and for Newcastle in particular, in September the parliamentarians had made an alliance with the Scottish Covenanters. By the summer of 1644, Newcastle was holed up in York facing a siege by the combined forces of the Scottish and parliament's Northern and Eastern Association armies. The latter of these forces had retaken Lincolnshire once again on their march northwards in May 1644, after much of the county had fallen into royalist hands in the first half of the year following the abortive siege of Newark in March. On 2 July 1644, the forces around York combined to inflict the decisive victory over Newcastle's army at Marston Moor, with the troops of Cromwell and Fairfax once again joining together to inflict an even greater blow to the royalist cause.

Yet, perhaps the greatest significance of the Battle of Winceby is what did not happen. But for the providence of God, as the parliamentarians saw it, Oliver Cromwell would have died that day. We are left to ponder how different the

course of British history would have been had Sir Ingram Hopton managed to strike a more decisive blow at an unhorsed, exposed, cavalry officer struggling to his feet in a field in Lincolnshire.

1 Widdrington's letter is printed in *A True and Exact Relation of The great Victories obtained by the Earl of Manchester and Lord Fairfax Against The Earl of Newcastles Army in the North* (London, 1643), pp. 3-4.

2 Much of the contextual detail in this and the following paragraphs is taken from Clive Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1980) which provides an unrivalled survey of the civil wars and interregnum in the county.

3 Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Memorials of the English Affairs* (4 vols, Oxford, 1853), i, 209. Of course, Whitelocke's reflections, edited largely after the Restoration, are not wholly trustworthy: see J. Fitzgibbons, ' "To settle a government without something of Monarchy in it": Bulstrode Whitelocke's memoirs and the reinvention of the Interregnum', *English Historical Review* (forthcoming, 2022).

4 For more on the political manoeuvrings over parliamentary command in Lincolnshire see C. Holmes, 'Colonel King and Lincolnshire Politics, 1642-1646', *The Historical Journal*, 16:3 (1973), 451-84.

5 *Certaine Informations From severall parts of the Kingdome,* 38 (2-9 October, 1643), p. 291; Rushworth, v, 280; *Original Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fairfax* (London, 1810), 103-104. The precise number of troops ferried is unclear, Cromwell puts it at 'about one-and-twenty troops of Horse and Dragoons' in his letter of 28 Sept. 1643: T. Carlyle (ed.), *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell,* Rev. S.C. Lomas (3 vols, London, 1904) [hereafter Carlyle-Lomas], i, 159. *Certaine Informations* claims it was 18 troops with 4 left behind in Hull.

6 *Certaine Informations From severall parts of the Kingdome*, 37 (25 Sept.–2 Oct. 1643), 290; Rushworth, v, 280. Intriguingly, there is a local legend, no doubt linked to this episode, that Cromwell, Willoughby and Fairfax spent the night at the Manor House in Saltfleet, with visitors shown 'Cromwell's bed' in the early twentieth century: E. Tatham, 'Lincolnshire and the Great Civil War' in E. Mansel Sympson (ed.), *Memorials of Old Lincolnshire* (London, 1911), p. 269.

7 *Fairfax Memoirs*, 104-107. According to Cromwell's letter of 28 Sept, there were 54 troops of horse, 10 companies of dragoons and 1,000 foot: Carlyle-Lomas, i, 159.

8 Carlyle-Lomas, i, 159.

9 *Fairfax Memoirs,* 105-106. The incident is also described in the letter cited in fn. 3 in Carlyle-Lomas, i, 159-60.
10 Carlyle-Lomas, i, 160. The royalist account of this engagement claims that 'one hundred Prisoners' were taken and 'divers killed': *Mercurius Aulicus* (1–7 Oct. 1643), p. 562.
11 *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 2; *The Scottish Dove*, 1 (13-20 Oct. 1643), pp. 2, 4-6.
12 *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* pp. 2-5.
13 *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 2.
14 *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 2. According to another account, the royalists had the church fortified, see 'An Exact Relation of the Victory Obtained by the Forces under the Command of the Earl of Manchester, against the Earl of Newcastle's Forces, in Lincolnshire, under the Command of Sir John Henderson', printed in Robert Bell (ed.), *Memorials of the Civil War: Comprising the Correspondence of the Fairfax Family* (2 vols, London, 1849), i, 63.
15 *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 3.
16 *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 3; 'An Exact Relation of the Victory Obtained', p. 63.
17 *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 3.
18 *A True Relation of the Late Fight*, pp. 3-4.
19 Manchester would himself lament the 'neglect' of the Yorkshire horse: *Journal of the House of Lords,* vi, 255-256 (16 Oct. 1643).
20 *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 4; 'An Exact Relation of the Victory Obtained', p. 63.
21 *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 4.
22 'An Exact Relation of the Victory Obtained', pp. 63-4.
23 *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 148.
24 *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 4.
25 *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 148.
26 John Vicars, *Gods Ark Over-topping the Worlds Waves* (London, 1646), pp. 42-48.
27 *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 148.
28 'An Exact Relation of the Victory Obtained', pp. 63-4; *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 148; *A True Relation of the Late Fight* claims they lost 'not one' Officer but is silent on the number of troopers killed. Vicars claims a Cornet was killed in the action, probably alluding to the incident that cost Moody his colours: Vicars, *Gods Ark Over-topping,* pp. 42-48.
29 *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* pp. 4-5.
30 *Journal of the House of Lords*, vi, 255-256.

[31] 'An Exact Relation of the Victory Obtained', p. 64; *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 148 reports that the move onto Bolingbroke Hill was designed as a 'seeming retreat' to lure the enemy from its high ground, albeit this contradicts other reports that Manchester's forces advanced towards the royalists and only encountered them later that day.
[32] *A True Relation of the Late Fight*, p. 5; *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 148.
[33] 'An Exact Relation of the Victory Obtained', p. 64.
[34] *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 148.
[35] *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 6.
[36] *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 6; *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 148.
[37] *Fairfax Memoirs,* pp. 106-7.
[38] *A True and Exact Relation of The great Victories,* p. 4.
[39] For a detailed discussion of the various possibilities, see the Battlefields Trust website: http://www.battlefieldstrust.com/resource-centre/civil-war/battlepageview.asp?pageid=447 [accessed 29 May 2022]
[40] http://www.battlefieldstrust.com/resource-centre/civil-war/battlepageview.asp?pageid=454&parentid=447 [accessed 29 May 2022]
[41] Widdrington refers to 'Foot and Dragoons' being lost in the melee after the battle, but it seems probable that, like the parliamentarians, these were marching up behind the mounted soldiers and did not take part in the action itself: *A True and Exact Relation of The great Victories*, p. 3.
[42] *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 5-6.
[43] *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 6.
[44] *A True and Exact Relation of The great Victories*, p. 4.
[45] *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), pp. 147-8.
[46] *Mercurius Civicus,* 21 (12-19 Oct. 1643), p. 163; *The Scottish Dove,* 1 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 5.
[47] *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 148.
[48] *A True Relation of the Late Fight*, p. 6.
[49] *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 6; *Fairfax Memoirs,* 107.
[50] *A True and Exact Relation of The great Victories,* p. 3.
[51] The Parliamentarian accounts note the royalists had four squadrons, which could allude to the three divisions on the ridge and a fourth body of horse waiting behind it: *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 148.
[52] *A True and Exact Relation of The great Victories,* p. 4.
[53] ' An Exact Relation of the Victory Obtained', p. 64.

54 *Journal of the House of Lords*, vi, 255-6 (16 Oct. 1643).
55 'An Exact Relation of the Victory Obtained', p. 64.
56 *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* pp. 6-7.
57 'An Exact Relation of the Victory Obtained', p. 64; *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* pp. 6-7; *The Weekly Account*, 7 (11-18. Oct. 1643), pp. 5-6; *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 149; *The Scottish Dove*, 1 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 5.
58 *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* pp. 6-7.
59 'An Exact Relation of the Victory Obtained', p. 64; *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 149; *A True Relation of the Late Figh*t, pp. 6-7.
60 *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 7; 'An Exact Relation of the Victory Obtained', p. 64.
61 *A True and Exact Relation of The great Victories,* p. 3.
62 *Mercurius Aulicus* (22-28 Oct. 1643), pp. 600-1.
63 *A True and Exact Relation of The great Victories,* p. 3.
64 'An Exact Relation of the Victory Obtained', p. 64.
65 *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 149; *The Scottish Dove*, 1 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 5.
66 *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 7; 'An Exact Relation of the Victory Obtained', p. 64.
67 'An Exact Relation of the Victory Obtained', p. 64.
68 Peter Gaunt, *Oliver Cromwell* (Blackwell, 1996), p. 228. Sentiments echoed by Fairfax's biographer Andrew Hopper, *'Black Tom': Sir Thomas Fairfax and the English Revolution* (Manchester UP, 2007), p. 47.
69 *Journal of the House of Lords,* vi, 255-256 (16 Oct. 1643).
70 *The Scottish Dove*, 1 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 5. The story repeated in Vicars, *Gods Ark Over-topping the Worlds Waves*, p. 47.
71 *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 149.
72 *Fairfax Memoirs,* pp. 106-8.
73 *A True Relation of the Late Fight*, p. 7.
74 *The Weekly Account*, 7 (11-18 Oct. 1643), pp. 5-6; *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 149.
75 *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 149.
76 *A True Relation of the Late Fight*, p. 7.
77 Ronald Hutton, *The Making of Oliver Cromwell* (Yale UP, 2021), pp. 109, 123, 190, 332.
78 *The Weekly Account*, 7 (11-18 Oct. 1643), pp. 5-6.
79 *The Parliament Scout,* 17 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 149.
80 *Journal of the House of Lords,* vi, 255-6.

81 *The Scottish Dove*, 1 (13-20 Oct. 1643), p. 5.
82 *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 7.
83 *Mercurius Aulicus* (15-21 Oct. 1643), pp. 586-7.
84 *Mercurius Aulicus* (22-28 Oct. 1643), p. 601.
85 *A True and Exact Relation of The great Victories,* pp. 3-4. In a postscript to the letter, Widdrington noted how many of the dragoons did come in later that day, meaning the 'losse is not so great as I expected'.
86 *A True Relation of the Late Fight,* p. 7.
87 George Weir*, Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Town and Soke of Horncastle* (London, 1820), p. 23.
88 The hatchment is a later copy of the original; it is not known exactly when it was first placed in the church but was presumably under the supervision of the royalist minister of St Mary's, Thomas Gibson, who was ejected from his post during the 1640s and returned after the Restoration: J.N. Clarke, *A History of Saint Mary's Church Horncastle* (2018) p. 42.

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PICTURING REGICIDE: CONTEXTUALISING JOHN NALSON'S IMAGE OF CHARLES I ON TRIAL

by Dr Stephen Brogan

In 1684 the clergyman, historian, and ardent royalist John Nalson (c.1638–86) published *A True Copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice for the Tryal of King Charles I*. Dedicated to James, Duke of York, the book contains a lengthy introduction in which Nalson castigates those who rebelled against Charles I during the Civil War, those 'Factious Schismaticks and Dissenters' characterised by 'Revenge and Cruelty, Malice and Murder, Hatred of Monarchy, and Contempt of Kings'.[1] For Nalson, traitorous men could only rebel against Charles I, let alone commit the grotesque act of king-killing, because they were Puritans and radical sectaries who had abandoned the true Church of England. Throne and altar stood or fell together. The rest of Nalson's book reproduces the proceedings of the king's trial, which took place in a specially convened High Court of Justice in Westminster Hall between 20 and 27 January 1649, as documented by John Phelps, one of the two clerks appointed to record this momentous prosecution.[2] Charles I had been defeated in two civil wars and numerous attempts at brokering a political settlement with him had failed; eventually a radical minority of his opponents took the unprecedented step of putting the king on trial for waging war on his people. Although Charles refused to recognise the legality of the trial and therefore did not enter a plea, he was found guilty and executed.[3]

Nalson was a polemicist who published eighteen works during the turbulent 1670s and 1680s, when English politics turned once again into a battleground, due to the Popish Plot, the Exclusion Crisis, and the development of Tories and Whigs and their combative popular politics and publications.[4] Briefly, the key issue at stake was that Charles II had no legitimate heir of his body, meaning that his younger brother James, Duke of York was heir to the throne. But James was a Roman Catholic, and popery in Protestant England was synonymous with the hated authoritarian political arm of Catholicism that was personified by Louis XIV. Furthermore, since the Reformation a very strong English tradition of anti-Catholicism had developed that centred on the Marian Martyrs, the Spanish Armada, and the Gunpowder Plot, while both the outbreak of the Civil War and the Great Fire of London were also blamed on Catholics.[5] In the late 1670s Whig politicians formed an opposition to royal policy that sought to legislate to exclude James from the succession, whilst whipping up anti-Catholic hysteria. The weakness in their

manoeuvrings was twofold. First, altering the direct line of succession via legislation undermined the whole principle of hereditary monarchy, and the only recent similar attempt had ended disastrously, that is, Edward VI's bid to exclude his Catholic sister Mary from the succession in favour of the Protestant Lady Jane Grey. Secondly, there were only two potential alternatives to James, both of whom were unsuitable despite their Protestantism. Charles II's eldest son James Scott, Duke of Monmouth (1649–85) took up the Whig cause – but he was illegitimate. Alternatively, the crown could bypass the Duke of York in favour of his eldest child Mary; but she was married to William of Orange, whom it was rightly feared would drag England into costly European wars. Tories, by contrast, defended the crown against exclusion, advocating a strict adherence to the direct line of succession, regardless of whether the heir was Catholic. So divisive was this issue that to many contemporaries a third civil war seemed a very frightening and yet all too real possibility. Nalson was a Tory, of course, although he preferred to call himself 'a true Church of England King's Protestant', no doubt wishing to appear above the fray. All his texts argued strongly in defence of divine right monarchy and passive obedience to the crown, especially his magnum opus the *Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State, From the Beginning of the Scotch Rebellion in the Year 1639 to the Murder of King Charles I* (1682–3*)*. Nalson was an energetic – some would say frenzied – combatant in the paper warfare that characterised the polarisation both of politics and of the historiography of the Civil War and the English Republic. Thus, Nalson repeatedly emphasised his horror of the destruction of Charles I in order to undermine the Whig opposition to Charles II. For Tories like Nalson, the Whigs were the latest incarnation of the republicans and regicides of the mid-century, while the Whigs slurred the Tories as crypto-Catholics and sycophants to an untrustworthy crown.[6]

By the time that Nalson published his *Journal of the High Court of Justice* in 1684, Charles II and the Tories had outmanoeuvred and crushed the Whigs, paving the way for the peaceful succession of James, Duke of York. Charles purged the localities of Whig office-holders, in what became known as the Tory Reaction, and ruled without parliament despite the Triennial Act. And then the revelation of the so-called Rye House Plot, a barely-hatched Whig conspiracy to assassinate the king and his brother, meant that many of the Whig leaders had fled into exile or had been tried and executed or had

Plate 1 The frontispiece to John Nalson's *A True Copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice for the Tryal of King Charles I (1684)* ©The Trustees of the British Museum

committed suicide. Regardless of all this, Nalson's book is not triumphant in tone. Quite the opposite, in fact. He must have known that the Whig movement was a hydra, and consequently believed that it was his duty to keep up the polemical tirade against it. Thus, in his book, Nalson employed two vivid images to further drive home his royalist message alongside his text. The first is the striking satirical frontispiece depicting the horrors of the Interregnum (see plate 1), which is explained by an accompanying poem. The foreground is dominated by a carriage in which rides Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector. The fact that he is armour-clad contends that Cromwell was a usurper who acquired power through brute military force rather than by the correct way, inheritance. The reality that rulers sometimes gained their crowns by conquest was obviously an issue that Nalson chose to ignore. The depiction of Cromwell as a military brute, and the awful implication of this, is furthered by the use of swords. He brandishes one in his right hand, from which is suspended a pair of scales in which feathers labelled 'liberty' outweigh a crown, an orb, a sceptre and the church, meaning that the natural order is reversed; the spokes of his carriage have also been replaced by swords. The negative representation of Cromwell is enhanced by the three crowned women who are at his feet in the carriage; manacled and weeping, they are prisoners who represent England, Scotland, and Ireland. Cromwell is depicted taking the crown from England. As if this is not enough, lying on the ground in front of the carriage two figures are ruthlessly crushed by its wheels, the decapitated Charles I and a female representing Justice. Supernatural elements are also employed to further denigrate Cromwell and by implication the English Republic: the carriage is driven by a female devil and drawn by fire-breathing griffins; behind Cromwell stands another devil holding up the coat of arms of the English Commonwealth; behind the carriage, not far from the two victims under the wheels, is an imprisoned Angel. In the background, less dramatic but still didactic, can be seen a ruined mansion, sheep chased by wolves, and a caged bird who has escaped only to be pursued by a hawk, as mentioned in the accompanying poem. The frontispiece is saturated in symbolism that abhors the regicide and the Interregnum, arguing that they destroyed the correct order of the world to the extent that they were tyrannical, and diabolical. By implication, to oppose the crown in the 1680s was, therefore, to condone all this.

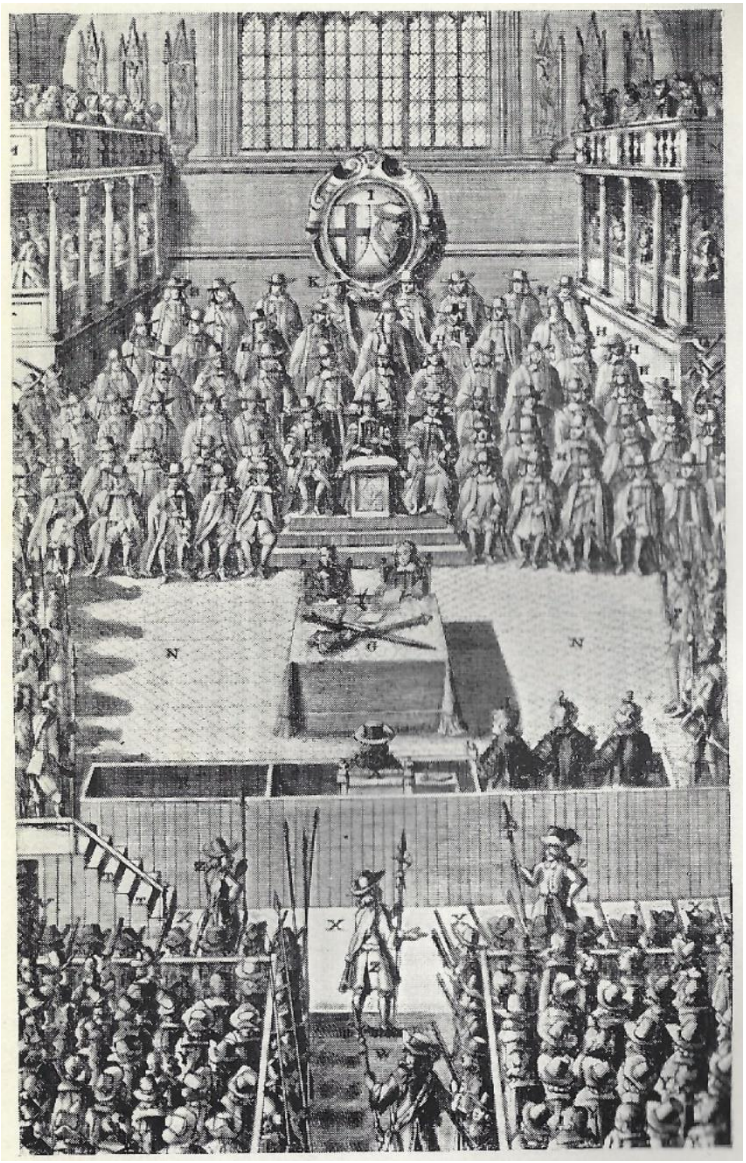

Plate 2 The Trial of Charles I, from John Nalson, *A True Copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice for the Tryal of King Charles I (1684)*

The second image is a full-page illustration within the book, a detailed depiction of what was to Nalson the shocking image of Charles I on trial within Westminster Hall (see plate 2). This is accompanied by a thorough key that explains the components of the picture in detail.[7] The overall thrust of the image presents the king as a patient, soon-to-be martyr enduring all the insults and humiliations that his enemies could inflict on him. Today this engraving is well known, being often reproduced, and no doubt it is familiar to readers of *Cromwelliana*. It is not, however, the only seventeenth-century image of the trial. A single-sheet etching entitled *A Description of the High Court of Justice 1648*, is held at the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, Oxford.[8] Less known, as less reproduced, it is found in C.V. Wedgwood's, *The Trial of Charles I* and in *The Trial of Charles I: A Documentary history*, eds. David Iagomarsino and Charles J. Wood.[9] There were also small vignettes of the trial, produced for cheap popular consumption (see plate 3). Less sophisticated, nevertheless they have an immediacy, not least due to their almost comic-strip quality; they also provide insight into how people must have consumed the news of the king's fate or were reminded of it periodically. This article will now concentrate on Nalson's image, providing an aperitif to a longer study that will examine all the images just mentioned, that I will publish in due course.

Nalson's depiction of the king's prosecution was produced some thirty-five years after the event, but it has a strong air of verisimilitude, corresponding well with contemporary records of proceedings. Great care has been taken to produce an accurate portrayal. This makes it surprising that the work does not include the name of the designer or the engraver; the frontispiece is also strangely anonymous. However, a strong candidate for both images is Robert White (1645–1703) or possibly his apprentice John Sturt (1658–1730). White engraved the frontispieces for Nalson's two-volume set, the *Impartial Collections*. Immediately after the key in Nalson's *Journal* is a portrait of Charles I that is signed by White. The trial image also has a number of features in common with White's engraving of Charles II touching for scrofula, the frontispiece to the royal surgeon John Browne's book on the royal touch *Adenochoiradelogia* (1684). Both are framed at a similar distance; both are orderly compositions despite being crowded with people; and both are executed with consummate skill and attention to detail that is verified by textual sources.[10]

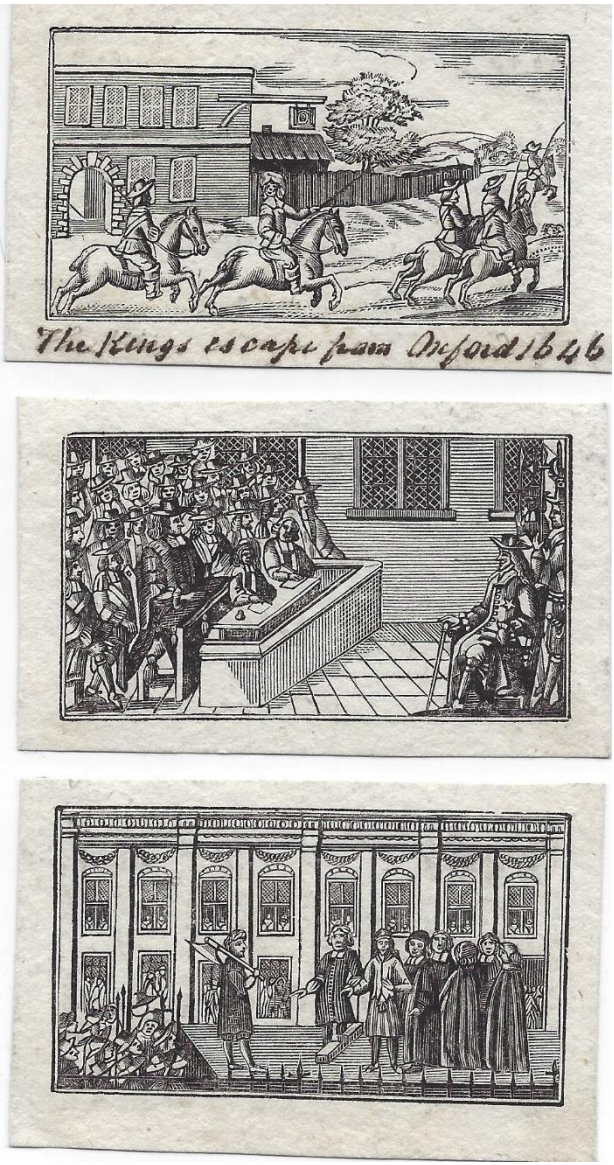

Plate 3 Three late seventeenth-century vignettes of the life of Charles I © Stephen Brogan
Top: the king escapes on horseback from Oxford, 1646, Middle: the king on trial,
Bottom: the king on the scaffold

Nalson's image can be read in correspondence with its key. It is immediately clear that the king's trial was a public affair. In each of the four corners we see spectators, those at the top of the picture packed into their two-tiered purpose-built boxes, which along with their dress suggests that they were better off than those in the enclosures shown in the bottom corners. The commissioners appointed to try the king sit in the top half of the image, facing the viewer; the walls around them were hung in scarlet cloth. The image depicts sixty commissioners: although 135 were appointed, so contentious was the trial that in reality attendance was usually in the sixties. The commissioners comprised officers of the New Model Army, MPs, mayors, alderman and provincial judges;[11] senior members of the judiciary would have nothing to do with trying the king. The most prominent commissioner is the jurist John Bradshaw (c.1602–59), the President of the High Court, who sits in the middle of the group at the front, on a small, raised platform, with a reading desk in front of him. Beneath Bradshaw in the centre of the image are the two clerks, one of whom is Phelps, who sit at a table on which are the mace and the sword of justice, along with the charge against the king. Below the clerks is a rectangular wooden enclosure, divided into three sections all of which were hung with Turkey carpets; the floor between the king and his judges was also spread with rich carpet.[12] In the central section sits the king on a crimson velvet chair, behatted, alone, facing the clerks and the commissioners, the royal back to the viewer. As was customary with pre-modern treason trials, there was no defence counsel (nor would the accused see the charges beforehand). Next to Charles, to his and our right are the three prosecutors: the Solicitor General John Cook, the lawyer John Aske, and the diplomat and legal advocate Isaac Dorislaus. The image contains numerous armed soldiers: putting the king on trial in public was a risky business given that his enemies were a radical minority with no popular mandate. Indeed, twenty halberdiers were ordered to guard Bradshaw, and thirty the king, with many more keeping order within and around the court, and others even positioned on the roof of the hall.[13]

Prominent in the top half of the picture is a large shield bearing two coats-of-arms, the red cross of St George, the patron saint of England, and the harp of Ireland. When the trial opened on 20 January its place had been occupied by the royal coat-of-arms, as was customary: it was an axiom of English law that all justice was royal justice.[14] But by 23 January the monarchical insignia

had been replaced. The significance of this innovation is that 23 January was the third occasion on which the king was brought to the court and asked to enter a plea to the charges of tyranny and murder, which he refused to do. Although it is not known by whose orders the arms of England and Ireland were erected, it was a powerful statement that proclaimed 'the distinction and supremacy of the national interest over the regal' as one historian has put it.[15] It was designed to emphasise to everyone, especially Charles I, that royal justice was now the nation's justice and that the king was not above the law. Reading the image metaphysically from the point of view of the sovereign's enemies, the law took precedence over the judges as they sat beneath the shield, while the errant king was answerable to both as he sat lowest of all, facing both.

Whereas Nalson's frontispiece is satirical and allegorical, his trial image is not. The latter contains no supernatural components, nor references to strange preternatural occurrences. Yet both show Charles I alone, defeated, destroyed. Both use national crests to signify the horrors of republicanism; Cromwell is the regicidal bogeyman in the frontispiece, whereas Bradshaw takes that role in the trial depiction, albeit less dramatically. The frontispiece is a fantasy whereas, as mentioned above, the prosecution picture is intended to be read literally. One of the ways it achieves this is by showing us the interior of the south end of Westminster Hall, which renders visible the great window. The building was chosen for the location of the trial because it was the centre of the English legal system as well as being one of the biggest halls in the country. However, preparations were needed for the trial to take place.[16] During term time Westminster Hall housed three of the nation's most important law courts – the Court of King's Bench, and the Court of Chancery, both at the south end, while the Court of Common Pleas occupied the other end. Under normal circumstances the hall was divided by wooden partitions into courts and offices; there were also stalls selling legal paraphernalia and books. The men in charge of preparations for the king's prosecution had the hall cleared of its courts and partitions, and, given that it was January, postponed Hilary Term for two weeks as the High Court of Justice required the whole building to itself.[17] These measures would have been expected given that for centuries the hall had been the setting for important state trials, including impeachments (when the Commons prosecuted a peer or commoner and the Lords acted as judges), trials of peers

by other members of the House of Lords, and treason trials in which the accused was not a peer. William Wallace, Sir Thomas More, John Fisher, Protector Somerset, the second Earl of Essex, and the Gunpowder Plotters were all tried in Westminster Hall before Charles I's prosecution. The depositions of Edward II and Richard II also took place within the building. State trials were public events for which the hall was ideal as it was in the heart of Westminster, the centre of government, and big enough to accommodate the crowds who wished to witness proceedings.

Bearing all this in mind, it is notable that there are no printed images of state trials before the 1640s.[18] Thus, the depictions of Charles I's prosecution belong to a small new genre of English prints. Although there were many state trials during the Tudor age, no contemporary pictures were produced of them partly because the production and marketing of printed images in England at that time was on a very small scale and was dominated by maps and portraits of members of the elite,[19] and partly because domestic news was reported so sparingly. This situation had changed by the 1640s in three important ways.

First, London had developed a growing market for prints, even if it was still modest by European standards. Secondly, an important catalyst for this advancement was that the prolific engraver Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–77) was domiciled in London from 1637 to 1644 and again from 1652 until his death. In the capital he produced a huge range of superb quality engravings and etchings – prints, book illustrations, and maps – with subjects including portraits, women's fashion plates, topographical and architectural views, and copies of Holbein's works. It was Hollar who produced the first two printed images of state trials, the earliest of which dates from 1641 and depicts the prosecution of Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford (1593–1641) in Westminster Hall in that year.[20] Strafford had been Charles' authoritarian Lord Deputy of Ireland for most of the 1630s – the decade known as Charles I's Personal Rule as in England he governed without parliament – after which the earl was recalled to London where he became the king's chief advisor. As such, when Charles I called the Long Parliament in 1640 it quickly impeached Strafford. The second trial image is an etching from 1644 of the prosecution of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury (1573–1645) in the House of Lords in that year.[21] Laud was responsible for the unpopular religious reforms

of the 1630s that appeared to undo aspects of the Reformation and move the Church of England back towards Rome, as well as for the harsh persecution of Puritans during the same decade. Like Strafford, Laud was a victim of the Long Parliament. Both Strafford and Laud were executed and Hollar produced an etching of the earl's death.[22] By the time of Laud's beheading, Hollar was living in Antwerp and did not produce an image of the event.

Thirdly, the early 1640s was a time of extraordinary political crisis which generated a news revolution on the eve of the Civil War. The Long Parliament abolished the state mechanisms associated with pre-publication censorship, especially the Star Chamber and High Commission and the licensers attached to Archbishop Laud.[23] The result was that cheap newspapers, pamphlets, broadsides, ballads, and woodcuts rolled off the presses in unprecedented numbers, along with pricier books and engravings, relaying royalist and parliamentarian propaganda as well as factional disputes between the hawks and doves on both sides. The readership that consumed this avalanche of current events and debates was now far more diverse than hitherto, with ordinary people able to make informed opinions on the issues at stake as both royalist and parliamentarian publications appealed to public opinion. Popular politics had arrived on an unprecedented scale but not everyone approved. The case of parliament's *Grand Remonstrance* (November 1641) is revealing in this regard. It was a thorough indictment of the policies of Charles I's Personal Rule, which also included political and religious demands, that was presented to the king. Charles delayed responding so parliament took the audacious step of publishing it in order to increase pressure on the monarch to reply. Sir Edward Dering (1598–1644), the MP and antiquarian, spoke for many when he complained that:

> When I first heard of a Remonstrance, I presently imagined that like faithfull Counsellors, we should hold up a glasse [i.e. a mirror] unto his Majesty: I thought to represent unto the King the wicked counsels of pernicious Counsellors … and the rotten part of the Clergy. I did not dream that we should remonstrate downeward, tell stories to the people, and talke of the King as of a third person.[24]

Dering was used to the old ways of politics. Prior to the 1640s, pamphlets and newsbooks had been published, but on a much smaller scale and had

mostly concentrated on foreign affairs; governments had aimed to keep the circulation of domestic news limited to scribal newsletters that circulated within the restricted circles of the nobility and the wealthier gentry. Matters of state were privileged information that were not thought suitable to be relayed to the masses.[25] This changed quickly as censorship collapsed and civil war became a real possibility. The prosecution of Strafford, the king's chief adviser, and then of the Archbishop of Canterbury, followed by their executions, were divisive political events that hardened opinion on both sides. This is even more true of the destruction of Charles I himself. Hollar's depiction of the trial and execution of Strafford appeared in volume four of *Theatrum Europaeum* of J. P. Abelin (Frankfurt, 1643), while the picture of Laud's trial featured in three works by his enemy, the Puritan lawyer and polemicist William Prynne: *A Breviate to the Life of William Laud* (London, 1644), *Hidden Works of Darkness* (1645), and *Canterburies Doome* (1646).[26] The point about book illustrations is noteworthy because their form demonstrates the demand for extensive accounts of current events amongst the literate, book-buying public both at home and abroad. As for the depictions themselves, the courtier and author Sir John Harrington put it well, 'The use of … [them] is evident, which is, that (having read over the booke) you may reade it (as it were againe) in the very picture'.[27]

To conclude, this essay has identified some of the political and cultural contexts of Nalson's vivid image of Charles I on trial that was published in 1684. As such, it fits into the sometimes vicious party politics of the last quarter of the seventeenth century. A long shadow was cast by the Civil War, the regicide and the English Republic; by the 1680s many of the protagonists were dead and Nalson wanted to ensure that he contributed to the royalist interpretation of the history of the mid-century in order to influence future generations, whilst simultaneously attacking Charles II's enemies. Nalson's two images were not merely illustrative, and this gives pause for thought. The frontispiece laid bare the argument and tone of the book's text, whilst the trial image and its key allowed readers who had not been present at the king's prosecution to imagine it in their thoughts. Text and images complemented each other, as was usual at this time, with both reflecting, shaping, and mocking ideas and opinions. Traditionally, historians have privileged the word over visuals, but when pictures are integrated into scholarly analysis they can enrich it. The trial image provides a sense not just of the layout of

proceedings, but, if we use our imaginations, also of the drama and even the claustrophobia. What it does not communicate though is the colour – the scarlet cloth that was the backdrop to the commissioners, the Turkey carpets that were on the floor in front of them and that lined the king's enclosure. Care must be taken because on its own the image broadcasts in monochrome, the best remedy for which is to integrate it with written descriptions of proceedings. Whether we see the trial as a travesty of justice or as the logical outcome of the late 1640s, the depiction of it is evidence that early modern printed images could be as didactic and argumentative as both the texts that were published alongside them and the people who debated with each other in person. Texts, images, and orality provide strong evidence that seventeenth-century people lived in a 'multimedia culture'.[28]

1 John Nalson, *A True Copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice for the Tryal of King Charles I* (London, 1684), XXIII and XXXV.

2 Phelps did not record everything, however, and Nalson supplemented Phelps' account with contemporary printed sources as well as his own royalist commentary. A useful, succinct discussion of the sources for the trial can be found in C. V. Wedgwood, *The Trial of Charles I* (1964), 227-28.

[3] For the trial see: J. G. Muddiman, *Trial of King Charles I* (1928); *The Trial of Charles I: A Contemporary Account Taken From the Memoirs of Sir Thomas Herbert and John Rushworth*, ed Roger Lockyer (1959); Wedgwood, *Trial of Charles I*; *The Regicides and the Execution of Charles I* (2001), ed Jason Peacey; Sean Kelsey 'The Death of Charles I', *The Historical Journal* 45 (2002), 727-754; Sean Kelsey 'The Trial of Charles I', *English Historical Review* 118 (2003), 583-616; Sean Kelsey, 'Politics and Procedure in the Trial of Charles I', *Law and History Review*, 22.1 (2004), 1-25; Clive Holmes, 'Why was the King Executed?' in his *Why was Charles I Executed?* (2006), 93-120; Clive Holmes, 'The Trial and Execution of Charles I', *The Historical Journal*, 53 (2010), 289-316; Philip Baker, 'The Regicide' in *The Oxford Handbook of the English Revolution,* ed. Michael J. Braddick (2015), 154-69; K. J. Kesselring, *The Trial of Charles I* (2016); Julie Stone Peters, 'Staging the Last Judgement in the Trial of Charles I', *Representations*, 143 (2018), 1-35; Edward Vallance, 'The Manuscript Journals of the Trial of Charles I: New Evidence on their Provenance and Purpose', *Historical Research*, 94.264 (2021), 303-23, available at https://academic.oup.com/histres/article/94/264/303/6253061

[4] There is a vast literature on the Restoration, the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis. A very useful starting point is Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685* (2005).

[5] John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1660–1688* (1973), especially chapter 4.

[6] For Nalson: see Royce MacGillivary, *Restoration Historians and the English Civil War* (1974); R.C.Richardson, *The Debate on the English Revolution* (1977, 3rd ed 1998), 20-22; R.C.Richardson, 'Nalson, John', *ODNB* (2004); R.C.Richardson, 'Re-Fighting the English Revolution: John Nalson (1637–1686) and the Frustrations of Late Seventeenth-Century English Historiography', *European Review of History* (2007), 14.1, 1-20 (Richardson discusses brief mentions of Nalson in a number of other secondary works, pp. 2-3). For Nalson's self-description as 'a true Church of England King's Protestant' see Richardson, 'Refighting the English Revolution', 4.

[7] The engraving of the trial and the key are on unnumbered pages between the Introduction and the beginning of the *Journal*. The frontispiece to Nalson's *Impartial Collection* is discussed in Helen Pierce, 'The Devil and the Detail: An Illustration of Otherness in John Nalson's "An Impartial Collection"', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* (2019), 95. 2, 63-81.

[8] The Ashmolean Museum, WA.Suth.C.3.194.20

[9] Wedgwood,*Trial of Charles I*, opposite p. 180, and in *The Trial of Charles I: A Documentary history*, eds. David Iagomarsino and Charles J. Wood (1989), p. 68.

[10] I am grateful to Helen Pierce for discussing this with me and drawing my attention to Sturt. I have analysed the image of Charles II touching for scrofula in my *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (2015), 10-12, 135-45. Alternatively, the image is available online at a number of websites including The Wellcome Collection: https://wellcomecollection.org/works/vkkwb683/images?id=ueg6h6sv

[11] Wedgwood, *Trial of Charles I*, 96-8.

[12] *The King's Tryal: Together, with the Manner of his Bringing before the High Court of Justice* (London, 1649), 1-2; *King Charls His Tryal at the High Court of Justice Sitting in Westminster Hall* (London, 1650), 9–11; Nalson, *Journal*, lxxiii–lxxiv. Stone Peters, 'Last Judgement' describes the hall in vivid detail, 1-2.

[13] Nalson, *Journal*, 19; Edmund Ludlow, *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow Esq*, 2 vols (1698), vol 1, 276, Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership: https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?cc=eebo;c=eebo;idno=a49445.0001.001;node=A49445.0001.001:4;seq=287;vid=39377;page=root;view=text

[14] Wedgwood, *Trial of Charles I*, 96.

[15] Sean Kelsey, Staging the Trial of Charles I', in *The Regicides and the Execution of Charles I*, ed. Jason Peacey, 71-93, 84. See also Wedgwood, *Trial of Charles I*, 142, and Stone Peters, 'Last Judgement'. 16. Both Kelsey and Stone Peters concentrate on the arms of St George and ignore the Irish harp. Presumably the red lion of Scotland is missing as the Scots were against trying the king.

[16] Wedgwood, *Trial of Charles I*, 108-10, 113-114, 123.

[17] Nalson, *Journal*, 16.

[18] There is a pen and ink drawing of the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots from 1586, drawn by Robert Beale. But this was a private image for the English government and not published until the 19th century. See BL Add MS 48027.

[19] Anthony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain* (1998), 13.

[20] Richard Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Works of Wenceslaus Hollar, 1607–1677* (1982; reprint, 2002), no 551, p. 87. The image is held at the British Museum, registration number 1880,1113.3454 and is available to view at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1880-1113-3454

[21] Pennington, *Etched Works of Hollar*, no 555, p. 88. The image is held at the British Museum, museum number Ee,2.27 and is available to view online at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_Ee-2-27

[22] Pennington, *Etched Works of Hollar*, no 552, p. 87. The image is held at the British Museum, registration number 1850,0223.237 and is available to view at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1850-0223-237

[23] Jason Peacey, 'The Revolution in Print', *The Oxford Handbook of the English Revolution* (2015), 276-93, 277.

[24] Edward Dering, *A Collection of Speeches Made by Sir Edward Dering* (1642), 109.

[25] Peacey, 'Revolution in Print', 279.

[26] Pennington, *Etched Work of Hollar, 1607–1677*, no 555, p. 88. The images of Strafford's trial and execution in *Theatrum Europaeum* were second states. Further work will identify how the plates got to Frankfurt and whether the prints were also available to buy as single sheets.

[27] Sir John Harrington *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse* (London, 1591), sig. A1, quoted in Michael Hunter, 'Illustrated Books' in Adam Smyth (ed), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of the Book in Early Modern England,* OUP, forthcoming.

[28] The phrase 'multimedia' and its definition are Justin Champion's, see his illuminating essay 'De-Coding the *Leviathan*: Doing the History of ideas Through images, 1651-1714', in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Hunter (2010), 255-275, 257. See also Roger Chartier, 'General Introduction: Print Culture', in Chartier (ed), *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe* (1987), trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (1989), 1-10.

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JAMES WARD: THE BATTLE OF BOSTON, AN EXPLANATORY NOTE

by John Goldsmith

A contemporary pictorial record of the British civil wars is noticeable by its almost complete absence. There are a few prints, most notably Robert Streeter's engraving of the battlefield at Naseby, which appeared in Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva* in 1647, and the basis of a later painting in Daventry Museum,[1] but nothing to compare to the depictions of battlefield scenes that were created elsewhere in Europe.

The stunning and frequently macabre series of etchings, *Les Miseres et les Malheurs de la Guerre (The Miseries and Misfortunes of War)*[2] by Jacques Callot for example, which was published in 1633, depict the brutality of the Thirty Years War, a decade before the civil wars in Britain. Callot was not unique, with other artists producing detailed scenes of warfare throughout Europe.[3]

As Angus Haldane has drawn our attention to, there is a range of portraits of the major, and many minor, protagonists of the civil wars from both the King's and Parliament's side, and occasionally they have a detail of a battle scene in the background, but never as the main subject.[4] A companion volume to *Portraits of the English Civil Wars*, entitled *Paintings of Battles of the Civil Wars* would consist almost wholly of 19th century paintings. In the 80 years from 1820 onwards around 175 paintings were exhibited at the Royal Academy connected with the civil wars, Cromwell and Charles I. As Roy Strong has noted 'No other period could match this for intensity of public interest.[5]

Of the battle scenes depicted in these paintings, Marston Moor was the most popular subject, but in 1826 James Ward (1769–1859) exhibited at the Royal Academy a work titled *Battle near Boston, a battle otherwise known as the Battle of Winceby, which lies about fifteen miles to the north of Boston*.[6] The exhibition catalogue includes a lengthy extract from Caulfield's *Cromwelliana* of 1810 which in turn quotes from *The Scottish Dove*, one of the contemporary newsbooks which reported on the battle, which refers to Cromwell having his horse killed from under him.[7] The painting was a commission by the 2nd Baron Northwick for which he paid Ward 500 guineas (£525). Ward was a prolific artist having created over 3,000 works in various media over his long

career but this was a significant work and probably accounted for approximately half his income that year.[8]

In a letter of 12 August 1824 Ward refers to the commission from Lord Northwick for a painting of a 'Battle in the time of Cromwell … treated in any way I please'[9] with no indication of why he chose to depict the battle near Boston. Ward was thorough in his research, taking great care to study the costume, arms and armour of the period as can be seen in the catalogue for an exhibition in 2013, *Breadth and Quality. Oil studies, watercolours and drawings by James Ward RA*, at the Lowell Libson Gallery.[10] He was familiar with the collection of Samuel Meyrick, one of the first scholarly collectors of arms and armour who published *Critical enquiry into ancient armour*, also in 1824. The reference from *Cromwelliana* in the RA catalogue suggests that he was equally scrupulous in attempting to record an actual event, rather than imagining a scene.

The painting (plate 4) shows Cromwell to the right of centre of the composition, mounted on a grey, but with his head uncovered. An unarmoured man is offering a helmet up to him, while a second, wearing back and breastplates, is attempting to steady the animal by holding its bridle. Around Cromwell the battle rages with swords slashing, men falling, and terrified horses straining with wild eyes to escape the noise and tumult. Most critically, on the far-right horizon can be seen the distinctive silhouette of St. Botolph's in Boston, better known as the Boston Stump, and so Ward gives his painting its location.

Ward's reputation was based on his expertise as 'the greatest British animal painter of his generation'[11] and his horses are magnificent. Perhaps cruelly, an early biographer asserted that his career 'was marked by a persistent inability to recognise his own limitations … he sought ultimately to establish a reputation as a painter in the elevated genre of history painting, an ambition in which he ignominiously failed'.[12] This is not a fair judgement of *The Battle of Boston*. But the history of the painting is confused and muddled with that of another virtually identical composition, *The Battle of Marston Moor*, part of the collection of the Cromwell Museum in Huntingdon.[13] The confusion dates back to the origins of both paintings.

Plate 4 *The Battle of Boston*, James Ward. Although virtually identical to the painting in the Cromwell Museum, the details of the landscape are significantly different.

Lord Northwick's painting was offered for sale at Christies on 12 May 1838 but incorrectly described as *The Battle of Marston Moor*; it failed to sell and was bought-in. The same thing happened again at Phillips auction rooms in Cheltenham over twenty years later in 1859, when again, curiously, it was described as *The Battle of Marston Moor*.

By the late 1820s, frustrated with his lack of success, Ward decided to retire to the country and cleared his own stock of paintings by sale at Christies. Included in the sale was a work described, confusingly, as *Sketch for the Battle of Cromwell, (sic), near Boston in Lincolnshire, for the larger picture in the possession of Lord Northwick*.[14] The provenance of this work can be traced to subsequent sales at Christies in 1945 and Sotheby's in 1973, before acquisition by the Cromwell Museum. To those other than art historians the term 'sketch' implies a rough drawing. This painting is neither a rough drawing, nor is it much smaller than the work it is described as being a study for. It measures 25 in x 38 in (without the frame) compared to the 31.5 in x 44 in dimensions

of Lord Northwick's painting, as described when it last appeared in the sale room at Sotheby's on 18 June 1969.[15]

Adding further to the confusion, the Sotheby's catalogue for Lord Northwick's picture titled the painting *The Battle of Marston Moor* and described it as 'Oliver Cromwell in the foreground on a grey charger, lines of cavalry in the extensive landscape with a view of Boston Stump in the extreme distance'! The painting accurately described as *The Battle of Marston Moor*, now in the Cromwell Museum (plate 5), is an almost identical composition to that which can be identified as the piece commissioned by Lord Northwick. The detail of the faces may be less well painted but the animals are its equal. What is different is that instead of the silhouette of Boston Stump, the right horizon shows brooding moorland that accurately places the scene at Marston Moor.

Plate 5 *The Battle of Marston Moor*, James Ward, courtesy of the Cromwell Museum, Huntingdon. Although a secondary work to the commissioned piece, *The Battle of Boston*, it is distinguished from it by the depiction of the landscape on the right horizon.

The unresolved, and unanswerable question, is whether Ward preferred to place the image at Marston Moor, to hopefully increase the sale potential of

the painting, or if he did so solely to distinguish it from the valuable commission of only a few years earlier. If the former, he failed as it sold for less than £40 in 1829, and if the latter, the confusion has continued for the best part of 200 years. Whatever the intention, the artist clearly intended it to show Marston Moor, otherwise the right horizon would have shown Boston Stump. Edward Nygren has suggested that Ward may have created the 'large study' and then 'corrected the topography for the final work'.[16]

Although Ward retired from his London studio he continued to paint at his cottage in Cheshunt, but he was not entirely done with Cromwell and the Cromwell family. Cheshunt was also the home of Cromwell's descendants and Ward painted, as a commission, a portrait of Avaiella Oliveria Cromwell Russell, the only child of the late Achimidorus Cromwell Russell, and the last lineal descendant of the Lord Protector, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1833.[17] He also painted a head of Cromwell, probably after Cooper's portrait.[18]

The Battle of Marston Moor can be seen in Huntingdon but *The Battle of Boston* is more elusive. It was on public display as part of an Arts Council touring exhibition of Ward's work in 1960,[19] but its current whereabouts is unknown to me, and despite looking, no good colour image of it can be found. It may re-emerge again into a sale room at some point, but how it will be described is open to speculation.

1 Earliest known painting of Naseby c.1680, artist unknown. Acquisition funded by the Art Fund 1992
2 Jacques Callot *Les miseres et les malheurs de la guerre*, Paris 1633
3 For discussion see Peter Harrington *British artists and War*, London and New York, 1993, p.15
4 Angus Haldane *Portraits of the English Civil Wars*, London, 2017
5 Roy Strong *Recreating the past. British history and the Victorian painter*. London and New York, 1978
6 https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/exhibition-catalogue/ra-sec-vol58-1826 page 6

7 James Caulfield *Cromwelliana; a chronological detail of events in which Oliver Cromwell was engaged from the year 1642 to his death 1658*, London, 1810
8 Edward Nygren 'James Ward, RA (1769–1859) papers and patrons', *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, vol. 75, 2013, pp. i–438, see p.11
http://www.jstor.org/stable/24855737
9 Nygren, ibid. see p 172
10 *Breadth and quality, oil studies, watercolours and drawings by James Ward*, Lowell Libson London, 2013
11 Nygren, ibid. see p 1
12 Julia Frankau *William Ward ARA and James Ward RA*, London,1904
13 HUTCM 88
14 Getty Provenance Index Sale catalog Br-3299, Lot 0085
15 Sotheby's sale 18 June 1969, lot 49
16 Correspondence Edward Nygren to John Goldsmith 27.10.2014
17 Nygren, ibid see p 424
18 C. Reginald Grundy *James Ward, RA, his life and works, with a catalogue of his engravings and pictures*, London, 1909. No.173
19 *James Ward, 1769–1859*: Arts Council of Great Britain 1960

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SHOULD THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR 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'?

by Katie Stamp

This was the Cromwell Association schools' prize-winning essay 2021, funded by Frederic L Borch III.

The English Civil War has taken centre stage in the history of Britain's warring period of 1637–51. The Bishops' Wars and Eleven Years' War have been portrayed more as background events in the story of the English Civil War, while England and its internal divisions have enjoyed a spotlight in explaining its causes,[1] rather than investigating the unifying causes of all three wars. Each kingdom was a member of a multiple monarchy ruled by Charles I during this period. Thus, the consequences of the English state trying to rule in three kingdoms with different religious and political makeup, with a particular policy of unifying these three kingdoms, is an avenue worth exploring in explaining why each of these wars occurred. This we define as the 'British Problem'. As such, we will consider the ways in which the 'British Problem', as defined, contributed to the Bishops' Wars, the Eleven Years' War and the English Civil War, subsequently considering whether the English Civil War deserves the significance it has been attributed.

Let us consider the three kingdoms in the order armed resistance against King Charles I arose, starting off with the Bishops' Wars in Scotland, 1637. These wars were fundamentally a result of England's failed policy of securing cultural hegemony over Scotland. Charles wanted to align the Scottish Church with the English Church by promoting Laudian policies. For example, he arbitrarily introduced a new set of canons and a new Prayer Book in Scotland which was in line with English practice. Firstly, they ardently opposed these adaptations as they were seen as too synonymous with Catholicism. Moreover, Charles' policy promoted the role of the bishops in the Church.[2] Whereas, in the view of the Scots, the church should have been governed by ministers and elders. It was these qualms which they fought for in the Bishops' Wars, made apparent by the 1638 National Covenant which pledged

to oppose such 'innovations'.[3] Thus, we see that the chaos that broke out in Scotland was due to the British Problem as Charles had been too insistent on enforcing English religious domination over a kingdom loyal to the structures and practices of Presbyterianism.

Similarly, war broke out in Ireland in 1641 due to Charles' desire to secure conformity within Britain. Firstly, Charles (through the Earl of Strafford) pushed to enforce Laudian practices. He also promised the Catholics that the Graces would be pushed through: a suspension of disabilities of the Catholics and the security of tenure for 'Old English' landowners. This alarmed the 'New English' as they saw these Arminian policies as crypto-Catholic in pairing with the Graces, as well as being alarmed at the thought of losing their land. Thus, a wedge was driven between the administration and the recent Protestant planters. Charles lost further support from the Old English and Gaelic Irish when, in the end, the promised Graces never got past the Protestant administration. Simultaneously, the plantation scheme[4] continued in pursuit of political allegiance between the two kingdoms, and the Gaelic Irish were grated further. Although it was not the uniformity Charles had hoped for, these actions amounted to the temporary unification of these previously divided groups in their shared hatred for the policy being pursued, resulting in the Irish Rebellion of 1641. As such, we see that once again, due to the religious differences between England and her subject kingdom (in this case Ireland) paired with the policy of the monarch that one must secure religious and political conformity across his kingdoms, war broke out.

We must also examine the connectivity of the events in Ireland and Scotland as part of the British Problem. First, it is possible to suggest that the outbreak of war in Scotland was a consequence of Charles being distracted by issues in Ireland. In Ireland there was a degree of compromise in which Archbishop Ussher and Bishop Bramhall were left to battle about the contents of the canons amongst themselves because of the political infighting that broke out between Ussher and Wentworth; whereas, the Scottish canons appeared almost without warning, drawn up by a committee of bishops mostly appointed by Laud, an Arminian. The difference in treatment we observe likely occurred because of Charles being preoccupied with dealing with the said resistance that had arisen in Ireland. The combination of the lack of compromise and comparison to the better treatment the Irish received may

have become a source of Scottish bitterness towards Charles and subsequently increased their motivation to rebel. Moreover, the problem of two kingdoms with similar motivations meant that one could watch the other closely and decide their actions having seen the reaction of the English. This is best illustrated in the Irish rebellion being viewed as a copy of the Bishops' Wars: when one leader was captured and asked what he was attempting to do, he replied, 'to imitate Scotland, who got a privilege by that course'. Thus, we see that the burden of dealing with two opposing kingdoms simultaneously would worsen the conditions in both, and the British Problem proves potent in causing outbreak of war.

Moving to the final act: The English Civil War, 1642. Had it not been for the conflicts in Ireland and Scotland, the Civil War in England would never have occurred. First, it was the Bishops' Wars that forced parliament to congregate after 'The Eleven Years' Tyranny',[5] since the victorious Scottish refused to accept a treaty not confirmed by an English parliament. This meant that their long list of grievances finally had the audience of the king. This summoning would turn into the Long Parliament, elevating tensions in England as Charles battled with his parliament over their demands. Successively, the Irish Rebellion of 1641 directly caused the outbreak of war in August 1642 when parliament refused to grant Charles the permission to raise an army but he did so anyway. Thus, we see the British Problem frontstage and centre causing the English Civil war.

Moreover, the very existence of other kingdoms to turn to for support meant Charles was less inclined to resolve the dispute in his own. This can be seen in May 1641, when, after the failure of the Army Plot, Secretary Vane thought that Charles would settle with his English parliament, stating 'there being in truth no other [course] left'. Instead, he was able to create a Scottish party via keeping relations with Montrose, which (in Charles' perspective) would elevate his chances against parliament. Therefore, we may conclude that the English Civil war was triggered by the British Problem, both through the uprisings in Scotland and Ireland precipitating its outbreak, and by the fact that the presence of two other kingdoms disincentivised Charles from making peace efforts in England.

However, the British Problem does not account for why parliament did not support their king by the time the Bishops' Wars arrived. First, not summoning parliament for eleven years meant the trust they had in their king had disappeared such that when he promised to address their grievances, after dealing with the war in Scotland, they did not believe him. Yet, by insisting that he address their grievances immediately, they weakened England's chance of reacting with a united front and quashing the uprising in Scotland immediately. Yet, why did parliament have so many grievances? In short, the answer lies in Charles' handling of two key areas: religion and finance. Charles' new religious policy to strive for conformity within his own kingdom led to the promotion of Arminian practices, which was perceived as synonymous with welcoming in Catholicism in the eyes of the Calvinists and Puritans in parliament.[6] Second, because of Charles' crippling financial situation[7] he had to take measures such as the Forced Loan in 1627 and, further, calling for Ship Money to be collected from inland inhabitants in 1634.[8] While the financial situation had been ameliorated,[9] he had passed both levies without parliamentary consent; this was seen as an exploitation of his prerogative power and was taken as an existential threat to parliamentary liberties – a belief which became the core of the parliamentary fight in the Civil War.

Thus, while the British Problem may have triggered the outbreak of this Civil War, it only heightened divisions which already existed. Without the turbulent relationship between parliament and crown stemming from financial problems and religious divisions within England, the English Civil War was unlikely to have occurred.

The other similarity between all three kingdoms that broke out into war was that they were all ruled by Charles. Thus, we must question how much Charles is to blame for the outbreak of war. First, we may consider his choice of approach when aiming to achieve religious conformity, which emerges as a dominant theme in the British Problem. It was common consensus that 'religion is … the strongest band to tye the subjects to their prince in true loyalty',[10] and thus we cannot criticise his decision to push for conformity. Nonetheless, his characteristically rapid approach may be evaluated. His father, King James I, dealt with the divide in religion by pursuing it slowly,[11] never allowing the moves to be extreme enough to give dissenters an appropriate time to uprise. Moreover, while James attempted to shift them all

closer to each other incrementally, Charles pursued unity by making Scotland and Ireland more like England. Thus, we might infer that the British Problem is not impossible to work around but becomes potent when English dominance is asserted upon the other two kingdoms in short timeframes.

Moreover, Charles mistakenly did not hold firm against the various demands of his three kingdoms. We turn to the Petition of Right which he first refused to sign, but then agreed to in 1628 when under pressure from parliament; and the execution of Strafford which followed the same pattern. This lack of capability to hold firm encouraged his subjects in all kingdoms (who looked on at each interaction he had) to believe that if they pressured him for long enough, he would retreat once more. For the accusations against him of arbitrary government, he did not even manage to do this properly. Perhaps if Charles had been a more consistently firm ruler, the Civil War would not have broken out as his opponents would not have thought he would accept their concessions. Thus, we might say the Problem itself did not cause the wars; the failure of Charles to handle it correctly did.

In conclusion, this essay has shown that in order to truly understand why this warring period occurred, we must not just view it through an Anglocentric lens but emphasise the interconnectedness of the wars and problems in each of the three kingdoms. In doing so, we have revealed that the wars of the three kingdoms do in fact all stem from the British Problem, to a greater extent in Ireland and Scotland than in England, while also considering the fact that the presence of this Problem did not mean an inevitable explosion into a warring period from 1637–51. Rather, in combination with Charles' weaknesses as a ruler and the internal divisions at Westminster, the British Problem was given the perfect conditions to flourish, set off and ensure the continuation of the wars in each of the three kingdoms. In light of these discoveries, we consider whether the English Civil War deserves the significance it has been attributed. While one could argue that it was unique to the conflicts in Ireland and Scotland as England had internal divisions separable from the British Problem, we have proven that these would never have become so important had it not been for England's rulership over Ireland and Scotland. Thus, this seemingly unique factor of internal division becomes just as significant as the British Problem itself. Therefore, we have also revealed that the glory given to the 'English Civil War' in British

historiography is largely undeserved and focusing on 'The Wars of the Three Kingdoms' or 'The British Civil Wars' are more enlightening subjects of study.

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1 See Lawrence Stone's *The Causes of the English Revolution*

2 This is a policy that dates back to the Acts of Revocation in 1627 when Charles I increased the wealth of the bishops by revoking land grants made to noblemen, symbolising how long this clash had been going on, with it being labelled 'the groundstone of the mischief that followed' by Sir James Balfour.

3 Burrell, S. A. "The Covenant Idea as a Revolutionary Symbol: Scotland, 1596–1637." *Church History* 27, no. 4 (1958): 338-50. Accessed July 13, 2021. doi:10.2307/3161138.

4 The term 'plantation' describes the process in which the land of Gaelic Irish was confiscated from rebellious landowners and was given to loyal settlers who promised to use English laws, language and customs.

5 See S.R. Gardiner's *History of the Great Civil War, 1642–1649*

6 For example, laymen William Prynne, John Bastwick and Henry Burton who illegally published tracts criticising Arminianism.

7 It is predicted that the debt reached £2 million by 1629.

[8] This was unprecedented as Ship Money had previously been paid only by counties with a sea border for naval defence.

[9] For example, Ship Money raised nearly £800,000.

[10] Russell, Conrad. 'The British Problem and the English Civil War.' *History* 72, no. 236 (1987): 395-415. Accessed July 10, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24415746.

[11] For example, by re-establishing bishops in Scotland in 1613 and later introducing the Five Articles of Perth in 1618.

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Ronald Hutton, ***The Making of Oliver Cromwell***. Yale University Press, 2021. (xii and 400 pp. 20 plates, 12 maps and plans.) ISBN 9780300257458, £25 hardback.

reviewed by Professor Peter Gaunt

This scintillating and detailed new study of Oliver Cromwell's life and career down to the end of 1646 was presaged by the author's important chapter on Cromwell in his 2004 collection *Debates in Stuart History*. It questioned not the lack of new work on Cromwell – indeed, as the author notes here, new full-length academic studies have been quite plentiful over the past few decades – but rather the broadly or strongly positive tone struck by all that work and a sort of rosy consensus, stressing Cromwell's courage, devotion, high principles and dedication to God's will, which emerged in appraisals of the man. Twinned with that, it also questioned how far historians have been right to privilege Cromwell's own words, as found in his surviving correspondence and the texts of his speeches, and whether letting the subject speak for himself and taking him at his word is good historical practice. As the introduction makes clear, those questions and issues underpin much of this new biography, which deliberately adopts a more detached, probing and sharper approach, seeking to get beyond and away from Cromwell's own self-image, self-fashioning and, as the author has it, self-promotion, and to contextualise the man and his career by giving more weight to other contemporary or near-contemporary sources, some of which appear far more critical.

None the less, while the avowed purpose of this study is to break away from the recent historical consensus and to offer a less positive portrait of its subject, drawing out the less attractive aspects of Cromwell's character and career, the author is far too good an historian to do that with any crudeness or clumsiness. Just the opposite, for time and again he is scrupulous in weighing up, and in informing his readers of, the merits and demerits of his sources, very careful to admit or even to stress the weaknesses of some of the alternative contemporary accounts which paint a less than flattering image of Cromwell. Thus, in the opening chapter, on 'The Prehistoric Cromwell', taking his subject from birth to the end of the 1630s, he highlights the dearth of reliable information, the dubious nature of much of it and the uncertainties surrounding the interpretation of what we do know. For example, can we

really trust a 1655 source which claims that sometime in his youth Cromwell visited Flanders? Probably not. Does the fact that under his father's will Oliver's own immediate inheritance was quite modest suggest that his father had reservations about him, or was it simply a reflection of his love for his wife and daughters and a tax arrangement to minimise potential wardship liabilities? How should we interpret the five-year gap in Cromwell and his wife having children in the early and mid-1630s, the surviving record of his consultation with the distinguished physician Sir Theodore Mayerne in the late 1620s, the apparent legal attack upon his uncle's mental competence in 1635, the line he took on fen drainage and enclosure during the Personal Rule, the depth and nature of his own faith before his conversion experience, his relationship with the Bishop of Ely in the late 1630s and so on? In every case, the author charts a careful and judicious route through and between the extant sources, generally slightly later in date, often posthumous, some sycophantic, others bitingly condemnatory, many dubious or of uncertain standing. In every case, too, the reader is fully briefed on the problematic nature of those sources and is made aware of the uncertainties which often persist.

The remainder of the book – five substantial chapters carrying the story down to early winter 1646–47 – is in a similar vein, by no means underplaying Cromwell's growing political and military standing and successes, and in many places praising his achievements as a soldier and senior officer, especially during the closing eighteen months of the war. But they also show how some of the sources might serve to throw a different light on the apparently glowing public career. The image which emerges is of a man who at times followed his own personal agenda, who could take up a cause or use a colleague if and when it suited him but might then move on if and when circumstances changed, who was adept at removing enemies or anyone getting in his way, and who was also very good at having his own achievements publicised and lauded, even when they had in truth been very modest or non-existent or where the credit rightly belonged to others. Thus, to take 1643 as an example: the inconsequential nature of the supposed plot which Cromwell claimed to have thwarted in Lowestoft in March, his wildly exaggerated report of the outcome of his clash with some royalists near Belton in May, and the repeated claims made by Cromwell or by the London press that he was in command of various operations, at Crowland, Gainsborough and elsewhere, when in reality other, more experienced parliamentarian officers seem to have shared

or taken the lead – something described as 'at times border[ing] on the mendacious'; these are all stressed. Similarly, Cromwell is portrayed as bearing grudges and hounding out his opponents, including Lord Willoughby, against whom he mounted 'a campaign of defamation', and John Hotham and his father, pursued to the scaffold. In similar style, he sought to bring down the Earl of Manchester in late 1644, another reflection of what the author sees as a 'savage streak in his nature which enjoyed inflicting death, injury or humiliation on those against whom he had taken'.

While avid Cromwellians may not agree with that or with some of the other interpretations offered here, there is no doubting the clarity and elegance of the writing. Repeatedly the narrative is interspersed with lyrical descriptions of the physical settings of the action and of the landscapes in which events were unfolding, almost Trevelyanesque in their evocation of the seventeenth-century English countryside. Thus, within the first few pages the environs of Cromwell's early life are recreated by conjuring up a picture of the area through which the Great Ouse flowed, where kingfishers drew 'azure lines of flight across its banks', with 'the lush meadows' full of 'grazing bullocks and sheep, singing skylarks, circling rooks, and grasshoppers, cowpats and caterpillars', the 'twisted pollard willows…dip[ping] their toes in its waters like old grey men', while 'elders would spill the heavy, heady scent of their creamy blossoms'. The text is peppered with similar descriptions of the types and state of the crops and other flora growing in the fields adjoining battles or flanking the roads along which Cromwell travelled. Elsewhere, the text provides readers new to the period with background information needed to understand Cromwell and to place him in context. Hence, we have sometimes quite lengthy accounts of how the Church of England and religion had developed since the Elizabethan Settlement, of the setting and work of parliament, of the wider civil war and other important military actions, way beyond the theatres where Cromwell saw action, in the course of which Cromwell himself largely, if temporarily, disappears from view.

Having followed him down to the end of the main civil war and a little beyond, the author highlights what he sees as the paradox of Cromwell's career and reputation thus far, 'that he should seem so pious, selfless and high-principled in his own words yet so devious, ruthless and self-seeking to others'. Cromwell is found to be a 'superb leader, efficient, charismatic and

inspiring', ensuring obedience and loyalty in a military context but also contributing to his growing standing as a politician and parliamentarian, something further enhanced by his religious zeal. He also benefited from plenty of good luck or providential good fortune when in real danger in the course of several battles and sieges, in keeping him safe from serious illness or disease on campaign, and also in propelling him to military command in spring 1645 – the author does not accuse Cromwell of duplicity in promoting the Self-Denying Ordinance or of having prior expectation of being exempted from its provisions. Equally, he accepts the sincerity of Cromwell's religious conversion and his faith and, like almost all biographers, sees this as central to his unfolding career, driving him forward and winning him friends as well as enemies. His commitment and enthusiasm, his loyalty to friends and kin who were loyal to him and his ability to learn quickly and to draw lessons from his mistakes are all emphasised and again all are traits common to most recent biographies. But there is also an unusual – though by no means unique – emphasis here on Cromwell's pursuit of self-promotion, aided by the support of sympathetic London journalists; on his bearing of grudges, his demonising of opponents and his harrying them out, even to the point of lying or of seeking their death; and his penchant for retaliation and vindictiveness, polarising fellow parliamentarians into friends and enemies, based on whether he believed they were or were not supporting his view of the godly cause.

For the author, the Cromwell of 1646 was a mixture of good and bad – 'courageous, devout, resolute, principled, intelligent, eloquent, able, adaptable and dedicated, but also self-seeking, unscrupulous, dishonest, manipulative, vindictive and bloodthirsty: definitely not somebody to be taken simply at his word'. Readers of *Cromwelliana* may well agree with some of those adjectives while strongly disagreeing with others, but we should all read this very fine, thoughtful and thought-provoking biography. A paperback edition, priced at £11.99, is due to be published later in 2022.

Andrew Abram, ***For a Parliament Freely Chosen: the rebellion of Sir George Booth, 1659.*** Helion & Company, Century of the Soldier, 2021 (203 pp. 40 b/w illus. 5 maps.) ISBN 9781914059322, £25.00 paperback.

reviewed by Professor John Morrill

This is a follow-up to Andrew Abram's *More Like Lions than Men: Sir William Brereton and the Cheshire Army of Parliament, 1642–46* which also appeared in the splendid Helion Century of the Soldier series (now 82 volumes strong in just eight years). I reviewed this in *Cromwelliana* 2020, saying of it that 'I do not know a better book on any provincial army from the civil war period. This new study of the doomed royalist rising of 1659 is not as good and feels slightly rushed (there are a lot of serious typos) but it is still a good book and an improvement on all previous accounts, especially, as one would expect, on its military aspects.

In the last few days of July 1659, Sir George Booth (later Lord Delamere), head of one of the wealthiest and best-connected Cheshire families and based in north-east Cheshire, south of Manchester, believed he was one of a network of 'presbyterian' leaders ready to rise up against the utterly discredited Commonwealth regime to restore Charles II. It is, of course, a problem with all conspiracies that they need a critical mass of engaged leaders to have a chance of success, and the more conspirators reach out to engage enough co-workers, the likelier it is that someone will betray them. And so it was that by the time Booth launched his rising at the beginning of August, in every region except Cheshire, Lancashire and North Wales, the movement had been undermined and Booth and his allies stood alone against the veterans of the New Model Army led by the formidable John Lambert. In an arc that moved from heady expectation, which included the seizure of Chester on 5 August, to the pitifully ill-matched confrontation at Winnington Bridge near Northwich on 19 August, Booth's campaign demonstrated the genuine strength of anti-Commonwealth sentiment and the reality that the regime, rotten to the core as it might have become, could only be defeated by self-immolation, which of course took place six months later.

When George Monck, Cromwellian to the core, marched from Coldstream to London calling for a free Parliament in January/February 1660, it remains

to this day uncertain whether he *intended* the restoration of the monarchy and, if so, *how* and *on what terms*. A similar but lesser doubt has always surrounded Booth's intentions. Not the least important of Abrams' recoveries in this book is an appendix including all Booth's declarations which resolutely call for 'the freedom of parliament, of the known laws, liberty and property, and of the good people of this kingdom, groaning under uncomfortable taxes'. He never mentioned the king or the restoration of the monarchy, but please note that he refers to the 'people of this *kingdom*'. His contemporaries may have picked up on this more than historians have done. More importantly, Abrams has discovered in Booth's papers, now in John Rylands Library in Manchester, but until recently (as when I wrote about this in 1970–5) closed to scholars, there is a copy of a commission to Booth from Charles II, linked to an indemnity for all his actions in his insurgency which leave no reason for doubt that Booth intended a restoration through a free parliament. But as Abrams makes clear, there was a fatal fault line between those of his followers who maintained that their aim was 'a parliament freely chosen' and those who wanted it making clear that this was explicitly a means to the end of the return of the Stuarts. The fault line ran straightforwardly between those who had been 'Presbyterians' in the 1640s, parliamentarians but not republicans, and those who had been cavaliers. And the tensions between them were never resolved.

So this book resolves most of the puzzles about the politics of Booth's rebellion. It also demonstrates that although most of the 'action' took place in Cheshire, it involved leading gentry and soldiers from across Lancashire, Cheshire and North Wales, where another leading 'Presbyterian', Sir Thomas Myddleton, was at least as successful in raising men as Booth himself. Abrams is more confident in establishing the magpie corps pulled together by Lambert (certainly 5,000 by 19 August) than the size of Booth's force (although it seems to have been in the range of 3,000–4,000, less than 2,000 of whom were present at Winnington Bridge). Abrams is more certain that we know that they are surprisingly well armed. They were no match for Lambert's veterans even if we discount the rapid demoralisation and headless-chicken flapping of Booth wandering around central and east Cheshire as Lambert closed in on him. Not the least contrast between them was how much Lambert knew about what he was facing and how little Booth knew. The New Model marched not so much on its stomach as on logistics. This

was a doomed rebellion long before its denouement. Still, if they lost the battle they soon won the war.

All this is excellent. The weaknesses of the book are lesser but not negligible. The discursive, loose account of the background to the rebellion (more than a quarter of the book) in two chapters entitled 'Recovery and conflict in Cheshire 1646–1650' and 'Cromwell and the Protectorate' are very weak in comparison with the narrative and commentary on the events of 1659. They concentrate too much on Cheshire, they give too much irrelevant detail, and they omit a great deal of detail – such as the crisis over the parliamentary elections of 1658, and Booth's part in the Westminster politics that followed the collapse of the Protectorate; this detail is necessary to the evaluation of his reasons for taking the enormous risk of initiating a rising. (Indeed, the book is also weak in explaining how he came to keep his head after the collapse of his rebellion. The regime was in chaos, but not in that degree of chaos.) There are also, it has to be said, some very serious errors of fact in the background chapters, the most egregious of which is the statement [p.43] that 'barely a month after the dissolution of the institution of the monarchy and the House of Lords in April 1653, a new list of JPs was drawn up for Cheshire, and all but two of the 33 men nominated were politically conservative'. This might look like a typographical error for 1649, but the list of JPs is indeed from 1653. A little later we are told that Sir George Booth commented in January 1655 that the Major-Generals were 'Cromwell's hangmen' – alas, they did not come into existence for several months after January 1655. And so on… Things are better once we reach the rebellion, but there are more proof-errors than are customary in books in this series. Finally, while the book has an excellent bibliography, it lacks an index, which must be a source of regret and dismay.

All this aside, this is a book that is welcome and represents a significant achievement and, especially but not exclusively, as a military history, it is an improvement on all previous studies.

Fiona McCall (ed.), ***Church and People in Interregnum Britain.*** Royal Historical Society New Historical Perspectives, Institute of Historical Research, University of London Press, 2021. (xvi + 290 pp.) ISBN 978-1-912702-65-7, £25.00 softback.

reviewed by Dr Stephen K Roberts

This is a book of academic essays that emerged from a conference held in 2016. Despite the time-lag between then and publication, the essays are fresh and a useful summary of what is now very much an active area of research. Until quite recently, the focus of attention in studies of religion during the 1640s and 50s were the sects and individual luminaries of 'the world turned upside down'; this volume encapsulates the shift of interest towards study of developments in the established English church, in this period minus its episcopalian structure and hierarchy. As implied in the title, space is found for perspectives beyond England, with chapters on the utterances of clergy in Wales and a local study from Scotland of how scandal was treated by a kirk session. After a substantial introduction by Bernard Capp, there follow ten essays, grouped in well-judged sections on church administration, the clergy, enforcement of 'godly ideals'; resistance by exponents of 'traditionalist religion'; and on the legacy of the 1650s. Two of the essays are by senior scholars, Capp and Andrew Foster, but the rest are by early career historians, the volume in a series dedicated to work by those not long of postdoctoral standing.

Capp's introduction provides an excellent orientation and overview, outlining the key features of the church in this decade: the ejections of clergy, and the rapid turnover among those holding benefices; the wildly varying expectations by clergy of their callings, of their opportunities for evangelizing and of the receptiveness of parishioners to their gospel; the 'religious marketplace' of competing visions of godliness encouraged by the end of compulsory parish church attendance; the elastic and accommodating character of state religious provision, for all its patchiness. Andrew Foster continues the broad survey approach in his chapter, asking a series of questions which set an agenda for future research: some of his questions are partly addressed in the following contributions in this volume, some not at all.

Alex Craven's study of the church surveys of the 1650s is the first in many years to take an overview of these documents, which provided the information on what amalgamations and divisions of parishes might be beneficial, and *en passant* also relayed local opinion on the parish ministry back to Westminster. He shows that failure decisively to reform the church cannot be attributed to inadequate instruments of governance. One such instrument of governance was the presentation deed; and Rebecca Warren's chapter discusses Oliver Cromwell's wielding of the very extensive patronage of church livings at his disposal while lord protector. She confirms that Oliver appointed to livings in the interests of godly diversity within godly unity, along the lines he adumbrated in his speeches. What is in most cases difficult to confirm is the extent to which Cromwell personally intervened in each case, or how often he overrode advice he was given.

A very interesting essay by Trixie Gadd on the Dorset clergy shows how the experience of ministers could vary significantly according to the region they lived in: perhaps not surprising given how dependent the clergy and most other people were on the quality of the local agrarian economy. Helen Whittle follows this with a study of the clergy of Sussex, based on a wide range of sources, finding more evidence of disruption and loss than had previously been identified.

The longest essay in the section on enforcing godly ideals, and indeed the longest in the volume, is by the editor, a brave attempt to quantify secular prosecutions of 'religious offences' in parishes. This is an incredibly ambitious essay: perhaps, it has to be said, over-ambitious. Ranging over quarter sessions evidence in at least 13 counties in a single chapter, Fiona McCall inevitably runs into difficulties about categorizing offences. Offences involving drink, for example, are only considered if they contain a 'religious' dimension, such as drinking in church or on a Sunday. Only the sparsest consideration is given in the essay to differences between counties as economically, socially and topographically diverse as, say, Lancashire and Somerset, two of those under scrutiny; and it is difficult to invest unshakeable faith in a study that pays so little attention to the substantial volume of work already in print on the 'reformation of manners' in most if not all the counties selected.

Alfred Johnson's essay on scandal in the town of Ayr queries the validity of the presumption that Scottish kirk sessions were 'obsessed with sex', and reaches nuanced conclusions on relations between the laity and the clergy and elders of the sessions. In contrast to Fiona McCall's reliance on large-scale statistical evidence, Rosalind Johnson's essay on loyalist religion in Hampshire, Bristol and parts of Somerset and Wiltshire finds statistical analysis less convincing, pointing to problems of evidence; she finds nevertheless at parish level a picture of continuity of religious practice from previous decades and, inevitably, proof of stalled or half-baked reform. The Welsh clergy, bound in 'a community of suffering', in Sarah Ward Clavier's phrase, found their utterances in sermons, printed works and letters to be central to the sustenance of the episcopalian tradition: as their enemies realized – 'like priest, like people'. The theme of continuity is pursued beyond the 1650s in the last contribution to the volume: Maureen Harris's study of the clergy after 1660 in Warwickshire, a useful county to have selected for this book, since it was religiously diverse. This essay is an excellent case study of how anger, which the author finds helpful to characterize as the second stage of grief, provided a driving force for the religious complexion of the county after 1662.

This is not a book that can be recommended as a starting point for discovering the church of the 1650s. As is often the case in essay collections, the individual contributions are too diverse, the voices too many for factual coverage, still less for a consistent picture to emerge. There are many insights here into the thinking of the clergy, in a variety of contexts; and 'the people', here mostly faceless, appear mainly as objects of reform or punishment. The voices nearly entirely absent are those of laymen of power and authority, the men who occupied the benches of the Rump Parliament, the Nominated Assembly or the Cromwellian parliaments, and who were responsible for reform. Nor has the editing been as strict as it might have been. For example, we are told by one author that the hierarchy of the church was abolished in 1645 (p. 137) and by another that episcopacy was abolished in October 1646 (p. 197). Nevertheless, the collection proves the fruitfulness of its subject of study, and will encourage others to undertake further detailed research. And for a modern academic book, it is reasonably priced.

Paul Sutton, ***The Anglo-Spanish War 1655–1660:***
Volume 1: The War in the West Indies. Helion & Company, Century of the Soldier, 2021 (334 pp. 20 b/w illus. 8 pp. colour maps, 4 b/w maps) ISBN 9781913336639, £29.95 paperback.
Volume 2: War in Jamaica. Helion & Company, Century of the Soldier, 2021 (318 pp. 20 b/w illus. 8 colour maps) ISBN 9781914059711, £29.95 paperback.

reviewed by Stuart Orme

The Cromwellian colonial strategy known as 'The Western Design' has received comparatively little attention, both in terms of historiography and in any popular attention paid to the period of the English Republic. This was, however, examined recently by Paul Lay in '*Providence Lost*', which opened with an account of England's colonial territories and looked to an extent at Cromwell's regime through the prism of the expedition to the West Indies, bringing this subject to a wider audience.

These two new volumes by Paul Sutton are to be much welcomed in building on that interest, providing a very detailed military examination of the Anglo-Spanish War in the West Indies. The first covers the initial conception of the expedition in 1654 up to the landings in Jamaica in the summer of 1655, after which its commanders, Penn and Venables, returned to England. The second picks up the story of the ongoing conflict in the region up to and including the Restoration in 1660.

Volume one is divided into three sections. The first provides a clear background to Anglo-Spanish conflict in the region, setting the context for the war in political and economic terms as well as Cromwell's attitudes and the curious influence of Dominican Priest-turned-Puritan, Thomas Gage. Further chapters within this section of the book look in detail at the preparation (or lack of) by the English expeditionary forces, with an analysis of the key figures, weapons, supplies, costs, military units, and the fleet. There's excellent use of the records available to provide real detail on the troops and ships involved, which reveals many of the weaknesses that contributed to the ensuing disaster. Sutton makes it clear that poor planning and resourcing, internal divisions and a lack of a clear plan had become increasingly evident by the time the expedition arrived in Barbados.

The second section describes the English attack on Hispaniola, from some early success, to increasing inertia as the troops were caught in ambushes by Spanish troops that caused unsustainable losses. The quality of the English commanders, poor supplies, and improvements in Spanish defences are all considered to be contributory factors for the eventual decision to abandon the attack on Hispaniola. The last section introduces the invasion of Jamaica, which initially met no resistance, only to be subsequently harassed by the Spanish colonists. Hunger, disease, and the ongoing attacks made the situation miserable for the surviving English forces, abandoned by the greater part of their fleet and their commanders at the end of June 1655. This makes an obvious point for a break in the story and is where the first volume concludes.

In Volume 2, Sutton picks up the events with the ongoing struggle for Jamaica itself, only secured by 1660 after a series of often overlooked small-scale actions. Both sides battled the climate, disease, and a lack of supplies as much as each other, as well as having to negotiate relations with a community of African-Caribbeans living on Jamaica, many of whom were escaped slaves attempting to gain a measure of independence from the rulers of the island.

Later sections of the second volume look at the English garrison in Jamaica, the conditions under which they operated (both the army and navy) and the subsequent development of the colony and daily life on the island. It's a fascinating window into life in what must have seemed like being on another planet to many of those who found themselves on this island in this early period.

Both volumes are very well researched using numerous English and Spanish sources, including the reproduction of some previously unpublished Spanish maps of the island of Jamaica in Volume 2. Appendices provide detailed information about ships and orders of battle, and both volumes are comprehensively footnoted. Whilst there is a profusion of maps (very useful modern versions for orientation as well as reproductions of contemporary maps), if I did have a complaint it was the lack of illustrations compared to the usual number found in Helion's books, particularly lacking in the second volume. It's a shame that more images of some of the personalities were not included and, given the unusual nature of the subject matter, it would have

been interesting to see some artistic interpretations of some of the events included in the books. Indexes would also have been helpful, given the sheer amount of information packed into each volume.

Despite my slight reservations, these are worthy additions to the bookshelf of anyone interested in a detailed account of this oft-overlooked campaign.

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Simon Thurley, ***Palaces of Revolution: Life, Death and Art at the Stuart Court***. William Collins, 2021. (xi and 543 pp. 25 colour plates, around 150 b&w images) ISBN 9780008389963, £10.99 paperback.

reviewed by Professor Peter Gaunt

As the author admits in his preface, this impressive volume has had a very long gestation, for it was originally conceived as a continuation of and companion to his splendid *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*, published in the early 1990s. Nearly thirty years is a long time to wait, but it is worth it for such an erudite study of the various properties built or adapted for and owned by the Stuart monarchs, their spouses and their children between 1603 and 1714.

Broadly chronological in structure, in the first chapter we pick up the story with discussion of the buildings used by James VI in Scotland as both a child and an adult king, before, in mid-April 1603, we see him for the first time occupying one of the royal houses of England which he had just inherited from the Tudors – the King's Manor in York – en route to London as the new king of England (and Ireland, though as the Stuart monarchs hardly ever visited Ireland or indeed Wales, there is almost nothing here on those two countries). The focus of most of the ensuing eighteen chapters is on the English properties, grand and more modest, owned and intermittently occupied by the seven Stuart monarchs, by their consorts – Anne of Denmark and Henrietta Maria come across as very active and important in terms of architecture and building work, the consorts of the later Stuarts much less so – and by their legitimate children – again, far more a feature of the earlier than the later Stuarts, given that Charles II, William and Mary and, by the time of her accession, Anne, had none.

The lion's share of the rich and elegant text and of the plentiful supporting illustrations is given over to assessing the building projects undertaken or in some cases planned but never begun (several wildly extravagant proposals to completely rebuild the ramshackle Whitehall Palace, as well as Charles II's fascinating but equally abortive dream of building a major new palace well away from the capital, in Winchester); and also covering properties inherited or newly acquired by the Stuarts, most of them in, around or within a day's journey of London. There is full and detailed evaluation here of architectural influences and styles, of internal arrangements and the layout of the principal royal apartments, of facades and frontages, of the performance of the Office of Works and of individual architects employed by the crown, and so forth. But alongside this, the author also explores the wider landscape setting and gardens of some of the principal palaces, how from time to time the Stuarts sought to influence the architecture of their growing capital, the arrangements of the various chapels royal, including those provided for Catholic queens consort, and the quite limited post-1603 influence of the crown over royal and civic architecture in Edinburgh and Scotland more widely.

Separate chapters explore the buildings occupied by Charles I during and after the civil war and those used by his eldest son during his years of exile on Jersey, in Paris and in the Netherlands, up to the Restoration. This is, then, in the main a study of royal architecture, buildings and building work in south-east England, though a range of linked issues are examined, including the political and religious context of the Stuart monarchs and their age, the structure and arrangement of the court and the political implications of how physical access was gained to the royal apartments and to the monarch's person when in residence, broader issues of changing styles, fashions and aesthetics, and how English architectural developments may have been influenced by the Continent – the consequences of Charles I's visit to Madrid and the Spanish court as Prince of Wales, of Henrietta Maria's Parisian upbringing, of Charles II's admiration of Louis XIV and of William and Mary's Dutch background are all reassessed here.

One of the few disappointments of this book is the less than generous coverage accorded to the closing Stuart reigns. Given the huge rebuilding of the Fountain Court at Hampton Court and the development of a newly acquired royal property on the western outskirts of London which became

Kensington Palace under William and Mary, the period 1689–1702 is covered here rather briefly in a single chapter, while Queen Anne's reign, during which work at both those properties continued apace and St James's Palace was extended, is summarised in an 'epilogue' of a mere six pages, which is surely an injustice. However, readers of *Cromwelliana* are likely to be more interested in the early Stuarts and in the decades leading up to the civil war and the republic, and that interest will be rewarded with a rich and detailed discussion of the reigns of James I and Charles I, accorded ten chapters between them.

The distinction which James drew between large and formal palaces of state and smaller, less formal leisure/pleasure houses is very well made. For the former, James had little time for most of the major palaces he inherited from the Tudors, including Eltham, Greenwich, Hampton Court, Richmond and Windsor, favouring instead the grand Elizabethan house at Theobalds, north of London, where he stayed several times in the opening years of his English reign and which he acquired from the Cecil family in 1607, whereupon he converted it into a fully-fledged royal palace. Chief amongst James's smaller leisure/pleasure houses were the assemblages of properties which he bought and converted or built anew in Royston and Newmarket, creating autumn and winter retreats where he could indulge in hawking and hare coursing but also devote himself to reading and writing. Wishing to spend much of his time outside London, James's use of Whitehall Palace was quite limited and intermittent, though his greatest and most important architectural commission was there – the building of the new Banqueting House, assessed in great detail and very positively here. But for the most part, the author shows that as an architectural patron James was overshadowed by his wife, Anne of Denmark. She redeveloped Greenwich, beginning a new pavilion there which later evolved into the Queen's House, and she more extensively revamped and extended Somerset Place in the Strand, spending lavishly to create 'one of the greatest buildings of Europe', at the time renamed 'Denmark House'.

The change of tone and style after 1625 is repeatedly stressed, for the new monarch brought a new type of court and, from the later 1620s, a very different royal married life. Whereas after 1603 James and Anne had lived largely apart, residing in their own distinct and separate properties, Charles and Henrietta Maria – though again each had his and her own portfolio of royal houses – in practice spent much of their time living and sleeping under

the same roof. Unlike his father, Charles liked Whitehall Palace and, summers apart, he tended to reside there for large parts of the year, while his children were brought up at nearby St James's. As queen consort, Henrietta Maria was assigned her own royal properties and, like her predecessor, she initiated significant new work at several of them, including Denmark House and the pavilion at Greenwich, where work had stalled after Anne's death; in the course of the reign she also acquired and developed the house and extensive gardens of Wimbledon Manor. Once again, the queen consort comes across as a more active and distinctive architectural patron than the king.

This is primarily a study of the Stuart monarchs, their courts and their properties, so we would not expect to find much on the years of the republic. In fact, one chapter is given over to 'Republican Residences', though its opening section is devoted to the physical setting of Charles's trial and execution. The author proceeds to review the disposal of some ex-royal properties after Charles's death and the reservation of others in or close to London for the use of the government, notably the new Council of State, under the Rump and Nominated Assembly. Cromwell's use of some former royal palaces during the Protectorate is briefly examined, though most of the key points made will already be familiar to readers of Roy Sherwood's *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*. Thus the author notes that, while money and effort were expended repairing and refurnishing some of the royal properties brought back into more intensive use after 1653, there was very little completely new building during the Protectorate. He also notes that Cromwell and his immediate family personally used only two of the half dozen or so former royal palaces assigned to them, generally living at Whitehall during the week and spending long weekends at Hampton Court, a pattern of residency very different from that of any of the Stuarts; in addition, he mentions that Oliver and his wife did not have separate suites of rooms but instead jointly occupied the former queen's apartments at both Whitehall and Hampton Court, while the former king's apartments at those palaces were used as offices or lodgings. However, the real strengths of this important and attractive new study lie not in the mid-seventeenth century but in the deeply-researched and often innovative exploration of the palaces and properties of the first four Stuart monarchs and their age.

Peter Leadbetter, ***The Perfect Militia: The Stuart Trained Bands of England and Wales 1603–1642***, Helion & Company, Century of the Soldier, 2021. (178 pp.) ISBN 9781914059728, £25 paperback.

reviewed by Dr Ismini Pells

How refreshing to have a book which aims 'to show that by 1642 the trained bands had become a credible force' (p. 9)! Too often (no doubt heavily influenced by the *Dad's Army* portrayal of home defence) the trained bands have been written off as either comical in their buffoonery or dangerous in their incompetence. Characterised as little more than a drinking club for local elites during peacetime and unreliable in their approach to real soldiering during wartime, the condescension of previous generations of scholars have frequently been unthinkingly parroted without any thorough examination of the evidence. What Peter Leadbetter provides in *The Perfect Militia* is a judicious verdict on the capabilities of the trained bands based on an understanding of contemporary attitudes towards the militia's function and comprehensive research across the archives and local record offices of England and Wales.

The trained bands were the part-time militia force for England and Wales, organised on a county-by-county basis. Originally formed in 1572, the trained bands were the most able men selected from mass levies of all males aged between 16 and 60 for regular military training. Their purpose was to defend their home county from internal insurrection and outside attack by foreign invaders. Leadbetter's book takes its title from Charles I's attempts to reform the trained bands into the 'Perfect Militia' during the 1620s and 1630s, though it is a study of the trained bands under the early Stuarts more widely and covers the period 1603–42. Leadbetter asserts that by the start of the Bishops' Wars in 1639, the trained bands were 'a viable, home defence force, although not the "perfect militia" that had been hoped for' (p.9). They numbered 100,000 men, who were armed equipped, organised and trained. While admitting that 'their level of training was variable', Leadbetter points out that 'trained they were and they were definitely armed and equipped, or at least the foot were' (p. 13). An acceptance of this conclusion is important, as Leadbetter points out, otherwise it is hard to explain why else control of the

trained bands became one of the major issues between King and Parliament at the outbreak of the Civil War.

The book is, at heart, a technical study of the composition and functioning of the trained bands during 1603–42, which will particularly appeal to military enthusiasts and re-enactors, as well as scholars in need of specialist details. The chapters cover subjects including regimental and company organisation; uniforms, ribbons and colours; and arms, armour and equipment. There is a prosopographical investigation of the social status, professions and ages of the men who were recruited, as well as a study of the various methods by which they were recruited, both of which influenced their role once in the trained bands. Consideration is also given to the way musters were organised and conducted, problems with the system and, as noted above, the effectiveness of the force.

If I were to have two quibbles with this book, they would be as follows: the first is that there is no attempt to place the fruits of Leadbetter's forensic research into the context of the wider scholarship on the trained bands and elucidate the ways in which it contradicts or complements what has been written before. Instead, this is left to the reader to decide. Part of the reason for this no doubt stems from Leadbetter's commendable aim to use only original documents as far as possible: indeed, the footnotes and bibliography are almost exclusively reserved for primary sources. However, for those new to the subject – and the accessibility of the pricing and presentation of the book suggests that it may attract a number of novices – pointers to other secondary literature on the trained bands might be helpful. The second minor protest about this book is that there is no sustained attention devoted to the political and cultural attitudes of the men who served in the trained bands. The political to-ing and fro-ing between local and central government when organising musters is covered in chapter 5, but there is no consideration of trained bandsmen's involvement in political affairs (both local and national), religious beliefs, kinship and patronage networks, civic/local customs, etc. Admittedly, this could be a vast undertaking and the evidence often likely to be elusive. Leadbetter may well have considered this to be beyond the scope of the present work. However, these are important matters in understanding the trained bands, not least because, in Leadbetter's words, 'given the motivation they [the trained bands] would have fought and fought well. The

question is, what would have motivated them?' (p. 14). Political and cultural considerations might have helped him answer this question. Perhaps Leadbetter might be persuaded to write a companion volume? The quality of the research and judgement in the present work suggests that he would be well placed to fulfil such an undertaking.

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Jonathon Riley, ***The Colonial Ironsides: English Expeditions under the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1650-1660.*** Helion & Company, Century of the Soldier, 2022 (385 pp. 57 b/w illus. 33 maps) ISBN 9781915070371, £35 paperback.

reviewed by Professor John Morrill

This impressive book has an attractive title, but a misleading one. The subtitle is far more accurate. This is a series of thorough and convincing accounts of a whole range of expeditions by land and sea undertaken by the New Model Army and (for want of a more accurate title) the New Model Navy across the 1650s. It is a very substantial prequel to Riley's *The Last Ironsides: the English expedition to Portugal 1662–1668* (Helion, 2014).

Nineteen chapters cover the recovery of appendages to the Stuart kingdoms (the Scillies, the Channel Islands, the Isle of Man); expeditions to take back Royalist-occupied Caribbean Islands in 1651–2 and North American colonies during the Protectorate; naval operations in the Mediterranean and particularly North Africa in the later Protectorate; and two more substantial and rather better known episodes – the failed attack on Hispaniola (modern-day Haiti/Dominica) and the compensatory seizure of Jamaica (1655+), and the campaigns in Northern France (Mardyke, Dinkirk, battle of the Dunes) (1656–59), the former receiving three chapters (75 pages), and the latter covered by eight chapters (99 pages).

The research suffers a bit from the use of calendars rather than full texts of State Papers, etc, and from Riley not being able to access important databases only available in subscription libraries (eg *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*), but the book has many compensating virtues. The military evidence

is very thoroughly interrogated and very clearly presented, with outstanding maps and a large range of interesting and pertinent illustrations printed (as ever in this series from Helion) on high-quality paper. There are 15 appendices (each placed at the end of the relevant chapter) giving regimental/naval lists (at least of officers) for each of the campaigns – eg for the recovery of each of the island groups in 1651, for the Hispaniola expedition and the subsequent garrison in Jamaica, for Blake's expedition to the Mediterranean and for the brigade in Flanders in 1657–8. As far as I know (and I have read all the secondary accounts that Riley cites), in every case he has produced the clearest and more persuasive account we have of all the campaigns and battles. I would single out the account of the failed Hispaniola expedition and that of the siege of Dunkirk and the Battle of the Dunes, but all are good, and I certainly had not previously understood the number of mopping-up operations left over after the downfall of Charles I.

And the book has important lessons for us: firstly, with the exception of the Hispaniola expedition, the logistics of each campaign were very well and appropriately prepared – there was no skimping on men or supplies and the right number of troops with appropriate levels of fire power were deployed to intimidate enemies into submission. Expeditionary forces rarely involved the deployment of whole regiments, but comprised companies drawn from existing and battle-hardened regiments reinforced by newly recruited men (some or many of whom may have been veterans). Shows of force were almost always enough to bring those under assault (especially royalist forces in the remote islands off the British archipelago and in the Americas) to sue for peace. Secondly, the local Commonwealth commanders were always willing to offer generous terms, peace with honour indeed. To take just one example: after a brief struggle on a beach as the New Model landed on Barbados, in which they took heavier casualties than the royalist defenders, a bridgehead was established; the governor, Lord Willoughby and all leading Barbardians surrendered in return for an indemnity and guaranteed possession of his estates, on condition that they surrendered the castle and all other fortifications and handed over all their arms which included 70 pieces of ordnance, 90 barrels of gunpowder and 4,500 carbines, muskets and pistols. The English had clearly learned from their experience in Ireland in 1650 and 1651.

And the book occasionally throws up puzzles. On 16 September 1649, following the storming of Drogheda, Cromwell reported to the Council of State that 'I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the Defendants, and I do not think 30 of the whole number escaped with their lives; those that did are in safe custody for the Barbadoes'. And he repeated the statement the following day in a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons: 'when they submitted, their Officers were knockt on the head, and every tenth man of the Soldiers killed, and the rest Shipped for the Barbadoes; the Soldiers in the other Town were all spared, as to their lives onely, and Shipped likewise for the Barbadoes'. Every historian since – myself included – have reported this without comment. But as Riley's book shows, in September 1649 and for nearly 18 months thereafter, Barbadoes was in royalist hands. Mmm…

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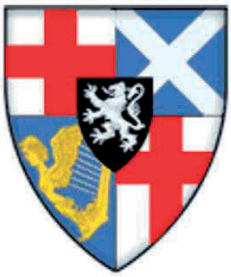

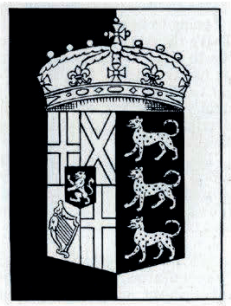

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