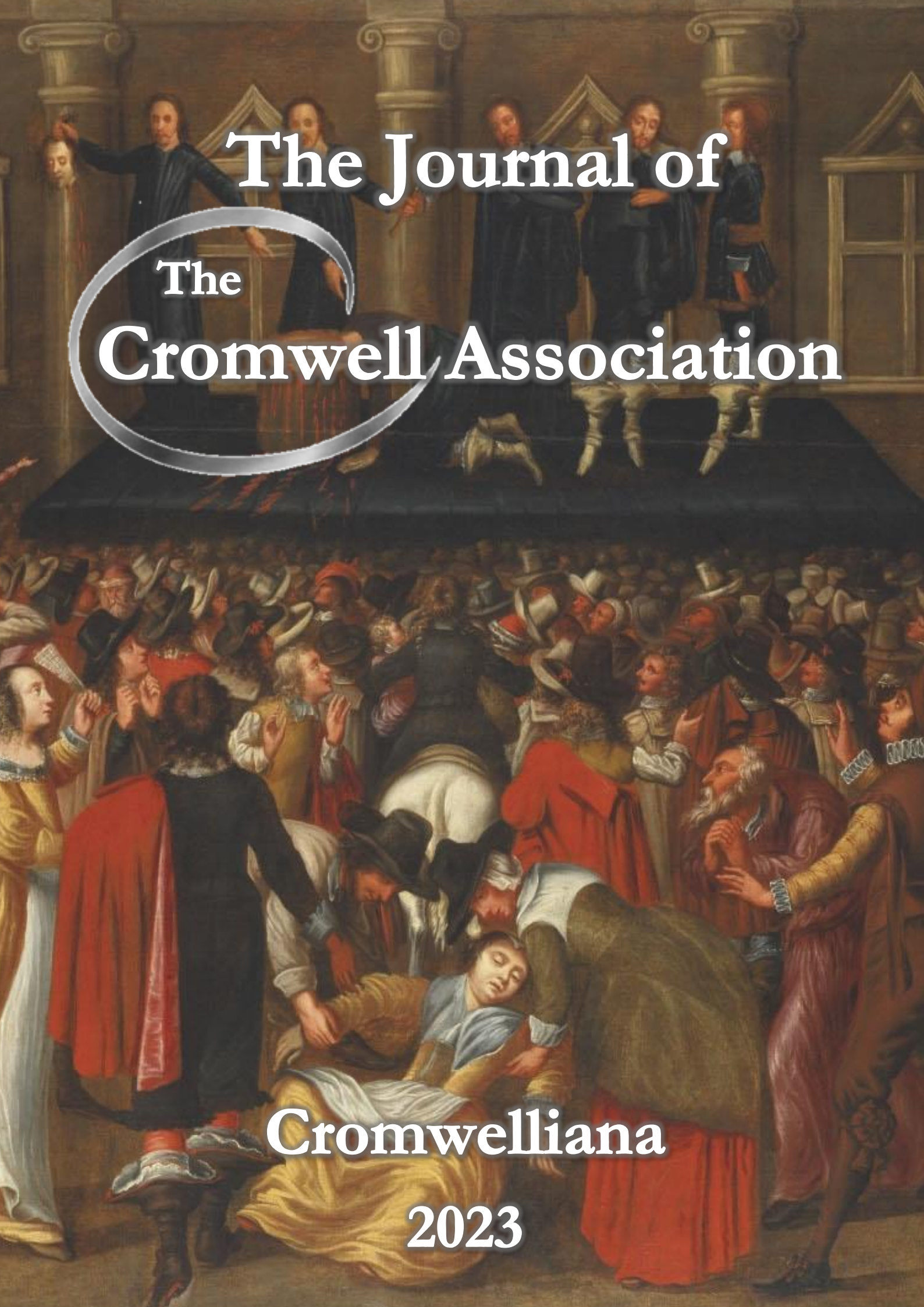
The Journal of The Cromwell Association



Cromwelliana

2023

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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Editor: Dr Maxine Forshaw

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The civil war in Wales is an interesting and complex subject with far from straightforward loyalties emerging. This was the topic chosen for the Cromwell Association study day in 2022 which was hosted at St Fagans, the scene of the battle of that name in May 1648. Papers both from and relating to the day are presented in this edition and include an overview of the programme from Dr Ismini Pells and a comprehensive account of the civil war in the Principality from Professor Peter Gaunt.

The new stained-glass window installed in St Giles' Cripplegate, celebrating the marriage of Oliver Cromwell to Elizabeth Bourchier in 1620, was officially blessed on 3 September 2022 when we held our annual Cromwell Day there. The Address by Paul Lay in which he considers Cromwell and Milton (the latter buried in the church in 1674) is presented here in full.

In last year's edition Dr Stephen Brogan wrote 'Picturing Regicide: Contextualising John Nalson's Image of Charles I on Trial' and complements this with a further paper entitled 'Picturing Regicide: the Execution of Charles I'. Again, he invites the reader to look closely at images from the time and helps us to interpret what we see.

Other papers include an in-depth examination of the complicated relationship between Richard Cromwell and his daughters, and Cromwellian Britain turns the spotlight on Peterborough.

My thanks, as always, to all the contributors who provide such an informative and absorbing read.

Maxine Forshaw

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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jonathan.fitzgibbons@gmail.com

CROMWELL DAY ADDRESS 2022
GREAT EXPECTATIONS: CROMWELL AND MILTON AND 'THE THINGS THAT GOD HAS PROMISED'

by Paul Lay

I was both surprised and honoured to be asked to give this address, given the esteemed company that has preceded me in doing so. I would like to thank John Goldsmith, and everyone at the Cromwell Association for this invitation and, more importantly, for the extraordinary work they do to sustain interest in this greatest of Englishmen – truly, as John Milton christened him, our 'Chief of Men' – and the turbulent times in which he lived, and whose legacy remains with us.

In this wonderful setting [of St Giles' Cripplegate] – and I must offer thanks to the Rector, the Reverend Canon Jack Noble, for allowing us to be here today – how could I not talk about those two great contemporaries: Cromwell and Milton? Here, in the place where the poet and polemicist lay, and where, in 1620, the soldier-statesmen was married to his beloved Elizabeth – a love match if ever there was one – and an event newly commemorated in the glass panel funded by the Cromwell Association, which receives its blessing today.

Cromwell and Milton served the same cause. But they were men of very different background. Milton was a Londoner, born like that other great poet John Donne in Bread Street, surely England's greatest literary stable. His father, a moneylender by trade, was a man of considerable musical talent and his euphonious terminology would enter his son's language – how often Milton invokes such terms as symphony, fugue, diapason, mode. He mixed among the Italian musicians who visited his house and became a linguist of European-wide sensibility. On his travels he met Galileo and knew Europe intimately, not just as an idea but as a geographical place, its people, its languages. His reference points were those of Greece and Rome, of the Renaissance, of the Venetian Republic. His turn to a radicalism, far removed from his early conformist leanings, was initially registered in the first of his masterpieces, *Lycidas*, perhaps the greatest short poem in the language. He became an idealist given to the pursuit of liberty at all costs, even to the point of death; not a man obviously given to compromise.

Cromwell by contrast was very much the provincial, a Little Englander, one might say, who had known the precarious nature of social position and

wealth. Probably the poorest MP of his intake, he was rough-hewn, his simple Puritan faith in contrast to the complex Arminianism of Milton, who composed an entire theology in *Paradise Lost*. Cromwell saw himself only – and I believe sincerely – as God's instrument alone. He was largely unknown until his 40s, when he embarked on a brief but spectacular military career, ruthless and of lasting notoriety in Ireland.

The relationship between Cromwell and Milton was never close, if it really existed at all. On 15 March 1649, barely a month and a half after the execution of Charles I, John Milton was appointed secretary of foreign tongues, answering to the newly established Council of State. It is a position he would hold until at least October 1659, more than a year after the death of Cromwell, whose Protectorate, too, he served, answering to John Thurloe, Cromwell's gifted spymaster. And yet Milton is never referred to in Cromwell's own words. Milton, famously, in his *Sonnet 16*, praised Cromwell as 'our chief of men'. He offered similarly extravagant praise in the early days of the Protectorate in 1654 in his *Second Defence of the English People*, in which the Protector is described as 'the first man in the state'. The rest is silence, which may or may not speak of approval.

So few are the encounters between Cromwell and Milton in reality, at least as recorded, that they have had to be imagined. JH Shorthouse, for example, in the less than sympathetic novel of 1881, *John Inglesant in England*, depicts Milton reporting directly to Cromwell on the activities of royalist prisoners. Neither man, it can be said, are painted in vivid, nuanced prose.

The reaction to my own book *Providence Lost: The Rise and Fall of Cromwell's Protectorate* reminded me of something I always knew, which is that the two men united by this building remain deeply divisive figures. It is striking that both supporters and detractors can be partial to a rather simplistic view of them. They are Marmite men, Manichaean, either wholly good or wholly evil. Historians and literary scholars, of course, paint a different, more complete and therefore complex picture, and yet there, too, we see division.

Distinguished historians of the calibre and authority of Blair Worden and Austin Woolrych have claimed that Milton soon became disillusioned with the regime, particularly the rule of a single figure, which Milton famously

'abjured'. Evidence of that disillusionment revolves around a number of crucial issues. Cromwell's inability, or reluctance, to disestablish the church, separating it from the state in a manner akin to what became the US model – I'm always intrigued on this point by the contention of the historian JCD Clark that in many ways the United States is the counterfactual to Britain, in that the US is the country that Britain would have become had the Cromwellian regime, or something approximate to it, maintained itself. It is not a contention to explore here, I just put it out there. Milton also disliked Oliver Cromwell's actions against those keepers of the flame of the 'good old cause'. Men such as Henry Vane. Again though, we are confronted by silence. In his writings of 1658, Milton does not even mention the death of Cromwell, which we mark today.

Now, rarely do I dissent from the judgments of Blair Worden – one of the reasons I asked him, and he kindly accepted, to be one of the readers of *Providence Lost* – but there are questions to ask of this narrative that is now perhaps the consensus on Milton's relationship to Cromwell. For we must not forget that Milton, for all his disillusion (which was no doubt real – after all, who is not disillusioned by the realities and compromises of politics?) remained as a servant of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate for 11 years. He marched, too, in the funeral of the Protector, no doubt troubled by its ostentatious display. Though he was silent for so long, are his actions not those of a man who knew that this was as good as it got in this imperfect realm?

When we read the *Sonnet 16* of 1652 or his *Defence of the Protector* in 1654 we presume that Milton had great expectations of Cromwell, who was himself a man repeatedly disillusioned – by his king, by the Rump, by the Nominated Assembly, by his Protectorate parliaments, and fatally disillusioned by the agonising death of his beloved daughter Elizabeth, which hastened his own. (On a further aside, I believe there is much still to say about Cromwell's extraordinary relationship with women: a boy raised in an all-female household, whose deep and loving relationship between himself and Elizabeth is commemorated in the new stained glass memorial in this church; and the extraordinary closeness to his daughters, and indeed his sons-in-law.

Politics and warfare are very different things. Politics does not have the certainty of the battlefield. Judgement in battle is often clear, not only to those of a providential bent: if you win, God is on your side – it was true at Marston Moor, at Naseby, true most of all at Dunbar, fought on this day in 1650 and followed exactly one year later by the triumph at Worcester. Politics offers no such certainties, for all political lives end in failure. And John Morrill has spoken movingly of Cromwell on his deathbed, all too aware, perhaps, that his great project would soon unravel in his absence.

Milton rarely had to grapple with the messy pragmatism of politics, and, in defeat, spared, he would retreat to a street just minutes from here, where he would produce his late masterpieces: our national epic *Paradise Lost,* and *Samson Agonistes*, into both of which one could read disillusion if one is so inclined. But, at the last, even Milton the great idealist recognised that perfection is not for this world.

I'm not normally one to draw parallels with the past, but occasionally the journalist in me takes over from the historian, and towards the end of *Providence Lost*, I drew a parallel, admittedly a mischievous one, between Cromwell and Margaret Thatcher: that she too was born of Fenland, born into nonconformism; a philosemite; that she was suspicious of, though not fundamentally opposed to monarchy; that she was uncomprehending of Ireland; a courageous, providential advocate of military action, who has left considerable problems of succession to those who have followed her. More pertinently, Thatcher, in her grand project that invoked liberty and industriousness, believed that her compatriots were more godly than they were. When she unleashed the forces of global capitalism, the Victorian discipline and morality, which she thought would check its worse instincts, was all but gone. She had misread the nation.

And so, too, Cromwell; so too Milton. None of his parliaments came close to Cromwell's ideal and they certainly didn't satisfy the truly republican Milton. The English people, led out of the wilderness by Cromwell and the New Model Army to the praise of Milton, were not nearly as saintly as the Saints. And even the experiment in military rule collapsed in the face of iniquity, and so God withdrew his hand from the 'debauched and ungenerous nation', as Henry Stubbe put it. And from then on, it was Milton,

blind but of peerless vision, who would ponder the things that God has promised and seek to explain the ways of God to man.

But let us not end in division and disillusion. For the greatness of both Cromwell and Milton persists, as does their legacy, and it is that which we celebrate today. For we can surely all agree with that great scholar Austin Woolrych who wrote that, 'short of imagining Shakespeare as Queen Elizabeth's Secretary of State, it is hard to conceive of a more striking conjunction of giants than that of Milton and Cromwell in the service of the English commonwealth'.

Paul Lay is the author of *Providence Lost: The Rise and Fall of Cromwell's Protectorate* (Head of Zeus, 2020) which was shortlisted for the Cundill History Prize, and is a trustee of the Cromwell Museum, Huntingdon.

A NATION UNDER SIEGE: WALES AND THE WELSH IN THE CIVIL WARS OF THE 1640s – OVERVIEW

by Dr Ismini Pells

On 15 October 2022, the annual Cromwell Association's study day took place at the St Fagans National Museum of History, on the western outskirts of Cardiff. The event was occasioned by the decision to devote a study day to Wales and the civil wars, together with the renovation of the information panel originally funded by the Association commemorating the battle of St Fagans.

The St Fagans National Museum of History is dedicated to the social and cultural history of the people of Wales. It is an open-air museum containing over forty historic buildings from all over Wales, which have been disassembled and re-erected in the grounds of St Fagans Castle (an Elizabethan mansion). In 2018, the museum underwent a £30 million makeover, which included the replacement of the Association's information panel.

The battle of St Fagans, fought on 8 May 1648, has never been securely located but is likely to have been fought on or near the area where the museum now stands. A detachment of 3,000 men from the New Model Army under Colonel Thomas Horton defeated a royalist force numbering 8,000 men led by the former parliamentarian Rowland Laugharne. The battle was part of the so-called 'Second' Civil War of 1648. This consisted of risings led by royalists in alliance with parliamentarians who had become disgruntled at the direction of travel of their political cause following victory in the so-called 'First' Civil War of 1642–6 and was supported by an invasion of Scottish royalists. As readers will learn more in Lloyd Bowen's contribution to this volume (see page 79), Laugharne had worked with John Poyer and Rice Powell to hold Pembrokeshire as an enclave of parliamentarian support during the First Civil War but then resisted attempts by parliament to relieve them of their commands and disband their troops in favour of men from the New Model Army. By May, they were in open rebellion and Laugharne's aim seems to have been to capture Cardiff. Horton, as the most senior New Model officer in the vicinity, was dispatched to deal with the uprising. His aim was to intercept Laugharne on the way to Cardiff but while waiting for the reinforcements that had been dispatched from London under Oliver Cromwell, Horton was taken by surprise by the enemy at St Fagans. Despite

their superior numbers, Laugharne's attack was neutralised and then pushed back, before his army broke under pressure and was routed. Laugharne was wounded but escaped to join Poyer in Pembroke, while Powell retreated to Tenby. Royalist resistance in Glamorgan was over. Cromwell himself arrived in Wales shortly after the battle. After leaving Horton with enough men to deal with Tenby, he marched further west to deal with Pembroke, which fell on 11 July.

The papers presented at the study day aimed to showcase the many facets of recent scholarship on the Civil Wars in Wales. Coverage extended from 'drums and trumpets' accounts of some of the major military events, to consideration of the social, cultural and political aspects of the conflict in the Principality. As is traditional, some of the papers delivered at the study day have been revised for publication and appear in this edition of *Cromwelliana*. The papers not included are those which have already appeared in print and could therefore not be published here without copyright infringement. However, the Association's Council was mindful of the fact that many members would not have been able to attend the study day and so I have been asked to provide a summary of the programme here. It was my great pleasure to chair such a fascinating range of papers on the day and I hope that the following review will do them justice.

'How distinctive was the main Civil War (1642–46) in Wales?'
by Professor Peter Gaunt

Professor Peter Gaunt, president of the Cromwell Association, opened the proceedings with a lively and informative overview of the First Civil War in Wales. He examined why Wales came out so solidly in support of the royalist cause in 1642 and remained so uncontested for the majority of the next four years. Although Peter argued that the strength of Wales's actual allegiance to the king's cause may not have been as deep as it might have seemed, he explained why royalist support in Wales appeared to be so universal to both contemporaries and later historians. He also analysed why parliamentarian attempts to conduct military campaigns in Wales were limited and often unsuccessful. Peter's paper is published in full in this edition of *Cromwelliana* (see page 26), where the details of his conclusions can be read in full.

However, it is worth summarising three main points here, as these provide important context for the following three papers.

Firstly, despite perceptions, the strength of royalism in Wales was not as intense as many have presumed. Royalist sentiment in Wales can largely be explained by the view which saw the king as the best safeguard against negative English metropolitan attitudes toward Wales and the Welsh (see my remarks about Mark Stoyle's paper below), rather than unswerving devotion to the Crown.

Secondly, parliament's general military disinterest in Wales and the patchy record of their limited campaigns there can principally be attributed to the Welsh landscape. Wales, of course, is dominated by mountainous terrain, which made large-scale operations very difficult. Therefore, despite Wales's deserved reputation as 'the nursery of the king's infantry', military action in Wales was (during the First Civil War) small scale and localised. It is no coincidence that the major action of the First Civil War, the battle of Montgomery, was fought in the relatively low-lying edges of the country. Similarly, the parliamentarian campaigns of the Second Civil War (see my summary of the battle of St Fagans above and my remarks about Lloyd Bowen's paper on John Poyer below) were also along the relatively low-lying south coast of Wales. An interesting comparison can be made with Cromwell's East Anglia, which provided a significant contribution in manpower to the parliamentarian forces. Although generally exempt from the action, numerous attempts were made by royalist forces on the counties of the Eastern Association. In comparison to Wales, East Anglia was flat and fabulously wealthy, which made it a tempting prize to royalist commanders. By contrast, Wales's financial contribution to the royalist cause was much more negligible. The lack of riches on offer made military campaigning in Wales's precipitous landscape even less enticing.

Thirdly, it was thus military events not in the Principality but elsewhere in England that determined parliament's eventual control of Wales. As parliament gained the upper hand in the conflict, support for the royalist cause amongst the gentry in Wales melted away.

'John Poyer, Oliver Cromwell and the Second Civil War in Wales' by Dr Lloyd Bowen

Having had an informative analysis of the events of the First Civil War in Wales, Dr Lloyd Bowen provided an entertaining account of the main events of the Second Civil War in Wales as told through the life and death of Colonel John Poyer. Lloyd's paper was based on his research for his recent monograph *John Poyer, the Civil Wars in Pembrokeshire and the British Revolutions* (University of Wales Press, 2020).

Poyer started out as a humble glover in Pembroke, whose life in trade was unremarkable prior to the Civil War. He was connected to a small clique in the town (which included Rowland Laugharne and Rice Powell) who, in part as a result of their links to the Earl of Essex, sided with parliament at the outbreak of the conflict. Poyer became governor of Pembroke Castle, the centre of the parliamentarian enclave in Wales provided by the surrounding county. However, like many in the parliamentarian alliance, Poyer became disgruntled by parliament's prioritisation of the New Model Army after 1645 and the perceived lack of gratitude towards other regional forces who had fought loyally for their cause. Furthermore, Poyer and his associates were alarmed by parliament's reconciliation with former royalists (and Poyer's rivals) in Pembrokeshire politics. He refused to relinquish his military position or disband the troops under his command in favour of a garrison of New Model Army men. Ultimately, as we have seen above, he ended up in open rebellion against parliament in 1648.

Poyer's life is important in helping us understand several crucial aspects of the Civil War. Firstly, it helps us understand why men changed sides throughout the course of the conflict. Turncoats often get a bad press, written off as unprincipled and self-serving opportunists. However, recent research has shown that side-changers commonly offered rational explanations for their actions and were at pains to defend their reputations against detractors on both sides.[1] Secondly, it also highlights the ways in which rival factions turned to the press to justify themselves and criticise their opponents. That contemporaries felt the need to win over popular audiences underlines the strength of public engagement with Civil War politics at all levels. Thirdly, Poyer's activities emphasise the interrelationships between regional politics and national events. More

specifically, it reminds historians of the important contribution of Wales to the events of the Civil War. Finally, perhaps most pertinently for the Cromwell Association, it is Poyer's actions that help explain how Oliver Cromwell ended up in South Wales during early summer 1648…

'The causes, course and consequences of the Battle of Montgomery' by Dr Jonathan Worton

As Peter noted in his overview, Wales did not host many battles during the Civil War. During the First Civil War, the most significant military encounter in Wales was the battle of Montgomery. Fought on 18 September 1644, Montgomery was a major victory for parliament which reversed the tide of royalist support in Wales. Dr Jonathan Worton is an expert on the battle of Montgomery and has published an authoritative account of this event: *The Battle of Montgomery, 1644: The English Civil War in the Welsh Borderlands* (Helion and Company, 2016). He began the afternoon session with a detailed narrative of this pivotal moment in Civil War Wales. As he has already published on Montgomery, Jonathan has kindly contributed an article to this edition of *Cromwelliana* on a different subject (the military action in North Wales during May to June 1648 – see page 55). Therefore, readers looking for a better understanding of the battle of Montgomery are directed to Jonathan's monograph. However, what follows is a summary of the main events.

On 4 September 1644, parliament's Major-General in North Wales, Sir Thomas Myddelton, led a successful assault upon the royalist garrison at Newtown in Montgomeryshire and prevented a convoy of gunpowder from travelling north to supply the royalist garrisons at Chester and Liverpool. Needing a place to house the captured powder, Myddelton turned his attentions to Montgomery Castle. Montgomery Castle was the seat of Lord Herbert of Cherbury. More scholar than soldier and in ailing health, Herbert was a lukewarm royalist who had declared his support for Charles I but refused to take any active part in the Civil War. Herbert surrendered the castle with little resistance on 5 September.

This provoked a response from the royalists stationed at Shrewsbury, who, led by Major-General Sir Michael Erneley and Sir William Vaughan, surprised Myddelton's men in Montgomery three days later. Myddelton left

Colonel Thomas Mytton to defend the castle against the besieging royalists, while Myddelton took his horse to solicit reinforcements from Sir John Meldrum, Sir William Fairfax and Sir William Brereton. They returned to Montgomery on 17 September to bring the combined parliamentarian forces to around 2,000 foot and 1,500 horse. They faced a royalist army comprised of around 2,800 foot, 1,400 horse and 300 dragoons, the royalists themselves having been reinforced by John, Lord Byron and Sir Michael Woodhouse.

The royalists took up a position to the north-west of the castle, where they faced the parliamentarians two miles to the north overnight. The next day, the parliamentarians decided that battle was unlikely and sent the cavalry off to forage for supplies. Immediately, perhaps inevitably, the royalists pounced. Their attack enjoyed some initial success, pushing back the parliamentarian infantry and remaining cavalry. The target was Salt Bridge over the River Camlad (a tributary of the Severn) in order to cut off the parliamentarian's line of retreat. The royalists nearly outflanked the parliamentarians to reach the bridge. However, when all looked lost, the parliamentarian infantry rallied and stemmed the tide of the royalist advance. At this point, the parliamentarian cavalry seems to have returned and Myddelton led a charge which forced the opposition horse to flee. Not wishing to miss out on the action, Mytton led his forces out of the castle to attack the royalists who had been left behind to guard the siegeworks.

The end result was a decisive parliamentarian victory. Around 500 royalists were killed and 1,500 taken prisoner. In contrast, the parliamentarians suffered 40 casualties, and this included Sir William Fairfax (cousin to Sir Thomas, the future commander of the New Model Army). From this point onwards, royalist support amongst the gentry in Wales began to decline.

'Caricaturing Cymru: images of the Welsh in the London Press, 1642–46'
by Professor Mark Stoyle

Professor Mark Stoyle was not able to join us in person, having unfortunately recently broken his toe, but his paper was ably read in his absence by our Chair, John Goldsmith. The focus of Mark's talk was the propaganda campaign which was launched by anonymous pamphleteers in London in late 1641 and was to continue throughout the course of the First Civil War.

Mark has contributed a chapter under the title of this paper to a collection edited by Diana Dunn: *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain* (Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 162–79. Therefore, an extended summary is provided here.

The target of the pro-parliamentarian pamphleteers were the people of Wales, who were at this time emerging as supporters of the Crown and who later turned this into tangible sustenance to the royalist cause in the form of thousands of troops. Building on a long tradition of anti-Welsh satire, the people of the Principality became the butt of the pamphleteers' jokes and were subjected to crude characterisations, often accompanied by abusive woodcuts. The scale of this campaign was unrivalled: in 1642, printed attacks on the Welsh even outnumbered those made upon the Catholic Irish. The numbers of pamphlets produced belies the success of this campaign and suggests that it met with a receptive audience. It is quite possible that the pamphlet's authors were educated gentlemen, but the cheap production and 'resolutely down-market' tone meant that they were designed to appeal to a popular audience.

As noted, these pamphlets used tropes from long established anti-Welsh satire. Although Wales had been incorporated within the kingdom of England since 1536, many in England were still unwilling to accept the Welsh as equals. English derision for Wales began with the landscape. It was a terrain written-off as mountainous, barren and overwhelmingly rural. The inhabitants were characterised as poverty-stricken hill farmers, who wore ragged and long-unfashionable clothes and inhabited hovels little better than pigsties. Englishmen knew a Welshman when they saw one: he was usually to be found in popular caricature drinking spiced mead and eating leeks, though (as everybody knew) his favourite food was cheese – preferably toasted. He transported himself on the sheep or cattle that grazed his fields, fought his enemies with antiquated weaponry, sought romance amongst the loose women in his neighbourhood and entertained himself with the music of the harp and the fables of his people. He was completely cut off from the civilised world by the mountainous terrain and bad roads of his home country.

The politico-religious context of the Civil Wars, however, added a new dimension to the traditional portrayals of Wales and the Welsh. Set against the backdrop of what has recently been dubbed England's 'culture war' of the seventeenth century, it was the supposed conservatism of the Welsh that took centre stage.[2] Fictitious Welshmen were depicted declaring their affection for the Book of Common Prayer and traditional festivals, while at the same time demonstrating their hostility to all things 'puritan'. Furthermore, it was alleged that the Welsh were an innately royalist race.

Above all, in the eyes of the parliamentarian pamphleteers, it was for the Welsh (in the words of Flanders and Swann's *A Song of Patriotic Prejudice*) 'knowing they're foreign that makes them so mad!' The 'foreignness' of Wales was emphasised time and again. The inhabitants were irredeemably 'alien', 'other' and 'un-English'. There were frequent allusions to the Welsh language and the pamphlet's characters employed mock-Welsh accents to make them look ridiculous. The Welsh were often referred to alongside other non-English people, though interestingly, they were most commonly referred to alongside other peoples of the Celtic fringes, ie the Cornish, Irish and Scottish Highlanders. The inhabitants of continental Europe were grudgingly considered semi-civilised but those of the Celtic fringes were demonised as backward and barbaric. Irish and Welsh soldiers in the king's army were routinely conflated, which served to tar the Welsh with the brush of inhumanity that the English had long used to paint the Irish people.

Mark argued that although all this served to stir up contempt for the Welsh amongst the pamphlets' English readers, on its own it was not sufficient to turn contempt into action. For this, the pamphleteers had to convince their audience that 'the Welsh, in their turn, hated the English as foreign oppressors, chafed at their subordinate position within the English state, and planned to recover their former independence under the cloak of military support for the Crown'. It is this important aspect of the pamphleteers' agenda that had previously gone unnoticed prior to Mark's own publication.

Mark's talk illustrated this point by first examining a single-sheet broadside (the cheapest form of contemporary publication) which was printed in London in either late 1641 or early 1642 and ran to at least two editions. The broadside was titled *The Welchmans Inventory* and purportedly listed the goods

of one William Morgan of Glamorgan. Drawing on the stereotype of the poverty-stricken Welshman, most of the goods listed were of little or no value. However, the interesting section was that devoted to Morgan's 'Armoury of Weapon[s], to kill her enemy' [in parodies of Welsh-accented English speech, the terms 'her' and 'she' were used as all-purpose pronouns]. Morgan's armoury included one gun, two Welsh-hooks and three long clubs. So far so good: all these weapons referred to the antiquated nature of Morgan's personal arsenal. Yet, more puzzlingly, the armoury also included one mousetrap. It turned out that during the early seventeenth century, English people were occasionally associated with the figure of the mouse (rather like French people are still commonly associated with the figure of the frog). The mousetrap signified that the enemies which Morgan's armoury was designed to be used against were, in fact, the English. To underline this point, Morgan interrupts himself while listing his possessions to rant against the mice who infest his land, cursing them for eating his toasted cheese. Moreover, the second edition of the broadside was accompanied by a woodcut of Morgan surrounded by his worldly goods. In this image, prominence was given to a cupboard of nasty-looking weapons, which also included the mousetrap. The broadside can thus be interpreted as a coded warning against a potential military challenge from Wales.

The people of Wales did not stand idly by while they were subjected to this torrent of abuse. In February 1642, a petition was sent to the House of Commons complaining of the 'epidemicall derision of us' in England and demanding that the authors of these anti-Welsh pamphlets be punished. Unfortunately, this petition only served to stoke the fire against them. Later the same month, an eight-page pamphlet appeared under the title *The Welchmans last Petition and Protestation*. This featured a long and garbled list of ridiculous grievances voiced by one 'Shinkin ap Morgan'. Amongst the chief complaints was a tirade against the mice who infested Wales and destroyed her commodities, especially eating up all the cheese. The grievances are met with mockery by a character named 'Master Mouse', who pokes fun at ap Morgan's attempts at speaking English and scorns the Welsh for being a nation of whingers who blame the English for every misfortune. In reply, ap Morgan falls into rage – not at Master Mouse's mockery but because, during the course of his speech, Mouse had presumed to call him 'his fellow-countryman'. This ap Morgan bitterly rejects, highlighting the supposed

Welsh animosity towards the English. If readers were in any doubt as to ap Morgan's feelings towards those to the east of Offa's Dyke, then their suspicions would have been confirmed by his threats. Those who had not heeded ap Morgan's earlier threat to procure a 'good store of Mouse Traps' to defend 'the whole Country of Wales … from her enemies' could not have failed to miss his outburst in reply to Mouse 'that if her Petitions bee not regarded … her will fetche… [all her weapons] … and all her Country-men will march out with her in Warlike proportions and kill her enemies'.

Finally, in May 1642, a pamphlet titled *Newes from Wales* aimed to encourage Londoners to believe that the Welsh sought to overthrow English rule altogether and establish their own parliament. This pamphlet contained a character named Morgan Lloyd, who proclaimed the summoning of this parliament to protect 'the Honour and Reputation of the country of Wales', to ensure 'the relief of her ... [Welsh] Commons' and to secure the territory of Wales itself from 'her Roundheaded, Long-tayled enemies'. Here, at last, it is the parliamentarians in particular who are openly portrayed as the mouse oppressors. The way that the proposed Welsh parliament was described was deliberately reminiscent of the traditional Welsh gatherings known as 'Cymanfuedd', the assemblies where the Welsh gathered to share mythologies that challenged English rule. Furthermore, readers may or may not have been aware that the last time a parliament had been called in Wales was during the revolt against the English led by Owain Glyn Dŵr in 1400.

Following the descent into open warfare, references to the Welsh desire for independence became more explicit. Mock-Welshmen began to refer to their '*Kingdom* of Wales', a title which insinuated that the Welsh aimed to establish their own autonomous state. Welshmen were portrayed as fighting for the king not just in defence of his cause but of the laws, liberties and religion of Wales itself. They flocked to the royalist cause to make themselves rich on the spoils of the English and had a special admiration for Prince Rupert because he enabled them to do this. Mark concluded that all this serves to suggest that, in the eyes of the parliamentarian pamphleteers, the Civil War was not just a politico-religious quarrel between king and parliament but also a national conflict between England and Wales. Their published outputs are a window into the anxieties about 'race', ethnicity and nationhood that lay at the very heart of the English Civil War.[3]

'Oliver Cromwell (*alias* Williams) and Wales'
by Dr Lloyd Bowen

To round off the day, we welcomed back Dr Lloyd Bowen for a colourful exploration of the important but often overlooked connections between Cromwell and Wales. The full version of Lloyd's research on this subject has been published as a chapter in Patrick Little's edited collection *Oliver Cromwell: New Perspectives* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 168–94.

Lloyd was anxious not to argue for any 'special relationship', noting that Cromwell barely mentions Wales in his letters and speeches and he only visited the Principality twice, both very briefly: in May to July 1648 on his campaigns in Pembrokeshire and in July/August 1649 on his way to Ireland. Cromwell's interest in Wales was largely based on his Welsh ancestry and his concern for religious reform in Wales, especially in the south-east of the country. As Lloyd went on to demonstrate, it is likely that these two interests were linked.

Cromwell was descended from Morgan Williams, a small freeholder from Whitchurch near Cardiff in Glamorgan. Morgan married Katherine Cromwell, sister of Henry VIII's chief minister Thomas Cromwell. Their son, Richard, emphasised his connections to the royal favourite by styling himself 'Richard Williams alias Cromwell'. Richard went on to purchase the ex-monastic property at Hinchingbrooke, Huntingdonshire, which became the seat of the Cromwell family.

The house at Hinchingbrooke was permeated with references to the Cromwells' Welsh past. In 1602, Richard's son (Oliver's grandfather), Sir Henry Cromwell, commissioned a pedigree which traced the family line back to Gwaethfoed and Gloddian. The former was a key symbolic figure in the history of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire and the latter was prince of Powys. The Cromwell arms were quartered with those of Gloddian and those of Mathiaid of Morgannwg and King Ynyr of Gwent, who married into the Gwaethfoed family. These arms littered the windows and masonry throughout Hinchingbrooke. By alleging links to these legendry figures of the Welsh past, the Cromwell family aimed to assert a claim to royal blood and gentry status.

Young Cromwell would have seen the Welsh heraldry at Hinchingbrooke and although he only ever signed himself 'Oliver Cromwell', he was described in legal documents as 'Oliver Cromwell alias Williams'. Examples of this include his marriage bond with Elizabeth Bourchier in August 1620. His coat of arms as Lord Protector had at its centre the silver lion, coat of Caredig, lord of Powys. The coat of arms was also supported, as those of the Tudor dynasty had been, by the lion and the dragon. This emphasised the links between the Cromwell and Tudor dynasties. As well as being the brother-in-law of Oliver's great, great grand-uncle Thomas, Morgan Williams was the son of William ap Evan, a servant of Jasper Tudor (uncle to Henry VII). Cromwell's Welsh heraldry was also conspicuously displayed in his personal seal as Lord Protector and in his funeral procession. Underlying all this heraldry was an anxiety to emphasise the Protector's regal lineage and capacity for personal rule, though as Lloyd noted, this was particularly interesting when most in England would have regarded Welsh connections as being of little value.

Where these can be determined, reactions to the Cromwellian claims to Welshness varied from panegyric to pure political opportunism. Some tried to portray Cromwell as the descendent of ancient British rulers who had long been prophesied to return and claim their inheritance, a popular myth in Welsh culture. The Wrexham mystic Morgan Llwyd dismissed such prophecies as pure piffle, though he was confident that this was an opinion with which Cromwell would have concurred. Others saw in Cromwell's appropriation of Welsh ancestry an opportunity for political lobbying, such as John Ellis, who thought that he could play on this to persuade Cromwell to support his scheme for a Welsh college for training ministers.

Religious reformation in Wales, as noted above, was Cromwell's chief interest in the Principality. It was a long-standing interest that can be traced back to some of his earliest political endeavours. In February 1642, Cromwell (then MP for Cambridge) presented a petition to the House of Commons on behalf of individuals from Monmouthshire who were being harassed by the authorities for attending godly sermons beyond their home parish. Three months later, in May 1642, he presented a petition to the Commons on behalf of the parishioners of Pennard, Glamorgan, against their vicar, William Edwards.

The outbreak of war and dominance of royalism in Wales put paid to plans for religious reform there for the time being. However, these plans were resurrected on 20 December 1649, when the Rump Parliament established the Commission for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales. Cromwell himself does not seem to have been directly involved in this commission, though he was closely connected to those who were, and its work was undoubtedly important to him. The waning support from the Rump for the commission was one of Cromwell's primary motivations for dismissing that parliament and he wrote to the commissioners shortly afterwards telling them to continue in their work as formerly.

As a result of his success on the battlefield, Cromwell became a major Welsh landowner. In March 1648, a grateful parliament had granted him lands in Monmouthshire and Glamorgan that had been sequestered from the Earl of Worcester and amounted to a value around £1,680. Cromwell did not administer his Welsh estates directly, delegating this to his chief Welsh counsellor, Colonel Philip Jones. However, the Welsh lands provided Cromwell with a base from which he could support initiatives for religious reform. He seems to have employed men of known godly reputation on his estates, such as those aligned to the propagation commission and even those who had been involved in the petitioning campaign to parliament supported by Cromwell in 1642. It was a way for Cromwell to assist the godly in the vicinity, who in turn remained loyal supporters of the Commonwealth and Protectorate regimes. In matters of religion in Wales, Cromwell relied heavily on advice from the Welsh minister Walter Cradock, who was almost certainly one of those mentioned in the petition presented by Cromwell to parliament in February 1642, and who was named as one of the ministers who could make recommendations for preachers to the commissioners for the propagation of the gospel in 1650. Cradock went on to serve as one of Cromwell's chaplains. Less radical than many of the other Welsh ministers, Cradock shared Cromwell's commitment to a state-funded national ministry.

In summary, Lloyd argued that Cromwell did not have a specific policy towards Wales but he did have a consistent desire throughout his political career to nourish godliness in the land of his ancestors. He was never the instigator for the plans for religious reform in Wales in the 1640s and 1650s but he was an important supporter of these schemes. It was partly thanks to

his efforts that the godly cause made some headway in Wales, especially in the south-east. At the same time, religious reform initiatives in Wales were met with resistance. This was based partly on resentment towards the zeal of the reformers but also partly because so many were directly linked to Cromwell himself, rather than the traditional rulers in the region.

I hope you enjoy reading the papers from, and connected to, this most interesting study day.

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1 A. Hooper, *Turncoats and Renegadoes: Changing Sides during the English Civil War* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

2 J. Healey, *The Blazing World: A New History of Revolutionary England* (Bloomsbury, 2023), p. 429.

3 For more on this, see M. Stoyle, *Soldiers and Strangers: An Ethnic History of the English Civil War* (Yale University Press, 2005).

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THE NURSERY OF THE KING'S INFANTRY? REASSESSING THE CIVIL WAR IN WALES, 1642–46

by Professor Peter Gaunt

Different versions of the talk from which this paper springs have been given within the 'lunchtime lectures' series at the Grosvenor Museum in Chester in spring 2018 and the 'civil war nights' series at the Commandery in Worcester in summer 2019, and at Northop 'history day' in late summer 2022, as well as at the Cromwell Association study day held at St Fagans National Museum of History in autumn 2022; the author is most grateful for all the comments and questions received from the audiences on those occasions. Although the lecture has been modestly revised for publication, it consciously retains much of the rhythm and some of the idioms and colloquialisms of an oral presentation; it has been lightly rather than heavily annotated, in the main merely to give reference to quoted matter and to point readers towards the principal primary and secondary sources upon which the text rests.

Over the past generation or more, work on the attitudes of contemporaries during 1642, as uneasy peace gave way to civil war, has often stressed hesitancy, uncertainty and disengagement, an antipathy to being drawn into such a dreadful and unnatural conflict, often shading into stronger and more organised neutrality. In county after county within England, the predominant response in 1642–43 was to hold back and to try to hold aloof from the unfolding conflict, such that in at least twenty English counties, including some on or close to the Welsh border such as Cheshire and Staffordshire, leading members of county society came out and came together to conclude neutrality agreements, under which the county would remain at peace and keep the fledgling war out. It took the expansion of the war efforts and the military resources of king and parliament in winter and spring 1642–43 to overcome that grass-roots hesitancy and neutralism and to drag those counties into the civil war on one side or the other.

At first glance, when we look westwards across the border, Wales seemed to follow a starkly different course in 1642. There was little sign there of early uncertainty, antipathy to the war or neutralism. Instead, without much hesitancy or any significant internal resistance or fighting, in the opening weeks of the war, during summer and autumn 1642, Wales and the Welsh appeared to come out for the most part firmly, enthusiastically and in a

committed manner in support of the king and the royalist cause. Very quickly Welsh gentlemen began signing up to serve as officers in the king's army or to work as county administrators in support of the royalist cause and very quickly and with little apparent reluctance, significant numbers of Welshmen volunteered to serve in royalist regiments, such that Wales was later dubbed 'the nursery of the king's infantry'.[1] Thereafter, most of the Principality remained a solid and untroubled block of largely uncontested royalist territory, much of it remote and effectively immune from attack by parliamentarian forces until very late in the civil war. And yet for all that, in 1645–46 something strange happened, for in the closing stage of the civil war royalism in Wales collapsed and the Principality fell remarkably quickly, and again with very little active fighting, into parliament's hands. Once again, this appears very different from the course of events in the royalist heartlands of England – most obviously in the South West, but also in parts of the west and south-west Midlands and in the heartlands around the royalist super-garrisons of Newark and Oxford – where it took months of hard campaigning by parliamentarian forces and a peppering of bitter field engagements to overwhelm the royalists and to achieve full control.

In light of all this, we might ask why the civil war of 1642–46 in Wales seems so different from the war in much of England, especially in its opening and closing phases. Indeed, we might wonder whether that was really the case or whether those impressions are in fact false. In order to do that, this paper will pose and will seek to answer three questions. First, why was almost the whole of Wales so fervently royalist from the very start of the war? Second, just how royalist was Wales, for despite appearances on the surface in 1642–43, significant tensions and problems certainly appeared in the royalist cause in Wales as the war unfolded. And third, how did parliament go about retaking control of Wales, why did a parliamentarian military campaign there either fail to materialise or quickly stall for so long and why did Welsh royalism then mount such limited military resistance to parliament in the closing phase of the civil war and collapse so dramatically?

So first, why did almost the whole of Wales, unlike much of England, come out so early and so fervently for the king at the start of the civil war? That question has been explored by several generations of historians and some of the earlier explanations they advanced are no longer accorded much

credence. For example, there were suggestions that the distance between London and the worlds of Whitehall and Westminster on the one hand and the Principality on the other meant that most Welshmen were ignorant of the course of events which led to the outbreak of civil war, had no understanding of the perceived misgovernment and abuses of the king and his government, and so naturally rallied to the crown when some in parliament appeared to take up arms against the legitimate and unquestionably rightful reigning monarch. However, more recently it has been demonstrated that there was a keen thirst for news in early Stuart England and Wales, in far-flung regions and provinces just as much as in areas neighbouring or close to the capital; and that despite both tight governmental control over what could be printed (which in any case collapsed in 1641) and limitations on adult literacy (though again rates of literacy, especially among men, were rising in the seventeenth century), that thirst was being met through non-printed newsletters, ballads, woodcuts and buoyant news networks in Wales and the English provinces alike.[2] Accordingly, despite the physical distance between Wales and London, it is most unlikely that in 1642 the Welsh were unaware of, let alone had no interest in the issues and events of the day, the main strands of royal policy and the grounds on which many in parliament disagreed with them. Suggestions that the pro-royalist stance taken by many in Wales as the civil war began was fuelled by blank ignorance wins little support among current historians.

Sometimes linked to the ignorance interpretation was the idea that the Welsh felt an inherent, ethnic loyalty to the Stuarts. The Welsh affinity to the Tudor dynasty (Henry VII was indeed of partly Welsh pedigree and when it suited him played up that Welshness) persisted and survived the death of Elizabeth I, it was claimed, carrying over in and after 1603 to the Stuart dynasty and monarchs, such that in 1642 the Welsh had a strong natural allegiance to the king. That sort of argument rested upon largely intangible and unprovable popular outlooks and mentalities, of which there is little clear evidence in the opening decades of the seventeenth century. In any case, it seems inherently unlikely that the Welsh would have felt any particular affinity to a Stuart dynasty that was clearly and indisputably Scottish, not Welsh, and to a Stuart king who had been born in Dunfermline and who spoke with a soft but perceptible Scottish accent.

A third line of argument, again one now generally seen as misconceived and discounted, is that the allegiance of the masses in the civil war was, from start to finish, determined by the line taken by a few great territorial magnates; such was their influence and sway, it used to be claimed, that the stance they took in turn shaped the wartime outlook of whole regions and wider populations, as blind and unswerving deference to those at the very apex of society determined popular allegiance and thus territorial alignment. Time and again this interpretation has been shown not to work in shaping popular allegiance in English counties and regions, and it fares no better when applied to Wales.[3] It is possible that it might have helped shape initial allegiances in parts of south-east Wales, where the devoted royalism of the fabulously wealthy and powerful Marquis of Worcester and his son, Lord Herbert, may have had wider influence in Monmouthshire and neighbouring parts of Glamorganshire,[4] though even there – as we shall see – the story is more complex. But in most of Wales, south, mid and north, there were simply no great territorial magnates present and active in the early 1640s who might have exerted this sort of influence, no resident grandees on the ground who could have acted in this way and shaped wider popular and regional allegiances. Whatever and whoever led the Welsh quickly and unhesitatingly into the royalist camp in 1642, it was certainly not the actions of grand Welsh aristocrats.

More recently, historians such as Mark Stoyle, Lloyd Bowen and the present author have suggested other, perhaps more plausible explanations for the strength and speedy expression of Welsh royalism at the outbreak of the civil war.[5] For example, the king's financial policies of the 1630s, especially his imposition of Ship Money, while giving rise to some jurisdictional and administrative disputes and internal rating squabbles between individual Welsh counties, do not seem to have caused as much opposition in Wales as they did in parts of England, and may even have struck something of a chord in the Principality. On the one hand, Ship Money was imposed quite lightly in most Welsh counties; on the other, Wales, with its long coastline and its sea-borne trade vulnerable to piratical attack, might well benefit from the enhanced royal navy and improved protection of the coast, ports and shipping – the intended result of the revived and extended levy. In a similar vein, the Welsh were very aware that the geographical position of the Principality, jutting out into the Irish Sea, as well as its extensive coastline,

made their homeland vulnerable to potential attack from the Irish Catholics. Such considerations might not only have reinforced their broad support for the enhanced royal navy, financed out of Ship Money, but also led them to back the king's attempts during the 1630s to improve the main land-based defences of England and Wales: the county-based militias. The king's drive to upgrade the militia system and improve the standing and standard of the county militia forces may have met a warm response in Wales, all the more so after the Irish Rebellion began in autumn 1641 and Welsh fears of Irish Catholic incursions or worse increased.

There may also have been a religious element underpinning Welsh royalism. While the king's Arminian or Laudian reform of the Church of England, imposing a more ceremonial form of Protestantism and emphasising sacramental and sacerdotal elements, clearly met with considerable antipathy among some groups in parts of England, they may have won wider support within Wales. The Protestant Reformation is generally seen to have come late and quite weakly to Wales, and although by the early seventeenth century the vast majority of Welsh men and women appear to have accepted and conformed to Protestantism, they did so in a conservative manner, without great enthusiasm; more fervent godliness and radical puritanism seem to have made limited headway and won little support in most of Wales. For one thing, most ordinary men and women in Wales still had little direct access to the Bible, as there existed no cheap Welsh translations, at least until the 1630s, and so they continued to receive their religion from, and as mediated by, the minister. The king's high church policy of enhancing the standing of the minister as intermediary between God and man, the emphasis upon the repair of church buildings and the embellishment and beautification of church interiors, the stress upon symbols and symbolism, may all have accorded with the rather conservative and backward-looking Protestantism of many, perhaps most, of the Welsh. Accordingly, royal religious policies of the pre-war years do not seem to have provoked in Wales the sort of antipathy and fears of a creeping Catholic reversion which they did in England, particularly in areas where radical Protestantism had taken root. In terms of religion and the church, therefore, once more the king's policies may have struck a chord.

This interpretation might be borne out by mapping Welsh allegiance during the opening phase of the war. By late 1642 almost the whole of the Principality had come out quite clearly, strongly and in an apparently united fashion in support of the king. The only exception at that early stage was the southern part of Pembrokeshire, in the far south-west of Wales, where there was no such evident and widespread royalism. The position on the ground there was much closer to many parts of England, with hesitation, uncertainty and people holding back from making a clear commitment to either side, though in some of the towns and ports of south Pembrokeshire distinct pro-parliamentarian sympathies were also becoming evident. How can this be explained? While its position in the far west might make it vulnerable to Irish Catholic attack and its commercial and trading links certainly meant the area had much to gain from improved protection from an enhanced royal navy, other factors were at play, drawing the area in the opposite direction. It was the most anglicised part of Wales and probably the most urbanised at the time; moreover, parliament's new lord general, the Earl of Essex, had some connections with the area. But perhaps most importantly, its strong trading connections with English ports on the other side of the Severn Estuary, notably Bristol, brought with them links to stronger and more radical strands of Protestantism, such that south Pembrokeshire was the only part of Wales where a radical, godly, puritan outlook had much impact and support pre-war. Religious outlooks and perspectives may have been the strongest determinant of allegiance.

The more recent explanations advanced for the strong initial royalism seen in almost the whole of Wales, southern Pembrokeshire excepted, are also consistent with many of the petitions drawn up during 1641–42 by, or in the name of the people of Wales and addressed to king or parliament as the two drifted apart and moved towards war. These petitions, some representing the people of specific Welsh counties, others representing groups of neighbouring counties or broader Welsh regions, reveal a number of strong fears and make some key requests. Thus, many express apprehension at possible change and innovation in religion, in these Welsh petitions not aimed at the recent Arminian or Laudian policies of the king, but rather framed as a response to moves by radical Protestants to reform the church in a low direction; that was the context in which the petitioners expressed their opposition to the 'dangerous consequence of innovation', asserting that

even the mere suggestion of change gives rise to 'insolence and contempt', and expressing strong support for the existing episcopal Church of England. Many of the petitions also express Welsh fears of Irish Catholics and that Wales would be next in line once the Catholic rebels had achieved control over the whole of Ireland, perhaps supported by home-grown popish plots and risings, with resulting calls that king and parliament should work to guard against this and to protect Wales from the Irish-popish threat. Many petitions also express dismay that Welsh trade was being disrupted and call for measures to revive and restore it, especially the cross-border Welsh cattle trade, 'which is the chiefest mine of our countrey'.[6]

By winter 1641–42 the king and his advisers were responding quite effectively to the Welsh concerns and aspirations. Thus the king stressed a desire to restore order and stability at home, which would bring a revival of trade, including the Welsh cattle trade; emphasised his role as a bulwark defending the traditional and established episcopal church; and drew attention to his ambition to raise and lead an English and Welsh army to Ireland in order to put down the Irish Rebellion and so restore control there. The king or those speaking for him also pointed out that he had had no hand in the abolition of the Council of Wales and the Marches in summer 1641, so forcing Welsh complainants and litigants to seek redress far away in London rather than more conveniently in Ludlow, emphasising that that had been the unhelpful initiative of parliament.

As peace gave way to war in late summer 1642, the king reinforced many of his key messages aimed at Wales and the Welsh. In the latter half of 1642, from his then base at Shrewsbury, the king paid a visit to Wrexham and to the nearby fringes of Denbighshire and Flintshire, addressing local meetings and giving a series of speeches which ran through much of the same checklist and which drove home the key royal message.[7] Thus the king was at his most gracious and flattering in praising the people of north-east Wales, promising to remember them and to reward their support for him once the civil war had been won. He stressed that parliament had prevented him from taking effective action to put down the Irish Rebellion, pledged to lessen the tax burden on Wales and the Welsh and again emphasised that he would stand by the established church and traditional religion. But more than that, he wooed and flattered Welsh particularism, pandering to the self-image of the

Welsh as distinctive and separate from England and the English. Apparently recognising the potential of Wales and the Welsh to serve as a reservoir of royalism, the king began modelling his presence and his promises to pander to Welsh views. As well as touring the north-eastern borderlands, at roughly the same time, in late summer 1642, he sent his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, on a short tour of south-east Wales, to show the Stuart flag there.[8] Between them, the king and his son held out the prospect of Welsh volunteers fighting alongside one another or in privileged Welsh units – apparently suggesting that they would form the lifeguard for the Prince of Wales and perhaps for the queen too – while repeatedly praising the fighting spirit of the Welsh; once again, Wales and the Welsh were promised special favour in the future once the war had been won. Conversely, royalist propagandists implied that parliament and other opponents of the king were Englishmen who cared nothing for Wales and who posed a clear threat to Welsh interests.

All this worked a treat and seemed to go down very well. Far from hesitating or drifting towards neutrality, even before many members of the Welsh elite had sought and obtained royal commissions to raise and command new Welsh regiments, a steady flow of Welshmen began volunteering and offering to fight for the king. Equally, efforts to raise money to facilitate and fund the process began without delay and in most Welsh counties groups of pro-royalist landowners emerged to run those counties for the king and to support the royalist war effort. In this early stage, the key role in securing the Principality for the king and in beginning to transform popular royalism into a military force was taken not by great aristocrats and resident peers, who tended to be thin on the ground in Wales, but in many cases and in most areas by middling Welsh landowners.

In Denbighshire and Flintshire, the key player at this stage was Sir Thomas Salusbury of Lleweni, just outside Denbigh. He was a baronet and a landowner, but he was neither a peer nor fabulously rich. As a result of studying biblical texts and historical precedents and thinking about the religious policies of king and parliament, in summer 1642 he decided to support the king. He galvanised the local gentry, convening meetings at Wrexham and elsewhere in August 1642, raising £1,500 to support the king's emerging war effort and quickly raising a foot regiment of around 1,200 men

in Denbighshire and Flintshire, probably the only full regiment from North Wales completed in time to fight at Edgehill in October.[9] There were others like Salusbury across the Principality who came forward to give shape and direction to the early and enthusiastic support for the king evident in Wales, people like Richard Herbert, the younger son of Baron Herbert of Chirbury, in Montgomeryshire,[10] Charles Price of Pilleth in Radnorshire,[11] and Sir Edward Stradling of St Donats in Glamorganshire, who led his new South Wales regiment of over 1,000 foot to Edgehill.[12]

But arising from all that, and secondly, we might probe rather more deeply and ask how strong and durable this apparently fervent initial Welsh support for the royalist cause really was. Most obviously, one part of Wales did not come out for the king in summer 1642; nor was there much evidence there of popular royalism during the opening phase of the war and beyond. Although the allegiance of Pembrokeshire as a whole remained uncertain for a time, with little fighting or action, such that it was one of the last areas of England and Wales to be significantly militarised and clearly to be secured and held for either king or parliament, as already noted, the southern, anglicised, more urbanised and commerce-orientated part of the county did incline towards parliament from the outset. A small group of gentry families based in and around the port of Pembroke came out in support of parliament during the opening weeks of the war, initially without much opposition. They responded positively to parliament's order of August 1642 which appointed 16 local gentry as commissioners for the county. In early November a trio of Pembrokeshire gentlemen informed parliament that, although the county was the only one in Wales which 'standeth firm and faithful to the Parliament's Cause, whereby we are…much environed with ill-neighbouring Counties', and that they had also been unable to raise many volunteers, they had deployed members of the county militia to hold Haverfordwest, Tenby and Pembroke and were prepared to defend them if necessary.[13] Although these parliamentarians said that they feared royalist attack from outside the county, in reality neither the Marquis of Hertford as the king's general throughout much of Wales during the opening months of the war, nor, during the first half of 1643, the Earl of Carbery, who at the beginning of the year was appointed royalist general of Carmarthenshire, Cardiganshire and Pembrokeshire, made a serious attempt to test the allegiance of Pembrokeshire or to attack parliamentarian supporters and

centres there.[14] In spring 1643 Carbery did enter Haverfordwest, but seemingly in peace and as a guest, entertained to dinner in the nominally parliamentarian town; a clutch of parliamentarian gentry were similarly welcomed and dined there in early summer. Although parliament apparently controlled the southern half of the county, while the northern and more Welsh region perhaps inclined more to the king, in reality such control was as yet loose, even amorphous, and largely untested. Although aware of the position in Pembrokeshire, over this period neither the king in Oxford nor parliament in London sent troops into the county to resolve the issue.

Not until late summer 1643 was Pembrokeshire first contested. This probably came about because, in the wake of the king's truce or cessation with the Irish Catholics and his hopes of shipping troops back from Ireland to fight for him on the mainland, Pembrokeshire in general and its southern ports, principally Pembroke and the huge natural harbour or haven which lay to its north, in particular, gained far greater importance in the war as potential landing places. Similarly, the capture of Bristol and with it several parliamentarian vessels gave the king a small squadron of warships with which a naval campaign might be mounted against the south Pembrokeshire coast and ports. Carbery, who at this point had a reasonably secure and partly militarised hold over neighbouring Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire, was duly stirred into action. In mid-August he persuaded many Pembrokeshire gentry to meet him in Carmarthen and to swear loyalty to the king, while a show of resolve and a threat of force were sufficient to bring Tenby and Haverfordwest into the king's camp without much resistance at the end of August and in early September respectively. Parliamentarian naval vessels bombarded Tenby and caused some damage to the town later in September, but they were unable to recapture it. By early autumn 1643 and with little or no fighting, Carbery had effectively gained control over most of the county and, to cement his hold and to bottle up the remaining parliamentarian enclave, he installed garrisons at Haverfordwest and Tenby, as well as in a string of medieval castles and country houses in southern Pembrokeshire.

By autumn 1643 parliament was left holding not much more than the walled town and castle of Pembroke itself, Lamphey Palace south-east of the town, and parts of the small isthmus south of Milford Haven and west and south-west of Pembroke. Exactly what occurred in Pembroke over the next few

weeks was poorly documented at the time and remains unclear. There seems to have been something of a power-struggle within the town and it may be that some of the gentry and members of the town government either declared Pembroke neutral or indicated a willingness to support the king, only to be outmanoeuvred or overthrown by those in the town loyal to parliament. Certainly, by the beginning of 1644 Pembroke was in the hands of unswerving parliamentarians prepared to resist a royalist assault, while Carbery was gathering members of the militia, other troops, money and artillery in preparation for an operation against the town. However, Pembroke was again relieved by sea, with the return of Admiral Richard Swanley and some parliamentarian warships, which not only forced two royalist vessels to fall back from Pembroke but also enabled the town to be reinforced with troops, both horse and foot, artillery and ammunition.

By this point, and after a very slow start, the pattern of the civil war in Pembrokeshire had become well established and it persisted until 1645. Neither side was particularly interested in the northern parts of the county, which were nominally under royalist control. The southern ports and towns and other outlying strongholds were contested and disputed, with frequent and quite dramatic changes of fortune as the tide of war flowed quite strongly and rapidly in one direction and then the other. Several times the royalists under Carbery and later under Charles Gerard[15] captured most of southern Pembrokeshire, though the parliamentarian hold over Pembroke and Milford Haven could never be broken and, often with naval support, time and again parliamentarian forces, generally under Rowland Laugharne,[16] were able to regroup, counter-attack and recapture most of the lost territory; they did so for the final time, on this occasion without a significant royalist response, in summer 1645. South Pembrokeshire seems to have had a very unusual civil war, different from the rest of Wales in terms not only of the absence of significant or widespread popular royalism on the ground, but also of the nature and course of the fighting seen there. That followed a pattern and chronological sequence seemingly unrelated to the general tides of war seen elsewhere and nationally in England, where the royalists gained the upper hand and territory almost everywhere during 1643 but then lost ground to parliament in the North during 1644 and in the Midlands and the South during 1645–46. The fortunes of the two sides in Pembrokeshire and the resulting changes of territory there were nothing like this. In many ways

it was almost as if Pembrokeshire, isolated from the rest of the civil war by the buffer zone of solid and largely uncontested royalist South Wales, had its own war, only weakly connected to the main civil war being fought out in England and along the Welsh Marches a hundred miles or more to the east.[17]

But just how solid and secure was royalism in the rest of South Wales? Despite and in some ways even because of the influence of the strongly royalist Marquis of Worcester and his family, the Herberts (or Somersets), based at Raglan Castle, in his study of civil war Monmouthshire Jeremy Knight highlights a number of potential and real fracture lines within that apparently royalist county. Monmouthshire was divided, between Protestants and Catholics most obviously, but also between those who on the one hand favoured and were in favour with the house of Worcester and those who, on the other, opposed or felt excluded by the Marquis and his powerful family. In terms of religion, the county contained some strongly Catholic landowners and elite families, most notably the fifth Earl and (from 1643) first Marquis of Worcester and his affinity, as well as a wider and surprisingly large Catholic or recusant presence. It was particularly strong in Abergavenny and Monmouth and in the more northerly and north-eastern heartlands of the county. Conversely, although he was not physically present in Monmouthshire and his main seat lay far away in Wiltshire, the godly Protestant and parliamentarian fourth Earl of Pembroke had land and influence within the county. His religious outlook accorded with many living in the coastal part of Monmouthshire, in ports such as Chepstow and Newport with their strong, seaborne connections to north Devon, Somerset and Gloucestershire and to the commercial centres of Bristol and Gloucester, with their godly communities; weaker echoes of the factors which inclined the ports of southern Pembrokeshire towards parliamentarianism might be found in some Monmouthshire ports too. More broadly, people in the southern, lowland parts of the county, Gwent Iscoed, may have had some affinity with the parliamentarian cause, as did some of those living in parts of the south-east – neighbouring the Forest of Dean over the border in western Gloucestershire and, like many of the people and the mining community of the Forest, reacting against the regional influence of the Catholic and royalist courtier, Sir John Winter (or Wintour).

However, Knight cautions against portraying fracture lines within ostensibly royalist Monmouthshire on purely religious grounds, as simply Catholic against Protestant, pointing out that many county families of the civil war era had mixed backgrounds and were themselves divided, with family members following different faiths; kinship and cousinage often blurred or smoothed over confessional differences. Moreover, he finds plenty of examples of solidly Protestant Monmouthshire families working well with and alongside the Catholic Marquis of Worcester in support of the king. Instead, Knight paints a more complex picture, with the varying shades of royalism, parliamentarianism and neutralism present within the county during the war years determined by a number of factors, including their wider relationship with Worcester and his family. Those who, regardless of their faith, trusted the family and were in favour with them, often shared their unswerving wartime commitment to the king's cause, while those who were more distant from the Marquis, and who felt excluded from local favour and influence as a consequence of being cold-shouldered by him and his kin, might have become far less committed royalists or even become active parliamentarians, though for most of the war their parliamentarian military activities took place outside the county.[18] For despite the tensions within Monmouthshire society, which potentially at least might imperil royalist control or undermine the royalist war effort, in reality the county remained overwhelmingly in the king's hands and was largely uncontested until late in the war. While the Marquis of Worcester himself was too old and too frail to serve as an active military leader in Monmouthshire, that role was played by his equally Catholic eldest son, generally styled Lord Herbert at that stage, who later in the 1640s succeeded his father to become the second Marquis.[19] As the king's general in South Wales and Monmouthshire, Herbert proved a poor military leader, raising but largely losing an army in spring 1643 when he led it eastwards into Gloucestershire. Despite that defeat and the short-lived capture of Monmouth, Usk and Chepstow by Sir William Waller's parliamentarians, those towns were quickly recovered for the king and Monmouthshire remained under royalist control, suffering little more than occasional parliamentarian raids on Chepstow and Monmouth and their hinterlands, along the eastern borders of the county until autumn 1645.

Equally immune from parliamentarian attack were the royalist heartlands of North Wales, which remained under royalist control until the closing year of the war. But from surprisingly early in the conflict, there were even clearer signs of problems for the king and his senior military commanders emanating from that part of the Principality. In Denbighshire a combination of disillusionment arising from local interests, exhaustion and foot-dragging seems to have set in by 1643. Thus, as early as January 1643 a letter sent to the high sheriff of Denbighshire, relaying the king's orders, stressed that royalist recruits raised there were needed over the border in order to support the royalist cause in England rather than being kept back to defend Denbighshire itself. 'The forces out of Ruthin land are wanting, which are desired to advance to the frontiers, for to keepe them at Ruthin or Denbigh can be noe securitie either to them selves or the countie in general, whereas joyning in a body [to reinforce English-based troops] they may be a considerable addition of strength', adding too that the gunpowder currently held in Denbighshire should also be transported to the 'frontiers' and made available to royalist forces in Cheshire.[20] This proved to be but the first in a string of increasingly abrupt letters which royalist commanders (under pressure on the eastern side of the Welsh border, along the northern Marches) addressed to the military and administrative leaders of Denbighshire's royalist war effort, trying to get them to commit their North Wales' resources – chiefly men, but also money and military equipment – to the royalist war further afield. In April 1643 Lord Capel, a Hertfordshire peer newly appointed as the king's overall commander in the region,[21] wrote from Whitchurch, on the Shropshire-Cheshire border, to royalist commissioners in Denbighshire to drive home the message that 'In the defence of these partes and offence of the rebells heere lyes your preservations, your worke being with more ease to be donne at this distance then when you shall be necessitated to acte it in your owne countrey'; he further urged that they speedily raise within Denbighshire and send to him 'maintenance' to keep the Denbighshire troops already operating under him in England well supplied.[22]

In an effort to overcome the narrow, localist outlook being taken by royalist officials in Denbighshire, Flintshire and other Welsh counties, in June 1643 Capel proposed establishing a regional royalist council in Shrewsbury, with representatives from each of the counties of North Wales and the northern

Marches, to plan a regional strategy and to ensure a pooling of resources to support a regional approach – therefore easing Capel's 'cares', presumably his worries about the war effort being impeded by the concerns and interests of individual counties, 'so that he might move with His Majesty's army where he can do best service and remove or prevent the mischiefs threatened by the rebels against the counties under his charge'.[23] The attempt fell flat, in part because the royalists in the counties of north-eastern Wales continued to take a Denbighshire- and Flintshire-first approach. That much is clear not only from further letters from Capel and others in the latter half of 1643, urging royalists there to commit their resources to the royalist war effort over the border in England, but also because in summer 1643 we see the first signs from those counties of what became a repeated and recurring message addressed to the king and his senior (English-based) officers from many Welsh counties: to paraphrase, that we are a poor country and county, our resources are limited and already approaching exhaustion and we are simply unable to continue contributing to the wider (English) royalist war effort in this way, needing instead to keep all our remaining resources here to defend our own county. Thus in July 1643 the gentlemen of Denbighshire sent a detailed report to Capel, among other things requesting no further taxes – 'the people extreamly exhausted by former taxations and much wanting money for want of sale of their cattle and other commodityes'; and also requesting a halt to further recruitment there – the county had already been 'soe drayned', they claimed, that 'there is scarce a competent number left for its owne defence or maintenannce of husbandry' – as well as the need for Denbighshire to make and be allowed to keep its own gunpowder.[24] Capel, in turn, was increasingly exasperated by the failure of the royalists in Denbighshire and Flintshire to support him materially and to commit to the royalist war effort over the border in England. By late July he was complaining bitterly to a fellow-English royalist of the imprudence and apathy of the gentlemen of north-east Wales, who were failing to contribute the necessary aid which would in fact guarantee their own preservation, even going so far as to claim that royalist gentlemen who 'reserve' themselves and fail to serve the king were causing him more trouble and fear than the Cheshire parliamentarians.[25]

The message sent from Denbighshire in July 1643 was reinforced over the next few months with further letters from the commissioners of the county,

stressing their willingness to support the king in principle, but reiterating difficulties in raising further men or money and also claiming that some requests from Capel and his subordinates had been received too late or were too vague to enable them to respond. Sometime in early 1644 they wrote or at least drafted another lengthy and whining letter, this time addressed to the royalist governor of Chester, highlighting how many men and horses had been raised and arms gathered within the county, only to be drawn out of Denbighshire in order to supply the royalist war effort elsewhere, such that 'wee conceave that the countie can send forth noe more men, [if] the husbandrie and tillage [of the county were to be] maintained. But upon the generall muster wee conceave all the able bodied men in the countie loyall and well affected to his Majesty's service [were needed] for the defence of the countie', adding that Denbighshire was small and poor – the 'great part of it lyes wast and is mountainous, and the whole consists of but five small hundreds'. The report concluded by noting how little gunpowder, match and bullets remained in the county, so much having been supplied to other areas.[26]

Almost exactly the same issues arose in north-west Wales, in the apparently solid royalist county of Caernarfonshire. Within weeks of the outbreak of war the king was urging his commissioners there to speed the dispatch of the men and money raised within the county to himself at Shrewsbury. By the end of October 1642 he was writing more sharply, critical of their failure thus far to properly finance the royalist regiment being raised by John Owen, which was in danger therefore of disbanding. At the end of the year, he was urging them to put aside all private considerations in order to loan several artillery pieces possessed by Caernarfonshire in order to assist in the defence of the royalist-held English towns of Shrewsbury and Worcester. The request fell on stony ground and met localist resistance, for one of the commissioners replied to the king's advisor, Lord Falkland, that of the four artillery pieces owned by the county, two were needed to defend Caernarfon itself, a port and the location of the county's magazine, and the other two to defend the Pwllheli area, a maritime site offering excellent port facilities but also vulnerable to attack.[27] Worse followed. In summer 1643 the king again wrote to the Caernarfonshire commissioners, reminding them of the need to raise money within the county to support the royalist armies and expressing his displeasure at their failure to respond when asked to send a

county representative to sit on Capel's proposed regional royalist council. Around the same time, Capel himself was complaining that the county had failed to provide enough money to fund the Caernarfonshire troops then serving in Chester garrison, while one of the leading Cheshire royalists conveyed the king's orders that Caernarfonshire deliver its cannons to Chester with all speed, this time in order to arm a ship which the king was intending to send out to defend the North Wales coast.[28] By spring 1644 the Caernarfonshire commissioners, while stressing their firm and continuing commitment to the royalist cause, were petitioning the king about the unjust manner in which some financial levies had been imposed and collected within the county, about the intervention of some outsiders in the administration and running of the county and, echoing their colleagues in Denbighshire, about the poverty of the county. Thus, they claimed, so many men and horses and so much money and other supplies had been 'set forth and furnished' from 'this poore countrey' that it is 'impov'rished and soe depopulated that we cannot have servants to till our grounds or be able to assist our neighbours of Anglesey nor indeede to defend ourselfes (our country laying open to invasion it being a peninsula) and dayly threatened by the Parliament ships'. Warming to the theme, the petition closed by emphasising that 'this mountanious and barren country, who wholly depended upon reareing and sale of cattell towards theire livelihood, are now deprived of the sale of theire cattell … And thereby wee are more disabled to afford any ayd in money for the utmost of our abilities is extended in the provision of bread and necessaries for the sustenance of ourselfes and families'.[29]

Despite the apparently speedy, strong and unanimous support of the royalist cause throughout North Wales, in Denbighshire and Caernarfonshire alike, as in almost all the other counties and regions within the Principality, closer investigations reveal that there were a number of fault lines and tensions running through Welsh royalism, some of them emerging very early in the civil war, some of them potentially very deep and wide, upon which parliament might play. That, in turn, leads on to a third and final question, or linked questions – why in practice did it take parliament so long to make much headway in Wales and why, after having stalled for so long, was parliament able to take control of the Principality so quickly in the closing stages of the war and with such little resistance?

By summer 1646 parliament had won a full, unconditional military victory and had regained territorial control over the whole of England and Wales. In most royalist areas this had entailed serious fighting and often quite bitter, dour military campaigns of conquest, with all the physical destruction, bloodshed and loss of life they entailed. For example, in Shropshire, just over the Welsh border, it took three years of hard fighting to retake what, by spring 1643, had become a royalist-controlled county – from the point in late summer that year when, in the wake of a surprise attack, parliament captured Wem, its first outpost in the county, until the final royalist strongholds, including Ludlow, were mopped up in summer 1646. While the Shropshire experience was fairly typical of contested counties in England, in Wales things were very different. Although parliament always retained its stronghold in southern Pembrokeshire, notably Pembroke and Milford Haven, and it captured a few border towns, notably Montgomery and Newtown, in summer 1644, there was little real campaigning or fighting in most of Wales either then or later. Instead, almost all of Wales remained pretty clearly under royalist control until very near the end of the war, when most of the Principality fell without significant resistance or fighting.

There are several possible reasons for this distinctive Welsh aspect of the war and the nature of the parliamentarian victory.[30] Partly, it was a consequence of the topography of Wales. Most of the interior of the Principality comprised fairly rough uplands or mountains, 200 metres or more above sea level, a region of poor agricultural land and few natural resources, thinly populated, with few towns and crossed by drovers' roads which led to nowhere important. As such, its dearth of resources meant that it was of very limited value to either side in the civil war and was not worth fortifying, militarising and garrisoning; accordingly, although technically it passed from royalist to parliamentarian control in the closing stages of the war, in practice much of this area was uncontested and saw no fighting. Partly, and linked to this, it was a consequence of the priorities of parliament's political and military high command. The capture of Wales was clearly not a priority for the high command in London, which had little interest in taking the fight into Wales and committing resources to one or more substantial campaigns in the Principality. Therefore, parliament's commanders on the borders were not allocated significant national resources, even when they apparently had the opportunity of taking the fight

into Wales, to enable them to penetrate the royalist heartlands with any hope of success. Understandably, the parliamentarian high command wanted to defeat the king and his major army or armies first, before committing resources to the peripheries, and that was clearly going to happen in the Midlands or the South, not in Wales. In late summer and early autumn 1644, Sir Thomas Myddleton and others secured a decisive victory in battle just over the border, outside the town of Montgomery, cementing the capture of Montgomery Castle and leading on to the capture of Powis Castle outside Welshpool. However, Myddleton's letters to parliament's main executive committee, suggesting that with suitable reinforcements this presented a golden opportunity to capture the whole of Montgomeryshire and also neighbouring Welsh counties, went largely unanswered and no significant reinforcements were assigned to him; the opportunity was lost. For example, in the first letter he wrote after capturing Powis Castle, he stressed 'the weaknes of my Condition, notwithstanding it hath pleased God to magnifie himselfe upon his Enemyes', and suggested that if the Committee of Both Kingdoms would supply him with 'any reasonable sort' of additional resources, in terms of men – particularly cavalry – and money, 'I shall not doubt but in a very short tyme reduce this, and some other of the adjoining Countyes'.[31]

Arising from this, parliamentarian military commanders along the border, most notably Myddleton himself, were compelled to take a different approach to winning Wales and winning over the Welsh. Even in 1644–45, as their hold over parts of the Marches strengthened, they lacked the military resources to push westwards very far or to mount an invasion of royalist Wales, and so some turned to a political and propaganda campaign to woo the Welsh and to wean them off their dodgy royalist habits. In 1642 the king had won over the people of Wales in part by pandering to their sense of national distinctiveness, flattering the Welsh as special people, recognising their singularity and promising future favourable treatment, and the Welsh had responded by flocking to the royal standard. Every action produces an equal and opposite reaction and, as it became clear that the Welsh were moving into the royalist camp, parliament and the pro-parliamentarian London presses had begun condemning Wales and its people as backward, stupid, dangerous and treacherous. As has been explored by recent historians,[32] from late 1641 until 1643 the London presses pumped out anti-

Welsh propaganda both in the newspapers and in sometimes vicious pamphlets, casting the Welsh as enemies of parliament and of the people, portraying them as backward simpletons who lived in hovels in the mountains, dressing in a mixture of rags and odd, archaic clothes,[33] as too stupid to handle their weapons properly,[34] and in any case as cowards who ran from a fight,[35] but at the same time as vicious plunderers who would rob, steal, wound or kill their victims, the English, in cold blood.[36] But by 1644 these crude attacks on Wales and the Welsh had more or less stopped, and they began to be replaced by very different parliamentarian propaganda, which started to portray the Welsh more as victims of the king and his English (or in Prince Rupert's case, perhaps, Germanic) cronies, as having been duped by royalist promises of the early 1640s which had not been fulfilled. With some justice, printed material emanating from London suggested that in reality royalist Wales and its human and material resources were being controlled by mainly English royalist regional commanders, and that Welsh troops were being drafted into mainly English, English-based and English-commanded regiments, while at the same time repeatedly suggesting that English royalist grandees saw Welsh troops as second-rate soldiers, to be employed as cannon fodder.[37]

By the latter half of 1643 Myddleton, a Welshman, had been appointed by parliament as its commander-in-chief in mid and north Wales. Initially, it was just a paper appointment, over an area not then in parliament's hands and, bereft of the level of supplies, reinforcements and other resources needed to have any chance of physically conquering the area, there was little that Myddleton could do militarily. But instead, working with other parliamentarian commanders in the region, by late 1644 Myddleton had launched not so much a military campaign against the Welsh but rather a propaganda campaign to woo them, very much in tune with the new tone being struck by the London presses. Indeed, from the very moment of his appointment, the parliamentary ordinance in July 1643 began to portray the ordinary Welsh people within his region as victims, compelled by 'imprest, imprisonment, and other violent causes' to enter into a rebellion fomented by a minority of 'Papists, notorious Delinquents, and other ill-affected persons' living there, in consequence enduring 'llegall, unjust, and insupportable taxations', such that 'multitudes of his Majesties good protestant subjects have been, and daily are robbed of all their estates,

imprisoned, ruined, and destroyed'; it also played on the fears about Irish Catholic rebels being encouraged to cross to Wales to bolster the rebellion there.[38] It was an image of the Welsh which Myddleton himself was keen to develop.

In the latter half of 1644 Myddleton issued a printed declaration or manifesto addressed to the Welsh, suggesting that they were good and honest people who had been either misled or forced – not least by being compelled to swear a pro-royalist oath, which the declaration roundly condemned – into supporting a corrupt royalist cause, dominated by 'English Papists, and many Irish Rebells', which was in reality exploiting and oppressing Wales and its people. The Welsh themselves were 'peaceable Subjects' – the epithet is repeated several times within the text – who had been forced by the 'Tyranicall, Arbitrary, and slavish government' of royalist commissioners of array and administrators within the Principality to 'renounce their owne just liberties'. In contrast, Myddleton suggested, parliament had Welsh interests at heart. He and his army intended to defend not only the Protestant religion, suppressing 'Papists and their adherents', but also the king's person and the rightful power of the crown; more generally, Myddleton pledged to 'free that Country [Wales] from the cruell oppression' it was currently enduring. As well as protecting the Protestant faith and restoring liberties within Wales, he held out the prospect of a broad pardon to those who submitted to him, the safeguarding of land and property within Wales and the remission of the heavy financial levies being extracted by the royalist commissioners. He also pledged that parliament's army would remain in Wales only until royalist officials had been removed, opponents-in-arms quelled, and justice and obedience restored. The declaration closed by holding out to the Welsh the prospect of a much better and rosier future under parliament: 'The Coasts secured against the landing of Irish Rebells … ; The people freed from those oppressions and bondage under which they groane; and the trading of North-Wales for Cloth and Cattell be restored unto them, which is now quite decayed by the Commissioners of Array's opposition against the Parliament; and the want thereof will bring extreame poverty and famine upon the whole Country'. With the help of himself and his army, Myddleton suggested, the sunlit uplands were within the grasp of the Welsh if they came over to parliament.[39]

Thereafter, Myddleton and other parliamentarian commanders operating along the Marches generally treated the Welsh rank and file with kid gloves, going out of their way to deal very gently with any Welsh royalist soldiers who fell into their hands, generally freeing them and sending them back to their homes with a bit of money in their pockets or carrying copies of parliament's printed propaganda. For example, in autumn 1644 Edward Massey, parliament's governor of Gloucester and commander in Gloucestershire, captured a group of Welsh royalist soldiers around Monmouth, but 'The prisoners that were of the countrey people the governor entreated kindly, and after a few days sent them home by parcels, and each man with a little note or letter to his master, or the severall parishes, to signifie that the intention of the parliament, and the present government, was not to destroy, or enslave their persons, or take away their livelihoods; but to preserve their lives and fortunes, to open the course of justice, and free them of their heavy burthens under the forces of Rupert, a Germane prince'.[40] This same account went on to claim that in consequence the outlook of the inhabitants of south-east Wales slowly began to change – Massey was able to 'undeceive the people, and dislodge their fears' – such that the Marquis of Worcester's hold over Monmouthshire began to wane, the people living there started to trust the Gloucestershire parliamentarians and began to trade with them, and Prince Rupert's forces, increasingly distrusted by the locals, 'decrease and drop away'.[41]

With the defeat of the king's last main field army at Naseby in June 1645, parliament stepped up this attempt to woo the Welsh, with further Welsh parliamentarian officers appointed to oversee operations along the borders of or within the Principality, and Welsh-speaking preachers sent to accompany military forces earmarked for operations in Wales. All these efforts, combined with the evident decline in the king's cause over the border in England, seem to have worked and smoothed the way for the collapse of Welsh royalism during the latter half of 1645, opening the door to a parliamentarian takeover of Wales which met remarkable little physical or military resistance. The process was, if anything, enhanced and speeded up by the king's presence in South Wales for several weeks in summer 1645, in the wake of his crushing defeat at Naseby. His attempts to raise thousands of fresh troops in the area and the way in which the modest number he did succeed in gathering there were promptly shipped across the Severn Estuary

to bolster the royalist position in south-western England, exacerbated existing tensions in his relations with the Welsh, and provoked the rising of the so-called 'Peaceable Army', in effect a third force, in Glamorgan,[42] with whom the somewhat stunned king had to negotiate, before leaving Wales later in the summer. His attempts to use the Scottish army (allies of the English parliament and at that point active in parts of the West Midlands and central Marches) as a bogeyman to frighten the Welsh more firmly behind him, with claims that parliament was intending a Scottish takeover of Wales and with it the Scottish seizure of land and property in the Principality, had limited traction and fell quite flat. In September parliament issued another declaration aimed at the Welsh, strongly rebutting these 'absolutely false' stories and 'so foule and so barbarous an Aspersion', spread, the text claimed, by the 'Popish and malignant party, opposite to Gods Cause', backing up words with action by ordering units of the Scottish army to pull back from the border counties; moreover, the declaration went on once again to stress that if the Welsh came over to parliament and became reconciled to it, they would not only receive 'reasonable terms', but might expect 'all such aid and assistance as they shall reasonably desire, and the Parliament be able to afford'.[43]

A combination of Myddleton's declaration or manifesto, the actions on the ground of Myddleton himself, Massey and other parliamentarian commanders operating on the borders of and increasingly within Wales, and the support and propaganda of parliament, combined with obvious signs that the king was losing the war and losing the affections of the Welsh, produced the remarkably smooth parliamentarian takeover during the closing months of the war. During autumn and early winter 1645–46, therefore, the gentry in a whole string of counties in the southern half of the country, including Carmarthenshire, Cardiganshire, Breconshire and Radnorshire, signed treaties with parliament and its representatives in the region, often headed by Rowland Laugharne, by then securely in military control of Pembrokeshire. In the northern half of Wales there was little resistance to the slightly later advance of other parliamentarian officers and their forces. A few royalist garrison commanders, some Welsh, some English, and their men, again a mixture of English and Welsh troops, did hang on in mighty castles around the peripheries and along the north and west coasts, necessitating parliamentarian siege operations, some of which

dragged on into summer 1646 and even, in a couple of cases, beyond then. But it was a futile gesture from these now isolated and impotent garrisons, for most of the counties and their inhabitants – in Flintshire and Denbighshire, Caernarvonshire and Merionethshire – were in no position or mood to resist the parliamentarian advance, which was generally as untroubled in the north as it had been further south. Peaceful acquiescence and acceptance was again the dominant spirit by this stage of the war.

We should not, of course, accept at face value a slightly later pamphlet, *The Welsh-mans Publique and Hearty Sorrow and Recantation, That ever her Tooke up Armes against her Cood [Good?] Parliament*, with its claims that the tearful Welsh now bitterly regretted being duped at the start of the war, led 'blind-fold' 'like such simple puppies' into the royalist camp, 'deceived by politike jeeres, flatteries, and temptations' to take up arms and fight and thus to be 'led away in a fooles paradizes, to fall by the swords of her enemies'; thoroughly frightened out of that daze by the cruel and bloody experience of a war in which so many Welshmen 'dyed like rotten Muttons', they now see that they betrayed themselves and their true interests and 'in all humility and submission [are] ready and desirous to crave pardon for her following and obeying the Commission of Array; her thought like the poore dog, that her was going to a break fast, when her was going to hanging, her thought to have marched out of her Countrey, only to bring her King and Parliament to meet lovingly', but instead the Welsh had been seduced into participating in a cruel and unjust war on the wrong side. The pamphlet closed by printing the text of a new oath drawn up and taken by the Welsh, condemning the king's Commissions of Array, recanting their former allegiance and pledging henceforth to support parliament.[44] Printed and circulated in February 1647, several months after the war was over, and based upon a pamphlet which parliament had put out at the end of 1642, though with a revised and updated text, it was clearly a propaganda piece. But like all good propaganda, it had a hint of truth within it and, shorn of its excesses and its often very colourful language, it may in essence reflect the outlook of many of the Welsh by the closing stages of the civil war.

The story of Wales during the civil war is the tale of how and why in overwhelming numbers the Welsh first fell in love with the royalist cause but then, as disillusionment set in, fell out of love with it. The parliamentarians

were therefore eventually able to move in with little resistance, having in their turn wooed the Welsh with promises of kind and preferential treatment. Many of those promises, of an end to the heavy taxes of the war years, of a swift restoration of Welsh commerce and of the protection of the traditional Protestant church in Wales, were not really fulfilled, not least because of parliament's dissatisfaction with the rather traditional and conservative form of the church and religion found within the Principality; what lay ahead was the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales and determined moves by parliament to instil a more godly, radical faith in Wales. Welsh disillusionment with parliament, as its promises of 1644–46 faded or failed, followed in due course. But for the moment, as the main civil war drew to a close, the tide had turned decisively in Wales, towards the parliamentarians and against the royalists. In 1645, as the royalist position within Wales began to crumble, one of Rupert's officers, fearfully anticipating being posted to the Principality, wailed to the Prince: 'if your Highness shall be pleased to command me to the Turk, or Jew, or Gentile, I will go on my bare feet to serve you; but from the Welch, good Lord deliver me; and I shall beseech you send me no more into this country, if you intend I shall do you any service, without a strong party to compel them, not to entreat them'.[45] The royalists' nursery had become a bear pit for them.

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1 See, for example, a royalist letter about the state of Wales written in 1645, which even at that date was rather optimistically referring to the Principality using this phrase. T. Carte (ed.), *A Collection of Original Letters and Papers Concerning the Affairs of England* (2 vols, Dublin, 1759), I, p. 89.

2 See R. Cust, 'News and politics in early seventeenth-century England', *Past & Present*, 112 (1986); A. Fox, 'Rumour, news and popular political opinion in Elizabethan and early Stuart England', *Historical Journal*, 40 (1997); P. Slack, 'Government and information in seventeenth-century England', *Past & Present*, 184 (2004); D. Coast, *News and Rumour in Jacobean England* (Manchester, 2014); N. Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation and the Invention of Politics in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 2016). For Wales in particular, see L. Bowen, 'Information, language and political culture in early modern Wales', *Past & Present*, 228 (2015), 'News networks in early modern Wales', *History*, 102 (2017) and 'Structuring

particularist publics: logistics, language and early modern Wales', *Journal of British Studies*, 56 (2017).

3 See, amongst others, D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion* (Oxford, 1985); A. Hughes, *Politics, Society and the Civil War in Warwickshire* (Cambridge, 1987); M. Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiances in Devon during the English Civil War* (Exeter, 1994); A. Duffin, *Faction and Faith: The Political Allegiance of the Cornish Gentry 1600–42* (Exeter, 1996) – each of whom has sought to explore and explain popular allegiance in particular counties or regions, sometimes reaching very different conclusions, but all give little credence to the blind deference line. For a crisp and up-to-date assessment of the factors shaping popular allegiance in an English county bordering Wales, see J. Worton, *To Settle the Crown: Waging Civil War in Shropshire, 1642–1648* (Solihull, 2016), chapter 1.

4 As explored and emphasised by S.K. Roberts, 'How the west was won: parliamentary politics, religion and the military in South Wales, 1642–49', *Welsh History Review*, 21 (2002–03), pp. 650–51.

5 See P. Gaunt, *A Nation Under Siege: The Civil War in Wales, 1642-48* (London, 1992), chapter 2; M. Stoyle, *Soldiers and Strangers: An Ethnic History of the English Civil War* (New Haven, 2005), chapters 1–2; L. Bowen, *The Politics of the Principality: Wales, c.1603–1642* (Cardiff, 2007), chapters 4–6. This and the next paragraph draw heavily on all three of these works, but especially on the excellent and convincing re-examination of Ship Money and pre-war religion in Wales by Bowen.

6 See, for example, *To the Honourable Court the House of Commons Now Assembled in Parliament, the Humble Petition of Many Hundred Thousands, Inhabiting within the Thirteen Shires of Wales* (1642) (quotation from p. 3); *Three Petitions Presented to the High Court of Parliament…The Humble Petition of the Gentry, Clergie and Others Inhabitants Subscribed of the Counties of Flint, Denbigh, Montgomery, Carnarvon, Anglesey, Merioneth, being the Six Shires of North Wales* (1642) (quotation from this single sheet broadsheet); *Two Petitions Presented to the Kings Most Excellent Majestie at Yorke…The First from the Gentery, Ministers and Freeholders and Other Inhabitants of Denbigh, Anglesey, Glamorgan and the Whole Principality of Wales* (1642).

7 See, for example, *His Majesties Speech to the Inhabitants of Denbigh and Flint-Shire, 27 Septemb. 1642* (1642).

8 *A Loving and Loyall Speech Spoken unto the Excellency of our Noble Prince Charles, by Sir Hugh Yaughan [sic] the 2. of October at Ragland-Castle in Munmoth-shire in Wales,…with the Princes Speech, Giving them Hearty Thanks for their Kind Expressions of their Love* (1642).

9 L. Bowen, 'Salusbury [Salisbury], Sir Thomas, second baronet (1612–1643)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* online edition at https://www.oxforddnb.com/ [hereafter *ODNB*]; *Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers, 1550–1690* (Aberystwyth, 1916), pp. 277–78; W.J. Smith (ed.), *Calendar of Salusbury Correspondence, 1553–c.1700:*

Principally from the Llewni, Rûg and Bagot Collections in the National Library of Wales (Cardiff, 1954), pp. 96–105.

[10] D. Pailin, short biography of Richard Herbert found within the main entry for his father, 'Herbert, Edward, first Baron Herbert of Cherbury and first Baron Herbert of Castle Island (1582?–1648)', *ODNB*.

[11] K. Parker, *Radnorshire from Civil War to Restoration* (Almeley, 2020), especially chapters 4–5.

[12] L. Bowen, 'Stradling, Sir Edward, second baronet (*bap.* 1600, *d.* 1644)', *ODNB*.

[13] *Journal of the House of Lords*, V, p. 441.

[14] For Carbery, see R. Hutton, 'Vaughan, Richard, second Earl of Carbery (1600?–1686)', *ODNB* and R. Hutton, *The Royalist War Effort, 1642–1646* (Harlow, 1984), chapter 6.

[15] See R. Hutton, 'Charles Gerard, first Earl of Macclesfield (*c.*1618–1694)', *ODNB*, and Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, chapter 12.

[16] See S.K. Roberts, 'Laugharne, Rowland (c.1607–1675)', *ODNB*.

[17] For Pembrokeshire during the civil war, see A. Leach, *The History of the Civil War (1642–49) in Pembrokeshire and on its Borders* (London, 1937); T. John, *The Civil War in Pembrokeshire* (Almeley, 2008); R. Mathias, 'The first civil war', in B. Howells (ed.), *Pembrokeshire County History, Volume III* (Haverfordwest, 1987); and parts of S.K. Roberts, 'How the West was Won: Parliamentary Politics, Religion and the Military in South Wales, 1642–9', *The Welsh History Review* XXI (4) (2003), as well as the commentary and sources in J.R. Phillips, *Memorials of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches* (2 vols, Cardiff, 1874).

[18] J. Knight, *The Civil War and Restoration in Monmouthshire* (Almeley, 2005), especially chapters 1–3. See also A. Clark, *Raglan Castle and the Civil War in Monmouthshire* (Chepstow, 1953), parts of Roberts, 'How the West was Won' and Phillips, *Memorials of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches*.

[19] See S.K. Roberts, 'Somerset, Edward, second Marquess of Worcester (*d.*1667)', *ODNB*, and Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, chapter 4.

[20] B.E. Howells (ed.), *A Calendar of Letters Relating to North Wales* (Cardiff, 1967), pp. 187–88.

[21] See R. Hutton, 'Capel, Arthur, first Baron Capel of Hadham (1604–1649)', *ODNB* and Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, chapter 5.

[22] Howells, *Calendar of Letters Relating to North Wales*, pp. 189–90.

[23] Ibid. pp. 190–91.

[24] Ibid. pp. 192–93.

[25] Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Fourth Report, Part I, Appendix* (London, 1874), p. 263.

[26] Howells, *Calendar of Letters Relating to North Wales*, p. 197.

[27] Ibid. pp. 50–53.

[28] Ibid. pp. 57–59.

[29] Ibid. pp 61–62. North Wales during the civil war and the individual counties within the region are not well covered in recent publications, such that older works by Norman Tucker – notably *North Wales in the Civil War* (Denbigh, 1958) and the revised edition, *North Wales and Chester in the Civil War* (Ashbourne, 1992) – as well as Phillips, *Memorials of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches* still have resonance. But see also the recent, more specialised assessment of royalism, especially at gentry level, in north-east Wales during the war years in S.W. Clavier, *Royalism, Religion and Revolution: Wales, 1640–1688* (Woodbridge, 2021).

[30] This is also the focus of Stoyle, *Soldiers and Strangers*, chapter 8. Inevitably there is some overlap and commonality between what follows here and Stoyle's crisp and perceptive analysis, though there are also some divergencies and differences of emphasis.

[31] The National Archives, SP 21/17, ff. 15–16. This letter of 2 October and Myddleton's further letters to the Committee of Both Kingdoms of 12 and 29 October, along much the same lines, are calendared in W.D. Hamilton (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles I, 1644-45* (London, 1890), pp. 3–4, 34, 80–81. See also J.G. Williams, 'Myddelton, Sir Thomas (1586–1666)', *ODNB*.

[32] Not least in another paper given at the Association's study day at the St Fagans National Museum of History. See also L. Bowen, 'Representations of Wales and the Welsh during the civil wars and interregnum', *Historical Research*, 77 (2004) and M. Stoyle, 'Caricaturing Cymru: images of the Welsh in the London press, 1642–1646', in D. Dunn (ed.), *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain* (Liverpool, 2000).

[33] See, for example, the title page illustrations and texts of *The Welchmans Last Petition and Protestation* (1642) and *The Welch-Mans Complements* (1642).

[34] See, for example, the title page illustration and text of *The Welsh-Mans Postures* (1642).

[35] See, for example, the text of *The Welch-Mans Complements*.

[36] See, for example, the title page illustrations and texts of *The Welch Plunderer* (1643) and *The Welch Embassadour* (1643).

[37] Of course, it was in the interests of parliamentarian propagandists to make such claims, but even some royalist officers wrote slightingly of Welsh troops under their command. See, for example, Sir Thomas Aston's self-exculpatory explanation for his defeat at Middlewich in Cheshire in 1643, in which he claimed both to have deployed his Welsh infantry in advanced positions and to have been let down by their cowardly and feeble performance in the ensuing engagement. British Library, Additional Ms. 36913, ff. 120–121v, printed with minor textual variations in Phillips, *Memoirs of the Civil Wars in Wales and the Marches*, II, pp. 56–61.

[38] *An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament; Concerning the Proceedings of Divers Ill-affected Persons and Papists within the Counties of Denbigh, Mountgomery, Flint, Merioneth, Carnarvon and Anglesey* (1643), quotations from pp. 3–4.

[39] *A Declaration Published by Sir Thomas Middleton* (1644), quotations from title page and pp. 1, 2, 3, 5.

[40] J. Washbourn, *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis* (2 vols, Gloucester, 1825), I, pp. 120–21.

[41] Ibid. I, p. 121.

[42] This paper, like the lecture from which it springs, has not gone into detail about the collapse of royalism in Glamorgan, in part because the process there – with the rise of a 'Peaceable Army', akin to the Clubmen movements seen in some English counties during 1645 – is unique in Wales and not replicated in any other counties or regions of Wales (and for which, see the quite detailed discussion in Stoyle, *Soldiers and Strangers*, pp. 163–71); and also in part because, while reflecting on developments in Monmouthshire to the east and Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire to the west, a reassessment of how parliament gained control over Glamorgan in the latter half of the main civil war and the politico-religious rise and consequences of parliamentarian dominance and its agency there form one of the main foci of Roberts, 'How the west was won'.

[43] *A Declaration of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, Die Lunæ 8. Septemb. 1645* (1645), all quotations from this single page broadsheet.

[44] *The Welsh-mans Publique and Hearty Sorrow and Recantation, That ever her Tooke up Armes against her Cood [Good?] Parliament* (1647), unpaginated.

[45] E. Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers* (3 vols, London, 1849), II, p. 386.

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'HAD HAZARDED THE LOSS OF THE PARLIAMENT'S INTEREST IN NORTH-WALES': REAPPRAISING SIR JOHN OWEN'S UPRISING IN 1648

by Dr Jonathan Worton

For understandable reasons, given its significance as one of the three main theatres of the 1648 Civil War, the rebellion across South Wales from March to July against the parliamentary regime and its military has overshadowed events elsewhere in the Principality. Among the papers presented at the Cromwell Association's study day in October 2022, Dr Lloyd Bowen examined events in South Wales, including the leading role of the disaffected parliamentarian Colonel John Poyer. While Poyer, for various reasons, side-shifted to ally with the royalist cause, in North Wales a rebellion with a much clearer royalist complexion from the start was led by the ardent cavalier Sir John Owen. Lasting for about three weeks (and ending in his defeat and capture) Owen's uprising, if not quite consigned to a footnote in the military history of the Civil Wars, has received only limited coverage and little of it recent.[1] The purpose of this article is therefore to reappraise the causes and course of Owen's uprising, including the decisive military engagement at Y Dalar Hir. It also complements Bowen's interpretation of contemporaneous events in South Wales covered in his paper, see page 79.

History has tended to label rebellions and uprisings by their leading figures – whether a Jack Cade in the 1450s, or the Duke of Monmouth in the 1680s. And in 1648 hostile contemporaries identified Owen's chief role in events. In July the House of Commons, in a self-congratulatory, morale-boosting published proclamation explain the successful 'whole management of the late war' to date, listed among other 'signal victories […] obtained by the parliament forces' the 'most seasonable mercy and success in North Wales against Sir John Owen'.[2]

Owen was born in 1600 into a north-Walian gentry family and prospered by inheritance.[3] (Plate 1.) He was the eldest son of John Owen (d. 1611) of Bodsilin, Caernarfonshire, who became wealthy in his early career as secretary to the Elizabethan statesman Sir Francis Walsingham, and Elin Maurice, heiress to family estates in Shropshire and in Wales, including Clenennau in the south-eastern corner of Caernarfonshire's Llŷn Peninsula. Elin outlived both John and her second husband Sir Francis Eure (d. 1621), a chief justice of North Wales. Her grandfather's death in 1622 made Elin a wealthy matriarch. When she died in 1626 her son John inherited the family

Plate 1. *Colonel Sir John Owen of Clenenney [sic.] (1600–1666), Knight.* Portrait of Owen of *c.*1660 (or possibly later copy) by an unknown artist of the British School. In the collection of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / The National Library of Wales. Public Domain/Creative Commons.

home and estate at Clenennau (his birthplace) along with other Maurice lands, making him one of Caernarfonshire's wealthiest gentlemen. Marking his status among the regional gentry, Owen was high sheriff of

Caernarfonshire in 1630–31 and of neighbouring Merionethshire in the following year. He is likely to have gained connections among Merioneth's gentry by marrying Janet, daughter of Griffith Vaughan of Cors-Y-Gedol.

From the outbreak of civil war Owen was an active royalist in a region that declared solidly for King Charles I. In August 1642 he was appointed to the commission of array for Caernarfonshire, and in September received a colonelcy from the king to recruit a regiment of foot (infantry) from the three north-west counties of Wales: Anglesey, Caernarfonshire, and Merionethshire. His biographers have assumed that as a young man Owen gained military experience overseas, so veteran status may have qualified him for the command.[4] Owen's regiment had joined the king's Oxford-based army by the New Year, and he led it with distinction campaigning during 1643. Over winter 1643/4 Owen held the responsibility of governing Reading, a strategically important royalist stronghold in the Thames valley.

By later 1644 Owen was back in his native North Wales, posted there amid changes in the royalist high command. Prince Rupert became captain-general of royal forces across England and Wales and his brother Maurice was promoted to the regional command incorporating the six counties of North Wales (also including the north-east counties, Flintshire, Denbighshire, and Montgomeryshire) and the bordering English shires. Respected at Oxford as both a capable soldier and trusted Welsh royalist, Owen, as well as representing the interests of the high command, may have been tasked with improving relations between the native leaders and their immediate English superiors.[5] Neither Sir John Mennes nor John Lord Byron cultivated mannerly relations with civilian leaders and Welsh men in particular. Sir John Mennes, until relieved in May 1645, was Prince Rupert's governor of north-west Wales; and John Lord Byron was, since December 1643, field marshal (in effect the operational commander) of forces across much of the region now led by Prince Maurice. Owen's own authority was vested in his governorship of the garrison town of Conwy and reappointment as high sheriff of Caernarfonshire. Before Christmas, Owen's knighthood was bestowed to enhance his social standing to perform the latter role. On 17 February 1645 Prince Maurice appointed Sir John sergeant-major-general of foot in the three north-west counties, and from then into March Owen led

forces in support of the prince's campaign to relieve Chester.[6] Otherwise, in field operations Owen remained subordinate to Byron.

Owen commanded at Conwy awkwardly alongside John Williams, the Archbishop of York. Early in the conflict Williams had returned to North Wales and his native Conwy. At his own expense he repaired, garrisoned, and governed the castle there and played an influential role in the regional royalist war effort. However, Owen may have seen Williams's persistent politicking as prejudicial to the cause, and (with Prince Rupert's knowledge) in May 1645 his men seized Conwy Castle, causing the ousted archbishop to withdraw to his home near Bangor.[7] While the king in July rebuked Owen for his actions and cautioned him against further 'imputations' about Williams's loyalty, he nevertheless accepted Owen's entire governorship of Conwy.[8]

North Wales became the final prolonged theatre of the war. The fall of royalist Chester in early February 1646 opened the way for the advance of parliamentarian forces under Major-General Thomas Mytton. Owen helped prolong royalist resistance, founded on the occupation of medieval castles the enemy would have to isolate and besiege. Byron, after surrendering Chester, made Caernarfon his headquarters, but he found the local gentry and populace uncooperative. Besieged by Mytton's forces in May, and with no prospect of relief, on 4 June Byron surrendered the castle and went into exile.[9] Owen continued to hold out at Conwy, withdrawing to the castle when Mytton's troops stormed the town on 8 August. Their plan of attack had benefitted from intelligence provided by Archbishop Williams, who had defected to the parliamentary cause.[10] Closely besieged, Owen's garrison held the castle for a further three months. Their surrender on 9 November made Conwy one of the last three mainland royalist strongholds – all in North Wales – to capitulate; only the castles at Holt in Flintshire, surrendered in January 1647, and at Harlech in Merionethshire, finally given up by Owen's brother William on 15 March 1647, held out longer.

Honourable terms of capitulation at Conwy allowed Owen to return peaceably to his estate at Clenennau, and he paid punitive parliamentary fines for his royalism. In April 1647, Prince Rupert, then an exile in Louis XIV's court, offered Owen a regimental commission to serve under him in the

French army. In the event Owen, facing difficulties raising recruits, did not join the prince, but the proposal showed he remained highly regarded among the cavalier military élite.[11]

Given his impeccable royalist credentials, in 1648 Owen joined a command structure intended to reassemble the royalist leaderships of 1642–6. Sidelined in increasingly close confinement on the Ilse of Wight, King Charles was unable to play a leading role in the unfolding military events. Instead, some royal prerogative powers were temporarily devolved to the teenage Charles Prince of Wales. Royalists acquiesced to the exiled prince's agency *in absentia* of his father, including making military appointments.[12] In 1648, therefore, the royalist officer corps acted by authority of commissions in the name of Prince Charles. They included zealous First Civil War royalists placed in command of their home counties or regions, such as Sir Charles Lucas in his native Essex, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale as general of the five northern counties, comprising Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumbria, Durham, and his Yorkshire homeland; plus allied disaffected parliamentarians such as Colonel John Poyer, whose commission as governor of Pembroke was issued by Prince Charles as 'Highest Captain General under His Majesty of all the Forces by Sea and Land within the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales' from the court in exile near Paris at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on 13 April 1648.[13]

It was from there that by early 1648 John Lord Byron had returned to England, instructed to seek military advantage from opportunities that the Engagement (King Charles's covert military alliance with allied Scots agreed in principle in late December 1647) might present. By March 1648 Byron was conspiring with royalists and disgruntled moderate parliamentarians in Cheshire and Lancashire to begin an insurgency. In mid-March Byron's own commission from the Prince of Wales arrived. It restored his generalship and widespread regional field command of 1643 to 1646: of crown forces in Cheshire, Lancashire, Shropshire, Worcestershire and the six northern counties of Wales. Vested with the prince's authority, Byron in turn issued subordinate commissions, including to the wavering Cheshire parliamentarian John Booth as colonel-general of Lancashire, and to ardent royalists, including Sir John Owen. Byron's commission promoting Owen

to sergeant-major general of the North-Welsh counties and granting him powers to recruit there was dated 31 March 1648.[14]

This raises the question: what, beyond raising forces and leading them into action, were Owen's military objectives? The Engagement encouraged royalists around the exiled queen and Prince of Wales to envisage that, in conjunction with the Scots invasion, a series of armed uprisings in England and Wales would coalesce to overwhelm parliament's military and with it topple the regime and return the king to power. Widespread popular discontent with parliamentary rule provided opportunities for royalist military exploitation. As Bennett has explained, 'royalists were attempting to reverse the result of the [first] war and could steer popular anger some way in their direction.[15] A widening insurgency could have the strategic effect of disadvantaging parliament's superior military by dispersal and restricting its capability to converge against a particular threat. Lyndon's assertion that 'the essence of royalist strategy in 1648 was to prevent the parliament's forces from concentrating' echoes contemporary opinion.[16] According to the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Byron's objective was 'to get as many places to declare in England […] as might distract the [parliamentary] army and keep it from an entire engagement against them'.[17] In a dispatch sent to Byron in mid-May, one of Langdale's officers in Cumbria stressed the importance of widespread action, 'it being the life of the business to amuse the enemy by a general rising over the kingdom'.[18] Langdale's northern royalists had already opened invasion routes for the Scots Engager army into the west or east of England by seizing Carlisle and Berwick at the end of April. Byron, too, anticipated the Scots offensive. On 10 March he wrote to William Earl of Lanark, whose brother, James Duke of Hamilton, championed the Engagement in the Scottish parliament and would eventually lead the invasion army, optimistically claiming: 'I doubt not that upon the first [entrance] of your army in England the greatest part of Lancashire, Cheshire and North Wales will declare for the king'.[19] However, royalist strategy was not limited to placing 'all its eggs in one Scots basket'.[20] Coupled to mistrust that the Engagement would deliver militarily (hoped by English royalists to arrive in force in May, Hamilton's army did not cross the border until early July), anti-Scots sentiment pervaded the royalist side of the alliance. If a general rebellion could be achieved, English and Welsh royalists might gain their objectives alone. However, attempting to wage war by popular

insurrection involved accommodating the multifarious concerns of common protestors, discontented parliamentarians, and ardent royalists. In addition, the dismantled royalist military of the First Civil War had to be rebuilt from scratch. Moreover, without a central headquarters in theatre, royalist strategy would depend on the resourcefulness and timing of distanced insurgent commanders like Byron and Owen.

Large-scale reductions in parliament's provincial forces made royalist designs to pin down or defeat them imaginable in detail. In February and March 1647 parliament planned to consolidate its post-war armed forces. On 3 March the Commons resolved to disband the supernumerary foot in Wales, to leave in the north just 320 men (excluding officers) garrisoning the castles at Caernarfon, Conwy and Welshpool, and at Beaumaris Castle and two outposts on Anglesey, and on 9 April to also retain 100 horse (cavalry) and 100 dragoons (mounted infantry) under Major-General Mytton's command.[21] Many disbanded infantry probably joined 'the Welsh regiment of foot' which one of Mytton's officers, Colonel John Kynaston, raised to serve in Ireland, of which 700 of 1,000 men had landed in Dublin in June.[22] To effect the ordnance of 24 December 1647 to pay-off and disband parliament's remaining 20,000 supernumerary soldiers (leaving about 27,000 on the eve of the Second Civil War, mostly in the standing New Model Army), Mytton was ordered to concentrate his remaining forces in the North Wales' garrisons by mid-January. Those now also included Denbigh Castle, to be garrisoned by 80 foot, with upward of 100 foot retained at Caernarfon and 150 at Conwy, and 100 and 60 at Beaumaris and Welshpool respectively. At the end of February, warrants and back-pay were reportedly in place for disbanding the remaining supernumerary horse in North Wales.[23] While mention in March of further reductions proposed at Caernarfon (to 50 men) and Conwy (to 40 men) obscures the view of the actual strength of parliament's garrisons in North Wales on the eve of Owen's uprising;[24] as will be seen, a scratch force of less than 300 finally opposed him. Nonetheless, in North Wales parliament had the military advantage of holding castle strongholds garrisoned by regular soldiers already under arms led by Mytton's trusted fellow English officers from the First Civil War, namely Colonels George Twisleton, John Carter, and Thomas Mason, respectively the governors of Denbigh, Conwy, and Caernarfon.[25]

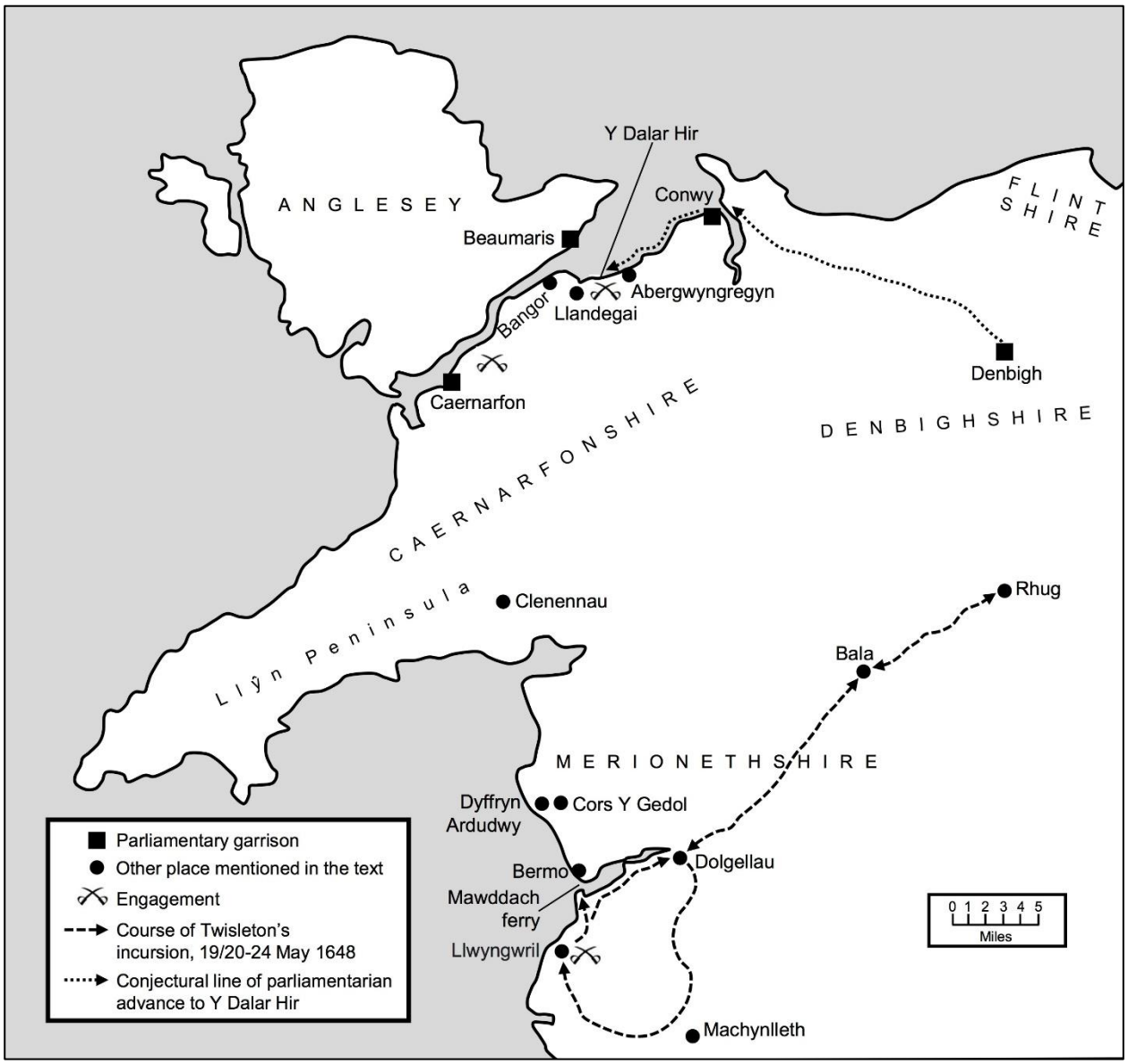

Plate 2. Map showing the theatre of operations in North Wales of Sir John Owen's uprising in 1648 (author's design).

Owen's uprising began in Merionethshire in mid-May. (Plate 2.) He was reported to be in Dolgellau on the 17th with a body of horsemen.[26] In London, parliament had declared that as a day of public thanksgiving for the 'great and seasonable' victory already won in south Wales, when Colonel Thomas Horton's forces defeated the rebels at St. Fagans in Glamorgan on 8 May.[27] The rising in south Wales had played out since Owen was reappointed a general in March. The localised mutiny by the parliamentarian garrison of Pembroke and its disaffected governor, John Poyer, had transformed into a pro-royalist rebellion that generated the army 8,000 strong drawn from Pembrokeshire, Carmarthenshire, Cardiganshire, and

Glamorgan, routed at St. Fagans. Horton's 3,000-strong division had combated the insurgency with difficulty while reinforcements under Cromwell were on their way. From March into May displays of royalist sentiment and disaffection with parliament were limited to demonstrative petitioning, and street protest and riot in London, Norwich, Essex, Kent, Surrey and elsewhere, but the uprising in South Wales had achieved serious military momentum.

This raises a further question: why did Owen not take advantage of events in the south to rise sooner in North Wales? There is no clear answer, and we do not know how long after receiving (sometime early in April?) Byron's commission (and any attendant orders?) it took Owen to reflect on whether and how to take up arms. Furthermore, it is hard to determine both the intensity of opposition to parliamentary control and the degree of royalist sentiment across North Wales in early 1648; whether in fact popular grievances 'were smouldering' so 'fiercely' as Williams has argued.[28] Occupying parliamentary forces and the consequent military taxation for their upkeep and disbandment certainly weighed heavily. In mid-October 1647, Archbishop Williams (a well-informed observer of events, from the royalist then parliamentary camps) argued for disbanding or redeploying the remaining cavalry in North Wales because of their ill discipline.[29] In early November Major-General Mytton, reporting to Cromwell, agreed that Caernarfonshire was economically unfit to accommodate horse and had 'good cause' of complaint against them.[30] In December, Cromwell's fellow army grandee, Sir Thomas Fairfax, rebuked the governor of Caernarfon Castle for overcharging military taxes and imprisoning defaulters. In February 1648 Williams wanted to quicken the disbandment of local forces then underway; 'the country will not bear the continuance of the horse and foot upon them'. In March he saw the cavalry remaining in Caernarfonshire as a costly 'cruel burden' upon the countryfolk.[31]

Overbearing arriviste army officers may also have provoked resentment against parliament. The religious and political radical, and later regicide and republican, Colonel John Jones, rose to prominence in North Wales but was viewed by the conservative Williams as 'most universally hated in these parts', whose very presence was 'in danger of hazarding the country'.[32] While Jones was a Welshman, from Merionethshire, parliamentary occupation

forces may well have been associated with historical resentment of English overlordship. It has been argued that the Welsh shared with the Cornish an underlying animosity to centralised English government rooted in ethnic difference that inflamed the royalist insurrection in west Cornwall in May 1648 – begun around the time Owen appeared at Dolgellau.[33] In Caernarfon town in April individual royalists had openly scorned the authority of parliament and verbally abused a local JP and parliamentary commissioner. They were among a handful of Caernarfonshire's royalist gentry who most vociferously encouraged Owen into action.[34] And once it had gained traction, like the Cornish insurrection, when hundreds of countryfolk hastily rallied to royalist insurgents, Owen's uprising attracted popular support. His opponent, Major-General Mytton, reflected how quickly in Caernarfonshire at the beginning of June 'a great part of the county came in to Sir John Owen'. Another parliamentarian correspondent reported that at the same time the number of 'country-men' rallying to Owen was 'daily increasing in Merionethshire'. [35]

Owen's rising did not, however, match in scale or duration the greater mutiny-turned-rebellion in South Wales, and hard and fast connections between these events are hard to ascertain. In later April, when Archbishop Williams reported that 'all is quiet about Caernarvonshire', in South Wales the rebels advancing beyond Pembroke had occupied towns, and in skirmishing in Carmarthenshire defeated Horton's New Model Army detachments and forced their withdrawal to Brecon.[36] Poyer and fellow rebel leaders had declarations printed to state their aims and thereby mobilise support against parliament and its army.[37] In particular, *The Declaration and Protestation of the King's Army in South Wales* dating to the turn of April into May demanded subscribers act to 'bring the king to a personal treaty with his parliament', to maintain his prerogative alongside the privileges of parliament. It was said to be assented to by 'Col. Poyer and the rest of the king's party in South Wales, and now disbursed into the several counties of North Wales, where is it now taking [up] by the Cavaliers in the several counties thereof'.[38] Bowen has convincingly argued that this and earlier declarations were intended to encourage a royalist association across Wales.[39] Poyer's previous royalist-leaning and religiously conservative *Declaration* of early April was adopted by the Cornish rebels in mid-May, by when both it and the *Declaration and Protestation of the King's Army* must also have circulated

in North Wales.[40] There is, however, no evidence that Owen issued his own declaration, or that he felt part of a pan-Welsh revolt. But he was aware of being engaged in a widening insurgency. After his defeat on 5 June, Owen was said to have defiantly told his captors: 'Though you have defeated me, yet four-score thousand men now in arms in Essex and Kent will not be so baffled therewith'.[41]

Two other events may have influenced Owen's actions. Firstly, in early May Major-General Mytton and soldiers from the garrison loyal to him were barred from Beaumaris Castle by one of his officers, Captain Thomas Symkis. Backed by local gentry, Symkis had assumed the deputy-governorship to Mytton of Anglesey in the place of Mytton's own nominee.[42] The situation echoed the dispute over military and political authority that provoked Poyer's mutiny at Pembroke in March. Similar grievances around pay arrears and disbandment which arose then may also have caused disobedience at Beaumaris, where on 8 May Mytton urgently needed money to maintain the security of the island.[43] With Beaumaris Castle apparently in rebel hands, Owen may have been emboldened to exploit both division in the parliamentary ranks and the re-emergence of royalists who had held sway on Anglesey from 1642–6. As in south Wales, resurgent royalists found common cause with estranged parliamentarians such as Symkis, who was instrumental to the open declaration of support for the king which the Anglesey gentry finally announced in July.[44] Secondly, Byron had planned a rendezvous of forces on 18 May (when Owen was at Dolgellau) in the Delamere Forest in central Cheshire. He intended a show of force to encourage Colonel Booth into action. However, Byron abandoned the scheme when only a few horsemen turned up at the appointed time, and two days later Booth was arrested at Warrington and his followers dispersed when some horse Cromwell had sent northward as reinforcements occupied the town.[45] There are only hints in the historical record of the correspondence Byron and Owen must have exchanged. It is therefore possible that Owen's gathering of forces from 17 May and Byron's attempt the following day were co-ordinated. Although Byron, by his own, rather self-serving account, in the event dispersed his followers 'until some further opportunity', had the Delamere rendezvous succeeded whilst Booth remained uncommitted, he felt he could instead have been 'able to make my way into North Wales'.[46]

From 17 to 19 May Owen used Dolgellau as a pre-arranged rallying point; the occupation of Merionethshire's county town revealing both his intent and the inability of local parliamentarians to oppose him. [47] The 100 or so horsemen joining Owen were described as 'reformardos'. This is a contemporary term for supernumerary officers – deprived of command by reorganisation, but retaining their rank – and for volunteers of officer class.[48] From those that can be identified, they seem to have been a gathering of First Civil War royalist veterans intent on renewing the war.[49] Here as elsewhere, notwithstanding other strands of discontent and militancy, the uprisings of 1648 were largely driven by experienced royalists who provided military leadership and were the most effective soldiers in the rebellious forces.[50] Owen's rising also provides further evidence of royalists travelling afar to rally to certain leaders and areas of conflict.[51] They included: from Shropshire, Colonel Richard Lloyd, 'a notorious cavalier, that formerly served the king', fined for his royalist 'delinquency' in both wars; Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Screven, who later compounded for fines for having fought in both conflicts, and whose brother and royalist colonel Thomas had been mortally wounded in action in 1643; and Captain Thomas Lloyd, late of Owen's own infantry regiment who in 1649 compounded for his 'delinquency in arms' in both wars.[52] From Montgomeryshire came Colonel Arthur Blaney, the county sheriff in 1644 who later joined Owen's brother, William, in holding Harlech Castle.[53] From South Wales came Captains Thomas Phillips and William Sanders, both from Carmarthenshire, who in the first war had served in Sir Charles Gerard's regiments of horse and foot respectively. In March 1648 Phillips was identified as one of Carmarthenshire's royalist delinquents.[54] From Cardiganshire came Captain Edward Herbert, an ex-cavalryman of the Duke of York's Regiment, and from Glamorgan his father, Morgan Herbert. The elder Herbert was later identified as having been 'a ringleader of the inhabitants against parliament and was in arms at St. Fagans'.[55] The south-Walian royalists had probably rallied to Owen after that defeat. North-Welsh reformardos included Robert Wynne from Caernarfonshire, an ex-lieutenant of Sir William Wynne's Denbighshire regiment, and from Flintshire, Lieutenant of horse John Matthews, of Roger Whitley's late regiment (Whitley himself was an ardent royalist who rejoined Byron in 1648).[56] The ordinary soldiers joining Owen were similarly a diverse body.[57] Most, 64 per cent, were Welsh and from the northern counties (just three men were southerners), and of the English

remainder, whilst the majority were from westerly shires – Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Cheshire – individuals came from as far afield as London, Hertfordshire and Lincolnshire. A total of 41 were later recorded as prisoners. Owen's recruitment therefore reflected Stoyle's main conclusion about the organisation of the other western rebellion begun that May, in Cornwall: of an emerging 'rising of ex-royalist officers and soldiers run along military lines and orchestrated from the top'.[58]

Following the appearance of Owen's party at Dolgellau, the parliamentary committee and sheriff of Merionethshire urgently requested the help of two troops of horse.[59] That was likely to be the reason for the arrival from Denbigh of Colonel Twisleton at Bala on probably Saturday 20 May with upward of 100 horsemen, comprising the absent Colonel John Jones's troop, volunteers from the Wrexham area, and foot soldiers from the Denbigh garrison mounted as dragoons. Royalist stragglers confirmed to Twisleton's scouts that Owen had left Dolgellau, where the parliamentarians arrived next day. Twisleton concluded that Owen had withdrawn northward into Caernarfonshire, then received intelligence that royalist horse and foot from Cardiganshire, marching to join Owen, had neared Machynlleth. Twisleton marched south then north-east overnight in pursuit, and later on Monday caught the foot resting in the coastal hamlet of Llwyngwril before taking the ferry across the Mawddach estuary to Bermo (a small fishing settlement later known as Barmouth).[60] The royalist vanguard of 20 horse had already crossed before a parliamentarian detachment secured the ferry five miles northward of Llwyngwril. The foot, tricked into believing Twisleton's men were more royalist reinforcements (a ruse often attempted during the Civil Wars, when similarity in clothing and equipment could make it difficult to distinguish friend from foe) offered little resistance before the parliamentarians were among them. About 50 officers and men were taken prisoner and few escaped. Mindful that his men were wearied by strenuous marches and now encumbered with captives, and that Owen's fresher horsemen could attempt to cut off their way back to Denbigh, Twisleton returned to Dolgellau on Tuesday and by Wednesday night had withdrawn via Bala into Denbighshire.[61]

At this time Owen was based at Cors-y-Gedol Hall, home of his in-laws, the Vaughans, on the Merionethshire coast at Dyffryn Ardudwy, north of

Bermo.[62] As shown above, Owen drew support in Merionethshire and did not face local armed opposition. Perhaps surprised by the reach and audacity of Twisleton's incursion and discouraged by the setback of the lost reinforcements, Owen did not oppose the parliamentarian withdrawal. From captured letters and interrogated prisoners, the parliamentarians learned that north-Walian royalists, including those on Anglesey, expected further reinforcements from South Wales. This, coupled to Owen's readiness at Cors-y-Gedol to join the party from Cardiganshire intercepted by Twisleton, and the rendezvous of forces at Dolgellau that attracted regrouping survivors of St. Fagans, does suggest there was contact between rebels in the north and south. Twisleton, however, doubted that further enemy reinforcements would appear; his captives had also told how the South-Welsh rebels were, as in fact, 'all driven into garrisons'.[63]

Twisleton returned to Denbigh and maintained contact with Mytton at Caernarfon via messenger.[64] (Plate 3.) While immediately unable to provide the munitions and escort Mytton requested, Twisleton set to organise reinforcements to suppress the uprising. However, in meetings at Wrexham on 9 May and at Montgomery on 20 May (probably in reaction to news of Owen's appearance at Dolgellau), parliamentary loyalists in Flintshire and Denbighshire, and Montgomeryshire respectively, had resolved to organise a 'posture of defence' against insurrection, but they had so far failed to act strategically as Twisleton and Mytton expected, to muster forces at key points to interrupt or intercept Owen. Indeed, an attempt to summon militia in Denbighshire fell flat when of the leading gentry, only the under-sheriff, delegating for the sheriff who was too ill to attend, turned up.[65] 'Not hearing of auxiliaries', Twisleton, in the absence and uncertain arrival of forces expected from Montgomeryshire and Wrexham had by 29 May requested reinforcements of regular troops from the Chester garrison.[66] Chester's military governor, Colonel Robert Duckenfield, sent 70 foot and 30 horse who with Colonel Jones's troop, 30 or so mounted reformardos from Denbighshire, and 30 foot from the Denbigh garrison (acting as dragoons) marched with Twisleton to relieve Mytton. Here it is assumed they followed the seventeenth-century London to Holyhead Road from Denbigh north-east to Conwy, and it was there they joined forces with Colonel Carter and 30 of his infantry garrison. Twisleton and Carter's combined force probably numbered 270 officers and men.[67]

Plate 3. The late thirteenth- into early fourteenth-century castle at Caernarfon. The mighty Edwardian fortress remained defensible and strategically relevant into the 1640s, when it was in royalist hands until surrendered by Lord Byron in June 1646. Parliament maintained the castle as one of its North Wales garrisons into 1648, when during Owen's uprising it was a both a base and refuge for local forces. Caernarfon is a good example of how militarily useful and important many medieval castles remained during the Civil Wars (author's photograph).

In Caernarfonshire in the meantime Mytton, with Colonel Mason and local loyalists Thomas Madryn (high sheriff in 1642) and William Lloyd (the incumbent sheriff), had by his own account led the Caernarfon garrison in 'continual duty in marching out to endeavour the obstruction of the enemy his raising of men'.[68] On Saturday 3 June they mounted a further show of force with 60 foot (including soldiers from Beaumaris loyal to Mytton) and the strength of the garrison's horse, 20 troopers. However, within three miles of Caernarfon the parliamentarians encountered Owen's men on patrol. The parliamentary horse led by Lloyd were separated from the foot and probably ambushed; in skirmishing, the sheriff was critically wounded and taken captive.[69] The parliamentarians rallied and fell back to Caernarfon, but news of their retreat emboldened support for Owen. As mentioned earlier, Mytton reflected how 'the very next day […] a great part of the county came in to

Sir John Owen'.[70] By then Owen had about 260 mostly experienced soldiers, 140 horse and 120 foot, all said to be 'well-appointed' [ie, equipped].[71] Their numbers were swelled by upward of 200 so-called 'clubmen' – countrymen with improvised weapons.

Monday 5 June found Owen's royalists at the crossing of the River Ogwen at Llandegai, a mile-and-a-half south-east of Bangor, positioned to engage either Mytton coming out of Caernarfon or the relieving force. Twisleton and Carter's parliamentarians seem to have reached Abergwyngregyn within four miles north-east of the royalist position. Their intention seems to have been to avoid an engagement before joining forces with Mytton. Owen had sent to Byron for reinforcements but did not wait for them. The royalists had intelligence (according to Byron, two intercepted letters had been 'written by the Archbishop of York's direction on purpose to be intercepted') that persuaded Owen he had overwhelming numerical strength and should quickly intercept the relief force before it could reach Mytton.[72] Perhaps unknowingly deceived, the royalists left their defensive position on the west bank of the Ogwen and advanced towards the approaching parliamentarians.

They engaged 'upon a plain near the sea-side, betwixt Bangor and Aber'.[73] The place was known as Y Dalar Hir, on the coast almost equidistant between Llandegai and Abergwyngregyn. Near the seashore, centred within 200 yards south of the high tidal range of the northerly entrance to the Menai Strait, the field named Y Dalar Hir seems an unlikely battleground.[74] In 1648, as at present, it was an expanse of level, low-lying open farmland with no significant topographical features to restrict or advantage military deployment, apart from the sea that might protect an exposed flank.[75] The location of what was an encounter engagement may have been determined by the direction of the parliamentarian advance. Ogilvy's later seventeenth-century itinerary of the London to Holyhead Road west of Conwy advised travellers, tidal conditions permitting, to 'keep along the sands', firstly to avoid the mountainous headland at Penmaenmawr and then as an easier and more direct way to Bangor and the Anglesey ferries.[76] Twisleton and Carter may therefore have followed the foreshore and thereby also avoided the broken and wooded uplands rising within a mile southward. The coastal way also gave the parliamentarians a clear prospect of the enemy's approach,

allowing them to take their ground first; where Owen 'found us ready to entertain him, having had intelligence of his advance'.[77]

The opposing forces had a similar number of soldiers, but the clubmen gave the royalists numerical advantage. It remains uncertain how small field engagements of the Civil Wars were fought, but it can be assumed that both sides reduced the textbook depth of units – six ranks for foot, three for horse – to deploy their limited forces in an extended line of combat. Both sides in advance of their main body deployed a forlorn hope: a detachment posted to screen the front line and to probe and exploit any weakness in the enemy's forward positions.[78] On this occasion both forlorns were mounted, the royalist cavalry led by Lieutenant-Colonel Screven opposing the parliamentarian Cheshire horse under one Captain Carter. The ensuing action would be confused by both sides adopting similar means of identification. Neither chose to wear a 'signal' – a strip of similar cloth or ribbon, a sprig of vegetation, or some other differentiating token – and their battle-cries (or 'words'), 'Resolution' for the royalists, 'Religion' for the parliamentarians, were indistinct.[79]

The action began in mid-afternoon when the forlorns engaged, perhaps at first skirmishing at distance with firearms. After a period of closer combat, Screven's horse drove the parliamentarians in disorder onto their reserve. The main royalist line advanced in support, and their foot also gained advantage in the developing general engagement. A correspondent described how 'relief being come (after another dispute) both sides were at a stand'.[80] The parliamentary horsemen had, however, rallied, and maintaining close formation in further probing attacks, after half-an-hour's fighting they achieved the decisive breakthrough. In the resultant melee, Owen was wounded and unhorsed in single combat and taken prisoner by one Captain Taylor, as the parliamentarians broke and routed the royalists. The difficulty of distinguishing friend from foe in the confused fighting, coupled to the parliamentary horse being too tired to prolong the pursuit, allowed about 50 royalist horsemen to escape. Otherwise, the parliamentarian victory was decisive and may be attributed to their better morale and cohesion; in reporting to parliament, Carter and Twisleton acknowledged 'the resolution of the officers and reserves'.[81] As well as Owen, 57 other named officers and soldiers were taken prisoner. The clubmen were scattered, and a further 100

or so countrymen marching to join Owen quickly dispersed when they heard of his defeat.[82] The parliamentarians gained 200 discarded weapons and some horses. Thirty royalists and a handful of parliamentarians were said to have been killed, and many more wounded on both sides. The number of royalists cut down as they fled, rather than partisan reporting, probably accounted for the disparity in fatalities.

The engagement at Y Dalar Hir which, in numbers involved a skirmish rather than a battle, was a clear-cut parliamentary victory, ending Owen's uprising. In what would now be regarded as counter-insurgency reprisal tactics, in the following days the parliamentarians sought out local rebel ringleaders and looted the properties of suspected gentry in the Llŷn Peninsula, including Owen's estate at Clenennau. At the beginning of July a parliamentary detachment captured or scattered a dozen royalists banded together after Y Dalar Hir.[83] On 14 June in London a parliamentary committee called for Owen to be tried for high treason and the alleged murder of sheriff Lloyd (who had died in his custody), and so, late in July, Owen was imprisoned in Windsor Castle awaiting trial.[84] Owen's uprising therefore appears to conform to orthodox historical interpretations of the military events of 1648, as a series of disparate and uncoordinated insurrections (together hardly deserving the title of 'a civil war' at all), easily suppressed by superior parliamentary forces.[85] However, the author shares Lyndon's scepticism of scholarly hindsight that glosses over the military crises during 1648 faced by parliamentary loyalists repeatedly 'learning of disaffection and attempted insurrection over an alarmingly wide area'.[86] In North Wales parliament needed a victory that, although in the event did not crush royalist activism – in early July, for instance, rebels almost took Denbigh Castle by surprise, and in the autumn parliamentary forces had to invade Anglesey to end resistance – was both timely and emphatic. Mytton reflected that 'had it not pleased God to give us this victory and deliverance, this county had not only been lost, but almost all of North Wales'. Another commentator agreed: 'This mercy was seasonable; the loss of our party now, had hazarded the loss of the parliament's interest in North Wales'.[87]

[1] Robert Ashton, in what remains to date the fullest study of the causes and course of events nationally in 1648 (although concerned more with roots and motives, rather than detailing military events), despite having earlier identified North Wales as one of the 'important centres of royalist insurgency in the Second Civil War' rather disappointingly later dealt with Owen's uprising in just a single short sentence; R. Ashton, *Counter-Revolution: The Second Civil War and its Origins, 1646–8* (Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 341, 431. More recently, Nick Lipscombe in *An Atlas and Concise History of the War of the Three Kingdoms, 1639–1651* (Bloomsbury/Osprey Publishing, 2020) on p. 278 dealt with Owen's uprising in five short sentences following lengthier coverage of events in South Wales. In his earlier concise study across the period *A Nation Under Siege: The Civil War in Wales 1642–48* (Cadw Welsh Historic Monuments, 1991), space allowed Peter Gaunt to cover Owen's uprising in two paragraphs (pp. 71–2). Further passing coverage of North Wales came from Robert Matthews in his detailed study concentrating on events in the south: see pp. 117–19 of *A Storme Out of Wales* [*sic*]*: The Second Civil War in South Wales, 1648* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012). Other general and more specific military histories of the Civil Wars, while addressing the southern rebellion at varying length, have overlooked the north: see for example, Ian Gentles, *The English Revolution and Wars in the Three Kingdoms, 1638–1652* (Pearson Education, 2007), in 'Wales', pp. 334–5, and Stuart Reid's *All The King's Armies: A Military History of the English Civil War, 1642–1651* (Spellmount Ltd., 1998), p. 223, 'Welsh revolt'. J. F. Rees's 'The Second Civil War in Wales', pp. 1–35 of the 1930–31 *Transactions* of the Honourable Society of Coymmrodorion was the first modern attempt to reconstruct events across the Principality, and his coverage of Owen's uprising (pp. 21–5) remains convincing. Norman Tucker's self-published *Royalist Major-General: Sir John Owen* (1963) is the only lengthier biography of Owen, and Tucker revisited the uprising (including quoting primary sources at length) in the second edition of his *North Wales & Chester in the Civil War* (Landmark Publishing, 2003), pp. 95–103.

[2] *July 18 1648. By the Commons Assembled in Parliament* (London: 1648). British Library (BL) English Short Title Catalogue, E2589 (Wing).

[3] The following biographical account of Owen up to the events of 1648 draws mainly on R. Hutton, 'Owen, Sir John (1600–1666), royalist army officer', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biograp*hy (2004) [Online], available: <https://www.oxforddnb.com>, and A. H. Dodd, 'Sir John Owen (1600–1666), royalist army commander', in *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* [Online], available: <https://biography.wales>. Supplementary sources are referenced separately.

[4] R. Hutton, *The Royalist War Effort, 1642–1646* (Routledge, 2003), p. 29.

[5] Ibid., p. 153.

[6] National Library of Wales (NLW), Brogyntyn Estate and Family Records, Clenennau Letters and Papers, 551.
[7] Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, p. 179; Tucker, *Civil War,* p. 50.
[8] NLW, Clenennau Letters and Papers, 584.
[9] R. Hutton, 'Byron, Sir John, first Baron Byron, (1598/9–1652), royalist army officer', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biograp*hy [Online].
[10] Tucker, *Civil War*, p. 76.
[11] NLW, Clenennau Letters and Papers, 626, 627.
[12] S. Kelsey, '"King of the Sea": The Prince of Wales and the Stuart Monarchy, 1648–1649', *History*, 92:308 (October 2007), esp. pp. 435–6, 447–8. Ashton in *Counter-Revolution,* p. 455, noted how the prince commissioned 'major insurgent commanders'.
[13] Anon, ed., *Memorials of the English Affairs from the beginning of the reign of Charles the First to the Happy Restoration of King Charles the Second By Bulstrode Whitelock*e, four vols. (Oxford University Press, 1853), vol. ii, pp. 309, 338; *A copy of his Highnesse Prince Charles his letter to the commanders of His Majesties forces. With a copy of His Highnesse commission to Collonell Poyer. Also a letter concerning the state of the Kingdome* [*sic*] (London: 1648). BL Thomason Tracts (TT) E.456[24].
[14] J. Barratt, ed., 'The Letters of the First Baron Byron of Rochdale (1600–1652)', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, XLIX (1971), pp. 127, 129; W. D. Macray, ed*., The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England begun in the year 1641 by Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, six vols. (The Clarendon Press, 1888), vol. iv, p. 345; S. R. Gardner, ed., *The Hamilton Papers: Being Selections from Original Letters in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, relating to the years 1638–1650* (Johnson Reprint Company edition of the 1880 Camden Society volume, 1965), pp. 166–7; NLW, Clenennau Letters and Papers, 629.
[15] M. Bennett, *The English Civil War, 1640–1649* (Longman, 1995), p. 91.
[16] B. Lyndon, 'Essex and the King's Cause in 1648', *The Historical Journal*, 29:1 (1986), p. 38.
[17] *The History of the Rebellion,* iv, pp. 345–6.
[18] Lancashire parliamentarians intercepted the dispatch, and it was subsequently quoted in *Packets of Letters from Scotland, Newcastle, York and Lancashire to Members of the House of Commons Concerning the Transactions of the Kingdom*, 29 May 1648, p. 5. BL TT E.445[5].
[19] *The Hamilton Papers*, p. 166. See Ashton, *Counter-Revolution* pp. 430–1, for criticism of Byron's eventual strategic failings.
[20] B. Lyndon, 'The South and the start of the Second Civil War, 1648', *History*, 71:233 (October 1986), p. 406.
[21] *Journals of the House of Commons*, Volume Five, 1646–1648 (London, 1802), p. 104; NLW, Sweeney Hall Manuscripts, A1, fol. 32.

[22] *Perfect Occcurrences of Every Daie iournall in Parliament And Other Moderate Intelligence* [*sic*], 7 May 1647, p. 148. BL TT E.387[5]; Bodleian Library, Tanner Manuscripts 58 (The Clerk of Parliament's Papers), fol. 220.

[23] I. Gentles, 'The Struggle for London in the Second Civil War', *The Historical Journal*, 26:2 (1983), p. 286; *Journals of the House of Lords*, Volume Nine, 1646 (London, 1767–1830), p. 609; *Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers in the National Library of Wales and elsewhere* (Aberystwyth: 1926), pp. 304–6; *A True Relation of Disbanding The Supernumerary Forces in the Several Counties of this Kingdom, and the Dominion of Wales* (London: 28 February 1648), pp. 6–7. BL TT E.249 [10].

[24] *Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers*, p. 308.

[25] For concise biographies of these officers, see: *The Cromwell Association Online Directory of Parliamentarian Army Officers*, available: <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/cromwell-army-officers>.

[26] *A Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament And Daily Proceedings of the Army* [*sic*], 22–29 May 1648, p. 2029. BL TT E.522[32]; Anon., 'A Short Account of the Rebellion in North and South Wales, in Oliver Cromwell's time', *The Cambrian Quarterly*, I (1829), p. 70.

[27] *Journals of the House of Commons*: Volume Five, p. 556.

[28] G. H. Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales: Wales 1642–1780* (Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 22.

[29] *Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers*, p. 303.

[30] Ibid.

[31] *Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers*, pp. 303–4, 305, 307.

[32] Ibid., p. 302.

[33] M. Stoyle, '"The Gear Rout": The Cornish Rising of 1648 and the Second Civil War', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 32:1 (Spring 2000), p. 58.

[34] Anon., 'Original Documents. Period of the Civil War', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, II (London: 1847), pp. 13–14.

[35] *A Narrative, Together with Letters Presented by Captaine Taylor, to the Honourable House of Commons, Concerning the late successe obtained by the Parliament's forces in Caernarvonshire in North Wales, against Sir John Owen and His forces* [*sic*] (London: 13 June 1648), p. 5. BL TT E.447[8]; *Sir Thomas Payton Lieutenant General for the King with divers others, taken prisoners* […] *A Letter from the Navy* […] *And a great victory obtained by Colonell Carter against the said Cavaliers. Major General John Owen taken prisoner* [*sic*] (London: 12 June 1648), p.3. BL TT E.447[1].

[36] *Perfect Occurrences of Every Daie iournall in Parliament: And other Moderate Intelligence* [*sic*], 21–28 April 1648. BL TT E.522[23]; R. Matthews, *A Storme Out of Wales* [*sic*]*: The Second Civil War in South Wales, 1648* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), pp.

68–72, *passim*; L. Bowen, *John Poyer, the Civil War in Pembrokeshire, and the British Revolution* (University of Wales Press, 2010), p. 147.

[37] Bowen, *John Poyer*, pp. 131–140, *passim*.

[38] *The Declaration and Protestation of the King's Army in South Wales* (London: uncertain dating, April into May 1648). BL TT E.438[13]. The wording is found on page 8.

[39] Bowen, *John Poyer*, pp. 136–8.

[40] Stoyle, "Gear Rout", pp. 54, 56–7.

[41] *A Narrative,* p. 6.

[42] S. Leighton, ed., 'Mytton Manuscripts. Letters and Papers of Thomas Mytton of Halston', *Collections Historical & Archaeological Relating to Montgomeryshire and its Borders* (1875), pp. 166–7.

[43] Ibid., pp. 159–60.

[44] 'Letters of the First Baron Byron', pp. 132–3; Tucker, *Civil War*, p. 105.

[45] 'Letters of the First Baron Byron', p. 130; *Packets of Letters,* pp. 3–4.

[46] 'Letters of the First Baron Byron', p. 130.

[47] *A Short Account*, p. 70.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Individual officers/reformardos are named in *A Narrative*, p. 11, and *A Short Account*, pp. 70–72

[50] For the influential and leading role and numerical importance of committed royalists in activism and military events, see for example: Lyndon, 'Essex and the King's Cause', pp. 19, 26–28; Lyndon, 'South and the start of the Second Civil War', pp. 396, 400, 405–6; Stoyle, "Gear Rout", pp. 50–2; R. Ashton, *The English Civil War: Conservatism and Revolution, 1603–1649*, 2nd edn. (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), p. 323–5, *passim*; J. Morrill, *Revolt in the Provinces: The People of England and the Tragedies of War 1630–1648*, 2nd edn. (Longman, 1991), p. 207.

[51] Lyndon, 'Essex and the King's cause', p. 37; Ashton, *English Civil War*, p. 323.

[52] For Richard Lloyd: *Sir Thomas Payton* […] *And a great victory*, p. 6, and M. A. Everett Green, ed., *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding*, five parts (London: 1889), Part III, p. 2030; for Screven: *Calendar of […] the Committee for Compounding*, Part III, p. 1859; for Thomas Lloyd: *Calendar of […] the Committee for Compounding*, Part III, p. 2030, and *A List of Officers Claiming the Sixty Thousand Pounds, & c. Granted by his Sacred Majesty for the Relief of His Truly Loyal and Indigent Party* (London: 1663), column 102.

[53] E. Evans, 'Blayney family, of Gregynog, Montgomeryshire', in *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* [Online], available: <https://biography.wales>.

[54] For Phillips: *A List of Officers*, column 53, and *Calendar of […] the Committee for Compounding*, Part III, p. 1825; for Sanders: *A List of Officers*, column 53.

[55] For Edward Herbert: *A List of Officers*, column 149; for Morgan Herbert: M. A. Everett Green, ed., *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Advance of Money*, three parts (London: 1888), Part II, p. 881.

[56] For Wynne: *A List of Officers*, column 148; for Matthews: *A List of Officers*, column 140.

[57] Individual soldiers as prisoners of war are named in *A Narrative*, pp. 10–12.

[58] Stoyle, "Gear Rout", p. 52.

[59] *A Perfect Diurnall*, 22–29 May 1648, p. 2029.

[60] Gwynedd Archaeological Trust, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation, Mawddach - Area 9 Mawddach estuary' [Online], available: <http://www.heneb.co.uk/hlc/mawddach/mawddach9.html>.

[61] 'Mytton Manuscripts', pp. 160, 163–3; *A Short Account*, pp. 70–1.

[62] *A Short Account*, pp. 70–1; Coflein Site Record 'Cors-y-Gedol Hall' [Online], available: <https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/28298>.

[63] 'Mytton Manuscripts', p. 163.

[64] Assuming the couriers evaded interception, the exchange of dispatches could be remarkably efficient. At ten o'clock on the evening of 29 May, Twisleton at Denbigh was writing in reply to a letter Mytton had penned at Caernarfon that morning, 50 miles distant (by present roads). 'Mytton Manuscripts', p. 166.

[65] 'Mytton Manuscripts', pp. 161–5, *passim*; 'The Resolution and Engagement of the Gentlemen, Ministers and well affected of the County of Montgomery', in *A Perfect Diurnall,* 22–29 May 1648; *A Declaration and Resolution of the Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other of His Majesty's well affected Subjects, in the Counties of Flint and Denbigh* (London: May 1648). BL TT E.443[16].

[66] 'Mytton Manuscripts', p. 166.

[67] *A Narrative,* p. 5; J. Ogilby, *Britannia, or an Illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales by a Geographical and Historical Description of the Principal Roads thereof* (London: 1675), pp. 47–8 and interspersed plate 4.

[68] *A Narrative*, p. 7.

[69] A Narrative, pp. 3, 7; *Sir Thomas Payton* […] *And a great victory*, p. 4; *A Short Account*, p. 71.

[70] *A Narrative*, p. 7.

[71] Ibid., pp. 3, 9.

[72] 'Letters of the First Baron Byron', p. 133; *A Short Account*, p. 71.

[73] *A Narrative*, p. 5.

[74] The field of Y Dalar Hir is named on *c.*1900 Ordnance Survey mapping. Distances and mapping information here derived from *Digimap* [Online]. Available:<https://digimap.edina.ac.uk>. Contemporaneous confirmation of the location of the engagement comes from the 1672 petition of royalist veteran Robert ap Edward of Bryncroes, Caernarfonshire. In the First Civil War he had

served as a foot soldier in Sir John Owen's regiment and was described as having also 'been at the fight at Y Dalar Hir within this county'. See *Civil War Petitions* [Online]. Available:<https://www.civilwarpetitions.ac.uk>.

[75] Norman Tucker used toponymy to identify Y Dalar Hir as an area of ploughland. Tucker*, Civil War*, p. 103.

[76] Ogilby, *Britannia*, p. 48.

[77] *A Narrative*, p. 9.

[78] This reconstruction of the preliminary deployments and course of the action at Y Dalar Hir is derived from: *A Narrative,* pp. 3–12; *Sir Thomas Payton* […] *And a great victory*, pp. 5–6; *A Short Account*, p. 71; and the summary of events in John Rushworth's *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State*, Volume Seven, 1647–48 (London, 1721), pp. 1134–1172, available in *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rushworth-papers>.

[79] *A Narrative*, p. 4.

[80] *Sir Thomas Payton* […] *And a great victory*, p. 5.

[81] *A Narrative*, p. 9.

[82] 'Mytton Manuscripts', p. 168.

[83] *A Short Account*, p. 72; 'Mytton Manuscripts', p. 168.

[84] *Journals of the House of Commons*, Volume Five, p. 600; *A Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament And Daily Proceedings of the Army* [*sic*], 24–31 July 1648, p. 301. BL TT E.525[10].

[85] For example, B. Coward and P. Gaunt, *The Stuart Age: England, 1603–1714*, 5th edn. (Routledge, 2017), p. 258.

[86] Lyndon, 'South and the start of the Second Civil War', p. 398.

[87] Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, Volume Seven.

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JOHN POYER, OLIVER CROMWELL AND THE VARIETIES OF CIVIL WAR PARLIAMENTARIANISM

by Dr Lloyd Bowen

This essay focuses on the Pembrokeshire parliamentarian and 'turncoat', John Poyer, whose spectacular volte-face in 1648 saw him turn from a prominent parliamentarian into the leader of the royalist revolt in South Wales that helped spark the so-called Second Civil War.[1] I will frame this discussion about John Poyer, in part, by contrasting his political life with that of the man who would confront him at the head of a hostile force in 1648: Oliver Cromwell. Here we have two men, who both possessed relatively humble backgrounds and who both became precocious and committed parliamentarians. However, the contrasts in their civil war biographies are revealing of the difficulties the parliamentarian coalition faced in arriving at a post-war settlement which could satisfy all of its supporters. The internal divisions within the broad church of parliamentarian politics, divisions which were subsumed during the early stages of the war, became deep and debilitating fissures as the conflict progressed. The widening of these fissures placed Poyer and Cromwell on different wings of the parliamentarian party, and, ultimately, led to them facing one another as enemies at the siege of Pembroke Castle. In examining this episode and its aftermath, the essay also considers Cromwell's attitude to rebels like Poyer after the Second Civil War, something which highlights Cromwell's ideas about justice and retribution at an important juncture on the road to regicide.

Given that we are dealing with south Wales in this essay, we might recall that Cromwell's own family tree reached back into Glamorgan. He was descended from the relatively humble Morgan ap Gwylim who hailed from the Cardiff area, and Cromwell himself was known on occasion in his early life as 'Oliver Cromwell (alias Williams)'.[2] He famously informed the 1654 parliament that he was 'by birth a gentleman living neither in considerable height nor yet in obscurity'.[3] Biographers have picked up on this statement to emphasise his comparatively lowly origins and, consequently, to magnify the scale of his extraordinary ascent in the 1640s and 1650s.[4] Although prior to 1640 Cromwell suffered personal and financial hardships and was far from a prosperous squire, he was nonetheless, as he said, a gentleman. John Poyer, by contrast, could not even claim this modicum of social status; even compared with Cromwell's murky early years, Poyer's youthful obscurity is truly dark. We are not even certain who his parents were. He was probably

born in 1606,[5] making him Cromwell's close contemporary: the future Lord Protector was born in 1599. Poyer's local enemies would later make much of his lowly origins, with one describing him as 'borne to nothing, sprung up from a turn-spit to a glover', and also characterising him as 'a man of meane birth and education, brought up by Master John Meyrick … first as a boy in his kitchin, then groome of his stable, after in the trade of a glover'.[6] Unlike Cromwell who, despite his humble origins, was nevertheless freed from the necessity of working himself, Poyer's early life was that of a 'mechanic': one who was directly involved in manual labour for his upkeep. Poyer does indeed appear, as his enemies alleged, to have been a servant in the household of the Pembroke gentleman John Meyrick in his youth: he was named in Meyrick's will and became involved in business transactions with his widow.[7] As the hostile quotes about his pre-war life also indicate, however, Poyer was an upwardly mobile and ambitious individual. He left household service and became a successful glover in Pembroke, working with the hides and leather products of Pembrokeshire's cattle industry. In a later review of his life, Poyer argued that in this period he was also a merchant who traded in 'wooll, corn, skins, butter, and tallows … I dealt in these commodities with the merchants of Bristol for many thousands yeerly'.[8] Although we should take his words regarding the scale of his operations with a fairly substantial pinch of salt, it does indeed seem that this former servant rose in pre-war society to become a prosperous merchant in south-west Wales.

A constant in Poyer's life was his residence and operation in and around the rather dilapidated county town of Pembroke. Pembroke possessed an imposing medieval castle, which would become a critical strategic point in the civil wars, but its economic prosperity had declined with the downturn of the cloth trade in the later sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries. Although located in the far west of Wales, this was an Anglicised region and English would have been the common mode of discourse. Southern Pembrokeshire, unlike the north of the county, had been settled by Normans and Flemings, and Poyer's name suggests that he possessed a Norman ancestry. Like Cromwell in Huntingdon, then, Poyer was a townsman, growing up in a relatively small provincial borough, which was somewhat removed from the intensity of metropolitan life. Historians believe that Cromwell held some minor office in Huntingdon's town government before

he was elected as the borough's MP in 1628, and Poyer too became a borough official in Pembroke.[9] In the early 1630s he was elected as one of the town's two bailiffs, holding the position under the main official, the mayor, Sir Hugh Owen of Orielton. His election alongside Owen was probably not a coincidence. Owen was a major local landowner and a man of reformist religious and political inclinations; Poyer was later described as Owen's 'servant' when the Orielton squire was elected as MP for Pembroke to the Long Parliament.

Poyer's connections with Owen, and with John Meyrick, place him within a circle that had ties to Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex, the future Lord General of parliament's armies. The Devereux clan hailed from south-west Wales and remained influential in Pembrokeshire. Another member of this circle was Rowland Laugharne of St Brides, who was Sir Hugh Owen's nephew, and who served in Essex's household as a young man. Laugharne also became Poyer's brother-in-law. John Poyer was, then, closely integrated with an 'Essexian interest' in the shire which tended to support the kinds of moderate reformist religious and political positions associated with the earl. In the 1630s, Sir Hugh Owen and the 'Essexians' were opposed by another grouping which centred on the Lort family of Stackpool, a clan which was led by Henry Lort and his three sons, Roger, Sampson and John.[10] The confrontations between these groups were serious and destabilised county politics: one pamphleteer described 'the inveterate fewds and dissentions' among the shire's gentry during the period of Personal Rule.[11] However, these seem to have been struggles centred on local power and control and it is difficult to identify any particular ideological dimension to the confrontation. Yet with the coming of civil war, the Lorts, led by Roger after his father's death in February 1641, would form the core of the royalist interest in the county, while Poyer and Rowland Laugharne were notable for their precocious parliamentarianism, with Poyer in particular standing out as a bastion of activism in the far west.

Poyer's prominence in local parliamentary circles in the early 1640s was partly the result of his having been elected as Pembroke's mayor, the town's leading official, in October 1641. Obtaining this position clearly demonstrates that he had become a big fish in the small pond of Pembroke's politics. His election, however, coincided with the cataclysm of the Irish

Rebellion in which native Catholics rose violently against English (and Scottish) Protestant settlers. Tales of atrocities perpetrated against Protestants soon began circulating in the newly liberated London press, while refugees from Ireland also began to arrive on Pembrokeshire's shores. In February 1642 John Poyer informed his patron, and Pembroke's MP, Sir Hugh Owen, of the 'hundreds of poore English landed in Milford [Haven] stript by the rebbels, who doe increase dayly'.[12] The threat of invasion by Irish Catholics was a terrifying prospect in vulnerable Pembrokeshire which was only a few hours' sail from Ireland, but the Irish crisis also raised the question of who was to be entrusted with a military force to defend the coasts and, ultimately, to suppress the rebels. Poyer was clear in his letter to Owen that he wished to have Pembroke properly fortified against this threat, and he also requested that the MP 'move the honorable houses of Parliament that order may be taken that the trained bands and all other persons fitt to beare armes in the towne & liberties of Pembrock may be putt in a posture of defence in these dangerous tymes'. At this fraught moment, then, when critical decisions about loyalty and allegiance were being decided, Poyer looked to parliament as a bulwark against the Irish, and was moved by the force of anti-Catholicism, an impulse that was also important in animating Cromwell's politics during this period.[13] Poyer's letter also contained a hint of the divisions and differences within county politics which had been a problem for over a decade and which would continue to bedevil local relations in the civil wars. His dispatch to Owen went on to criticise the county's deputy lieutenants who, he said, were failing to provide for Pembroke's defence, and who were 'backward' in supplying ammunition and maintaining the local trained bands: 'we have nott in this brave River of Milford one peece of ordinance mounted, the trayned bands are not exercised, armes [are not] provided or power granted for punishing of persons refractory in this service'. This was a remarkably forthright criticism from a sometime glover against the leading gentlemen of the county, but it was a criticism that seems to have been directed principally against that group of deputy lieutenants which was led by Roger Lort.

As the political situation deteriorated in 1642, so local communities were presented with a choice about which of the emerging sides they would support. In Wales, most communities backed the royalist party.[14] The Principality became a bulwark of royalist support and was a notable

recruiting ground for the king's early mobilisations. Notable exceptions to this general trend were Pembrokeshire's major towns of Pembroke, Tenby and Haverfordwest. When the local MPs Sir Hugh Owen and John Wogan, returned to the area in November 1642, they wrote back to parliament informing them of Pembrokeshire's perilous state:

> This county wherein we live is only amongst those of Wales which standeth firm and faithful to the parliament's cause, whereby we are so much environed with ill neighbouring counties [we] beg for speedy aid … or otherwise our lives and goods will be made a sacrifice to those malignant spirits for our loyalty to the public good … If they plunder and reduce us, all Wales is theirs.[15]

In no small measure the county's parliamentarian impulse emanated from Pembroke and from its mayor, John Poyer. Normally, Poyer would have been required to give up the mayoralty after a year in office, but the emergency situation saw him continue beyond his term in order to organise the parliamentarian resistance in the town. In a later pamphlet, Poyer recalled how 'when the unhappy differences first began, they [the inhabitants of Pembroke] did unanimously joyn with me (by the encouragement of some noble gentlemen) to preserve and fortifie the town and castle of Pembroke to the use of the parliament … when all other towns and counties in Wales were against the parliament'.[16] He may have overstated the unanimity of the response from the townspeople, but it is clear that Poyer was a charismatic leader with a force of personality that helped rally the town behind him at a time when it was probably safer to support the king or maintain a studied neutrality. It is likely that the 'noble gentlemen' to whom he referred in this account included Sir Hugh Owen and John Wogan, but probably also his brother-in-law Rowland Laugharne. We know that in this early stage of the 'phoney war' between king and parliament in 1642, Poyer was active in organising Pembroke's defences, helping to pay for the repair of the town's dilapidated walls. Throughout the remainder of his short life Poyer was perennially proud of his early and steadfast support of parliament.

As Poyer's own words and those of the local MPs' report to parliament indicate, the decision to support parliament was a bold one in an area where royalist sentiment was strong. The region's perilous state was brought home

in a letter of January 1643 from John Wogan, who described the 'desparat condiction of this countie', adding that the 'malignant parties of this kingdom are already com soe neare unto ower doores'.[17] Pembrokeshire, despite some accounts which suggest that it was a 'parliamentarian' county, possessed a strong royalist party at the outbreak of war. And at the core of this royalist activism were the long-time enemies of John Poyer and his patron Sir Hugh Owen, the Lort brothers. Roger Lort became a colonel in the local royalist forces raised under the Earl of Carbery and was involved in the betrayal of Tenby to the king in 1643. The Lorts and their royalist allies were able to get the upper hand in the county during 1643 and apparently reached out to Pembroke's mayor asking him to join their cause, an overture which he refused. Poyer showed no little resolve and bravery, then, as the royalist war effort closed in around him. Along with his brother-in-law, who had received a military commission from the Earl of Essex, Poyer hunkered down behind Pembroke's walls in the winter of 1643 as his enemies organised a siege to crush this outpost of parliamentary resistance on the strategically important Milford Haven. Their cause looked desperate, but the appearance of a parliamentarian naval force led by Vice Admiral Richard Swanley relieved the embattled town and was crucial in saving Poyer from his enemies' clutches. One contemporary described their relief as a deliverance from God, noting that 'it is one of the wonders of the times, how they [the Pembroke parliamentarians] durst stand up as they did, [it is] … rather a peece of a mirackle [that] … in a nooke of a little county surrounded by powerfull enemies', this 'poore handfull of unarmed men' held out for so long and were saved.[18]

Over the next two years, the military situation in Pembrokeshire waxed and waned, but the royalists never managed to subdue Pembroke or gain any kind of established superiority in the county.[19] Their efforts were finally extinguished by Rowland Laugharne's victory at the Battle of Colby Moor on 1 August 1645. Unlike Cromwell, John Poyer had not been called upon to do much actual fighting and, moreover, had only commanded his own force of local soldiers instead of a major fighting force. Like Cromwell, however, he showed a resolve and commitment to the cause throughout turbulent and uncertain periods and was keen on emphasising this constancy. Yet Poyer's parliamentarianism was of a distinctly different tenor to that of the Huntingdon man. As is well known, Cromwell was fired by a vigorous

and encompassing puritan zeal which intensified over the course of the First Civil War, and which brought him into conflict with more moderate figures such as his commanding officer, the Earl of Manchester. Poyer, by contrast, was religiously (and politically) a much more conservative parliamentarian than Cromwell. Although his enemies would claim that Poyer was a debauched and irreligious individual, it is evident that he was, in fact, a committed supporter of the Church of England, albeit a version of the faith which was shorn of the Laudian and Arminian excesses of the 1630s, and is perhaps best characterised as 'episcopalian'.[20] In 1645, for example, Poyer donated silver gilt chalices to Pembroke's two parish churches, an act which points to his support for the rites of the Church which many, more advanced puritans saw as corrupted with 'popery'. In 1648 he was at pains to defend the common prayer book, the key text of episcopalian worship which was viewed with suspicion and scorn by figures such as Cromwell,[21] and in 1649 he asserted 'it is well known, my religion to be such as is professed by the Church of England'.[22]

Although such religious differences might have been subsumed in the common effort to defend against the Irish threat and mobilise against the king in 1642, by the end of the First Civil War in 1646, when the prospect of peace brought into sharp relief the kind of political and religious settlement which parliament would impose, these differences had transmuted into bitter points of conflict and opposition.[23] These tensions produced the 'Presbyterian' and 'Independent' factions which would vie for influence and control both within parliament and in the country at large. In Pembrokeshire a remarkable about-face had taken place following the relief of Pembroke in 1644. The one-time royalists of the Lort clan, along with their close ally John Eliot, transformed themselves not just into parliamentarians, but into allies of the Independents and the New Model Army. They were adept politicians and, through the agency of John White, the famous author of *The First Century of Scandalous, Malignant Priests* (1643) who was originally from Pembrokeshire and was connected to the Lorts by marriage, they managed to secure control over the powerful committee which parliament established in the county in 1644.[24] This body, which included Sampson and John Lort as well as John Eliot, froze out John Poyer and his allies, and one of its first actions was to rehabilitate Roger Lort who had been sequestered for his royalism, and appoint him as one of their

number! Poyer later complained of the 'sinister means' used in the committee's appointment, but the key point was that he, along with his 'Essexian' allies who had been parliament's principal supporters in the early stages of the war, were excluded from the counsels of the most important decision-making body in the region.[25] As one contemporary account had it, the committee omitted 'all those that constantly served the parliament in Pembroke, the only place in all Wales that had not been in the kinges power'.[26]

To consolidate their local authority, the Lort faction reached out to and made allies with the rising power in the land: the Independents and their allies in the New Model Army. In 1646 Roger Lort produced a book of Latin epigrams in which he heaped praise on the leader of the New Model, Sir Thomas Fairfax, but disparaged John Poyer as a rapacious desperado.[27] For his part, Poyer wrote to parliament lamenting, 'I would to God the honourabll howses of parliament were truly informed of the present state of this countrey'.[28] The factional differences between the 'Essex' and 'Lort' interests metamorphosed into Presbyterian and Independent positions. A remarkable situation had occurred, then, in which Poyer and those who had stood out for parliament at the start of the war were outflanked by their sometime royalist enemies during the peace. Poyer, who should have expected some significant dividend in terms of money, prestige and position among the victorious parliamentarians, instead found himself isolated, pursued for monies which his enemies claimed he had embezzled from the public purse, and excluded from any kind of local influence. The divisions between the two groups intensified between 1646 and 1647, with printed exchanges, lobbying to parliament, imprisonment and allegations of corruption flying in manuscript and print. The situation was quite different for Cromwell, of course, who was a leading light of the more radical elements within the parliamentarian phalanx, and who was fêted for his military exploits in the war, elevated to the position of Lieutenant-General, and who acted as a key power broker in parliamentary circles as well as within the Army.

In Pembrokeshire, by contrast, Poyer was hounded by his political enemies. The power base of his brother-in-law's supernumerary forces were viewed with suspicion by the Independents who drafted plans for their disbanding,

with a rump being placed under the control of a New Model officer. Such was Poyer's isolated position, that he appears to have become convinced that his enemies, the Lorts most prominent among them, intended to murder him. He retreated to what he knew best in late 1647, seizing the position of Pembroke's mayor from its rightful incumbent and claiming control over the town, its garrison and its castle. Discontent at the lack of any post-war settlement and the growing power of the Independents was widespread in the former royalist counties of south Wales, and Poyer's actions were dangerous and potentially incendiary. The Lort faction submitted a set of grievances against Poyer to Sir Thomas Fairfax around November 1647, describing how Poyer had 'fortified himselfe in Pembrock town & castle, and manie of the well affected suspect him to have some dandgerous designe in hande'.[29] Animated by such reports and keen to remove Poyer from the scene and restore control over the key strategic point of Pembroke, the New Model sent down Adjutant General Christopher Fleming to relieve him of his command. Poyer, however, refused, believing that he would be handed over to his enemies and thus to his destruction. He refused Fleming's summons in January 1648, initiating a small skirmish which touched off a much wider reaction against the radicals and the New Model in the area.

Poyer, for his part, faced a difficult choice. The parliament for which he had fought since 1642 was now, in its local guise at least, nowhere to be seen. He had taken up arms against tyranny but, with men like Roger Lort now in charge of his destiny, it seemed that tyranny had returned wearing parliamentarian garb. This moderate episcopalian now viewed the parliamentarian ascendancy as composed of radicals who seemed bent on destroying his Church, and an Army which had little time for the king, and no plan for his rehabilitation. Poyer's choices were effectively either to surrender to the New Model or to declare in support of the king. Along with Rowland Laugharne and another local ex-parliamentarian, Rice Powell, Poyer adopted the latter course. Poyer's mutiny soon snowballed into a revolt and then an outright rebellion which, along with risings elsewhere in England and the invasion of the Scots, has become known to posterity as 'The Second Civil War'. Along with Rice Powell, Poyer set out an influential *Declaration* in April 1648 supporting the king. Part of this text was used as an oath and circulated in south Wales, Cornwall and in Ireland in the form of a pledge to take up arms against a tyrannous parliament.

Parliament was somewhat slow in appreciating the seriousness of the revolt, and part of the problem was Cromwell himself. Although there were calls for a 'great power' to be sent against the Welsh rebels, Cromwell believed that sending a large force into south Wales would leave other parts of the kingdom 'much weakened & left naked'; he was particularly concerned about London and the threat from the Scots in the north.[30] Soon, however, it became apparent that the scale of the south Wales rebellion demanded concerted action, and parliament dispatched Colonel Thomas Horton to quell the rising. His efforts in the region began unhappily with a defeat in a minor skirmish in late April and, as a result, the Derby House Committee informed Fairfax on 29 April 1648 about the 'doubtfull contition of … south Wales', arguing that a 'greater force' needed to be sent down because the revolt provided 'very bad & dangerous examples … which gives great encouragement to the like attempts in other places'.[31] Given these developments, on 1 May Fairfax resolved to send two regiments of horse and three of foot to the region which were to be commanded by Cromwell himself. This announcement gave one royalist some pause, as he feared that the famed soldier would 'quell the Welch … going with such a number of resolute & expert men & he himselfe a stout & good commander'.[32]

However, even before Cromwell entered south Wales, the rebellion had suffered a fatal reverse. On 8 May 1648 the largest battle ever to take place in Wales was fought between royalist forces under Rowland Laugharne and New Model regiments under Thomas Horton on a field at St Fagans outside Cardiff. Although they were outnumbered, the New Model was by far the superior fighting force, and it turned into a rout for the royalists with thousands of them being taken prisoner. Although Poyer had rallied troops for the cause, it does not appear that he himself was involved in the engagement. But reckoning and retribution was coming west and would soon materialise at his doors. Cromwell followed Horton into south Wales, pursuing the remnants of the demoralised royalist forces and their injured leader, Rowland Laugharne, who rejoined his brother-in-law behind Pembroke's stout walls. As we have seen, Cromwell was reluctant to venture into Wales because he believed greater threats were mobilising in the north. He must have been supremely frustrated, then, that he began to besiege Pembroke and its castle on 24 May without the requisite artillery to reduce the town and that, consequently, this would not be the quick and easy victory

he had hoped. Indeed, Cromwell's chaplain Hugh Peter later reported that Pembroke was 'the strongest place that ever we sate down before, the castle even impregnable'.[33]

So here we find our two parliamentarians at the head of opposing forces. Both Poyer and Cromwell emphasised their 'constancy' to the cause, but it was their different conceptions of that 'cause' which had brought them to this pass. For Poyer, parliamentarianism was a remedial force, one of moderate reform in Church and state to ensure a defence against Catholic backsliding and to secure a return to a kind of Elizabethan status quo ante. Particularly in his bitter local experiences with the Lorts and their allies, Poyer had come to believe that this cause had mutated into something quite different from his first undertakings in 1642. Cromwell, by contrast, saw 'the cause' as a radical overturning, a 'revolution'. Through his own and the New Model's victories, he was witnessing the revelation of parliamentarianism as a movement whose divine purpose was to shatter the old bonds of a corrupted Church and to set people free by affording them latitude in their religious beliefs. To ensure such liberty of conscience, of course, extensive political and constitutional reforms would be needed, particularly when dealing with a monarch such as the intransigent and capricious Charles I. The parliamentarian slogans of the early 1640s requiring supporters to defend 'the true Protestant religion' and 'the liberties of the people' had done their job in mobilising a spectrum of opinion, in gathering up Cromwell and Poyer, but, under the pressures of war, the ambiguities and contradictions of what these terms *meant*, had seen 'the cause' splinter and fragment.[34] Poyer now believed that the best refuge for men like himself lay in old hierarchies and political relationships; for Cromwell such ideas were not only a barrier to God's plan, but in the mouth of an ex-parliamentarian, they were the worst kind of betrayal.

Cromwell spent seven long weeks before Pembroke's walls, waiting for the heavy guns which could make serious breaches in the medieval fabric. These were horribly difficult weeks for Poyer and his fellow defenders, who hoped for a relieving royalist force from the sea, but who instead only experienced diminishing food supplies and an advancing sense of despair. Cromwell himself wrote that the town's inhabitants were close to starving in mid-June.[35] However, it is a testimony to Poyer's charisma and qualities of

leadership that the town held out for so long and only capitulated when Cromwell's heavy ordnance arrived after nearly two months of attrition. On 10 July 1648, after negotiations between the parties, Cromwell gave Poyer an ultimatum: 'I have considered your condition and my owne duty; and (without threatening) must tell you that if (for the sake of some) this offer be refused and thereby misery and ruine befill [sic: 'befall'] the poore souldiers and people with you, I know wher to charge the blood you spill'.[36] Although a potential bloodbath was on the cards, Poyer apparently wished to hold out, but was overruled by a majority of his fellow rebels. As a result, he and his associates surrendered 'to the mercy of parliament'.

The revolt's defeated leaders were marched to Windsor to face their fate. Cromwell's attitude towards these rebels, along with their trial and sentencing, reveals something of the variety of attitudes concerning 'justice' towards the defeated enemy which consisted among parliament and the Army. Cromwell understood his victories in 1648 to reveal God's manifest favour for himself, his soldiers and their cause, but they also demonstrated that parliament should deal severely with its enemies, especially those who had once been parliamentarians themselves. Cromwell wrote to Speaker Lenthall immediately after Pembroke's capitulation in July 1648, and ruminated on the five rebels excepted under the articles of surrender, including John Poyer. These individuals, he wrote, were:

> such as have formerly served you in a very good cause, but, being now apostatised I did rather make election of them than of those who had always been for the king, judging their iniquity double because they have sinned against so much light, and against so many evidences of Divine Presence going along with and prospering in a righteous cause, in the management of which they themselves had a share.[37]

Cromwell believed that particular examples should be made of those who had once fought in parliamentarian colours but who had rejected its righteous cause and so betrayed God's manifest design. These were apostates who required exemplary treatment, a course which would make plain the perils of resisting (but particularly of turning one's back on) the hand of Providence.

Although Cromwell had turned over the Welsh rebels to parliament's custody, this did not mean that he stopped following their cases. In November 1648, when camped near Pontefract, he heard of ex-parliamentarians who had been involved in the recent risings compounding for their liberty: in other words, they were merely paying a fine as compensation for their rebellion. Cromwell was disgusted, asserting in a letter to the compounding commissioners that 'their fault who have appeared in this summer's business is certainly double to theirs who were in the first, because it is the repetition of the same offence against all the witnesses that God has borne, by making and abetting to a second war'. He then discussed Colonel Humphrey Matthews who had been taken at Pembroke alongside Poyer, stating 'this cause we have fought for has not had a more dangerous enemy, but he apostatised from your cause and quarrel'. Matthews had been a parliamentarian lieutenant colonel in the First Civil War but had become, in Cromwell's words, 'the desperatest promoter of the Welsh rebellion amongst them all'. Despite his history of disloyalty, Matthews had petitioned parliament and had been released from custody, being allowed to compound for his royalism.[38] Although his missive concerns Matthews, it is revealing, by extension, of Cromwell's attitudes towards Poyer, Laugharne and Rice Powell also. These men had demonstrated a similar history of parliamentary service followed by wicked betrayal, or, as Cromwell put it, sinning 'against so much light'. Cromwell finished his letter by describing the Army's sense of grievance that such turncoats, whose defeat had been purchased with so much death, were effectively being freed by civilians in parliament who did not respect the sacrifices made in their name: 'I find a sense amongst the officers concerning such things as these, even to amazement; which truly is not so much to see their blood made so cheap, as to see such manifest witnessings of God (so terrible and so just) no more reverenced'. Cromwell's experience of the siege at Pembroke clearly shaped his views about justice and apostacy. Parliament's apparently easy dealings with rebels and traitors helped convince him that actions such as Pride's Purge were necessary for the integrity of the cause.

And what of John Poyer and his associates? They had surrendered to the mercy of parliament, but on 21 July 1648 parliament ordered that they be turned over to Fairfax and be tried by a council of war.[39] They were

transported to Windsor to await their fate while justice was meted out to more prominent individuals including the Duke of Hamilton and, of course, King Charles I himself. The Welshmen were eventually tried by court martial under the leadership of Colonel John Barkstead at Whitehall in April 1649, with Poyer stressing his parliamentarian credentials by way of defence, requesting that 'his former services may not be forgotten (alledging that in death there is no mercy)'.[40] The evidence against the men was overwhelming, however, and on 10 April 1649 the court sentenced them to death. However, the possibility of mercy remained, particularly as the Army's leader was Fairfax rather than the more severe Cromwell. Fairfax received several petitions pleading for mercy, including one from Poyer himself as well as one from his wife, Elizabeth. Poyer also petitioned Colonel Charles Fleetwood, begging for the latter's intercession in his case, remarking 'pardon my boldness, for life is sweet, and all lawful means are to be sought after to preserve the same'.[41] Fairfax ultimately agreed to grant mercy to the men, although it was of a kind that appears unusual to modern eyes. Drawing on the old Roman precedent of decimation, he adjudicated that the three men should draw lots to determine which one of them would suffer for the crimes of the rest. So it was that they gathered on 21 April 1649 to see this grim exercise in mercy and justice done. Three pieces of paper were distributed with 'Life Given of God' written on two of them while the third was blank. Unwilling to draw the lots themselves, the job was given to a child. Poyer's was the final piece of paper drawn: it was the blank.

John Poyer was executed by firing squad in Covent Garden on 25 April 1649. In his final speech he maintained that he had 'ever acted for the liberty and freedom of the subject' and that he died 'a true Protestant according to the discipline of the Church of England'.[42] He added that:

> I have had experience of changes; though I was once low, yet I came to be very high; I was advanced but now I must leave all; and though my fortunes changed, yet my affections to the parliament did not alter, I was alwayes honest to them untill this unhappy disaster which hath brought this misery upon me.[43]

That Poyer could consider himself to have been a faithful parliamentary servant highlights the gulf which now separated him from someone like

Cromwell. The experience of war had sent the two men along divergent paths, paths which followed the fracture lines within the parliamentary coalition that had formed in 1642. In some senses Poyer's demise and the defeat of his moderate parliamentarianism was the dark shadow of Cromwell's triumph; and it was a shadow which would haunt the future Lord Protector as he struggled to settle the kingdoms in the 1650s.

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1 See also Lloyd Bowen, *John Poyer, the Civil Wars in Pembrokeshire and the British Revolutions* (University of Wales Press, 2020).

2 For an exploration of his Welsh roots, see Lloyd Bowen, 'Oliver Cromwell (alias Williams) and Wales', in Patrick Little (ed.), *Oliver Cromwell: New Perspectives* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 168–94.

3 Ivan Roots (ed.), *Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (Everyman, 1989), p. 42.

4 For excellent discussions on Cromwell's early life which contextualise these statements, see Ronald Hutton, *The Making of Oliver Cromwell* (Yale University Press, 2021); Andrew Barclay, *Electing Cromwell: The Making of a Politician* (Routledge, 2011), pp. 1–13; Simon Healy, '1636: The Unmaking of Oliver Cromwell?', in Patrick Little, ed., *Oliver Cromwell: New Perspectives* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 20–37; John Morrill, 'The Making of Oliver Cromwell', in idem (ed.), *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (Longman, 1990), pp. 19–48.

5 The National Archives, E134/15ChasI/Mich41.

6 [John Eliot], *A Short Comment upon the Grounds and Reasons of Poyers Taking up Armes* (London, 1649), p. 1; idem, *An Answer in Just Vindication of Some Religious and Worthy Gentleman of Pembrokeshire* (London, 1646), p. 2.

7 The National Archives, PROB 11/167, fo. 54.

8 John Poyer, *Poyer's Vindication*, (London, 1649), p. 2.

9 Hutton, *The Making of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 20; The History of Parliament Online (1604–29): 'Cromwell, Oliver' <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/cromwell-oliver-1599-1658> [accessed 31.01.22].

10 Lloyd Bowen, 'Faction, Connection and Politics in the Civil Wars: Pembrokeshire, 1640–49', *English Historical Review* (forthcoming).

11 'Gil. Batt'., *Some Particular Animadversions of Marke for Satisfaction of the Contumatious Malignant* (London, 1646), sig. A2v

12 Bodleian Library, Nalson MS 2, fo. 17.

13 Hutton, *Cromwell*, pp. 73–6; Patrick Little, 'Cromwell and Ireland before 1649', in Little, *Oliver Cromwell: New Perspectives*, pp. 117–21.

[14] Lloyd Bowen, *The Politics of the Principality, Wales, c.1603–42* (University of Wales Press, 2007), pp. 235–61.
[15] *Lords Journals*, V, p. 441.
[16] Poyer, *Poyers Vindication*, p. 2
[17] Bodleian Library, Nalson MS 2, fo. 290.
[18] *Some Particular Animadversions*, pp. 14–15.
[19] These events can be followed in Ronald Hutton, *The Royalist War Effort, 1642–1646* (2nd edition, Routledge, 1999); A.L. Leach, *The History of the Civil War (1642–1649) in Pembrokeshire and on its Borders* (H.F. & G. Witherby, 1937); and Bowen, *John Poyer*.
[20] Kenneth Fincham and Stephen Taylor, 'Episcopalian Identity, 1640–1662', in Anthony Milton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism. Volume 1: Reformation and identity, c.1520–1662* (Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 456–82.
[21] *The Declaration of Col. Poyer and Col. Powell* (London, 1648), pp. 4–5.
[22] Poyer, *Poyers Vindication*, p. 2
[23] David Como, *Radical Parliamentarians and the English Civil War* (Oxford University Press, 2018) traces this process of division with forensic skill.
[24] Bowen, 'Faction, Connection and Politics'.
[25] Poyer, *Poyer's Vindication*, p. 7.
[26] Lambeth Palace Library, MS 679, p. 155.
[27] Roger Lort, *Epigrammatum Rogeri Lort* (London, 1646).
[28] Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 60, fo. 21.
[29] Worcester College, Oxford, Clarke MS 110, fo. 131.
[30] Bodleian Library, Clarendon MS 31, fo. 38v.
[31] The National Archives, SP 21/24, p. 40.
[32] Bodleian Library, Clarendon MS 31, fo. 67.
[33] Hugh Peter, *A Copy of his Highnesse Prince Charles his Letter* (London, 1648), p. 4.
[34] Rachel Foxley, 'Varieties of Parliamentarianism', in Michael Braddick (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the English Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 414–15.
[35] S. C. Lomas (ed.), *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (3 vols, Methuen & Co, 1904), I, p. 314.
[36] *Perfect Occurrences*, 81 (14–21 July 1648), p. 593, mispaginated as 580.
[37] Lomas, *Letters and Speeches*, I, p. 324.
[38] Lomas, *Letters and Speeches*, III, pp. 386–88
[39] *Commons Journals*, V, p. 642.
[40] *Perfect Occurrences*, 118 (30 Mar.–6 Apr. 1649), p. 929.
[41] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Leyborne-Popham MSS*, p. 17.
[42] *The Declaration and Speech of Colonell John Poyer* (London, 1649), p. 3.
[43] *Perfect Occurrences*, 121 (20–27 April 1649), p. 999.

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WRITINGS AND SOURCES XXII
THE TRIUMPHS AND TRIBULATIONS OF SIR THOMAS MYDDLETON, SUMMER AND AUTUMN 1644

by Professor Peter Gaunt

Although he was appointed parliament's commander-in-chief of North Wales in 1643, initially Sir Thomas Myddleton's command was just a paper one, for the entire region was then in the king's hands. However, in summer 1644, shortly after travelling back to Cheshire from London, an opportunity arose to take the fight into royalist Wales.[1] In late June his brother-in-law Thomas Mytton, commander of parliament's outpost of Wem in still mainly royalist Shropshire, swooped on and captured Oswestry in the far north-west of the county. The degree of Myddleton's involvement in that operation is not clear, but he and his men certainly played a prominent role in beating off royalist attempts to recapture the town, and he then made Oswestry his initial base for operations across the border. In early August, in conjunction with Mytton, he raided Welshpool and a few weeks later he successfully swooped on a royalist gunpowder convoy as it passed through Newtown. In September, he overawed feeble resistance to take Montgomery Castle, thereafter resisting a royalist siege. The massing of royalist forces around Montgomery, intent on retaking the stronghold, in turn led to several parliamentarian commanders and their men converging on the area. The resulting battle, fought north-east of the town and castle on 18 September, was a resounding parliamentarian victory and, although most of the other commanders soon departed with their forces, Myddleton now had a more secure base from which to push into Wales. Over the next few weeks he returned to Welshpool, this time securing both the town and the castle (Powis or Red Castle) on its outskirts, probed northwards as far as Ruthin and Denbigh in Denbighshire, westwards into the heartlands of Montgomeryshire, and southwards to take a minor royalist outpost in Radnorshire. He even mounted a lengthy and daring cross-country expedition to rendezvous with reinforcements close to the Cardiganshire-Carmarthenshire border and to ensure their safe convoy back to his bases in eastern Montgomeryshire.

Many of these triumphs are recorded in this clutch of letters, which Myddleton wrote to parliament's main executive body, the Committee of Both Kingdoms, sitting in London. The letters survive not as originals but as full transcripts entered into the letterbooks maintained by the Committee, now held amongst the State Papers in The National Archives at Kew.

Through them, we can get an insight into Myddleton's commitment to the cause, glimpse his faith in an active and interventionist God and appreciate his ambition to take the fight deep into Wales and into royalist-held territory. But they also show Myddleton beset by worries and tribulations, keenly aware of the limited resources at his disposal, frustrated by his resulting inability to proceed as far and as fast in his campaign as he would have liked. Indeed, although he raided the towns of Denbigh and Ruthin he was unable to capture the castles there and soon had to pull back, and he failed at this time to recover his own principal seat of Chirk Castle. These letters are full of pleas to the Committee for reinforcements, either from parliament's own armies in northern England or from the Scottish army, as well as for money, supplies and other materials. Most went unanswered – and even when reinforcements were half-promised, they did not in fact materialise – such that Myddleton's capture of the towns and castles of Montgomery, Welshpool and Newtown in a few glorious weeks in late summer and early autumn 1644 proved to be a false dawn and for the moment did not lead much further.

Letter One [SP 21/16, ff. 159–60], written from his recently acquired base at Oswestry on 6 August, recounts his successful raid on Welshpool, while admitting that he and his men had been unable to capture Powis Castle or to hold the town.

> May it please your Honourables,[2]
> Upon good intelligence of Sir Thomas Dallisons[3] lyinge quartered with 8 of Prince Ruperts[4] best Troups of horse in and about Welshpoole in Mountgomeryeshire and sent thither purposely from the Prince for the preventing of the well affected in that County from joyning with mee in the present service of the State and for the raising of men for himselfe; I did on the last Sabbath day in the Evening Advance fourth of Oswestry in Shropshire towards Welshpoole (being 12 miles distant from Oswestry)[5] accompanied with my Brother Col. Mitton (our horse and Dragoons consisting of about 300, and of 250 Foote [)]; After a tedious march wee came abouts 3 of the Clocke on Monday morning all in safety within a quarter of a Mile to the Towne of [Welsh]Poole, before wee were discovered, and then meeting their Scouts who fyred upon us, wee fell in with them

into the Towne with the Van of our horse soe fast as that they had not tyme to put up their Barricadoes, and soe entered the Towne with them, where by reason of the darkenes of the night, and of our ignorance of the Wayes and passages betweene the said towne and the Lord Powys[6] his Castle wherein was a Garrison of the Enemyes, and whereunto the said Sir Tho. Dallison with many of his Officers and Troups escaped (the Castle it selfe being not above one Quarter of a mile distant from the Towne [)]; Wee missed the takeing of Sir Tho. Dallison, being the Prince his Major of his horse, But nevertheles wee tooke Three of the Prince his Captains of horse, which are one Grace, one Dutton and a third who will not discover his name, and two Cornetts, with 50ty odd Prisoners; whereof there be 3 Quarter Masters and one a Commissioner for the Array of that County, wee also tooke there above 200 horse, whereof some of them were of the Princes best horse, and likewise some few Armes, together with two Colours; Wee received little opposition in the Towne, whence after 3 howers stay I drew the force of horse and foote I had then with mee into a body, least the Soldiers outquarters and soldiers out of the Castle should (as they had intended) have fallen upon us, and soe wee retreated safely into Oswestrye (praised be the Almighty) with the losse onelly of one man of our side, and of the Prince his Cornet who refused Quarter and some few of the Enemies side. Wee live dayly, Right Honourables, in expectance of the comeing hitherwards of the promised Forces from the body of the Northerne Army to assist and joyne with us against the potency of the Enemyes Army (the Prince being returned out of Lancashire and Chester with great forces of Horse with his quarters in Wales [)] and thereby overpowers all those parts, and where (as Wee believe) he intends to make the seats of the Warre, making those parts most miserable by his Rapines, plunderings and Crueltyes frequently used and Committed by that his Army; the which by pressings and otherwise he dayly labours to recreute. Thus ceasing further to trouble you at the present, with the tenders of my humble duty I take leave and Rest, Your Honourables most humble and devoted Servant to be Commanded,
Tho. Myddelton

Letter Two [SP 21/17, ff. 1–2] was written from his new base at Montgomery Castle on 25 September, one week after the battle which had cemented his hold on the castle and adjoining town.

My much honoured Lords and Gentlemen,
I have lately acquainted you with the great victory it hath pleased God to bestow uppon us, and with our present Condition; I have now sent purposely my Lieutenant Colonell of horse[7] to acquaint you with our present estate, and the estate of these parts, and if you be not pleased to take some speedy course, I feare wee shall consume to nothing, what service wee have done with a poore handful of men is not unknown unto you; Wee began first to breake the Princes forces in these parts by takeing 400 horse at W[elshpool][8], then wee raised the seige of Oswestry, afterwards wee tooke Sir Thomas Gardner[9] and all his Troope, since wee tooke 35 Barrells of Powder, and 12 of Brimstone with some Considerable quantityes of Match and Ammunition, possessed ourselves of Montgomery Castle and maintained it for 12 dayes space against 5000 men, what number of men I had to doe these things I dare not commit to paper, but referre to the Bearers relation; I beseech you to have us in your thoughts, you know there can be noe expectance of moneys here in these parts, before such tyme as the Countrey be brought into subjection. I have hitherto done what I could to keepe my men together, but I fayle to doe it as I would for the reasons the Bearer will relate unto you. The good successe that God hath vouchsafed us in raising the seige is I assure myselfe made known unto you. It was as great a victory as hath beene in any part of the kingdome, Wee haveing taken and slayne above 2000 men in the late Battell, and hurt soe many in the seige before the battell, as in 14 Carts were sent out of the Enemyes leaguer to Shrewsbury the Sabboth day before; Sir John Meldrum[10] with those that came to relieve us endured much hardship and wee were altogether destitute of meanes to requite them, in regards wee wanted stocke of moneys to pay our owne souldiers much lesse to gratifie them. My most humble and earnest suite therefore now is That you will please to hasten Colonell Bartons and Sir William Myddletons[11] comeing downe with their horse and with moneys to pay them and us, And to procure this Bearer my Lieutenant Colonell if it may be a

Troope of horse to come with him speedily downe; And I shall hope to render you then in short tyme a good account of my proceedings, And in the interim I shall make bould to subscribe myself, My Lords and Gentlemen, Your very loving and faithfull Servant,
Tho. Myddelton

Letter Three [SP 21/17, ff. 15–16] was written from his newly captured base of Powis Castle (or Red Castle, as he consistently calls it) on 2 October.

My much honoured Lords and Gentlemen,
I make bould at the present to acquaint you That it hath pleased the Almightie since the writing of my last to give Us a second victory in giveing Us the Red Castle which after an howres fight wee tooke without the losse of one man; Wee fell upon it upon Wednesday the second day of this instant October about 4 of the Clocke in the morning with 300 foote and left not 100 foote with the Carriages and this was the chiefe strength I had, besides about fifty horse which is all that I have left, the rest being run away for want of pay, whereby you may please to see the weakenes of my Condition, notwithstanding it hath pleased God to magnifie himselfe upon his Enemyes, for it was conceaved impossible to take that Castle under 10000 men[12] and at least wise a 6 moneths seige, But God you now see is able to bring great things to passe by small meanes, the place is of great concernment; And wee were resolved to venter our lives or take it, I caused a petard[13] to be prepared and some Granadoes, and in the morning when it was darke, the moone being downe, I drew out 300 foote and marched towards the Castle, deviding ourselves into three Companyes, and placed our selves in three places about the Castle, they shot very hotly, wee answered them againe, And in the tyme of our fight John Arundell my Gunner[14] got to the uttermost gate and fastned his petar[d] and suddenly the gate was blowne open and our men rushed in and broke open the second gate and soe entred into and wonne the Castle, wherein wee tooke the Lord Powys himselfe, 3 Captaines, 2 Officers and about 70 other prisoners who were common Souldiers and Troopers, about 40 horse with about 200 armes; I am in want now both of men and moneys, the which if you would in any reasonable sort afford mee, I shall not doubt but in a

very short tyme reduce this, and some other of the adjoining Countyes. I shall humbly therefore desire that you will please to hasten downe Colonell Barton and Sir William Middleton with their horse unto mee, and to afford me some considerable summes of moneys wherewith to pay my Souldiers and Officers and for a recreut[ment], in regard my forces come out by sea are not as yet come to mee. I humbly referre the premises to your Consideration and humbly rest, Your most humble servant,
Tho. Myddelton

Letter Four [SP 21/17, ff. 47–48] was written from Powis Castle on 12 October 1644.

Right honourables,
These are only to informe you that sithence the takeing of the Redd Castle, I have taken the Lord Leigh of Stonley[15] with a party of horse which I sent into Radnallshire[16] and intend to send him up unto you; I shall to the best of my power observe your Commands, both on victualling and fortifieing these two Castles[17] (which are places of very great Consequence) driving the enemy to a very narrow passage, and to goe 80ty miles[18] abouts to goe to Chester; but except it please that honourable board to send me some forces (which I humbly desire may be 500 Scotts foote) I shall never be able to proceed any further; for I dare not trust to my Countrymen that are newly raised, either to keepe the Garrisons, or to goe upon any designe, but am faine to leave of my owne men in both the garrisons, by which meanes I am much weakned (my whole strength when it was most being never above 400 foote and 250 horse and at this present not above 300 foote and 50 horse, the rest being killed and run away for want of pay [)]; This is the true State and Condition that I am in, which I thought fitting to acquaint you with, not doubting but in your wisedomes you will thinke of some way to enable me to doe you further service, which with the hazard of my life and fortunes I shall be ready to performe and in all things expresse my selfe to be, My Lords and Gentlemen, your most humble servant,
Tho. Myddelton

Letter Five [SP 21/17, ff. 94–96], recounting his brief foray into Denbighshire, was written from Powis Castle on 29 October.

> My honoured good Lords and Gentlemen,
> I made bould by my last to acquaint you with my takeing of the Lord Thomas Leigh of Stonly, and my sending of him up to the parliament; upon the engagement of his honour and likewise with my humble suite for the furnishing of me with 500 Scotts to be sent me for my assistance, which being but a small number would not (as I conceive) any way impaire that their great Army; I doe now assume the bouldenesse to informe you that having of late received intelligence of the Enemyes fortifying of the Towne and Castle of Ruthen in the County of Denbigh, and of the present raising of great forces in that County, and the adjacent County of Flint; being within my limits, by force and virtue of sundry late Commissions graunted by his Majesty to Colonell Francis Trafford a professed and knowne papist, to Col. Marke Trevor, Colonell Washington[19] and others, I did thereupon with the few forces I could spare out of my severall garrisons of Montgomery and Red Castle with the assistance of my brother Colonell Mittons forces from Oswestry; on the Sabbath day last was seven night, after a three dayes wearisome march in fowle weather arrive at the said Towne of Ruthen, where wee found the Streetes strongly barricadoes, the Towne pritty well fortifyed, the Enemy within it and the said Col. Trevor and Trafford with about 120 horse and 200 foote endeavouring to defend the Towne and oppose us. But my foote entred, broake downe the barricadoes, and made way for my horse, who pursued the Enemyes horse through the Towne and almost to Denbigh Castle, being another of their garrisons, returning safe with the number of 24 prisoners, whereof one is a doctor, the second a Cornet belonging to Sir Henry Newton[20] and the third a Quarter Master. As for the Enemyes foote, most of them fled into the Castle, which by reason of my want of men and the sudden calling backe of my brother Mittons forces to Oswestry upon some pretended feare of the Enemyes approach thither, I was enforced to leave and then much against my will depart; howbeit the Turnepikes and fortifications I caused first to be broken downe and made unserviceable. The Castle, my Lords etc, I finde to be by nature

strong, of a large circumference and seated on a Rocke, but as yet all uncovered and the walles in repairing; And as for the Towne adjoining to it, the same I finde to be very considerable as fitting to make a garrison of it being the best situate and fairest and largest Towne for buildings within that County, and not above 5 miles distant[21] from the Enemyes other garrison of Denbigh; if the Enemy should settle a garrison in Ruthen, and fortifie it, then will they curb all the Parliaments friends and their proceedings in that and in the County of Flint, Carnarvan and Anglesy; And on the contrary if it shall please you to enable me to settle a garrison in Ruthen and fortifie it, and the Castle, I conceive it will be a ready way for the recovery of the Castle of Denbigh, and the speedy reduceing of all the aforesaid Countyes. All which I beseech you to take into Consideration; And now my Lords and gentlemen, the good tydings of the takeing of Newcastle[22] doth imbolden me to sollicite you for a whole Regiment of Scotts foote, which I hope will enable me to reduce these parts, or at least to defend myself against all assaults of the Enemy who are dayly raising forces, and expect Prince Ruperts comeing with great forces alsoe, you may to thinke likewise of some meanes to mayntayne the said Regiment and the forces I have already raised, and alsoe to furnish them with Armes, by reason the Country hath beene soe improverished and exhausted by the Enemy before my comeing that tis not able to support us with monyes for the Souldiers pay or to furnish us with Armes and Ammunition of my owne as cost me above £1000 in London before my comeing out of Towne, and sent by sea to Liverpoole being all detayned from me by Captaine Tattum[23] under pretence they were delivered to my Lord Generalls[24] use by by [sic] vertue of some warrant I could never get a sight of. And my selfe since my comeing downe being now about 6 moneths having not either for my selfe or souldiers received as much as one penny from the State, by occasion whereof many of my horse and foote have to my great greife lately left me; All which I beseech you likewise to take into Consideration, and to take some speedy course for my supply, who am ready to sacrifice my life and fortunes in the present service of the king and parliament, resting, My Lords etc, your humble servant,
Tho. Myddelton

Letter Six [SP 21/17, ff. 128–29] was written from Powis Castle on 15 November.

> My most honoured Lords and Gentlemen,
> I make bould (as you may perceive) in pursuance of my duty from tyme to tyme to present you with the state of these parts and my present Condition, and to implore the speedy assistance of me for men, Armes and monyes; you my Lords and Gentlemen sitt at the helme, and therefore you must pardon mee since I make my addresses and recourse unto you, to whom I have assumed the bouldnesse severall tymes of late to signifie my wants, the encrease of the Enemy, the new raising of new forces by Colonell Francis Strafford[25] a papist by vertue of the kings Commission, and the Enemyes endeavouring to fortify Ruthen, a place of great importance, if not tymely prevented; touching all which in regard I have not as yet received any answere. It is now agayne my humble sute unto you, that you will please to take my letters into your serious Considerations, and to afford me your Answers, by reason my men run from me dayly for want of pay, and I cannot entertayne new for want of Armes. The Cittie of Chester at the present is in great want of powder, Ammunition and other necessaryes and therefore (if it may but please you [)], to give speedy Order for 3 or 4 Regiments of Scotts to be sent armed unto Sir W. Brereton and unto me, I shall not doubt but in a short tyme to give you a good accompt of the Citty, and alsoe of North Wales; if this opportunity be omitted I feare wee shall not in any reasonable tyme have the like afforded us; to the Consideration of the honourable board I humbly referre it, and craving pardon for my bouldnesse, I very humbly take leave and subscribe my selfe, My Lords and Gentlemen, your faithfull servant,
> Tho. Myddelton

Letter Seven [SP 21/17, ff. 153–56], giving details of his march across mid Wales, was written from Powis Castle on 8 December.

> My honoured good Lords and Gentlemen,
> I assume the bouldnesse to acquaint you with my present state and the Condition of these remote parts, Haveing received letters out of

Pembrookeshire from my foote Forces under the Command of Colonell Beale and Lieutenant Colonell Cartar[26] which had landed there 4 moneths past from London, touching their being on their march by land towards me through Cardiganshire, and other of the Enemyes Countyes; I drew out the remainder of my horse and Dragoones, being in number about 200, and with those few forces after a long and Tedious march of 4 dayes, mett with my said foote forces at a Towne called Lambedder pont Stephen[27] in the County of Cardigan whither Sergeant Major general Laughorne[28] in person did conduct them, the Enemy haveing got intelligence of their number (which was not above 140 foote, besides my horse and dragoones [)], and alsoe of the way they intended to returne, did set upon them at a bridge neere unto Machynlleth, a Towne of this County but bordering on Merionethshire; The Enemy were about 1000 men, Rowland Pugh[29] Esquire a Commissioner of Array, and on[e] Major Hookes were two of the cheife ringleaders of those forces, but it pleased God to give us the better of them; wee killed about 20ty and tooke about 60 of them prisoners, most of them forced men, the rest fled, and it pleased God to deliver the said Towne, Bridge, and the said Mr Pughes house[30], into our hands; the house had beene made a Garrison of the Enemyes but quitted on our comeing, and afterwards burnt, but by whom I could never learne, though I have beene inquisitive after it, in all with march and fight wee lost not a man, this fight hapned the 27th of November last; within the weeke after upon intelligence that about 200 of the Enemyes forces were Garrisoning of a very strong house anciently an Abby called Abby Kume hier[31], which is scituate in the County of Radnor in South Wales[32], but bordering upon this County of Montgomery, and not distant above 11 miles from Montgomery Castle, wherein there is a Garrison for the Parliament, wee marched upon Wednesday last in the night to the said Enemyes garrison called Abbey Kume hier, which we found partely fortified, And on Thursday morning about 8 of the Clocke wee stormed it, and entred the house, wherein wee tooke one Colonell Barnard[33] the Governor, two foote Captaines and one horse Captaine with their Officers, and 80 common Souldiers with their Armes, and about 40 horse, 3 barrells of powder, 60 firelocks and some little Ammunition, wee tooke alsoe the said house, one Hugh

Lloyd[34] Esquire primest Commissioner of the Array, late high Sheriffe of that County being the most active and bitter man of all others in those parts against the Parliament; wee were enforced to burne the house, otherwise wee could not make it unserviceable for the future, and soe wee returned having not lost soe much as one man either in the storming or takeing of the house (praised be God) to whom wee desire may be ascribed the sole glory etc. I have likewise made an entrance into Flintshire and placed a small Garrison there in a house of Mr Dymocks of Willington[35] which I hope to maintayne against the Enemyes forces, who since my comeing thither have burned Bangor[36], a towne where formerly they had a Garrison. They are now growne desperate, and care not what spoile they make. I purpose to be doing with them with that weake strength that I have, hopeing that God in mercy will goe along with us, as he hath hitherto done. I humbly crave pardon for my tediousness, And soe I take my leave and rest ever, My Lords, your most humble and faithfull servant,
Tho. Myddelton

Letter Eight [SP 21/17, ff. 156–57], yet again seeking supplies, was written from Powis Castle on 9 December.

My Lords and Gentlemen,
It is now two moneths past since I importuned the honourable Board for a supply of powder, Armes, and Ammunition, but could never yet receive Answere, I am now enforced to importune you for the same againe, and the more earnestly, because the Shippe that carried my Armes out of Pembrookeshire is cast away with all my Armes, and 50 Barrells of Powder, as it was goeing to Leverpoole, which hath exceedingly disappointed me; And I must truly informe you that our store is soe little now, by reason of the severall Garrisons wee have, and of our dayly imployments, that if an Enemy should now fall upon us, wee should not be able to hould out any considerable tyme in any of our Garrisons for want of powder and match, wherefore I humbly beseech you to take our Condition into your serious Consideration and to give speedy order for the safe sending and furnishing of us with 50 at the least, if not with 100 Barrells of Powder, with some considerable quantityes of march and Armes, And you shall much

oblige him who is, My Lords and Gentlemen, your very humble and faithfull servant,
Tho. Myddelton

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1 For Myddleton, see J.G. Williams, 'Myddelton, Sir Thomas (1586–1666)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition at https://www.oxforddnb.com/. For the wider context of the campaign, see R.N. Dore, 'Sir Thomas Myddleton's attempted conquest of Powys, 1644–45', *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 57 (1961–62); J. Worton, '"A voyage into Wales": revisiting Sir Thomas Myddelton's 1644–45 campaign', *Cromwelliana* (2019); J. Worton, *The Battle of Montgomery, 1644: the English Civil War in the Welsh borderlands* (Helion & Co, 2016); and P. Gaunt, '"One of the goodliest and strongest places that I ever looked upon": Montgomery in the civil war' in D. Dunn (ed.), *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain* (Liverpool University Press, 2000).

2 The original spelling and the rather erratic punctuation and use of upper case of the texts as copied into the letterbooks have been retained here, though standard contractions have been expanded.

3 Major of Rupert's cavalry regiment, he perished at Naseby the following summer.

4 Prince Rupert and his cavalry, which had survived the defeat at Marston Moor on 2 July, were at this time based in and around Chester, creating apprehension among parliamentarian commanders in the region; they were duly relieved when Rupert and much of his cavalry moved away southwards, to Bristol, later in the summer.

5 Nearer 15 miles, in fact.

6 William Herbert, first Baron Powis, whose principal seat was Powis Castle.

7 James Till, who seems to disappear from the military records a little later, so it is possible that he had died or left the army by the end of the year.

8 The bottom corner of the page in the letterbook has been torn away and lost.

9 Royalist cavalry captain, often serving with the Oxford army, he perished near Oxford the following summer.

10 An experienced parliamentarian commander, operating mainly in the East Midlands, he had overall command of the combined parliamentarian forces at the Battle of Montgomery; he died from wounds received while besieging Scarborough Castle the following spring.

11 William Barton had served as one of Sir Thomas's senior cavalry officers, but by this time he seems to have been with the Earl of Denbigh's Midland army and had accompanied Denbigh to London; Sir William Myddleton, Sir Thomas's cousin, did rejoin him later in 1645.

[12] This seems an extraordinarily high number, even allowing for a degree of exaggeration and for Myddleton wishing to exalt the nature of the victory just obtained. Although clearly written thus in the Committee's letterbook, perhaps this is a slip of the pen, either by Myddleton or by the clerk copying out his letter, and it should read 1000.

[13] A small, mobile bomb, designed to be propped up against wooden gates to blow them open.

[14] He was killed around Christmas 1644 in an unsuccessful operation to capture Chirk Castle.

[15] Sir Thomas Leigh of Stoneleigh near Coventry in Warwickshire, a devoted royalist and created first Baron Leigh in 1643.

[16] Radnorshire.

[17] Powis and Montgomery.

[18] Given that Chester was little more than 40 miles from Powis Castle and not much more than 50 from Montgomery Castle, this assumes that any royalists would have had to give both castles an extraordinarily wide berth in order to travel on to Chester.

[19] Sir Francis Trafford; the Anglo-Irish soldier Mark or Marcus Trevor, later created first Viscount Dungannon; and Sir Henry Washington, royalist governor of Worcester during the closing stages of the main civil war.

[20] Probably the son of Sir Adam Newton, who later adopted his mother's family name of Puckering, a royalist officer who served for a time in Trevor's cavalry regiment operating in the northern and central Marches.

[21] Around eight miles, in fact.

[22] It was surrendered to the besieging Scottish army on 27 October, so either the news had reached Myddleton in eastern Montgomeryshire extremely quickly or he was here (correctly) anticipating the town's imminent fall.

[23] Tatum (first name not known), one of several parliamentarian naval captains operating out of Liverpool around the Mersey and Dee estuaries and along the coast of North Wales.

[24] The Earl of Essex.

[25] Trafford.

[26] Possibly the William Beale who later sat alongside Scottish representatives on a committee for Ireland; John Carter rose to be one of parliament's most trusted commanders in North Wales in the later 1640s, responsible for putting down the rebellion in the north-west in 1648, while during the 1650s he served as a parliamentarian commissioner and administrator in the region and was knighted during the Protectorate.

[27] More usually known by its anglicised name of Lampeter.

[28] Rowland Laugharne, parliament's leading and most dynamic officer in Pembrokeshire during the main civil war, though later, in 1648, one of three former parliamentarian officers to lead a mutiny which turned into a pro-royalist rising in south-west and southern Wales.

[29] Despite being well into his sixties by the time of the civil war, as one of the leading landowners in western Montgomeryshire and the fringes of Merionethshire, Pugh was a very active royalist commissioner and administrator; he had, during the 1630s, clashed with the Myddleton family and others in legal disputes arising from the purchase of estates and lordships in the area. Possibly wounded in this encounter, he fled north to Conway but died there on 26 December.

[30] Mathafarn, about two miles north-east of Machynlleth.

[31] Abbeycwmhir, a small village in the Radnorshire hills clustered around a large Cistercian abbey, parts of which were turned into a residence after the Dissolution, converted into a royalist garrison and stronghold during the civil war through the addition of outworks and earthworks.

[32] While it seems strange to characterise Radnorshire as in South Wales, perhaps Myddleton is here indicating that it lay outside the area of his North Wales command as defined by the parliamentary ordinance of 1643, which both appointed him and listed the northern counties to be under his control.

[33] John Barnard or Barnold, who took command of part of the Earl of Chesterfield's royalist infantry regiment; he was killed the following year when the Scots stormed the royalist garrison holding out in a moated manor house at Canon Frome in Herefordshire.

[34] Hugh Lloyd of Caerfagu (south-east of Rhayader in north-western Radnorshire), was indeed one of the most active royalist commissioners and administrators in the county.

[35] In the historic county of Flintshire (detached), roughly midway between Wrexham and Whitchurch, it then served as a minor parliamentarian garrison close to the Cheshire-Shropshire border.

[36] Bangor on Dee, south-east of Wrexham, in the historic county of Flintshire (detached).

PICTURING REGICIDE: THE EXECUTION OF CHARLES I

by Dr Stephen Brogan

On display in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery is a remarkable contemporary oil painting of the execution of Charles I, that took place on 30 January 1649, just before two o'clock in the afternoon, outside the Banqueting House in Whitehall (Plate 4).[1] The artwork is very impressive: it is huge, measuring 163 x 297 cm; it is a vivid, grisly depiction, and it has a lot going on within it. A narrative portrayal, it consists of a large central scene showing the death of the king on the scaffold, around which are four cartouches, one in each corner, illustrating important events immediately before and after the beheading. Reading the painting chronologically, in the roundel in the top left corner we see a portrait of Charles I as he appeared in public during the last ten days of his life, at his trial and execution. In the bottom left cartouche, the king is shown arriving at the Banqueting House under armed guard on the morning of his death. Then our attention is drawn to the large central field in which we see the scaffold, draped in black; the king has just been beheaded by the executioner, whose assistant holds up the severed head, showing it to the crowd. Bright red blood pours from Charles' neck onto the block and scaffold. The large throng of people who gathered to see the unprecedented act of king-killing includes a woman in the foreground who has dramatically fainted. We then turn to the top right cartouche in which we see the executioner holding both the head of the dead king, the royal eyes closed, and the bloody axe. Lastly, in the bottom right roundel we see the aftermath of the gruesome spectacle. The scaffold is cleared of all but the king's coffin, which is draped in black; in the foreground three relic hunters are soaking cloth in the king's blood. A parallel to this activity is found in the large central image, in which to the left we see a young boy in the crowd, dressed in pink, who is being held up, holding out his right hand, trying to catch some of the blood that drips from the king's head.

The painting is obviously a spectacular piece of royalist propaganda that broadcasts the horror of regicide. Thus, it is no accident that the central field depicts the gruesome act of Charles' bloody head being displayed, rather than, say, the king praying on the scaffold moments before kneeling at the block. From the monarch's vivid red blood, to the woman fainting, to the relic hunters, the painting is concerned with the impact of the regicide: as

Plate 4: *The Execution of Charles I*, c.1649, by an unknown Dutch artist. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, on loan from Lord Dalmeny since 1951. PGL 208. (Formerly attributed to Jan Weesop, Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons.)

my friend the late Professor Justin Champion was fond of telling the undergraduates whom we taught, 30 January 1649 was as shocking to most contemporaries as were the terrorist atrocities of 9/11 to most of us. Charles had lost the Civil War to parliament, after which he sabotaged numerous attempts to broker a workable settlement, hoping to divide his opponents. Seeing no other option, a radical minority of them pushed through the king's trial and execution even though, crucially, they lacked a popular mandate. For most contemporaries the king was still the king, even if he was an untrustworthy one, and a desirable outcome from the wars was a political situation in which Charles kept the throne, albeit with his prerogative powers curtailed.

The painting will be recognised by many readers of *Cromwelliana*, I am sure, because it is often reproduced. Yet it is rarely discussed. We will begin with some context regarding the creation of the artwork, although it should be noted at the outset that our knowledge of this is frustrated by a lack of sources. We do not know exactly who painted the image and so it is said to be by an unknown artist who was probably Dutch. It used to be attributed to Jan Weesop (fl. 1640–53), the Flemish artist domiciled in London, known for producing portraits of royalist aristocrats. This was based on Weesop's signature in the lower right corner; but in the 1970s conservation work revealed that this was in fact a later addition and so it was removed and the artwork deattributed.[2] Furthermore, Kate Anderson, the Senior Curator of Portraiture Pre-1700 at the National Galleries of Scotland, is of the view that the style and technique of the painting are not consistent with Wessop's works.[3] When it comes to dating the painting, thankfully we are on firmer ground: there is agreement amongst scholars that it is from c.1649. There are two reasons for this. First, the painting is based on Dutch and German engravings of the beheading, which were themselves based on eyewitness accounts that date from 1649 or soon after (Plate 5).

Plate 5: *Abscheulichste Vnerhörte Execution, an ... Carl Stuart ... Vorgangen* [*The Execution of Charles I*], a German print *c.*1649 by an unknown artist. © National Portrait Gallery, London. NPG D1306.

Indeed, the first engravings of the king's execution were produced on the continent within weeks of it happening, so great was the demand for news of the regicide (in England, the Republic's censorship meant that such images were not produced until the mid 1650s).[4] Secondly, the clothes worn by the crowds of people in both the painting and the prints are contemporary to the execution – had the painting been produced later, it is likely that fashions of the day would have crept in.[5] The clothes are also somewhat Dutch in style, hence the view that the painter was also Dutch. This all means that the artwork was probably painted in the Netherlands as well, and it is tempting to assume that it was commissioned by a royalist exile. Frustratingly, this cannot be confirmed, not least because of our lack of

knowledge regarding the provenance of the painting. It is first recorded as being sold in 1865 and then again 'sometime before 1869', to the fifth Earl of Roseberry.[6] It has been in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery since 1951, on loan from the earl's descendant, Lord Dalmeny.[7]

Moving from the context to the messages and themes within the painting, a strong leitmotif within it is the representation of the king as a Christ-like martyr. Its narrative composition corresponds to the stations of the cross, although here we have five stages rather than the fourteen associated with Christ's Passion; the fainting woman in the foreground is analogous with paintings of the Virgin Mary swooning at the foot of the cross (see, for example, Rogier van der Weyden's *Descent From the Cross*, *c.*1435). The fainting Virgin was a trope that developed in late medieval art and theological literature, quickly becoming popular as it conveyed the terrible impact of the death of Christ.[8] The presentation of Charles I as a Christ-like martyr was a popular idea that appeared to have a solid providential foundation discernible on the morning of the king's death. Charles was a devout man, and he spent much of the three days between being sentenced and executed preparing for his ordeal through prayer and reading the Bible, during which he was attended by William Juxon (1582–1663), the Bishop of London. Early on the morning of 30th January, Juxon read the lesson for the day, the 27th Chapter of St Matthew, relating Christ's Passion. Charles assumed that Juxon had chosen this, but the bishop explained that it was the set reading for the day as defined in the Calendar. Charles was greatly affected by this, 'it so aptly serving as a seasonable preparation for his death that day'.[9] Royalists who later meditated on the martyrdom of their king were equally impressed.[10] Within days of the king's death *Eikon Basilike* was published, the book in which Charles was presented as a saint and a moderate man. Hugely popular, it was said to be written by the king himself, and it went through 35 editions in 1649 alone. Its title page is a masterpiece of propaganda. It depicts Charles kneeling in a chapel, wearing his royal robes; his earthly crown has fallen to the ground, and he reaches for a crown of thorns (symbolising martyrdom), whilst gazing at a heavenly crown.[11] Sermons and printed works that promulgated the similarities between the death of Charles and of Christ drew attention to them both being kings who were rejected by their people; they were both 'men of sorrows' who were imprisoned and abused, who suffered their agonies with patience.[12] For

defenders of the new English Republic such as John Milton, this was blasphemy; but the cult of the royal martyr quickly became popular. From the first year of the Restoration until 1859 the 30th January was commemorated by the Church of England in its liturgical calendar as a day of fasting, prayer and atonement for the regicide.[13]

A second theme within the painting is its portrayal of Charles as a regal figure. This is a response to the way in which the king was treated by his enemies during the last two months of his life. His living standards were reduced, his captivity became stricter, and he was desacralized at his trial, being referred to throughout by his name, Charles Stuart, with no deference. Charles' regality is evident in the portrait of him in the roundel in the top left corner (see Plate 6). Although he is dressed sombrely, all in black, including his hat, with white lace collar and cuffs, his dark clothes are accented by the bright ornamentation of the Order of the Garter. On the one hand, Charles deliberately wore subdued clothing as was fitting for his trial and execution: the last ten days of his life were played out in public, in contrast to much of his recent captivity, and Charles dressed appropriately for them. Yet this contrasted with the Garter ornamentation: the star is prominently displayed on his right side, on his velvet mantle, while around his neck is the ribbon of the Order on which hangs the Lesser George. The Order of the Garter is the oldest and most senior Order of Chivalry in Britain, having been founded by Edward III in 1348; the monarch is its highest-ranking member, being the Sovereign of the Garter. Charles had always shown great enthusiasm for the Order, and by wearing its insignia at both his trial and execution he proclaimed his royal status.[14] The artist Edward Bower produced portraits of the king dressed in this manner at his trial, having sketched Charles there; numerous prints were also produced abroad depicting the king in the same attire, the exemplar being Wenceslaus Hollar's memorial engraving that was published in Antwerp (see Plate 7).[15] Commenting on these images of the king, the historian Helmer J. Helmers has noted that Charles looks pensive and inscrutable, qualities that allowed the king to appeal to a range of audiences.[16]

Plate 6 (left) : Portrait of Charles I from Plate 4
Plate 7 (right): *Charles I* by Wenceslaus Hollar, 1649. An etching with Whitehall and the Banqueting House in the background. © Stephen Brogan

Returning to the cartouche beneath the portrait, where we see the king arriving at the Banqueting House on the morning of his execution, again regality can be detected (see Plate 8). Charles is shown at the head of his armed guard almost as though this is a normal royal event rather than his progress to the scaffold. And he walks with Juxon and Colonel Matthew Tomlinson (1617–81), one on either side of him just as the written sources attest, both of whom were present by royal request.[17] Charles had asked parliament that Juxon attend him from the beginning of his trial, given that both were Laudians who knew each other well. The bishop is identifiable in his long clergyman's robes, to the right of the king, and he (Juxon) indicates with his right hand which way to proceed and in doing so gestures towards the large execution scene. Tomlinson stands to the left of the king; he was the parliamentarian army officer and politician who was responsible for the monarch's security during the last five weeks of his life, at Windsor, and during his trial and execution.[18] Charles had asked Tomlinson to accompany him to the scaffold because he trusted the soldier to ensure that he was treated properly. Charles had commended Tomlinson as a civil man to

Plate 8: Charles I arriving at the Banqueting House on the morning of his execution, from Plate 4.

Henry Seymour, the page who visited the king on 28th January: not all Charles' guards treated him suitably and the king sought to avoid his last hours being marred with hostility.[19] Interestingly, the king is the only person in the vignette wearing his hat: that everyone else is uncovered suggests a final mark of respect.

In reality, of course, the king was surrounded by enemy soldiers as he marched from St James's Palace, where he had been held, across the park to the Banqueting House. It was standard practice for soldiers to accompany the condemned to the scaffold to keep order and to prevent any rescue attempts. Sir Thomas Herbert (1606–82), the loyal parliamentarian who nevertheless served Charles I with respect and courtesy during the king's captivity and who wrote a memoir of it, recorded that 'The Park had several companies of Foot drawn up, who made a Guard on either side as the King

passed, and a Guard of Halberdiers in company went some before, and othersome followed; and drums beat, and the noise was so great as one could hardly hear what another spoke'.[20] This explains the drummer, visible in the roundel to the left, while the prominent white flag must no doubt be the Colonel's colour of The White Regiment of Foot of the London Trained Bands.[21] We also get a sense of the noise and the atmosphere on this unprecedented occasion.

Turning to the large scaffold scene, it is worth recalling some useful context concerning the practicalities of the execution and the conduct of the king before we take stock of the depiction. As mentioned, the regicide was masterminded by a minority of Charles' opponents; many of them were radical soldiers from the New Model Army, including Henry Ireton (c.1611–51), Edmund Ludlow (c.1617–92), Henry Marten (1602–80), and Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658). Executing the king in public was a risk – as was holding the trial openly – but one worth taking in order to make an example of him. The dangers on 30th January included the king appealing to the crowd, a rescue attempt, and the king not submitting to death. The last one must have seemed particularly likely, given that at his trial Charles had refused to enter a plea and had often got the better of John Bradshaw, the President of the High Court of Justice, during their exchanges. These dangers were mitigated by careful planning. The scaffold was erected outside the Banqueting House rather than a usual location such as Tower Hill as the house faced a small square which was overlooked on three sides by the buildings of Whitehall and so was easier to guard. Many of the local buildings had also become army headquarters. The scaffold was surrounded by soldiers and mounted guards, with the crowd held back. All local buildings and streets were also guarded, while there were also approximately six soldiers on duty on the scaffold as well. The block was lower than usual, and four staples were driven into the platform around it, along with pulleys, in order to force the king to yield if necessary.[22] In the end, of course, matters went exactly as the king's enemies wished, but nevertheless the precautions are very revealing.

Charles made a good death. Throughout his last day he behaved calmly, with patience, dignity, and resignation that impressed spectators. No doubt he had two role models: Christ, who taught salvation through suffering, and

Mary, Queen of Scots, the king's grandmother, who had countered decades of adversity by presenting herself on the scaffold as a Catholic martyr. But there were also moments when Charles, who was renowned for his love of order and decorum, exercised agency and took control of small aspects of the drama. He did this because he knew that by making a good death, he could bolster the royalist cause and hopefully pave the way for a Stuart restoration. Charles had always taken care with his appearance and his last day was no exception. He told Herbert 'This is my second marriage day: I would be as trim today as may be, for before tonight I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus'. Charles famously wore two shirts lest he shiver in the bitterly cold January weather, and it be mistaken for fear; he had an orange stuffed with cloves in his pocket, which could revive him if he faltered or fainted; and he chose to wear a nightcap at the very end, so that his hair did not impede the axe.[23]

On the scaffold Charles adhered to some of the execution customs of the day, but not all as this was such an exceptional beheading. As expected, he made a speech, but he could not address the crowd as was usual because there were too many troops between the scaffold and the people. Disappointed, the king instead spoke to the fifteen or so men on the platform, notably directing much of what he said to Tomlinson. Charles followed tradition in that he forgave his enemies (though not by name as he claimed not to know who exactly was responsible for his destruction) and proclaimed that he died a good Christian.[24] But he deviated from convention by declaring his innocence rather than his guilt. Typically, the condemned person made a last minute, public confession of guilt and repentance, along with a remorseful acceptance of their sentence; these were essential components in 'the grisly morality play' that was taking place.[25] By contrast, Charles died asserting his innocence which he explained providentially: as he had allowed an 'unjust sentence' to be carried out on the Earl of Strafford, so God was now doing the same to him.[26] By stating that he was not guilty, Charles emphasised that he died a victim for his cause. Accordingly, he even claimed to be 'the martyr of the people'. The king's interactions with the executioners were also unusual. When a member of the elite was about to be executed, it was customary for the headsman to ask them for forgiveness, and for this to be given; sometimes the prisoner would also give the executioner some money in the hope that they would dispatch them with

one strike and not botch the job.[27] None of this appears to have happened. Although one newspaper reported that Charles took the initiative and forgave the headsmen as soon as he saw them on the scaffold, none of the other sources mention an interaction like this, so on balance the newspaper was probably mistaken. As for the exchange of money, we have no record of this taking place. It is possible that the key players may have all forgotten their parts due to the immense pressure they were under, or given Charles' belief that he was innocent he might have silently abandoned these customs.[28] But at the very end, Charles took control in the expected manner, telling the executioner not to strike until he gave him an agreed sign – in this case that he would stretch out his arms.[29]

In the painting we see three men standing on the scaffold next to the dead monarch who are, left to right, Juxon, Tomlinson, and Colonel Francis Hacker (d.1660), all of whom were indeed present. These identifications are borne out by comparing the painting to one of the prints on which it is based, the German etching *Abscheulichste Vnerhörte Execution, an ... Carl Stuart ... Vorgangen (1649)* which includes a useful key that identifies the men in question (see Plate 5).[30] In the painting, the bishop holds his dead master's hat and cloak, and in the engraving the Lesser George medallion too: Charles' last act had been to give this to Juxon, saying 'Remember', thought to mean 'remember to give this to the Prince of Wales.' Hacker was present as he was given the job of supervising the execution, having overseen the custody of the king during his trial; according to Herbert, Hacker was one of the soldiers who had treated the king 'roughly'.[31]

Turning to the depiction of the executioners. In reality of course, they were very heavily disguised with wigs, masks, and false beards, so unpopular was the regicide.[32] The painting omits the wigs and false beards, but on close inspection the artist has depicted the headsmen wearing masks that match the colour of their skin.[33] A strange detail, this is not visible in reproductions of the artwork in books and on websites, nor does it follow any custom concerning executioners' apparel of which I am aware. The appearance of the headsmen is one of several inaccuracies that will be discussed next. The identities of the two men were uncertain, and as is well known, this remains the case. Urban myths of the time suggested candidates, including Thomas Fairfax (1612–71), the commander-in-chief of the New Model Army,

Cromwell, and the fiery Puritan preacher Hugh Peter (1598–1666). The most likely, however, was the official executioner Richard Brandon (d.1649), given that Charles was beheaded with one stroke of the axe and Brandon was known for his dexterity; Brandon was at Whitehall on the day; and after his death three pamphlets published his confession.[34] Nevertheless, the cartouche in the top right corner is a portrait of the axeman, who resembles Fairfax, and an engraving was published in Europe showing Fairfax in an identical pose (see Plates 9 and 10).[35] This is unfair as the general was opposed to the king's trial and execution, and he had even lamented 'Oh Lett that Day from this time be blotted quite'.[36] Yet Fairfax's depiction as the headsman signified the extent to which the regicide was driven through by the army,[37] and to that degree it works.

Plate 9 (left): Thomas Fairfax as Charles I's executioner, from Plate 4.
Plate 10 (right): *Thomas Fairfax, 3rd Lord Fairfax of Cameron and King Charles I*. Unknown artist, engraving, mid to late 17th century. © National Portrait Gallery, London. NPG D28956.

Cromwelliana readers will no doubt have already noticed that the scaffold scene in the painting contains several inaccuracies. Further to those just mentioned concerning the executioners' apparel, we have also noted that on the day there were some 15 men on the scaffold (the soldiers and the

reporters who noted the king's speech are not in the painting), while the platform itself was surrounded by mounted guards; the block is also too high, and the staples and pulleys are omitted. Other issues include that in reality the scaffold was railed to waist-height, and the railings hung with black cloth, which hid the view of the beheading for most people; the Banqueting House is not shown accurately in terms of its architecture; nor do we have any spectators crammed into its windows, as was the case.[38] These 'mistakes' are also found in the prints on which the painting is based; it is also worth noting that the bottom left cartouche is wrong in that Charles made his way to the Banqueting House through the buildings of Whitehall – he did not arrive outside it under armed guard. How serious are these imprecisions? No doubt they are irritating for purists, but on reflection it seems to me that they do not add up to much; some of them even serve a useful purpose and so were probably deliberate. Had the scaffold been depicted as railed, we would not see much of the grisly scene, which would lessen the horror of the painting. The low block and staples would look undignified for the royal martyr. Similarly, if the executioners were depicted in their heavy disguises, they would seem carnivalesque, which would also be inappropriate.

Lastly, in the painting we see a large crowd of men and women thronged together in front of the scaffold, as indeed they were; their dress suggests that they are mostly from the middling sorts. The reactions of the crowd fall into two categories. A small number of people convey Christian horror at what has happened. We have noted the woman fainting and her symbolism; less dramatically, shock is also evident in the figure of the woman standing close to the roundel in the bottom left corner who wears a pink dress and looks away from the execution, her hands clasped in prayer. Similarly, an old man in the foreground stands bent over, his hands also clasped (he is to the right of the woman who helps the fainting woman). And then there are the relic hunters (see Plate 11). Their depiction signifies the charisma of the royal office and even the ability of Charles' blood to work miraculous cures. The cloths soaked in his blood were said to cure scrofula after they were rubbed on the swellings and sores of the sufferers, and to sometimes cure blindness if rubbed on eyes. This was a radical innovation because up to then it was thought that only the royal touch could cure scrofula, not royal blood.[39] Yet, not surprisingly, other sources reveal that not everyone had a reverential attitude towards the relics. The royalists might have claimed that Charles'

blood had supernatural healing powers, but the soldiers who guarded the scaffold saw the opportunity to make money and charged a fee to whoever wanted to access the blood. Likewise, the guards also charged people to see the dead king in his coffin. Indeed, the soldiers did so well financially out of the execution that one newspaper reported with disdain that one of the troops was heard to say 'I would we had two or three Majesties to behead'.[40]

Plate 11: Relic hunters soak cloth in Charles I's blood, detail from Plate 4.

Still, most people depicted in the crowd appear to be responding in a subdued manner. Apart from the fainting woman, no one appears to be expressing great distress or anguish at what has just happened; similarly, no one is communicating any glee. One person who witnessed the execution and wrote about it afterwards was Philip Henry (1631–96), the Oxford undergraduate with royalist sympathies. He famously reported that 'The Blow I saw given, & can truly say with a sad heart; at the instant whereof, I

remember wel, there was such a Grone by the Thousands then present, as I never heard before & desire I may never hear again'.[41] Bearing this in mind, it is possible that the restrained responses of most of the crowd in the painting are meant to convey people's shock and disbelief as expressed by the great groan. The regicide left them numb.

This essay has provided a gloss on the painting of the execution of Charles I that places the artwork within the cult of the royal martyr. Books, pamphlets, sermons, printed images, paintings, prayers, and relics all commemorated the dead king, within his three kingdoms and across Europe. The cult was popular because, as mentioned, for most contemporaries the regicide was a step too far; the defenders of the English Republic were never able to convince the public to change their minds on this issue; the royal actor played his part with skill; and memento mori portraits of the king presented him as pensive and inscrutable, which broadened his appeal. Charles had never been a particularly popular monarch, nor had he been an effective ruler; he had then lost the Civil War. But for the bulk of the nation these issues receded when compared to the king's fate. The painting provides a narrative of Charles' last hours and the impact of his beheading. Its enormous size means that it must surely have been made for public display, possibly in the manner of an altarpiece that aided meditation. Whether its first home was that of a royalist in exile in Holland, a Dutch noble household, or a civic building, only further research can tell.

[1] Scottish National Portrait Gallery, *The Execution of Charles I*, by an unknown artist, c.1649. Accession number PGL 208. About the painting, see Jonathan Brown and John Elliot (eds), *The Sale of the Century: Artistic Relations Between Spain and Great Britain, 1604–1655* (Yale University Press, 2002), p. 223–24; B. van Beneden and N. de Pooter (eds), *Royalist Refugees: William and Margaret Cavendish at the Rubenshuis* (Rubenshuis & Rubenianum, 2006), p. 112–13; Margarette Lincoln (ed), *Samuel Pepys: Plague, Fire, Revolution* (Thames and Hudson Ltd, 2015), p. 43. I wish to record that I am indebted to Kate Anderson, the Senior Curator of Portraiture Pre-1700 at the National Galleries of Scotland, who has discussed many aspects of this painting with me.

[2] Brown and Elliot, *Sale of the Century,* p. 224*;* Beneden and Pooter, *Royalist Refugees,* p. 112; National Galleries Scotland: https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/8785. One clue concerning the artist is the man in the painting standing next to the bottom right cartouche, looking directly at the viewer. Artists sometimes painted themselves into crowds in this pose.

[3] Kate Anderson, email correspondence with the author, March 2023. For Weesop's works see: https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images#filters[kunstenaar]=Weesop%2C+Johan

[4] Jane Roberts, *The King's Head: Charles I: King and Martyr* (The Royal Collection, 1999), p. 32; Helmer J. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics, and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639–1660* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 125.

[5] Brown and Elliot, *Sale of the Century,* p. 224*;* Beneden and Pooter, *Royalist Refugees,* p. 112; National Galleries Scotland: https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/8785

[6] Beneden and Pooter, *Royalist Refugees,* p. 112; the Scottish National Portrait Gallery has no further information on the provenance, though this is a subject that I intend to research further.

[7] Lincoln (ed), *Samuel Pepys*, p. 43.

[8] Beneden and Pooter, *Royalist Refugees,* p. 112; Roberts, *The King's Head*, p. 32; Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*, p. 125.

[9] Roger Lockyer (ed), *The Trial of Charles I: A Contemporary Account Taken From the Memoirs of Sir Thomas Herbert and John Rushworth* (Folio Society, 1974), p.128.

[10] C.V. Wedgwood, *The Trial of Charles I* (Collins, 1964), p. 181.

[11] Good introductions to the *Eikon Basilike* include Hugh Trevor Roper, '*Eikon Basilike*: The Problems of the King's Book', *History Today*, 1.9 (1951), p. 7–12, on authorship; and Andrew Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* (Boydell & Brewer, 2003).

[12] Lacey, *Cult of King Charles*, p. 15.

[13] Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660–1714* (Yale University Press, 2013), p. 40–41.

[14] Angus Haldane, *The Face of War: Portraits of the English Civil Wars* (Unicorn, 2017), p. 32.

[15] For Bower's portrait see Oliver Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen* (Phaidon Press, 1963), no 208; Haldane, *The Face of War*, p. 32–3; Rufus Bird (ed), *Charles II: Art and Power* (Royal Collection Trust, 2017), p. 24–5. For Hollar's engraving, see Graham Parry, *Hollar's England: A Mid-Seventeenth-Century View* (Michael Russell Publishing Ltd, 1980), no 27; Richard Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Wenceslaus Hollar, 1607–1677* (Cambridge University Press,1982; reprint, 2002), no 1432; John Peacock, 'The

Visual Image of Charles I', in *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I*, ed Thomas N. Corns, (Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 176–239, 209. See also Pauline Gregg, *King Charles I* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1981), p. 436.

[16] Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*, p. 122.

[17] Lockyer, *The Trial of Charles I*, p. 129; *King Charls, His Speech Made Upon the Scaffold at Whitehall-Gate* (London, 1649), p. 3; Wedgwood, *Trial of Charles I*, p. 179–80.

[18] Toby Bernard, 'Tomlinson [Thomlinson], Matthew, appointed Lord Tomlinson Under the Protectorate', *ODNB* (2004); Wedgwood, *Trial of Charles I*, p. 68.

[19] Wedgwood, *Trial of Charles I*, p. 168–9, 179.

[20] Lockyer, *The Trial of Charles I*, p. 129.

[21] I am grateful to Dr David Appleby for clarifying this, and to Professor Andrew Hopper for suggesting that I contact Dr Appleby. See Stuart Peachey and Les Prince, *ECW Flags and Colours 1: English Foot* (Partizan Press, 1991), 48–49; The British Civil War Project: http://wiki.bcw-project.org/trained-band/london/white-regiment

[22] J. G. Muddiman, *Trial of King Charles I* (William Hodge, 1928), p. 141–3; Wedgwood, *Trial of Charles I*, p. 189

[23] Lockyer, *The Trial of Charles I*, p. 126, 130; *The Confession of Richard Brandon the Hangman (Upon his Deathbed)* (1649), p. 2.

[24] *King Charls, His Speech Made Upon the Scaffold*, p. 5, 7.

[25] Daniel Szechi, 'The Jacobite Theatre of Death', in *The Jacobite Challenge* (John Donald, 1988), eds Eveline Cruickshanks and Jeremy Black, p. 57–73. For a useful analysis of last speeches, see J. A. Sharpe, '"Last Dying Speeches": Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past & Present*, 107 (1985), p. 144–67.

[26] *King Charls, His Speech Made Upon the Scaffold*, 5.

[27] See the case of William Laud on the scaffold. Laud gave the executioner some money, saying 'do thy office upon mee in mercie', see *The Arch-Bishop of Canterburie his Speech, or, His Funeral Sermon Preached by Himself on the Scaffold* (1645?), p. 12.

[28] The omission of the executioners asking for forgiveness is discussed in Wedgwood, *Trial of Charles I*, p. 192 and 241, n. 48. The contemporary sources are a bit confused on this subject. *King Charls, His Speech Made Upon the Scaffold* makes no mention of the issue. Muddiman, *Trial of King Charles I*, quotes the *Perfect Weekly Account* which says that the king forgave the executioners as soon as he saw them on the scaffold, rather than waiting for them to ask pardon. Brandon's confession states that the king refused to forgive him (p. 6) but this is thought to be an unreliable account, and it does not sit well with Charles forgiving his enemies in his scaffold speech.

[29] *King Charls, His Speech Made Upon the Scaffold*, p. 8. Thomas Wentworth and Laud also negotiated last signs with their executioners regarding when to strike, see

Rushworth and John, 'Historical Collections: May 1641', in *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State: Volume 4, 1640–42* (London, 1721), p. 239–279. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rushworth-papers/vol4/pp239-279 [accessed 23 April 2023]; *The Arch-Bishop of Canterburie … on the Scaffold*, p. 12.

[30] *Abscheulichste Vnerhörte Execution, an ... Carl Stuart ... Vorgangen (1649),* catalogued at the National Portrait Gallery, London, as *The Execution of Charles I* (1649), NPG D1306. For the German and Dutch prints of the execution see Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*, p. 122–30; Roberts, *The King's Head,* p. 32–33.

[31] Barry Coward, 'Francis Hacker (d.1660)', *ODNB* (2004).

[32] *Calendar of State Papers Venetian, 1647–52*, 91.

[33] I am grateful to Kate Anderson for pointing this out to me.

[34] Wedgwood, *Trial of Charles I*, p. 184–5.

[35] Beneden and Pooter, *Royalist Refugees,* p. 112. The face of the axeman on the scaffold is too small for it to be a recognisable likeness of Fairfax, hence the portrait of the general in the cartouche.

[36] Beneden and Pooter, *Royalist Refugees,* p. 112

[37] Beneden and Pooter, *Royalist Refugees,* p. 112.

[38] Muddiman, *Trial of King Charles I*, p. 143, 149–50.

[39] See Stephen Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (Boydell & Brewer, 2015), p. 93–96 for an analysis of the relics and their cures, and their place in a Protestant culture.

[40] *Mercurius Elencticus*, 7 February 1649, quoted in Muddiman, *Trial of King Charles I,* p. 155.

[41] Matthew Henry Lee (ed), *Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry, 1631–96* (Kegan Paul, Trench 1882), p. 12.

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AN UNCARING FATHER OR UNGRATEFUL DAUGHTERS?

by Christopher Cage

> The Wise man sayth … For common experience teacheth vs in these dayes, that the loue of Fathers to theyr children is verie great: but the affection of children to theyr Parents verie small: we see what care Fathers haue ouer the state of theyr children and what negligence children have euer theyr Fathers: and therefore it may be saide verie well that loue by nature dooth descend but not ascend …[1]

Richard Cromwell's relationship with his daughters has sometimes been compared to a Shakespearean tragedy. Playing the part of the deposed King Lear, Richard is shamefully mistreated by his daughters, Elizabeth and Ann in their roles of Goneril and Regan. Tangye described their behaviour as '… a prolonged course of unfilial conduct …[2], while Noble not content with them '… forgetting their duty and even humanity …' feels he needs to remind us a second time that '… their usage of their father was shameful and can admit no excuse …'.[3] There was to be no Cordelia. Others see the relationship as dysfunctional in which conflict, misbehaviour, deception, child neglect, mistrust, unrealistic expectations, excessive criticism and power struggles all play their part. While there may be a grain of truth in all these standpoints, the events of Richard's long life demand a more reasoned assessment.

On 25 May 1659 Richard Cromwell, somewhat unwillingly, resigned as Lord Protector although in reality he had been 'abdicated' by his Council of Officers. On the same day he provided parliament with an analysis of his financial affairs together with details of debts which had been incurred during his time in office.[4] They were considerable and had the potential to ruin him and his family if they remain unpaid. Because of this uncertainty, he continued to reside at Whitehall out of reach of his creditors who were actively seeking him out. Understandably, he was reluctant to leave until Parliament had made a decision about how they were to be handled. On the 4th July Parliament granted him immunity from arrest by his creditors for six months and on the 16th they agreed to discharge his debts and his creditors were to be 'satisfied' by the state.

At around the same time he returned to the home of his father-in-law, Richard Major at Hursley, Hampshire 'having no money in his purse nor without it a friend'.[5] Hursley had been his place of residence from the time of his marriage in 1649 until 1654 when he moved to London following his election as MP for Hampshire and subsequent elevation to Lord Protector in 1658. Under the terms of the marriage settlement which had been agreed by his father Oliver and Richard Major in 1649 the manor and estate of Hursley were to be inherited in 'fee simple' by his wife Dorothy upon her father's death. Richard was to have a life interest.[6] He was known to be still at Hursley in October and November 1659 and May 1660, and presumably he was there during April when Richard Major died on the 25th.

A few days earlier, on 18 April, he had written to Monck seeking his help to secure the payment of his debts which remained unpaid and which realistically would not be paid from a government which had effectively abandoned him to his fate. The only sensible option he could take was to flee the country, more out of fear of his creditors than possible retribution from a vengeful Charles II and those who wished him harm. Although not actively harassed while in exile, he was a politically dangerous person and remained a suspect well into old age.

It is thought he left his family for France in July 1660, but it is just possible that it may have been in August following the birth of his daughter Dorothy ('Doll') on the 1st. There is some evidence to support this. Ludlow, who fled the country at the end of August, mentioned that in order to escape he 'desired a larger vessel … that had transported some weekes before Mr Richard Cromwell …'.[7] In addition to his wife Dorothy, he also left behind his daughter Elizabeth ('Betty') aged 10 (she is the 'little brat' her grandfather Oliver referred to in a letter to Richard Major),[8] son Oliver aged 3 (described by Sir Francis Russell as 'another young Oliver come into this troublesome world')[9] and daughter Ann aged 17 months. It is probable, given the demands placed on Richard before and after becoming Lord Protector, that he played little or no part in their upbringing.[10] He would have been a remote figure to them and when he returned from exile, probably in 1680, he would have been even more so. Richard alludes to this in many of his letters and, during negotiations for the marriage of his son Oliver in 1691 he mentions ' … how providence had made me a stranger to my family …'.[11]

Following Richard Major's death, it would be realistic to think that the necessity of bringing up four young children and managing a large estate influenced Dorothy's decision not to follow her husband into exile.[12] Although it is likely that they were always under suspicion, they were relatively unaffected by the Restoration, but the lives of the children would have been distressing as periodical enquiries or searches for Richard's whereabouts were rigorously carried out.

The early years of the Restoration had not been covered in glory, and by the mid-1660s there was a desire in some quarters for a return to the strong government which parliament and the protectorate had demonstrated. It was even reported that Richard was orchestrating an invasion and planning his own restoration. Clearly discomfited, the government reacted and in March 1666 during the second Dutch War Richard and 13 others were included on a list ordering their return to England. In desperation Dorothy appealed to Clarendon to have Richard's name removed from the list because his debts would ruin him if he was ordered to return. William Mumford, Dorothy's agent, was interviewed at length concerning his whereabouts on March 15th and by his confident and thorough deposition Richard's name was removed from the list. It was from this interview we learn that Richard was using the name 'John Clarke' as an alias.

By 1671 there was another alarm. A warrant was issued to bring Richard before Lord Arlington, but he could not be found. Colonel Rogers was sent to Hursley 'with all speed and secrecy' to search for Richard. In the ensuing search their house was almost ransacked on 25 June 1671. No trace of Richard was found except a letter which the Colonel 'took out of his daughter's bosom'. There would be other alarms in the future.[13]

It would be right to assume that the children would have suffered significant trauma as they witnessed their home being violated. Living with the threat of further violence, either to themselves or their surroundings, would have played a major part in the development of their physical and mental well-being by forcing them to grow up faster and to assume responsibilities far beyond their years. In such circumstances it would be natural for the younger children to turn to their mother and an elder sibling for the protection and direction that would normally have been given by their father. Feelings of

anxiety, distrust and suspicion must have led to a reluctance to engage with anyone outside the immediate family circle and, when they did, it would have been carried out in a climate of circumspection. The absence of a father figure, the traditional defender of the family, would have stimulated a spirit of resilience and an instinct for survival. It would also account for their later assertiveness and an unwillingness to be outmanoeuvred, and it is within this climate we can begin to understand some of their future ambivalence towards their father.

Richard's continued absence from the family and his continual need for money must have been a constant worry for Dorothy, but domestic crises, the periodic alarms about Richard's whereabouts, and a burgeoning household would have left her with little time for introspection.[14] Dorothy's mother died on 13 June 1662 and she was followed by her younger sister, Ann Dunch, on 30 November 1665. Three years later Ann's husband John died on 30 October 1668 and in his will he asked that his three daughters, Dulsabella, Anne and Dorothy join the Hursley household. In addition, Richard's widowed sister Frances Rich had also been living there prior to her marriage on 7 May 1663 to Sir John Russell, 3rd Baronet.

Following the death of Richard Major, the household was transformed from a patriarchal to a matriarchal society in which the need for leadership, moral guidance, protection, and estate management fell to Dorothy. Life for everyone in the household would have been transformed as roles and responsibilities were appointed. For moral guidance of the family Dorothy was reliant on her private chaplains and ministers at Hursley who, no doubt, assisted in the children's education and ensured they were brought up in righteousness. Any child who had learned the catechism would have known that deference and obedience was expected of them. The Ten Commandments, specifically the fifth, would have been learnt by rote.[15] Following the death of Robert Maunder, Thomas Pretty became minister at Hursley in 1673 and, in addition to her spiritual welfare, he further assisted Dorothy by continuing the role of a go-between with Richard.

The estate at Hursley covered an area of about 10,000 acres, the majority of which, from time immemorial, was tenanted by copyholders. The tenure by which copyhold was held at Hursley was known as 'Borough English',

whereby the land descended not to the eldest but to the youngest son (ultimogeniture). Elsewhere in the country copyholders had few rights since they were merely tenants at will and, not being in possession of their estates, could not convey them freely. They were subjected to arbitrary penalties and onerous services almost to the point of impoverishment. However, for reasons which are not clearly understood copyhold in Hursley was hereditary and, unlike copyholders elsewhere, penalties were fixed, services to the Lord of the Manor were defined and widows had the right of inheritance.

It is known that from time to time disputes arose between the Lord of the Manor and his tenants about their respective rights. They would have been grudgingly settled but under Richard Major disputes increased. There was, however, little that his tenants could do. Richard Morley, who rented the forge in Hursley, wrote 'Lord Richard Cromwell was also a justice of peace, and John Dunch a captain and justice. These all lived at Lodge together in Oliver's reign; so we had justice right or wrong by power; for if we did offend, they had power to send us a thousand miles off, and that they have told us'. Almost in the same breath he acknowledged that '… my Lord Richard was a very good neighbourly man while he lived with us at Hursley …'.[16]

The disputes continued, and if the tenants thought the death of Richard Major and decline of the Cromwell family's standing created opportunities for renewing their claims without fear of opposition, they were wrong. The Cromwells were not known to be benign landlords; the estate was managed robustly, with a hint of menace thrown in for good measure. Neither Dorothy Cromwell nor her son Oliver would countenance any diminution of their rights and privileges without a fight and then only acquiescing following actions in the courts.[17] In these circumstances it would be reasonable to assume that Richard's daughters would not have been idle spectators. They would have shown a greater respect for their mother and, by her example, learnt that a dogged determination to fight for their own rights would be a necessary requirement for any challenges that lay ahead.

It is from letters that we begin to learn about the relationship between Richard and his daughters.[18] Many letters are undated and the places from where they were sent are mostly unknown. Paris and Geneva are thought to

be credible locations, although it is likely that there were others before he returned to England. The sender's real name is withheld and aliases such as 'R.C.', 'R CARY', 'CANTERBURY', 'R. CRANMORE', 'CRANBOURNE', 'CRANDBERRY', and 'RICHARDSON' are used, but most are signed 'C.R.' It is not until 1708 that he feels confident enough to sign them 'R. CROMWELL'. Several letters were sent via go-betweens such as Edward Rayner (Steward at Hursley), Matthew Leadbeater (Minister at Hursley), and his niece Sophia who later became maid-in-waiting and confidante to Elizabeth. Letters were also sent to and from his brother-in-law, John Claypole, and John Rosine who was his secretary during the time of his Protectorate. William Mumford spent time with him in Paris. He was also fortunate to have his uncle (by marriage to Robina French neé Cromwell) John Wilkins, later Bishop of Chester, to intercede on his behalf during enquiries concerning his whereabouts.

The earliest surviving letter is undated and written to his daughter Elizabeth. We can be reasonably certain that it was written in 1675 when his wife was ill. He wrote to her again following news that her illness had returned, and it ended with a heartfelt plea 'Pray imbrace thy mother for me, I doe love her, she is deare to me'.[19] The letter and many others that followed were usually punctuated by a repetitive self-pity over the displeasure God had seen fit to visit upon him and his family in order to bring them back to righteousness. For Richard, God's displeasure was not a theoretical notion but an intensely real experience which manifested itself in visible acts of misfortune and accompanied all of his actions.

Dorothy died on 5 January 1676, and the Hursley estate passed to her 19-year-old son Oliver, subject to the life interest of Richard which was agreed at the time of their marriage in 1649. She was concerned that no settlements had been made for her daughters and requested that Oliver make provision of £2,000 to each of his sisters and until secured to give them a yearly allowance. He agreed to do so but must have been concerned about how to raise such large sums of money without compromising an estate which was asset rich but cash poor. It did not bode well for the future as the rental income from the estate was only about £600 pa. Richard may have sent for Oliver and to Elizabeth he wrote a letter of condolence. He asked her to '… make an inventorie of all things in the House or what you have placed here

or there …' and added '… I shall let you heare from [me] as often as convenience shall offer and assure you I have not been unmindful of your concerns …'.[20]

Sometime in 1680 Richard returned to England. At the age of 54, and at a time when life expectancy was only 41, feelings of mortality and hence a desire to see his family may have influenced his return. His daughter Dorothy's marriage to John Mortimer on 12 August 1680 at St. Nicholas, Chiswick could have provided the stimulus.[21] They were married by licence. (A marriage licence was obtained for a fee by John Mortimer from the parish of St. Dunstan's-in- the-East in order to waive the banns necessary for the marriage to take place. It also allowed them to marry away from home and/or to marry quickly). The choice of St. Nicholas, Chiswick is not as unusual as it may seem. Richard's younger sister Mary, Lady Fauconberg lived nearby at Sutton Court. Interestingly, Dorothy's details indicate that her parish was Battersea but more pointedly that both her parents were dead. Whether this was a subterfuge to ease Richard's return from exile by deceiving the authorities into believing he had died is unclear, but an undated letter written probably to his daughter Elizabeth may have provided a hint of his intentions. He writes, '… I may drop something suitable and seasonable, desiring you not to be amaised & frighted …'. And in a postscript adds 'To make all more plaine consult with my sister & the soonest I may see you to be better satisfied of the occasion of yours & this answer'. One can only speculate whether he attended the marriage but if he did it would have been clandestinely, and it may have been only the second time he saw her. Nine months later she died in childbirth on 12 May 1681.[22]

Accounts differ about when he met his daughters for the first time. Whether they all met at Dorothy's wedding is pure conjecture but many of Richard's biographers believe that it was not until 1693 that he met his daughters for the first time. However, this assessment is based not upon factual evidence, but on assumptions drawn from letters written to Elizabeth and Ann many years after his return to England. As Richard would have taken steps not to publicise the date of his return in writing, it is difficult to determine when the first meeting took place, so viewed in isolation it is possible to suggest a meeting from individual letters written long after his return. However, we must exercise caution here because letters which seem to portray a reluctance

for a first reunion may simply be nothing more than excuses to honour either agreed or proposed meetings in the future. What is not considered is the reason why he returned. Surely Richard would have wanted to see his family at the first opportunity because if not, what was the point of returning home? If he craved seclusion, obscurity and safety it would have been easier (and safer) to stay where he was. If he had met Oliver what was the problem in meeting Elizabeth and Ann? At some point he had dined '… at Russell's …', drinks '… at the Horseshoe…', meets '… Company at Islington …', and is at '… Mr Desborows …'. He makes frequent visits to London, Peckham and Westminster.[23] According to Rachell Pengelly's accounts she lent him 15 shillings in May 1684 '… Yt daye you Dined with your sister …' which somewhat negates the view that he intentionally delayed meeting his daughters.

There is no doubt that he is being cautious when he writes on 8 September 1688 '… Know that yo^{r} company is more desired … then I can expresse … i confess I know not how to invite you … This is not to discouradge…'.[24] On the reverse of the letter Elizabeth writes, '… I desier patiently to wait till our good God who has soe preserved us these 28 years wandering & together in all y^{t} shall bring us together …'. In another letter, probably written the following year he writes '… Perhaps I might have some thoughts and to be without clowds, take my cercomstances, you cannot but excuse me. I doe assure you, nothing … could be more pleasing to me to enjoy the company of my children; but lett me act as Fa. Not to doe that wch shall be prejudicial …'.[25] Clearly there is a reluctance to put them at risk by his presence, but it does not mean that he has not seen them. It could mean that the conditions for meeting on specific occasions are unfavourable. If he did not want to see them, I think he would have been more demonstrative. Subsequent letters follow in the same vein, but a letter written to Ann on 13 December 1690 contains one of Richard's most quoted lines which many biographers have used to suggest that he has not seen his daughters since his exile in 1660: '… I have been above 30ty years banished & under silence and my strength & safty is to be retyred quiet and silent …'.[26] In an undated letter, probably written in the same year Elizabeth writes '… is there noe hopes … may lead you from your Cell and Hermit's life … soe as your Children may be serviceabel to you …'.[27] The alternative view is that he did not want to return to Hursley because he was finding it difficult to adapt to

an environment which, once familiar, had now changed forever. Further coaxing by Elizabeth and Ann was pointless because his life had taken a different direction.

Perhaps his reluctance to live at Hursley was his realisation that there was no long-term future for him in the household. His family were no longer children but young adults managing a large estate and, one suspects, slightly resenting interference from someone, who, despite the ties of kinship, had played little or no part in their upbringing. The strength of family ties can be measured by the depth of the emotional bond between them and unless these bonds are sustained, they eventually become non-existent. For Richard and his daughters these bonds would have ebbed away over time to the extent that upon meeting each other again they may have barely recognised each other. Long-distance relationships can be particularly fragile unless bolstered by personal contact. This lack of contact meant that his daughters did not get direction from their father, and this probably resulted in them developing their own instincts for survival. Whether we accept it or not, the brutal reality is that they were abandoned and had consequently moved on. In truth, Richard had returned home empty-handed with nothing to offer, and he probably knew it.

If there was no place for him at Hursley, by 1683 he had found one at East Finchley in the household of Thomas and Rachell Pengelly. Thomas Pengelly was a successful London merchant who had extensive trading interests in the Levant. His property portfolio in Finchley and Cheshunt (in Hertfordshire) was known to be considerable. Richard's long association with him may stem from the time he (Richard) was appointed First Lord of Trade and Navigation in 1655. It is conceivable, given Pengelly's extensive maritime interests, that Richard's departure from Lewes into exile may have been co-ordinated by him. He married Rachell Baines (baptised Southwark 20 January 1641, buried Bunhill Fields 15 October 1714), the eldest daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Jeremy Baines and his wife Katherine née Otway on 3 July1673, at St. Giles, Camberwell. Their only child, Thomas, was baptised on 16 May 1675 at Moorfields.

Richard was to live with the family for almost 30 years and such was their devotion and care, his assumed identity of 'Mr Clarke' was never divulged.

To them he was 'Our Gentleman'. Mrs Pengelly kept meticulous household accounts and they show that he was charged 10/- per week for his board with additional charges for sundry items.[28] On occasion 'the Ladies' came to stay, each bringing a maid, and Richard was charged accordingly '… 2 weeks boarde for ye ladys & maydes £3 …'. In 1695 Elizabeth and Sophia Leadbeater stayed for five weeks in the autumn. After Ann's marriage in 1698 they stayed for eight weeks at a cost of £6.8s.0d.

It was with the Pengelly family that Richard found the peace and contentment that had been missing for so much of his life. Their son Thomas was a precocious but gifted child and Richard clearly regarded him with affection. He watched him grow to manhood and helped him financially with his schooling. He was to have a bright future. In 1710 he was created serjeant-at-law and from then on was known as 'Mr Serjeant Pengelly' until knighted in 1719. He was later to become Elizabeth and Ann's nemesis.

If the future was bright for Thomas Pengelly, a life of disappointment lay ahead for Richard's son Oliver. Denied opportunities for serving in the army and having his election as MP for Lymington disallowed, Richard soon became concerned that Oliver was mixing with bad company. In some distress he wrote to Elizabeth and suggested that Oliver would settle down if he was married. Elizabeth thought so too and wrote '… I cannot visit you as I would frequently, yet I hope when my brother marries … tho' I think he knows not how to goe about it I shall be more at liberty to travel …'.[29]

Although Oliver was 34, Richard took an active role in negotiations with an anonymous old man whose daughter was '… about 30 years of adge worth 8000 baggs of nayles …' but it came to nothing.[30] Richard wrote '… I am forc't to conclude your Brother is happily delivered, we have cause to bless y^{e} Lord …'.[31] History does not record Oliver's sentiments but a vivid imagination should help. Further attempts followed but Oliver declined them all and died a bachelor. If Oliver was unwilling Ann was less so and after consulting Richard, she married Dr Thomas Gibson on 16 June 1698. As Cordelia pointed out –marriage changes everything – and following in the footsteps of Desdemona, Ann's loyalty was now to her husband, not Richard.[32] It would be uncompromisingly demonstrated later. For the moment Richard was delighted at the match and in a letter to Elizabeth he

wrote '… I assure you he is modest to a beauty …'.[33] It was a view which was to fade in due course and by late 1706 he had become known to one of Richard's correspondents as '… that pfidious Doctor …'.[34]

On 6 January 1696 Thomas Pengelly Sr. died and on 7 May 1700 Mrs Pengelly moved to Cheshunt to make a joint household with her recently bereaved aunt, Mary Otway. Richard went with her. All seemed well with his family. Visits to and from Hursley had taken place and continued but in 1701 Richard became increasingly concerned about Oliver who was drinking heavily and keeping bad company again, and the harmony which had held brother and his sister Elizabeth together since their births suddenly began to fall apart.[35] Oliver accused Sophia Leadbeater of being the source of gossip and demanded that she should be dismissed. Elizabeth, supported by the Gibsons, refused and despite Richard's attempts at reconciliation she left Hursley in 1703 and went to live with the Gibsons in Hatton Garden, London. The following year Oliver invited Elizabeth to Hursley to reconcile their differences. She took Richard and Ann with her and despite staying for three months their differences, much to Richard's sorrow, were unreconcilable and they returned to their homes. In March 1705 Richard and Elizabeth returned to Hursley where brother and sister were reconciled, but sadly Oliver died on 12 May. He was 49.

It is at this point that the beginnings of distrust between Richard and his daughters start to surface. The issue which caused the discord was Oliver's will which had been written on 23 March 1686. Its impact upon the Cromwell family was little short of ruinous. The legal implications of the will were not particularly complex, but deeply entrenched views about what needed to be done to carry out its provisions placed extraordinary demands upon those who were directly involved. Inevitably the dispute drew in outsiders who felt that they had to contribute whether or not this was needed. Some of these inputs were positive and well-meaning but others were unhelpful and mischievous.

Briefly, the issue which caused the dissension was the question of inheritance. Under the terms of Dorothy's will, upon her death the estate went to Oliver, subject to the life interest of Richard. When Oliver reached the age of 21, Richard surrendered his life interest. However, Oliver's

trustees were given 100 years to provide Richard with an annuity of £120 pa together with the £2,000 legacies he had promised his mother he would secure for his sisters.

The estate was settled on Oliver and his heirs in fee tail with the estate devolving to Richard if he died without issue.[36] At the time of his death only his sister Dorothy's legacy had been paid to John Mortimer and this had only been secured by mortgaging the estate. This had occurred several times since, and from 3 July 1695 it was mortgaged to Mrs Jane Pincke.[37] Payment of £2,472 had been due on 7 December 1702 upon which she would surrender her rights to the estate. The debt was still outstanding at the time of Oliver's death. In addition to his annuity (which had not been paid for three years) Richard was to receive the rents and profits for life, and Elizabeth and Ann were promised legacies of £2,000 each if they married within their father's lifetime; otherwise they were to receive allowances as Richard saw fit. A term of 99 years limited his trustees to secure these provisions after which the estate was to devolve to Elizabeth and Ann as tenants-in-common.[38] The estate was to be held in trust by four trustees.[39] At the time of Oliver's death only one trustee, Richard's cousin Benjamin Disbrowe remained alive. Ann's legacy had not been paid but Dr Gibson had received over £500 as interest. Oliver's stock and personal estate was valued at £1,929.18s.0d. and was to pass to his trustees for sale and payment of debts and legacies. His debts amounted to almost £9,000. Timber was to be identified and felled to discharge some of the debt. It was valued by John Mortimer and Richard ('Dick') Sparkes at between £5,000–6,000.

At some point it was suggested that Elizabeth should assume Disbrowe's executorship and administer the estate. She was supported by the Gibsons. In July 1705 Disbrowe surrendered his executorship on condition that he was paid his legacy of £50 as per Oliver's will but retained his trusteeship. Richard agreed to the proposals and appointed Francis 'Frank' Cromwell, the son of his brother Henry, to act on his behalf. Once the details were finalised in London Elizabeth returned to Hursley without Richard's knowledge and began to administer the estate. Because she was acting outside her remit Richard sought advice from Thomas Pengelly who suggested a meeting with all interested parties to determine the most appropriate outcome. Mary, Lady Fauconberg (Richard's sister) had also

been alerted and, no doubt sensing possible trouble ahead, was anxious to meet Richard as soon as possible to prevent a family rift.

Lady Fauconberg's perception was correct because from now on whatever good will existed began to slip away. 'Sides' started to develop, and relationships began to be severely tested in an atmosphere of recrimination and rebuttal.

Earlier it had been suggested that Disbrowe should give up his trusteeship to John Mortimer and Dr Gibson's cousin, George Gibson, but he was deemed to be unacceptable, and Thomas Pretty was proposed instead. Matters deteriorated quickly and Dr Gibson was told by Thomas Pengelly to stop communicating with Richard. Clearly perplexed, he wrote to Disbrowe and offered an opinion on why this had happened. Apparently, he had offered to help Richard by paying his annuity and to '… furnish my sister [Elizabeth] with moneys to pay off the most pressing debts …', but this was interpreted as an attempt by him to exercise control of the estate in defiance of Richard's legal rights and unwisely he had regarded Elizabeth, not Richard, as Hursley's administrator. Mr. Pengelly he added '… has been employed in new projects …'.[40]

It appeared that these new projects were schemes hatched with his mother to marry off Elizabeth and allow Richard to enjoy the remaining years of his life in peace. Mrs Pengelly wrote to Elizabeth that Richard '… dont find against it but willing to incourage it …'.[41] However, what was not made clear or perhaps deliberately withheld was that if the suit was successful, Elizabeth's right to the estate would have been removed. The suitor was Sir Owen Buckingham, Lord Mayor of London, but Elizabeth, at the age of 55, was not impressed and broke off relations much to the anger of both Pengellys who accused her of bad faith. Clearly rattled, Elizabeth wrote to Richard '… I do not doubt … my dear Father but all my relations … will thank me for taking the administration on me & … putting a stop to Mr. Pengelly's project … for I have as good a ground to stand on my brothers will as any, after you …'.[42] There could be no doubt of her intentions.

Despite this polarisation of the parties and the impasse it created, Disbrowe tried to move matters forward. The proposal to pay off the debts by the

felling of timber was now agreed, but Dr Gibson was not impressed and felt that he was being sidelined to allow Richard '… to get ye sale made in his name & so the money payable to himself and lett Dr. Gibson & the other creditors get it out of his hands as they can. I pity his weakness with all my sowl. But his counsellours have Devlish Designs …'.[43]

Up until now Richard had received no income from the estate and, always in need of money, borrowed £100 from Mary Otway and, informing Elizabeth, asked her to send £100 from the estate but received the reply that he should seek a '*legall order*'. Somewhat harshly she wrote about him having '… such uneasy & hard thoughts of all our endeavours for serving & your family according to the true intent of ye Will of my dear deceased Brother to which I must adhere …'.[44] These are clearly not words designed to promote a reconciliation. This was recognised by Lady Fauconberg when she met Dr Gibson who had said to her '… Madam… I hear the gentleman thinks the Estate is so in him that he may do what he will with it …'. 'Yes, replyd she … so he says but I told him … that I believed he was mistaken …'. She had also said to him '… that if it do appear you have such power. I daresay your daughters will not oppose you …'.[45] Blame was laid at the door of Thomas Pengelly and Frank Cromwell who 'make all the mischief'. Richard was unmoved and determined to act independently.

Disbrowe, fearing that his trusteeship was now being compromised and believing that the dispute could not be resolved amicably, submitted the matter to Chancery. On 17 January 1706 he wrote to Elizabeth 'Madam, I heartily desire you will please seriously to consider ye nearness of Relation and ye duties incumbent and let not triffils cause a discord in y^{r} mutual love and affection each to ye other …'. Elizabeth had been concerned about the Bill in Chancery, but Disbrowe replied that it was Oliver's '… intention of ye Testator that his honoured father should enjoy ye clear profits of Hursley during his life …'. It was he concluded '… y^{r} honoured fathers struggle … is more designed for your interest than his own but y^{t} he also hath a tender regard for Madam Gibson'.[46] In a final rejoinder he said that he would follow the advice of those learned in the law and conduct himself according to what the will directed. He could do no more.

Lady Fauconberg continued to seek a rapprochement and she asked her nephew Sir Thomas Frankland[47] to assist her but the wranglings continued with increasing bitterness from both parties. Minds were concentrated when subpoenas were served, and witnesses examined. To justify himself, Richard wrote to Elizabeth '… I tell you againe and againe what I doe it's for you more than for myself…. I have Law comprehensive … but assure you I am your affectionate f. & true friend to serve you …'.[48] Finally, after much argument and rancour, legal proceedings began in February 1706 when subpoenas into Chancery were received by Dr Gibson and Elizabeth. Dr Gibson appeared to be confident, but Elizabeth was disquieted which led Matthew Leadbeater to write to Richard expressing his concern for her welfare and contempt for those who '… chuckle and rejoice over their cups …'[49] because of the Cromwell family's predicament.

It must have been a weary and difficult time with much unpleasantness levelled against everyone. Dr Gibson's behaviour was offensive towards Disbrowe, believing that he was not '… a fitt person for so great a trust…'[50] and scheming and manipulative towards Richard. In letters to his mother, Thomas Pengelly wrote '… I don't believe that Dr G will agree to any terms but to get possession of the estate … His counsel & attorney informed me this week …'[51] and '… Mrs Pinck and her son … think Mr Clark is very ill us'd and will serve him as far as they can …'.[52] Finally, after further subterfuges were attempted by Dr Gibson and Elizabeth, judgement declared that Richard was the owner of the Hursley estate with immediate possession on 7 December 1706. He was entitled to its rents and profits, the right to cut timber, and payment of his annuity which was in arrears. Ann was to be paid her legacy of £1,700 with the remaining £300 to be claimed as a creditor of Oliver's will. Elizabeth was to be paid £80 pa for maintenance until she married, then £2,000 would be payable. All costs for all parties were to be paid out of the estate.

Unfortunately, there was to be no respite for Richard. In April 1707 Elizabeth surrendered possession of the estate to Richard's agents. This had been her home for 57 years and it must have rankled to learn that Richard had decided not to live there and appoint a new tenant instead. In July Richard Griffiths, the new Minister at Hursley, was granted possession of the Lodge which was becoming structurally unsound. Some provision had

been made for its maintenance but cracks in the main wall and boarded-up windows told a different story. Mr Griffiths was entitled to reasonable quantities of wood for fuel, but this was challenged in a further lawsuit brought by the Gibsons and Elizabeth against Richard in 1709. Their suit was unsuccessful but at the age of 83 it must have done little for Richard's peace of mind and he must have been saddened by the death of Benjamin Disbrowe in February of the previous year.

Many accounts have suggested that once the passions had died down, life returned to normal between Richard and his daughters and they all lived happily ever after. Unfortunately, I think this is wishful thinking. Realistically, all of them would have harboured some resentment to each other, and even if they forgave, they would not have forgotten the mental anguish they all had suffered. For Richard, and his apologists, the unwritten obligation of children deferring to their parents was a sacred duty and the breaking of that bond by Elizabeth and Ann was unacceptable. When Barthélemy Batt wrote '… Howe cometh this to passe, that the children doe not loue their Parents againe, neither reuerence nor obey them, to whom neuerthelesse they are bounde for all thinges which they have receiued, yea the life it selfe …'.[53] I think he failed to realise that parental care is inherent and involves care for the young and defenceless, but in Richard's case this is questionable because he had abandoned his family. There is no reciprocal unless of course the parent is elderly, poor and frail and even then, as Batt suggests, the impoverished elderly should put their trust in God and not depend upon their children. This was a view with which Richard would have no doubt agreed.

I am sure that Elizabeth would have harboured some resentment at being evicted from her home of 57 years, and Richard's earlier protestation that '… what I doe it's for you more than myself …' must have been difficult to accept, if at all. Some resentment must also have surfaced when Richard's will became known in 1712. Rachell Pengelly was a benefactor but neither Elizabeth nor Ann were mentioned and, according to Noble, '… they did not deserve the smallest part of it …'.[54] They were also not mentioned in the wills of their aunts – Mary, Lady Fauconberg and Frances, Lady Russell – which now leads us to ask whether Richard was an uncaring father or were Elizabeth and Ann ungrateful daughters? To answer that question, we must

turn once more to *King Lear*. Lear's mistake was to think that parent-child relationships were reciprocated insofar that the feeling of parents towards their children and children towards their parents were the same. This is misleading because relationships are not static. Children are born, grow up, marry and move away as parents grow old and die. Perhaps Richard's realisation upon return from exile was that they were no longer children, and he was no longer needed. What we should also consider is that although Richard and his daughters probably loved each other, it did not mean that they liked each other. If this happens, it leads to a slow separation which makes it easier to move on and it would have created a certain amount of ambivalence between them. Time would also have played a part. Absence does not always make the heart grow fonder. It sometimes creates strangers who discover, after the elapse of many years, that they have nothing in common and can offer only the loose bonds of kinship. Perhaps this explains why he doted on Thomas Pengelly who was eight years old when he went to live with the family in 1683. Richard writes about him with almost parental concern which leads me to believe that the Pengellys were his 'real' family.

We must not forget that Richard lived during a time of unprecedented political and social change. For many in the latter half of the seventeenth century and beyond, the authors of this upheaval were the Cromwells. Their name was reviled and despite there being no outward form of harassment directed against the family, their movements and who they conversed with would have been known to the authorities. In the minds of many, the fundamental principle of 'innocent until proven guilty' was at variance with their prejudices towards the Cromwells as a whole. As we have seen, a presumption of guilt was always implied when the state felt itself threatened and this may explain why Richard did not want his daughters to be burdened with those pressures and limited his contact with them. By then of course it was too late. They were no longer children but mature women whose lives had taken a different direction from that which he had intended. There was no going back because events had made them what they were. They all seemed to possess a generosity of spirit, but sadly this did not extend to each other.

The last words rest with Richard himself: '… I have been alone 30 years, banished and under silence and my strength and safety is to be retyred quiet

and silent …'. If this was the price of ensuring his daughters' safety, then it was a noble gesture of parental self-sacrifice, but the real price he paid was that of estrangement from those closest to him on that fateful August day in 1660 when he fled the country into exile. The tragedy is that his daughters neither appreciated nor acknowledged it, but perhaps now, as we reflect upon the events that shaped all their lives, we can understand why. But then, as Sextus Propertius reminds us, 'To everie one that lives, hath nature given a fault'. The Cromwells were no different.

1. William Averell. *A dyall for dainty darlings, rockt in the cradle of securitie. A glasse for all disobedient sonnes to looke in. a myrrour for virtuous maydes. A booke right excellent, garnished with many worthy examples, and learned aucthorities, most needfull for this tyme present.* Compiled by W. Auerell, student in Diuinitie, and schoolmaister in London. Imprinted at London [J. Charlewood] for Thomas Hackette and are to be solde at his shoppe in Lumbert Streete, vnder the Popes head, 1584. No pagination but calculated to commence at p.29.
2. R. Tangye, *The Two Protectors: Oliver and Richard Cromwell* (London, 1899). p. 246.
3. M. Noble, *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell* (London, 1787) Vol 1. p. 174, 195.
4. Notes on Richard's financial affairs:
   House of Commons Journal, Volume 7, Wednesday 25th May 1659. An analysis of Richard's financial affairs which were debated in parliament showed that £23,550 was owing at the time of his father's death. In addition, a further £3,700 assigned to the family had been used to buy winter clothing for the soldiers and £6,090 had been borrowed by Richard to pay the Dunkirk garrison. The total debt was £29,640. (Using the Bank of England's inflation calculator, the value of £1 in 1660 would, at August 2022 values, be equivalent to £154.99 therefore the total debt at current values was £4,593,903.60.) On the same date, Richard's income was analysed. After annuities of £6,019.17s.8d. had been paid, his net income was £1,299 but this was burdened by a debt of £3,000 incurred during his father's lifetime, as yet unpaid.
   Parliament accepted in 'good part' his just debts and, in order to facilitate his retirement from Whitehall, advanced £2,000 for his removal. They were also to consider what settlement should be made to ensure 'a comfortable and honourable subsistence'.

House of Commons Journal, Volume 7, Monday 4th July 1659. Parliament exempted Richard 'from all arrests, for any debt whatsoever for six months'.
House of Commons Journal, Volume 7, Saturday 16th July 1659. Parliament agreed to increase his income from £1,299 by £8,700 to £10,000 during his life. Lands which Richard had inherited were valued at £5,000 and were deemed to be part of the payment of £8,700. The first payment of £725 was to commence on 6 June 1659 and on the sixth day of every month for the future.
The debt of £29,640 was discharged and all creditors were to be 'satisfied' by the State following the 'sale of plate, hangings, goods and furniture in Whitehall'. With the exception of the £2,000, Richard received no income whatsoever from the State and one must assume that once the six-month immunity from arrest had passed, it was not renewed.
House of Commons Journal, Volume 7, Thursday 2nd February 1660. The debt of £29,640 was unpaid and parliament decided that payment of £6,929.6s.4d. made to Robert Walton for the supply of black cloth for Oliver's funeral was void. He was obliged to repay it and was subsequently ruined. (Robert Walton was the son of Valentine and Margaret Walton née Cromwell, the fourth sister of Oliver, and therefore Richard's cousin.) What finer way could there be to rid yourselves of some of the Cromwells' debts? Presumably other creditors suffered the same fate or were not repaid because I cannot find any evidence in the House of Commons Journals that parliament honoured their obligations to them.
No doubt Richard would have concluded that he faced total ruin if actions were taken against him and in a desperate letter dated 18 April 1660 to Monck he wrote '… that when the Parliament bee met you would make use of your interest on my behalf that I bee not left liable to debts which I am confident that neither God nor conscience can ever reckon mine …'. He also added that he had been forced '… to retire into hiding places to avoid arrests for debts contracted upon the publiq account …'.
I suspect that parliament found an opportunity to avoid payment of his debts in the passing of *An Act of Free and General Pardon, Indemnity and Oblivion* on 29 August 1660. The Act absolved anyone who had (amongst others) served the Commonwealth and Protectorate and were not considered 'obnoxious' to the new government. Provided that they had not been involved in specific criminal activities or were regicides, their actions were to be pardoned, buried and forgotten. As Richard '… had done no hurt to anybody …' he was covered by the Act, but his debts were a different matter.
Article XX of the Act stated: 'Provided, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act of general pardon shall not in any wise extend to pardon any outlawries upon any writ of capias ad satisfaciendum, until such time as the party at whose suit the said person was so outlawed or condemned.' [Capias ad satisfaciendum – that you take until satisfaction – was a writ which required an officer to place a person (as a debtor) under civil arrest until a claim is satisfied.] If

this was aimed at unsettling Richard, it was a masterstroke of duplicity because it provided the government with an opportunity of reneging on their promise to clear his debts and leaving him at the mercy of his creditors. Richard must have been aware of the Act because it had been discussed by parliament throughout May and July 1660 and he was, no doubt, 'tipped off' beforehand about what the Act contained and how or if he would be affected, thus prompting his letter to Monck in April. The only option now left open to him was to flee the country a few weeks before the Act received Royal assent on 29 August 1660.
The Act was repealed by the Statute Law Revision Act in 1948.

5 Robert W. Ramsey, *Richard Cromwell Protector of England* (London, 1935*). Letter dated 16 July 1659 to Edward Hyde,* p. 100.

6 Richard Major showed considerable foresight by leaving the Hursley estate to his daughter because actions by creditors for the recovery of Richard's debts or sequestration by a potentially vengeful monarch were negated. Richard possessed only a life interest in the estate but it was the origin of significant family discord in later years.

7 Edmund Ludlow, *A Voyce from the Watch Tower, Part Five: 1660–1662*, A.B. Worden (ed), (Camden Society Fourth Series, Vol. 21, 1978), p. 190.

8 Letter written at Alnwick 17 July 1650.

9 Father-in-law to Richard's brother, Henry.

10 Following his marriage, Richard was appointed a Justice of the Peace for Hampshire and was known to serve conscientiously on various committees. But with the establishment of the Protectorate in 1653 his transition from relative obscurity to one of paramount importance was rapid, as the following appointments show:
1654 MP for Hampshire
1655 First Lord of Trade and Navigation
1656 MP for the University of Cambridge
1657 Chancellor of Oxford University and Member of the Council of State
1658 Given command of Col. Goffe's regiment of horse. Became a member of the Upper House.
There would have been little time for domestic duties and even less for the raising of children. He would have been a remote figure to them and, with the passage of time, even more so.

11 A.S. Burn (ed.) 'Correspondence of Richard Cromwell', *English Historical Review*, Vol 13 (1898). Letter XX dated December 191691, p. 128.

12 Although there is only one manor at Hursley, it does not bear the name of its location. It is named after Merdon Castle, situated within the parish of Hursley. Following many years of structural decay, a new manor house, the 'Great Lodge' was built by Sir Philip Hoby in *c.*1554. After passing through many hands the manor was bought by Richard Major in 1638/39.

[13] In 1683 trouble of a more serious nature surfaced following the failed 'Rye House Plot'. Once again Richard was implicated, and instructions were given to have him apprehended and examined by the king. He could not be found.
Much too close for comfort was the execution of Benjamin and William Hewling in 1685 following Monmouth's defeat at Sedgemoor. Their sister Hannah married Richard's nephew, Henry Cromwell, the following year. Her appeal to Judge Jeffreys and James II to reprieve them had been to no avail. There is no evidence to suggest that Richard was implicated in any way, but in an age where accusations of guilt by association were common, the name of Cromwell would have provided the authorities with an excuse for further enquiry into his whereabouts and activities.

[14] Money, or more accurately, the lack of money, was a recurring theme throughout Richard's life. From 1651 when he exceeded his allowance and was in debt, to eleven days before his death on 13 July 1712, when, according to Rachell Pengelly 'Mr Bateman must bring with him at least twenty ginneys for he is allways wanting', the need for money was insatiable and unrelenting.
Richard's impecuniousness has its origins when parliament failed to discharge its resolution of 20 May 1659 to provide 'a comfortable and honourable subsistence'. When he fled the country, Pepys' diary entry for 13 October 1664 records that he had been living in straightened circumstances and was only relieved with money sent by relatives and friends. His expenses were thought to be about £500 pa. Upon his return to England in 1680 he received £120 pa (often in arrears) from the Hursley estate, but a generous disposition towards family and friends sometimes reduced its spending power to the point where he had to resort to borrowing again. Pepys' observation in his diary for 21 March 1667, 'But it is pretty to see what money can do' did not include Richard in its embrace and I suspect that the future discord with his daughters had just as much to do with money as it did with the possession of the Hursley estate, because for the first time in almost 50 years it would have given him the financial security and independence he needed.

[15] Exodus XX: 12 'Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord they God giveth thee.'

[16] J. Marsh, *Memoranda of the Parishes of Hursley and North Baddesley in the County of Southampton,* (Winchester, 1808). Robert Morley's commentary, p. 12, p. 16.

[17] To his credit, Richard Major ended the practice of personal service which was a condition of copyholder tenure into fiscal payments. Despite this concession, disputes continued most notably under Richard's son, Oliver, who tended to ride roughshod over his tenants' rights and who consequently was no stranger to litigation. In 1692 Charles Wyndham and 80 copyholders brought an action against Oliver in Chancery to settle the customs of the manor but it was not resolved until after his death in 1705. They judged in the tenants' favour by recognising that from 'time-out-of-mind' the manor possessed 30 local customs which were to remain and continue, but more importantly it provided them with a legal template which

could be used by future generations if further disputes arose. Copyhold was abolished in 1922.

[18] There is no complete account of Richard's letters. A selection of letters which were in the possession of the Cromwell-Bush and Cromwell-Warner families and deemed to be of interest were published by Augusta S. Burn. These, together with those that were not published are now held at the Huntingdon Archives and presumably elsewhere.
Her selection of 40 letters range over 29 years from 1680–1708 but within this period there are no letters for 15 individual years either because they were too mundane, or did not exist. In addition, 9 letters are undated although one can make an estimate based upon known family and political events. There are, therefore, considerable gaps both in and between years. It is therefore possible to magnify an insignificant event into something important which tends to mislead because letters are viewed in isolation. The date that Richard first met his daughters upon return from exile is a case in question.
Ramsey, *Richard Cromwell,* contained other letters but neither date nor source are noted. However, where appropriate, I have used them as a point of reference.

[19] Burn, 'Correspondence', Letter II (undated ?1675/76), p. 94.

[20] Ramsey, *Richard Cromwell*, p. 134.

[21] London Marriage Licences 1521–1869.

[22] Upon return to England, it is likely that Richard stayed in several 'safe houses' to avoid suspicion until he moved to East Finchley in 1683. He covered his tracks well because no one can be sure where he stayed. Sutton Court, Hursley and Newmarket are candidates, but nothing is certain. The only named location I could find was revealed in a letter written by Thomas Pengelly to his mother in 1705. He wrote '… if Mr Clarke comes to town, it will be more proper for him to lodge at Mr. Boddens as he used formerly than anywhere else …'; this was his tobacconist Adam Budding and such was Richard's regard for him that he was left £20 in his will. (This was the second largest bequest – Mrs. Pengelly was left £10.) If Adam Budding was trading in the 1670/80s there may have been a connection with Thomas Pengelly Sr. whose trading interests included the import of tobacco through Yarmouth. This, of course, is circumstantial and one can argue that if Richard did lodge at Mr. Buddings it could have taken place during one of his visits to London.

[23] Ramsey, *Richard Cromwell,* p. 143.

[24] Burn 'Correspondence', Letter VII, p. 97 (8 September 1688).

[25] Ibid. Letter VIII, p. 98 (undated).

[26] Ibid. Letter XV, p. 105 (18 December 1690).

[27] Ibid. Letter XVI, p. 106 (undated).

[28] Management of his personal finances was not one of Richard's strong points and, following in the footsteps of his father, and related to his daughters (Burn 'Correspondence' Letter XII, p.102, 31 January 1690) '… Yo^{r} grandf: would never

meddle in mony matters'. Richard entrusted Mrs Pengelly with his expenditure . Her account books for 1683–1692 and 1693–1709 record his expenditure in scrupulous detail.

[29] Burn 'Correspondence' Letter XII, p. 103 (undated but written on the reverse of Richard's letter).

[30] Ibid. Letter XX, p. 108 (19 December 1691)

[31] Ibid. Letter XXII, p. 110 (December 1691)

[32] William Shakespeare, *Othello*, I, iii, 180: 'My dear Father; I do perceive here a divided duty … I am hither your daughter; but here's my husband … that I must profess Due to the Moor for my Lord'.

[33] Burn 'Correspondence', Letter XXVIII, p. 113 (26 March 1698).

[34] Ramsey, *Richard Cromwell,* p. 213 (Dick Sparkes to Richard Cromwell 23 December 1706).

[35] Ibid. The 'bad company' was Frank Cromwell and Mrs Boddington the housekeeper at Hursley.

[36] Estate in fee tail (Taillé or 'cut'). The estate is inheritable only by the specific descendants of the original grantee. The estate was therefore granted 'to Oliver and the heirs of his body'.

[37] Jane Pincke neé Alured (d.1718), widow of William Pincke and a possessor of considerable wealth and business acumen. As the mortgagee she was entitled to prompt payment of the debt from the mortgagor. As mortgagor, Oliver had a contractual right to redeem the debt on the agreed date for repayment. When that date passed and he had not paid, he nevertheless remained in equity to redeem his land. His equitable interest was known as the equity of redemption or 'an estate in the land'. The land belonged in equity to Oliver and in common law to Jane Pincke. I am sure that prior to Oliver's death the repayment dates had been passed several times which prompted her to write a letter to him asking for part payment in mid-1705 or the whole by November. Clearly, this was not possible because of the way in which the estate was burdened so she was asked to wait until May 1706 when timber felled on the estate would be thought sufficient to clear the debt. She agreed but requested that a year's interest should be paid in November 1705. Her interest in the estate would continue until 1 January 1708 when the mortgage would, for £1,000 be transferred to William Beard, the nephew of Matthew Leadbeater. Her will dated 27 July 1710 is a masterclass of the lawyer's art!

[38] When estates are held by tenants-in-common each tenant has their own distinct share. Where this is not defined it is assumed that the shares are equal.

[39] The four trustees were: Benjamin Disbrowe (Richard's cousin), Paris Slater, William Wightman and William Rudman.

[40] Ramsey, *Richard Cromwell,* p. 180.

[41] Ibid. p. 185.

[42] Ibid. p. 189.

[43] Ibid. p. 192.

[44] Ibid. p. 189.
[45] Ibid. p. 193.
[46] Ibid. p. 194.
[47] Sir Thomas Frankland, 2nd Baronet (1665–1726) was married by licence on 14 February 1683, to Elizabeth Russell, daughter of Sir John Russell and Frances Russell née Cromwell.
[48] Ramsey, *Richard Cromwell,* p. 198.
[49] Ibid. p. 200.
[50] Ibid. p. 201.
[51] Ibid. p. 203.
[52] Ibid. p. 210.
[53] Barthélemy Batt. *The Christian mans closet Wherein is conteined a large discourse of the godly training vp of children: as also of those duties that children owe vnto their parents* … Collected in Latin by Bartholomew Batty of Alostensis And nowe Englished by William Lowth Imprinted at London: At the three cranes in the Vintree by Thomas Dawson and Gregorie Seton and are to be solde at the signe of the Hedgehog in Paules churchyard 1581.
The second Booke of the dueties of Children towards their Parents, Vol ii, p.77.
[54] Noble, *Memoirs of the Protectoral House*, Vol 1, p. 71.

Christopher C. Cage was educated at the King's School, Macclesfield. According to tradition, one of the school's most famous alumni was John Bradshaw who presided at the trial of Charles I. Chris was fortunate in having two enthusiastic teachers who encouraged their pupils to delve deeper into one of the most challenging periods of English history and their legacy is that they continue to inspire. Following graduation in Business Studies he spent a lifetime working in the pharmaceutical industry both in the UK and overseas. This is his first article on an historical subject.

CROMWELLIAN BRITAIN XXXI
PETERBOROUGH

by Stuart Orme

Peterborough may not register with many people as being the most historic of cities. In the popular perception it is somewhere people zoom past on the A1 or East Coast Rail Line; or appears occasionally as a punchline as an archetypal English city in a comedy sketch, a joke started by Morecambe and Wise (Ernie Wise was a long-term resident) and continued by *Monty Python* (described by them as being 'not quite near anywhere you know'). This lack of familiarity may in part be due to it having been an orphan regarding counties: nominally part of Northamptonshire for much of its history (albeit with a semi-detached status as the 'Soke' of Peterborough), over the last century it has moved between Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, and unitary status. It may also be due to the popular perception that it is entirely a 'New Town', due to the status granted it in 1968.

Unlike other 'New Towns' Peterborough was created around an ancient city, one that has had consistent occupation for over 3,500 years. It has internationally significant Bronze Age archaeology to the east of the city centre at Flag Fen and Must Farm, and equally important Roman remains to the west at Castor. Peterborough Cathedral is arguably the finest Romanesque cathedral in the country, with a unique 13th century painted wooden ceiling, and the 14th century wall paintings at nearby Longthorpe Tower are the best in western Europe.

It also has a remarkable set of connections to the Civil War and Cromwell, including many visible remains that can be seen today. The cathedral was arguably the only recipient of iconoclastic activity by Cromwell himself; there are pieces of Civil War iconography dotted around the city centre; a unique sconce fortification was created to the east of the city and the finest Cromwellian period mansion in England survives just to its west. The last home and burial place of Cromwell's wife Elizabeth lies just to the north of the city in one of its satellite villages.

Prior to the Reformation, Peterborough had been a prosperous market town, dominated by the Abbey of St Peter, whose church is today Peterborough Cathedral. Given the modern development in and around the city centre the impact of the cathedral is now sadly obscured, but during this

period it would have been an imposing physical feature over the town. Not only was the abbey a physical and spiritual presence in the town, but an economic one, being the key local landlord, rent collector, tax collector, owner of many local pubs, custodian of the markets and guardian of law and order in the town. The abbey was probably the ninth wealthiest in England by 1500; such status as well as proximity to Kimbolton being the reason why Katharine of Aragon was laid to rest within the abbey church in January 1536.[1]

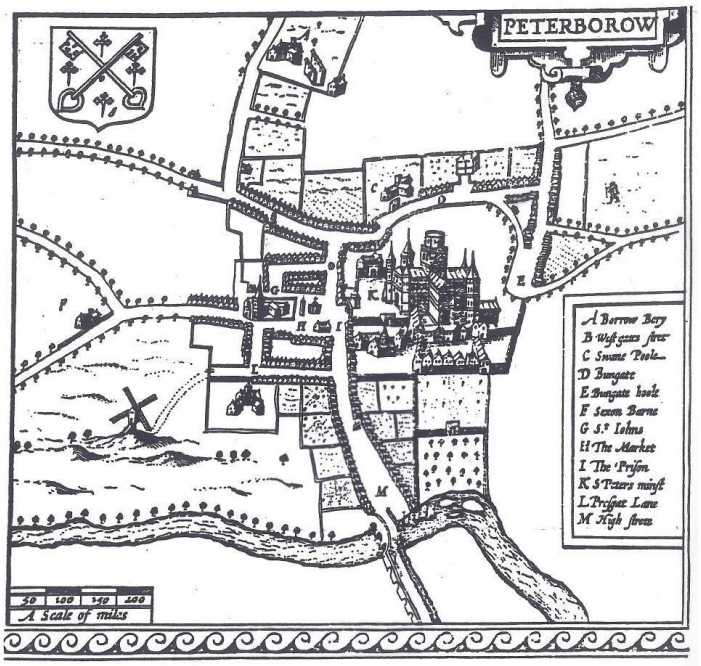

Plate 12: John Speed's map of Peterborough, 1611 (author's collection)

With the town being so dependent upon the abbey, it was not to fare well under the Reformation. Dissolved in November 1539, the church was reconstituted 15 months later as the cathedral church of the new Diocese of Peterborough, but with half its assets confiscated by the Crown.[2] It was therefore relegated to becoming an unremarkable market town, albeit dominated by a magnificent cathedral church, with twice weekly markets and an annual 'Bridge Fair' which continues to this day. The economy, like so many other towns, depended on the woollen industry – street names today like Cumbergate ('Street of the Wool Combers') reflecting this. The population at this time numbered perhaps 2,000[3] and judging by Speed's map it was little more than a few streets, the plan for which has changed little

today despite the insertion of a modern shopping centre. The river Nene remained navigable at this point, making the town a minor river port.

Plate 13: *Sir Humphrey Orme (1571–1648)* by Jakob Gillig
(courtesy of Peterborough Museum)

Political power by this period had passed from the church – although the incumbent bishop and dean were always important – to elected local burgesses (or 'feoffees') and local gentry families. At the outbreak of the Civil War, opinion amongst these local worthies was (like many places) divided. Many of the gentry with nearby estates were more inclined to Parliament, such as William Fitzwilliam of nearby Milton Hall (2nd Baron Fitzwilliam), who was elected as one of the Borough MPs for the town in 1640, as was another Member, David Cecil of Burghley House, who became Earl of Exeter later that year. Those whose homes were situated within the town tended to be more Royalist in sympathy, such as Sir Humphrey Orme (no relation!) who lived in a substantial mansion on Priestgate (today the site of Peterborough Museum),[4] as did his near-neighbour William Hake, who was listed as a 'delinquent' along with 11 other notable Peterborians in a Parliamentary Ordinance of 1643 of known Royalists.[5] Hake's house still stands today on Priestgate and is decorated in a yard to the rear (sadly not on public view) with a sundial bearing his initials, erected in his memory as he was killed in 1644 fighting for the Royalist cause. Interestingly, Hake's

sister Elizabeth had married into the Cromwell family, being wed to Oliver's cousin Richard in 1622.

Undoubtedly one of the main influences on the town's loyalties were the cathedral clergy, who were overwhelmingly Laudian in inclination and appointment. Bishop John Towers (appointed in 1639) was one of the twelve bishops imprisoned in the Tower of London for lobbying against the Bishop's Exclusion Bill of 1642. After his release the following year, he spent the duration of the first Civil War at the Royalist capital at Oxford.[6] Perhaps these overt loyalties attracted Royalist forces to the town from Newark in April 1643, when conducting a successful raid through Lincolnshire, led by Charles Cavendish. Taking first Grantham (driving off the local Parliamentarians at Ancaster Heath), then Stamford, they arrived in Peterborough by the middle of the month.

The news that Cavendish's forces had reached Peterborough alarmed Oliver Cromwell, who was nominally left in charge of the Eastern Association forces and stationed in Huntingdon on 17th April. The Royalists had reached the border of the Eastern Association and taken one of the key crossing points of the Nene in the process. Cromwell rapidly sent dragoons to secure the key crossing at Wisbech, then headed north to take Peterborough from the Royalist raiders.

By the time Sir Miles Hobart's regiment of foot arrived in Peterborough on 18th April, the Royalists had already gone, and the small cathedral city was taken with barely a shot fired. Cromwell arrived with his regiment of horse two days later, to be quartered in a house known as the Vineyard at the east end of the cathedral precincts. This house still stands today at the east end of the cathedral's graveyard, heavily altered since Cromwell's time and (at the time of writing) sadly unoccupied and semi-derelict.

For more detail on Cromwell's occupation of Peterborough and a discussion of the sources relating to it, it would be best to refer to my more detailed article on this particular subject in the 2018 edition of *Cromwelliana*.[7] Suffice to say that the day after Cromwell's arrival the cathedral was sacked by Parliamentarian troops whilst 'their Commanders, of whom Cromwell was one, if not acting, yet not restraining the Soldiers in this heat of their fury'.[8]

Despite popular mythology, it would be the only time that a cathedral would be the subject of an iconoclastic assault by troops directly under Cromwell's command.

The damage done was extensive, as described by eyewitness Francis Standish that the soldiers went to:

> … break and batter the Windows and any Carved work that was yet remaining, or to pull down Crosses wheresoever they could find them: which the first Founders did not set up with so much zeal, as these last Confounders pulled them down. Thus in a short time, a fair and goodly Structure was quite strip'd of all its ornamental Beauty and made a rueful Spectacle, a very Chaos of Desolation and Confusion, nothing scarce remaining but only bare walls, broken Seats and shatter'd Windows on every side.[9]

A recent archaeological survey of the fabric of the cathedral's north side has revealed extensive shot marks in the stonework, indicating that troops were using muskets and even light artillery pieces to target some of the stained-glass windows.[10] After only a couple of days Cromwell moved on to assist in the latter stage of the first siege of Crowland Abbey.

The cathedral is well worth visiting today; as well as being a spectacular building with wonderful architecture and being the burial place of Katharine of Aragon and (for a time) Mary, Queen of Scots, much of the damage inflicted by Cromwell's soldiers is clearly visible. This includes the lack of medieval stained glass, the missing Lady Chapel (badly damaged in 1643, subsequently pulled down by the townspeople as being beyond repair), and some of the tomb monuments that were targets for iconoclastic damage. The most visible of these is the Orme family monument, erected in the south aisle of the east end of the cathedral by Sir Humphrey Orme for his daughter and in the expectation that he and his wife would later be commemorated there. This was not to be as the monument was targeted by Parliamentarian soldiers due to Sir Humphrey's Royalist sympathies. A stained-glass window in St Benedict's Chapel in the South Transept depicts one of the cathedral's 'singing men', Humphrey Austin, purchasing a book from the cathedral's library from a Cromwellian soldier, Henry Topclyffe. This book, the *Register*

of Robert of Swaffham was the only volume from the library to survive the bonfire to which other volumes were consigned by the Parliamentarian soldiers. Archaeologists excavating in the cathedral precincts in the summer of 2016 uncovered the detritus of Cromwell's troops in a rubbish pit, including butchered animal bones, 1640s drinking vessels and clay pipes, musket balls and broken stained glass, and some of these finds have been displayed in the cathedral's visitor centre.

Plate 14: Peterborough Cathedral (author's photo)

There was a brief attempt to retake Peterborough, the attack coming again from Newark. In July 1643 a thousand Royalist troops were driven off by Colonel Palgrave in a brief skirmish on the north side of the city at Millfield, evidence of which has been found by residents in this now heavily built-up and diverse community, with lead shot being found in back gardens. The Royalists withdrew towards Stamford, pursued by Palgrave and joined by Cromwell who had been at Rockingham. Initially the Royalists attempted to defend Wothorpe Tower but thought better of it and withdrew to Burghley House. Cromwell surrounded the house until reinforcements arrived. The Royalists initially refused to surrender but did so after a brief artillery barrage of the house on 24th July.[11]

Cromwell went on to win his first significant action at Gainsborough shortly thereafter; however, the success was short lived as Royalist reinforcements swept through Lincolnshire, leading to fears that the Eastern Association

would possibly be crushed next. Fortifications were constructed across the area, such as that to the south of Peterborough, in modern-day Stanground, at Horsey Hill. Today this is one of the least well known yet most complete artillery fortifications of the period. Here at the south-eastern corner of the city the fort could dominate the approach to Peterborough by road (part of the so-called 'Fen Causeway'), an ancient byway which ran between the Nene and the northern reaches of Whittlesey Mere. This would secure one of the main roads into the Fens and to Ely after Cromwell had been appointed governor. Had a future attempt to retake Peterborough by the Royalists succeeded, the fort would have provided a means of delaying a follow-up action against Ely and the Cromwellian heartlands.[12]

Other than garrisons being stationed locally (and therefore one assumes at such a strategically important position), there is no evidence to suggest that any military action took place at Horsey Hill. Given the fact that substantive fighting in the area had finished and the situation stabilised after the Battle of Winceby, around the time the fort was completed, there would probably have been only a limited garrison on site. This is evinced by the fact that in October 1644, after the Royalists recaptured Crowland, the Eastern Association felt the need to rush an additional 300 men from Cambridge to hold 'Horsey Bridge Pass'.[13] The fort at Horsey Hill is a very fine example of an artillery fortification of the Civil War period, like the 'sconce' type artillery fortifications found at Earith and the 'Queen's Sconce' at Newark.[14] These fortifications were built of piled and rammed earth to form ramparts surrounded by a protective ditch. The rampart would have been topped with a wooden palisade, with sharpened stakes and pits placed as traps around the fort.

These forts were designed to be built relatively quickly, with an unskilled workforce and for minimal cost compared to stone defences. There was the additional advantage that the earth ramparts would largely absorb or deflect cannon shot compared to traditional castle walls.[15] Accommodation for any garrison within the fort is unknown as the site remains unexcavated, but based on similar structures elsewhere it seems likely this would have consisted of tents or temporary wooden shelters within the structure. A magazine for containing gunpowder was likely to have been excavated into one of the bastions.

Unlike other examples, Horsey Hill has five, as opposed to four, bastions and is arranged in a pentangular form, with the entrance on the south curtain wall covered by a salient. Each bastion would have been built as a gun emplacement, and it is significant that three of these cover the river/western approaches to the fort, indicating that it was most likely built to cover the river, crossing and road.[16] The site covers some five-and-a-half acres, with the rampart rising to some 4 metres above the base of the ditch. The area around the fort would have been levelled of vegetation for a considerable distance (at least half-a-mile) to deprive any attacking force of cover and provide a clear field of fire for the defenders.

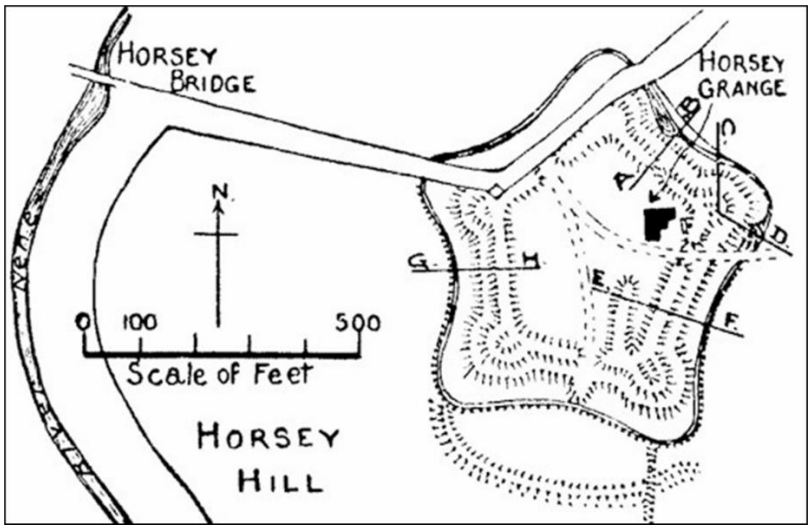

Plate 15: Layout drawing of Horsey Hill Fort
(Reproduced from *Cromwellian Fortifications in Cambridgeshire* by Mike Osborne, Cromwell Museum, 1990)

The site is relatively complete and, compared to similar sites, is in a remarkable state of preservation. The road has dug into the north side of the fort a little, the construction of a later toll house and the grange within the fortifications has encroached a little and the site is overgrown in many places, but otherwise is in excellent order. It is sadly not accessible to the public, due to the private house within its earthworks, but a good view of it can be obtained by parking at the layby on the Ramsey Road nearby and, if planting allows, walking across the intervening field to view the defences.

There were no further events of note in the immediate area for the remainder of the First Civil War, although local tradition has it (as in several other places) that Charles I spent his last night of freedom in nearby Stamford in

1646, prior to surrendering to the Scots army at Newark.[17] During the king's subsequent journey south to Holdenby House in Northamptonshire, another local legend (impossible to prove or disprove) has it that he spent a night en route in the King's Lodging above the cathedral gateway in Peterborough.

The one substantial military action that took place locally was during the Second Civil War, at Woodcroft Castle near Helpston, a 13th century moated and fortified manor house. Woodcroft was garrisoned for the king by Dr Michael Hudson, priest, former chaplain to King Charles and latterly Royalist Scoutmaster-General.[18] In June he had been trying to foment a further rising against the victorious Parliamentarians in Stamford, only to be driven out, then pursued back to Woodcroft by a troop of soldiers led by Captain William Smart. The Parliamentary troops attempted to storm the castle on 4th June, only to be driven off with the loss of several men, including Smart himself. Within hours, a full regiment of Parliamentary reinforcements arrived, led by Captain Smart's brother-in-law Colonel Winters, now out for vengeance, who summonsed Hudson to surrender. He refused, so the Parliamentarians assaulted the castle, spending several hours attempting to break in before being repulsed. They then again summoned Hudson to surrender, threatening to give no quarter before again being rejected. The castle gates were eventually breached on 6th June, possibly using a petard. As the Parliamentarian soldiers took the house, Hudson is said to have attempted to hide by dangling from the ramparts, only to have his hands severed plunging him into the moat. From here he was dragged out by two vengeful soldiers, one Egborough, the former servant to the parish priest at Castor and Walker, the other described as a 'low-born shopkeeper from Stamford', who are said to have killed and mutilated him.[19] Today the castle is a private house but can be viewed externally from its drive off Woodcroft Road, accessed from the village of Marholm, about 3 miles north of Peterborough city centre. Legend has it that Hudson's ghost haunts the castle.

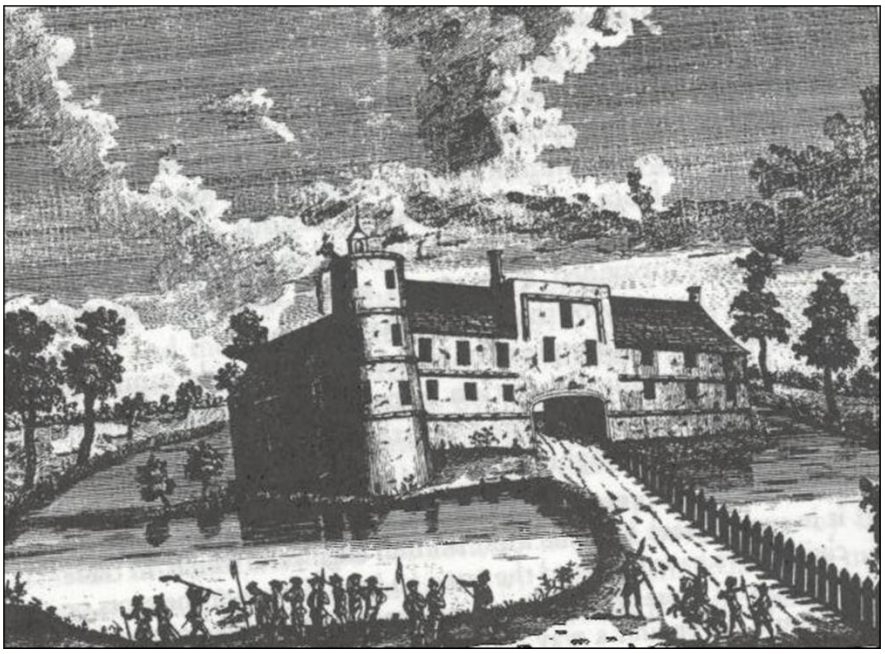

Plate 16: Early 1700s engraving of the assault on Woodcroft Castle (author's collection)

Peterborough saw no further military action for the duration of the Civil Wars and struggled to recover some form of normality. Oliver St John, Member of Parliament for Totnes, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas acquired property in the area. St John had risen to prominence for championing John Hampden in the Ship Money trial in 1636 and helping steer through legislation to create the New Model Army in 1645; he was also married to Oliver Cromwell's cousin, Elizabeth. In 1651 St John acquired the lease of Thorpe Manor from the sale of confiscated church land and arranged for the ransacked remains of the cathedral to be used by the townspeople as a parish church and workhouse; they began to make repairs to the cathedral, pulling down the remains of the wrecked Lady Chapel to sell off the building materials to provide the resources for repairs.[20]

In the meantime St John had embarked upon his own building project in the shape of Thorpe Hall, built between 1653 and 1656. Today the hall is part of a Sue Ryder hospice and is accounted as being the best surviving Cromwellian period mansion in England. In 1654 the diarist John Evelyn visited the house during the building works and described it as 'a stately palace built out of the ruins of the bishop's palace and cloisters'.[21] Thorpe Hall was designed by Peter Mills, with probably some assistance from John Stone, son of Philip, the master mason to Charles I. Not only is the fine external architecture intact, but most of the interiors, which retain their

splendid fireplaces, plaster ceilings and panelling, excepting that in the Great Parlour which was moved to Leeds Castle in 1926. The grounds are open to visitors to wander around daily, whilst the downstairs of the house is often open for events, craft fairs and other functions.

Plate 17: Thorpe Hall today (author's photo)

Whilst the town may have had a prominent Parliamentarian establishing a new home on its outskirts, it was determined to still proclaim its Royalist loyalties. For the 1654 Protectorate Parliament, Peterborough sent Sir Humphrey Orme as MP, the new incumbent of the Orme estates after the death of his namesake grandfather in 1648, also sharing his cavalier sympathies. The new Sir Humphrey was known to consort with Royalists in London, allegedly being guilty of 'the detestable sins of profane swearing and cursing', as well as being married to a recusant.[22]

Whilst Peterborough may have celebrated the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the town never truly recovered from the impact of the events of recent years. The Civil War only compounded the economic downturn that Peterborough suffered because of the Dissolution. The cathedral needed significant repair from the iconoclasm of 1643, and many of the local gentry had been heavily fined for supporting the Royalist cause, again taking money out of the local economy. A new Guildhall was commissioned as a centrepiece for the Market Square, which still stands today, adorned with the

Royal Arms of Charles II as a celebration of his restoration. It is significant that this was not completed until 1671,[23] partly due to the time it took time to raise funds from the now cash-strapped local economy, and recovery from a final visitation of the plague in Peterborough in September 1665, killing a third of its population in a matter of months. Whilst many of the cathedral clergy fled the town, Symon Gunton stayed at his post as priest of St. John's Church to bury 543 of his parishioners.[24]

Plate 18: Northborough Manor (author's photo)

The final Cromwellian connection to Peterborough is perhaps the most personal. Northborough Manor stands just over three miles north of the city centre, next to the old Lincoln Road. Built *c.*1330 by the De La Mare family, this fortified manor house was acquired by the Claypole family in 1565.[25] John Claypole was the owner at the time of the Civil War; his son John Jnr served as a Parliamentarian cavalry officer towards the end of the First Civil War and married Cromwell's daughter Elizabeth in 1646. John Snr served as an MP in the First Protectorate Parliament and was awarded a baronetcy by Cromwell in 1657; John Jnr served as the Protector's Master of the Horse; after the death of his wife and the Restoration he gave shelter at Northborough to Cromwell's widow, Elizabeth. Mrs Cromwell was resident at the manor for the last few years of her life and was buried in the nearby parish church of St Andrew on 19 November 1665. Although her grave marker is too worn to be legible, a Cromwell Association plaque commemorates her burial in the church and can be visited by collecting the

key from a neighbouring churchwarden. The manor house is in an excellent state of preservation and is little changed since the 1600s; it is privately owned but the gatehouse is available to rent as an Airbnb and the house can be visited by groups by prior arrangement.

Today Peterborough has many visible reminders of its Civil War heritage; the fact that many of these are little known or are confused in many local people's minds may be best symbolised by the statues on the front of a mock-Tudor shopfront on the main square. Today a branch of *Pizza Express*, it was originally constructed as a branch of *Boots the Chemists* in 1911, the architecture reflecting the building style the company commonly used at the time. It is decorated with brightly painted carvings of local historical figures, two of which are clearly Civil War generals and purport to represent the Earl of Essex and Prince Rupert – neither of whom had any connection to the area. However, given that 'Essex' resembles the famous statue of Cromwell at Westminster and 'Rupert' looks more like Charles I (both of whom do have claims to have visited the town) this may well be a case of unfortunate mislabelling!

Plate 19: 'Essex' and 'Rupert' (or Cromwell and Charles?) on the former *Boots* building, now *Pizza Express*, Peterborough Cathedral Square (author's photos)

Sites to Visit

Peterborough Cathedral
– for more details visit: https://www.peterborough-cathedral.org.uk/ – admission free (donation requested).

Peterborough Museum
– has various artefacts relating to this period including portraits of the Orme and St John families, a portrait of Cromwell and the turtle shell used to serve turtle soup at the opening of the Guildhall in 1671. For more details visit: https://peterboroughmuseum.org.uk/

Peterborough Guildhall
– the interior is currently closed to visitors, but the exterior and undercroft can be visited at any time on Cathedral Square.

Thorpe Hall
– the grounds and gardens around the house are open during daylight hours for visitors to wander round; there is a Sue Ryder shop and café open in the stable buildings and the house is sometimes open for events or for pre-booked groups. See: https://www.sueryder.org/support-us/shop-with-us/our-shops/thorpe-hall-shop

Northborough Manor
– is privately owned but can be visited by pre-booked groups. For more details visit: https://www.northboroughmanor.co.uk/. The nearby Church of St Andrew can be visited by collecting the key from the churchwarden (details on the church noticeboard).

Overall note: I have referred to Peterborough as a town throughout for convenience, which it was in general prior to 1541, and although a 'Cathedral City' from then on, it did not achieve full administrative 'city status' until 1874.

[1] See W. T. Mellows, 'The Last Days of Peterborough Monastery' (*Northants Records Society*, 1947) for a full discussion of this.
[2] *Ibid.*; M. Barcroft, '*Luckiest of All': an insight into a crucial period of Peterborough history* (Minimax Books, 1983), *passim.*
[3] Ibid.
[4] S. Orme, 'The Orme Family' in *People of Peterborough* (Peterborough Museum, 2009), p. 68–70.
[5] Rev. W.D. Sweeting (ed), *Fenland Notes and Queries*, (Vol. 45, 1900).
[6] *The Bishops of Peterborough*, (Cathedral Publications, 1984).
7 S. Orme, 'Bestowing a visit upon that little city: Cromwell and the taking of Peterborough, April 1643', *Cromwelliana* 2018, p. 85–100.
[8] S. Gunton, *History of the Church in Peterborough*, (1686; reprinted, ed. Jack Higham, Clay Books, 1990), p. 92.
[9] Ibid. p. 337–8.
[10] I am grateful to Dr Paul Middleton for sharing his research with me on this survey, which is awaiting full publication.
[11] For a more detailed account of the 'siege' of Burghley House, see S. Orme, '"It hath pleased the Lord to give your servant a notable victory …": Oliver Cromwell in Lincolnshire, 1643', *Cromwelliana* 2020, p. 55–71.
[12] M. Osborne, *Cromwellian Fortifications in Cambridgeshire*, (Cromwell Museum, 1990), p. 15–16.
[13] P. Harrington, *English Civil War Archaeology*, (English Heritage, 2004), p. 98–99.
[14] See Osborne and Harrington for detailed analysis of these sites.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Osborne, *Cromwellian Fortifications in Cambridgeshire*, p. 32.
[17] C. Davies, *Stamford and the Civil War*, (Paul Watkins Publishing, 1992), p. 40–41.
[18] J. Whitehead, *Cavalier & Roundhead Spies: Intelligence in the Civil Wars and Commonwealth*, (Pen & Sword, 2009), p. 83.
[19] See Davies, *Stamford and the Civil War*, p. 42–44 and S. Orme, *Haunted Peterborough*, (History Press, 2012), p. 45–47.
[20] Gunton, *History of the Church in Peterborough*, p. 339.
[21] E. Davies, *Peterborough: A Story of City and Country, People and Places*, (Pitkin, 2001), p. 18–19.
[22] https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/orme-humphrey-1620-71
[23] Ibid.
[24] Gunton, *History of the Church in Peterborough*, Introduction p. xiv.
[25] https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1126697?section=official-list-entry

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TO WHAT EXTENT WAS OLIVER CROMWELL RESPONSIBLE FOR PARLIAMENT'S VICTORY IN THE FIRST CIVIL WAR?

by Priyanka Menon

Cromwell's precise influence on the Parliamentary victory in the First Civil War is difficult to ascertain. As characterised by the Cromwell Association, he was a man of dual character: a politician and a soldier.[1] His impact on the events of 1642–46 was thus felt both on the battlefield as a burgeoning lieutenant-general and within the House of Commons as a leading MP. We might then swiftly conclude that his contributions ensured the outcome of the First Civil War as a decisive Parliamentary victory. However, Cromwell's lack of influence must too be considered. After all, many decisions leading to Parliament's success were only taken by him in part, or without him entirely. The approach of this essay to tackle a question of such a challenging nature will therefore be to consider both Cromwell's military and political influence (and lack thereof) on the First Civil War.

It has often been asserted that Cromwell's authority, even as a political leader, lay primarily on his military ability. Woolrych, for example, suggested that had he not been an army general, Cromwell would never have become Lord Protector.[2] It is therefore of great importance that we consider his military role during the main Civil War. His rapid ascent from a cavalry colonel to second-in-command of the New Model Army certainly supports the claim that Cromwell had some hand in the result of the First Civil War. So too does his involvement with some of the most critical battles of the period.

Though the confrontations at Marston Moor and Naseby may be the first to come to mind, the Battle of Winceby was perhaps one of Cromwell's greatest victories, despite its smaller scale. Its outcome proved advantageous for Parliament and illustrates Cromwell's role in the overall victory. Thus far, the Royalist position had been strong, especially with the capture of Bristol, a great blow to Parliament. It was therefore crucial that Lincolnshire be regained by Parliamentarian forces and that Hull, a vital seaport, be relieved. The forces met on 11 October 1643, and it was Cromwell's tactical decision as a cavalry commander to lure the enemy into a more vulnerable position

on flatter ground. Fighting ensued, and despite having his horse shot beneath him, Cromwell swiftly remounted, delivering a crushing victory alongside Fairfax, forcing Royalist infantry and cavalry to flee.[3] The result was that Hull was freed from siege, Lincolnshire taken into Parliamentarian hands and subsequently, the threat of the Earl of Newcastle's army neutralised.[4] Not only did Winceby serve as an example of Cromwell's leadership and military ability, but also as a stepping stone for Parliament's future victories and hence, the outcome of the First Civil War.

By the time of Marston Moor, Cromwell had a far greater role to play in the army as lieutenant-general of the horse. As one of the most critical battles of the war and one which secured Parliament's complete control of the North, Cromwell's involvement is noteworthy and suggests a more significant contribution to Parliament's victory. His division bore the brunt of Prince Rupert's attack after suffering clashes with Byron's regiment, and despite Cromwell himself sustaining a neck wound during the fighting, he (and Leslie's Covenanters) outflanked and defeated the cavalry.[5] Later, Cromwell's confrontation with Goring's weary and outnumbered troops was also successful. With the support of Leslie and Crawford, Goring's men were driven back and eventually retreated to York (which later fell to Parliament).[6] The battle, described by Cromwell as 'an absolute victory obtained by God's blessing',[7] devastated the King's northern army, and secured Parliament's control over the North.

Often regarded as the most important battle of the First Civil War, Naseby also involved Cromwell and thus supports the claim that he was at least partially responsible for the outcome of the war. As commander of the New Model Army, it was Cromwell who sent Okey's dragoons to Sulby Hedge to pressurise the Royalist flank into advancing prematurely. So, too, was it Cromwell's men who withstood and defeated Langdale's charge, despite suffering heavy casualties.[8] The fortitude of Cromwell's men (not just in the Battle of Naseby) has often been attributed to Cromwell himself as an individual who arguably epitomised Parliament's ideals, and as a leader who instilled within his regiments a sense of loyalty and godliness. The fortitude of his men consequently played a part on the battlefield in many of Parliament's victories, especially at Naseby. Having, defeated Langdale's cavalry, some of Cromwell's men shifted their assault to the Royalist

infantry.[9] Alongside Okey's dragoons and Ireton's regiments, Cromwell forced the Royalists into a retreat. For Parliament, their triumph opened the way to the West where the New Model Army would go on to capture Bristol and be victorious at Langport. Naseby is also often recognised as the battle from which Charles could not recover: with his resources depleted, it was unlikely that he would reconstruct another army, and it is at this point where most deem Charles to have lost the war.[10]

However, while Cromwell certainly played a large military role in many of the most decisive victories of the First Civil War, it must be acknowledged that other factors affected the outcome arguably more so than Cromwell himself. Generally, during the First Civil War, Cromwell held limited independent positions of power. Despite his rising up the ranks from a cavalry commander to lieutenant-general, he remained second-in-command or in cooperation with others. For example, in the aforementioned battles, Cromwell had assistance. At Winceby, he was joined by Fairfax, at Marston Moor by Leslie and Crawford and at Naseby by Okey, Ireton and Fairfax again. Although interacting with counterfactual history can be unwise, it is difficult to imagine that the outcome of the First Civil War would have remained the same without the cooperation of these commanders. Oftentimes, Cromwell's role was overshadowed by other military individuals who also contributed significantly to the outcome of the war.

Similarly, Cromwell's complete lack of engagement in some significant battles indicated that he was not entirely responsible for the outcome of the First Civil War. Cromwell was not involved, for instance, in the First Battle of Newbury where Parliament obtained a significant victory which led to the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant. Consequently, they gained an alliance with the extremely powerful Scottish army which proved to be a great Parliamentary advantage in future battles. Furthermore, the campaigns he was involved in were often geographically limited and despite his performance in some, he was not involved in other, often crucial confrontations, such as the siege and survival of Gloucester. Some historians, such as Wanklyn, have even gone so far as to suggest that Cromwell hindered Parliamentary forces in some campaigns.[11]

Cromwell's political role during the First Civil War is somewhat more overlooked. He played a role in many decisions during the First Civil War which advanced Parliament's position. Yet many decisions were also made without his input, and sometimes in opposition to his judgement.

Cromwell played a large role during the winter decisions of 1644–45 in the passing of the Self-denying Ordinance which greatly benefited Parliament. Divisions had developed in Parliament between the Presbyterians who (broadly) sought a negotiated compromise with the king, and Cromwell and the Independents who desired an outright military victory. The disputes that arose from these divisions were one of the causes of the passing of the Self-denying Ordinance.[12] The bill ultimately improved military function by separating Parliamentary disputes from the army itself. Significantly, it led to greater reform and the introduction of the New Model Army.

While the army until 1645 had been a combination of multiple armies including Cromwell's Eastern Association, deficiencies in its command and organisation had been apparent for some time, even before the passing of the Self-denying Ordinance.[13] The New Model Army's character consisted of more organised and cohesive regiments. Like the Eastern Association, the New Model Army comprised fewer officers who had been promoted solely as a result of their social standing, unlike the Royalist army. Cromwell famously affirmed: 'I would rather have a plain russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for and loves what he knows than that which you call a gentlemen and nothing else'.[14] Moreover, the Army's fearsome fighting reputation was a testament to its successes and it is often considered one of Parliament's greatest assets which aided their victory in the Civil War. Cromwell's involvement in partially establishing it (and leading it as a cavalry commander) thus emphasises his political role in Parliament's triumph.

Despite these contributions, however, some key political decisions were made by other individuals, without Cromwell's influence. The previously mentioned Solemn League and Covenant gave Parliament a crucial advantage by introducing an external power to the battlefield. It was John Pym's negotiations with the Scottish that created the Solemn League and Covenant and consequently, Parliament's alliance with them. This military union brought over 21,000 men under Leslie, Earl of Leven and allowed

Parliamentarian forces to push back Royalists in the north.[15] It was therefore Pym who was responsible for this advantage, rather than Cromwell. In fact, Cromwell was opposed to an alliance with the Scottish and had attempted to strike out a clause which would purge army officers who would refuse the Solemn League and Covenant during the creation of the New Model Army.[16] As such, Cromwell was not involved with (and occasionally opposed) some of Parliament's key decisions which contributed to their victory.

It must also be acknowledged that the outcome of the First Civil War overall was not simply due to Parliamentarian strengths, but also to Royalist weaknesses which Cromwell often played no part in. Parliament's resources meant that they had a slight advantage over the Royalists from the outset of the war. Their possession of more wealthy areas of the country provided them with some security, whilst their ability to raise loans as a result of their control over London was undoubtedly advantageous. Conversely, while Charles was able to collect some finances, from Oxford colleges, for example, these resources were finite. His reluctance to tax the localities he controlled, as Parliament did, was also a factor in the Royalists' lack of resources and overall inferiority. The impact of neutralism also contributed to Parliament's victory without involving Cromwell. Clubmen in particular were often more hostile towards occupying Royalist troops with some, such as the Langport group, actively assisting Parliamentarians.[17] Similarly, the King's cessation of his alliance with the Catholic Irish in 1643 was certainly no fault of Cromwell's. Militarily, the Royalists were repeatedly outnumbered, such as at Marston Moor and Naseby, often as a result of their poor organisation. As such, it is of great importance that we consider not only Cromwell's influence, but also the lack of his and Parliament's involvement at certain points where external factors contributed to the outcome more greatly than any one individual.

In conclusion, while it is undeniable that Cromwell played a significant part in the First Civil War, his role was limited. Despite his performances in the battles of Marston Moor, Naseby and Winceby, and despite his political influence in passing bills such as the Self-denying Ordinance, his contributions were often overshadowed or shared by figures such as Fairfax, Manchester and Pym. Wider, external factors also had an influence on the outcome, and so too did Royalist weaknesses which Cromwell played little

part in. Cromwell's legacy as Lord Protector may cloud our judgement on the extent to which he was responsible for Parliament's triumph, but it is important to recognise that the contributions of a single man could not win the war itself. The Parliamentarian victory was a shared effort, and certainly not Cromwell's alone.

[1] 'The Cromwell Association', *The Cromwell Association*, n.d. http://www.olivercromwell.org/wordpress/

[2] A. Woolrych, 'The Cromwellian Protectorate: A Military Dictatorship?' *History* 75, no. 244 (1990), p. 207–31, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24420972

[3] R. Hutton, 'Winceby: The Finest Hour of the Rising Cromwell', Aspects of History (2021), https://aspectsofhistory.com/winceby-the-finest-hour-of-the-rising-cromwell/

[4] 'English Heritage Battlefield Report: Winceby 1643', *Historic England*, (1995), p. 3, https://historicengland.org.uk/content/docs/listing/battlefields/winceby/

[5] J. Tincey, *Marston Moor 1644: The Beginning of the End*, (2003), p. 64.

[6] P. Young, *Marston Moor 1644: The Campaign and the Battle*, (1970), p. 121–125.

[7] S.C. Lomas (ed), *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell. With Elucidations by Thomas Carlyle*, (3 vols, 1904), I, p. 176.

[8] 'The Battle', *The Naseby Battlefield Project,* n.d. https://www.naseby.com/project/the-battle/

[9] K. Roberts, *Cromwell's War Machine: The New Model Army, 1645–1660*, (2009), p. 209.

[10] 'Battle of Naseby, *National Army Museum,* n.d. https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/battle-naseby

[11] M. Wanklyn, 'Oliver Cromwell and the Performance of Parliament's Armies in the Newbury Campaign, 20 October–21 November 1644', *History* 96, no. 1 (321), (2011), p. 3–25, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24429004 Wanklyn suggested that Cromwell's decisions during the Second Battle of Newbury in 1644 were deliberately damaging to Parliamentary forces. He asserts that Cromwell's lack of flair in the campaign could have been created to further his political interests.

[12] R. Hutton, *The Making of Oliver Cromwell*, (2022), p. 230.

[13] M. Wanklyn, 'Choosing Officers for the New Model Army, February to April 1645', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 92, no. 370 (2014), p. 109–25. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44232556

[14] Lomas, p. 154.

[15] J.H. Ohlmeyer, 'English Civil Wars', *Britannica*, n.d. https://www.britannica.com/event/English-Civil-Wars

[16] Hutton, p. 234.
[17] 'Clubman Uprisings', *BCW Project,* n.d. http://bcw-project.org/military/english-civil-war/clubman-uprisings.

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OBITUARY – CLIVE ANTHONY HOLMES (1943–2022)

by Dr Jon Fitzgibbons

Clive Holmes, the eminent historian of early modern Britain, died on 25 July 2022 at the age of 78. Born on 10 November 1943, the son of a metropolitan policeman, Clive earned a scholarship to Dulwich College and went on to read history at Gonville and Caius College at the University of Cambridge. His doctoral thesis was supervised, rather incongruously, by the famous historian of eighteenth-century Britain, J.H. Plumb. After a brief spell as a research fellow at Christ's College, Cambridge, Clive moved to Cornell University in New York in 1969. He returned to the UK in 1987 to become a Fellow and Tutor at Lady Margaret Hall alongside a post at the Faculty of History at the University of Oxford. In 2004, in recognition of his distinguished career, Clive was elected to the Council of the Royal Historical Society.

Members of the Cromwell Association will perhaps be most familiar with Clive's first monograph, *The Eastern Association in the English Civil War* (1974), which was a much-revised version of his doctoral thesis. This work provides a meticulous and intricate study of the political, administrative, military and religious dimensions of the entity that was so crucial for both securing parliamentarian success in the First Civil War and launching the career of a budding cavalry commander by the name of Oliver Cromwell. Unlike earlier work on East Anglia and the wars, Clive did not attribute the creation and success of the Eastern Association to latent puritanical zeal among the local populace or peculiar regional socio-economic factors. Instead, he stressed the 'tension-ridden dialogue' between Westminster, regional authorities, and county administrators. As in his earlier, often overlooked, article on 'Colonel Edward King and Lincolnshire Politics, 1642–1646' (*The Historical Journal,* 1973), Clive masterfully unravelled both the connections and antagonisms between factional infighting over the direction of the war in parliament and wrangling over wartime administration on the ground in the shires. This notion of the innate interconnectivity of centre and locality was also a major theme of his second monograph, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire* (1980), which skilfully weaved together an account of the structures and nature of local society with a sensitivity to broader national events and developments. In an era that was glutted by local studies of the Civil Wars, Clive's insight and

attentiveness to the material has ensured that his work has endured as among the most important and influential.

In many ways, these local studies epitomized Clive's habitual scholarly scepticism towards supposed new directions in historical thinking. Perhaps his most famous essay, 'The County Community in Stuart Historiography', published in the *Journal of British Studies* in 1980, offered a blistering refutation of the thesis advanced by those revisionist historians who, following Alan Everitt, stressed the localism, insularity and, consequently, the political apathy and neutralism of the localities in the decades leading up to the Civil Wars. Drawing upon his work on the Eastern Association and Lincolnshire, but citing evidence that ranged far beyond it, Clive emphasised how the county gentry, the natural leaders of local society, were Janus-faced, looking not only to their localities but also engaging with central government and administration. Their horizons did not end at the county border: they understood and showed concern for religious and constitutional issues, participating in a truly 'national political culture'.

For Clive, the 'revisionist' account went 'beyond the evidence': a cardinal sin that was regularly – and at times ruthlessly – exposed through 'sensitive' or 'painful' (both favourite adjectives of Clive's, the latter taken in the early modern sense) readings of the archival materials. More recent interventions in debates over Charles I's personality, the identity of Cromwell's 'opponent' in his quarrel with the Earl of Manchester, and the New Model Army's intentions for the king's trial as outlined in their *Remonstrance* of November 1648, all share this fundamental trait. He gave no quarter to those he perceived to be guilty of practising evidential legerdemain. Clive's approach to any historical subject was rooted fundamentally in the rigorous interrogation of the primary evidence rather than attachment to preconceived theories or new-fangled approaches to the topic in question. To the uninitiated, this might at times make his work appear outdated, or reactionary. In reality, it is the hallmark of scholarship of the most impeccable, and enduring, quality.

Another remarkable aspect about Clive's research and academic work is its sheer eclecticism. While most well-known for his work on mid-seventeenth century England, he wrote on a bewildering range of other topics including

colonial North America, witchcraft, fen drainage and various aspects of early modern law. In fact, Clive considered himself first and foremost a legal historian, displaying a knowledge of the workings of the early modern legal system and a mastery of the surviving records that was formidable in all senses of the word. He managed to take what would seem to academics of a weaker disposition the most uninspiring or labyrinthine of topics, such as the commissions of sewers or the Court of Chancery, and unravel their complexities, in the process demonstrating that the seemingly obscure can be of immense importance for understanding the essence of life, politics and society in the early modern period.

Aside from his scholarship, Clive will also be remembered by many as a brilliant and much-loved tutor. It is little surprise that he won awards for excellence in teaching both at Cornell and at Oxford. I first encountered Clive in 2004 when I was fortunate enough to attend one of his memorable lectures on early modern witchcraft. Focusing on the exploits of a satanic ferret that wreaked havoc on a village in Tudor Essex, Clive used the bizarre details of this witch trial to impart broader lessons about the legal system, politics and society at the time. I was hooked. Seemingly effortless, yet carefully crafted for maximum engagement and impact, Clive's lectures were always gripping performances. He routinely involved his audience, singling out unwitting students who he recognised to take the part of key characters in the stories he was telling. Tutorials and seminars were equally dynamic and full of energy and enthusiasm. I was lucky to have Clive as my tutor in 2005 for the infamous and long-running 'Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1647–1658' third-year special subject: a paper that has launched many an academic career in early modern history. For me, it was Cromwellian nirvana (or, more properly, Canaan). Clive revelled in bringing to life the stories of the period's most notorious episodes and characters, demonstrating a complete mastery of the formidable corpus of primary source material upon which the 'gobbets' examination for the course was based. In tutorials, discussion was lively, often irreverent towards the work of those scholars who he felt had not quite grasped the 'true' meaning of the material, and always fun and filled with laughter. Above all, Clive taught his students not to take historians as seriously as they often take themselves; he gave them confidence to challenge what they read in the scholarship and, most important of all, to formulate their own opinions.

While many academics tend to spout platitudes about the way that teaching informs their scholarly work, for Clive the synergy between those activities was both tangible and fruitful. His 1994 book *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500–1700,* co-authored with his wife, the renowned historian Felicity Heal, was the product of an immensely popular undergraduate optional subject that they taught together at Oxford. Clive's final full-length book, *Why Was Charles I Executed?* (2006) was also the distillation of years of experience of lively debate in both research seminars and the classroom, taking the most complex of topics and making them not just intelligible but enthralling. Each chapter provides answers to key questions about the Civil War era, including the book's eponymous subject and the issue of why Cromwell was offered the Crown, that are disarmingly accessible in prose and structure but also analytically rigorous. In many ways, it is a book that epitomises the two sides of Clive: a brilliant teacher and a serious scholar.

My most enduring memory of Clive, particularly as I got to know him better as my doctoral supervisor, was the way that he genuinely cared about his students. He habitually made efforts to find out more about their background, their interests and where they were from (which often came back to bite you in lectures when, ever keen to involve his audience, he drew upon examples from your home town or county). Doctoral supervisions were always a delight, not infrequently taking place in the rather un-Cromwellian setting of an alehouse or over a lunchtime curry. He was ferociously devoted to his postgraduate students, often taking great pains to help them in their fledgling careers and deriving much pride in both their personal and professional achievements. His efforts in this regard, and the loyalty and gratitude that they engendered, are best reflected in the major conference held to mark his retirement in 2011, the proceedings of which were printed as a festschrift in 2016 entitled *Revolutionary England, c.1630–c.1660*. Almost all the contributions were by his former students.

Clive also took a great interest in the Cromwell Association and its activities. In recent years he was a regular contributor to *Cromwelliana* and an active participant in many of our events. Members will doubtless recall his captivating talk on the formation of the Eastern Association in December 2016 at the unveiling of the blue plaque in Cambridge to mark the meeting

place of the Association's Grand Committee. He also gave a paper at the 2019 conference in Lincoln, organized jointly between the Association and the Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, which revisited his earlier work on the Civil War in the county. The last time I saw Clive in person was at the Cromwell Association's study day at Oxford in October 2021. Though noticeably frailer in appearance in his final years, he remained as full of intellectual energy, and mischief, as ever. His questions to the speakers were as penetrating and insightful as always, his enthusiasm for the seventeenth century undimmed, his laugh just as loud. That is how I will remember him.

J. Morrill, T. Wales and A. Barclay (eds), ***The Letters, Writings, and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell. Volume I: October 1626 to January 1649***. Oxford University Press, 2022. (768 pp.) ISBN 9780199587889, £190 hardback.

E. Murphy, M. Ó Siochrú, J. Peacey and J. Morrill (eds), ***The Letters, Writings, and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell. Volume II: 1 February 1649 to 12 December 1653***. Oxford University Press, 2022. (880 pp.) ISBN 9780199587896, £190 hardback.

J. Halcomb, P. Little, D.L. Smith and J. Morrill (eds), ***The Letters, Writings, and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell. Volume III: 16 December 1653 to 2 September 1658***. Oxford University Press, 2022. (672 pp.) ISBN 9780199580460, £190 hardback.

reviewed by Professor Peter Gaunt

This hugely impressive three-volume set is the result of almost fifteen years of work and determined effort undertaken by a team of editors, supported in the early days of the project by a wider body of Cromwellian specialists. Their aim was to establish and to publish the best and most accurate texts of what Oliver Cromwell said and wrote and thus to recapture in the purest form possible Cromwell's 'voice', doing so in a user-friendly and accessible format.

The deficiencies of the existing published collections of letters and speeches, compiled and edited by the Victorian man of letters, Thomas Carlyle, and after his death by several others who revised his work, most notably Mrs Lomas, and then in the first half of the twentieth century by the American academic W.C. Abbott in his own weighty four-volume set, have long been recognised and have been even more fully exposed in the course of this project. In his general introduction, carried at the start of all three of these new volumes, the overall coordinator and general editor – the Association's former president John Morrill – points forcefully but fairly to the many deficiencies of these former editions and how easily they can mislead the unwary. As Morrill shows, the shortcomings, even deceptions, of Abbott

probably exceeded those of Carlyle and his successors of the previous century, despite the fact that Abbott gathered together and included significantly more material than they had done.

While not exactly starting afresh, the new editors have gone back to basics, seeking out the earliest possible iteration of Cromwell's words, wherever possible holograph letters or at least those which bear his signature; where relying on a contemporary printed text, they have tried to establish the version and its printer closest to Cromwell and thus closest to what he really wrote or said.

The result of all this effort is a three-volume set of letters, writings and speeches. It includes some entirely new discoveries and new material not found in any previous published collection, as well as much 'purer' texts of items which some or all of the earlier editors printed. Versions of all the (genuine) Cromwellian texts included in the Carlyle-Lomas edition are to be found in the new volumes, though many of the Cromwellian items which Abbott printed have been omitted – something to which we will return. As a consequence, this edition contains in total the texts of 555 letters, just over 200 speeches, a little over 40 conversations and a selection from a range of other Cromwellian documents, including his declarations as Lord General, plus a scattering of warrants and passes and so on. Interestingly, the editors decided to include the king's death warrant, with Cromwell's signature so prominent, his oaths as Lord Protector, and his dying prayer. In total, just over one thousand separate items are to be found in the new edition.

Some of the key decisions which shaped the inclusion or exclusion of material and the wider style and feel of the volumes make this edition very different from the earlier collections of Carlyle-Lomas and Abbott. Thus there is no attempt here to retell Cromwell's life. To a greater or lesser extent, the earlier collections and their editors were partly biographical and they sought to explore Cromwell's life and career pretty much from cradle to grave, weaving the texts of the documents they reproduced into that wider biography. There is no intention to do that here and the editors have been consistent in eschewing biography. Hence the subtitle of the first volume makes clear that it opens not in spring 1599, with Cromwell's birth, but towards the end of 1626, with the first surviving letter, just as the third

volume closes not on the day of his death but the previous day, the date of his last recorded utterance. In a similar vein, the editors have sought to keep wider interpretation to a minimum. Each textual item is preceded by a generally brief contextual introduction, focussed very much on the precise context of the item which follows; some of the usually very brief contemporary records of Cromwell's parliamentary speeches of the 1640s are also followed by a short note indicating the result of that speech. But in terms of interpretation, that's about it and there is little wider discussion here of what the texts reveal about Cromwell's character or personality, what they might show about his goals and objectives, how they contributed to his wider and unfolding career and such like. All that presumably awaits a possible companion volume to follow. Even the volume-specific introductions written by the individual clutches of editors found in each volume are quite spare and to the point, briefly assessing the documents and the document-base themselves rather than wider Cromwellian issues. The aim is to give the readers Cromwell's voice in a largely unmediated form.

The decision to focus on Cromwell's voice has also led the editors generally to exclude most of the many hundreds of extant documents which passed across Cromwell's desk and which were issued in his name, particularly in his last years as Lord Protector. The grounds for doing so, the editors argue, are that while he saw, may have read and in many cases signed them, they had been written for him by others and the texts therefore have no element of Cromwell's own voice and personal input within them. Hence a large number of documents of this ilk which Abbott did include and reproduce in his volumes are not to be found in this new edition. That approach is perfectly logical and is strongly justified here, but it does mean that readers may not appreciate so easily how much Cromwell's life and day-to-day activities changed after he became Protector and the degree to which he was then absorbed into the formalities and bureaucratic round of government and administration after 1653. For all his faults, Abbott does convey that major change more readily, just as some of the documents which he reproduces in his later volumes, those covering the Protectorate, and which are not included here, cannot readily be found and used by readers who do not have access to the digital and other subscription resources which tend to be restricted to academics and universities. To that extent, this new edition,

though hugely stronger and more reliable than Abbott's work, may not entirely supersede his volumes.

The surviving documents inevitably create problems and uncertainties, with which the editorial team have had to grapple. Where alternative versions of the same text survive, they have had to select what they view to be the most reliable version, that closest to Cromwell, and run with that, explaining their choice and also noting significant textual variations. In some cases, where more than one version has validity and claims to Cromwell, it has been felt necessary to reproduce two or more texts. Therefore, no less than four versions of Cromwell's speech – in most versions, more an angry tirade – to the army officers at the end of February 1657 are found here. Even thornier, the editors have sometimes had to decide what is a genuine Cromwell text and what is not. The lengthy document which Cromwell presented to the Commons in late November 1644, denouncing Manchester, and the letter from 'Heron's brother' to Robert Hammond of November 1648 are both included, despite some editorial misgivings; both are prefaced by unusually long and discursive contextual discussion, weighing up the evidence for and against them having been written by Cromwell himself.

A feel for the approach adopted in this new edition might become clearer if we explore how one particular letter, perhaps the most famous letter which Cromwell wrote during the main civil war, is presented here. His letter to his brother-in-law of July 1644, written a few days after Marston Moor, conveying news both of the parliamentarian victory and of the death in battle of the recipient's son (and thus of Cromwell's nephew), has been discussed and analysed by a long string of Cromwellians, including the current reviewer (in a paper available on the Association's website). Because it survives as a holograph letter, entirely in Cromwell's own hand, it is transcribed and reproduced here in a way that seeks to capture its original layout, with the lines of text and line breaks as in the original manuscript. As usual, deletions and amendments are also indicated in the transcript reproduced here. The text is lightly annotated, with a clutch of footnotes identifying key individuals mentioned in the letter and also clarifying any uncertain readings of the original text. It is preceded by editorial matter, including a heading – all items are identified at the outset by a date and are reproduced in strictly chronological order – and an indication of the current provenance of the

source, followed in this case by three contextual paragraphs, covering the run-up to, course and outcome of the battle, summarising Cromwell's own role in all of that and noting the victim and the poignancy of Cromwell's description of his nephew's death. But the wider historiographical importance of the letter and its recent and sometimes conflicting interpretation by a clutch of Cromwellian historians are not explored here or taken any further.

The editors have succeeded admirably in greatly deepening and enhancing our knowledge of what Cromwell said and wrote and in giving us his voice in the best form possible. For most Cromwellian documents, and certainly for all the important material, this edition supersedes the earlier published collections and will rightly become the standard source for historians and biographers alike. Clearly, no work can be entirely comprehensive – to a greater or lesser extent, each clutch of editors in their introductions point to, and ponder, the worrying gaps in the Cromwellian material which has been located and which is found here – just as no edition, however good and skilful, is immune from being overtaken by new finds and fresh interpretations: one wonders whether, had they had the benefit of Jonathan Fitzgibbons's new study (noted in the listing of recent journal articles found elsewhere in this edition of *Cromwelliana*) of the veracity and likely dates of the two conversations with Cromwell which Bulstrode Whitelocke records, the editors might have reconsidered the chronological positioning and contextual introductions to those two texts. Equally, there is no denying that the individual volumes are expensive and that the cost of acquiring the full set is correspondingly very high; apparently Oxford University Press will be launching a digital edition, though presumably that will be tucked away behind a paywall and will require a subscription. However, this is a very important publication and a magnificent achievement and the editorial team and publishers are to be warmly congratulated.

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Adrian Webb and Sue Berry, ***Somerset's loyalties on the eve of Civil War: bishops, Ireland and parliamentary petitions, 1641–1642,*** Harry Galloway Publications, 2023. (xv and 414 pp., around 30 black and white images and maps.) ISBN 1-86241-045-9, £49.95.

reviewed by Professor John Morrill

There is much to welcome in this enterprising volume. It represents innovative approaches to establishing patterns of allegiance as England slid into civil war, and this is realised with prodigious amounts of hard work and number crunching. The book is also presented in a very well designed and printed volume, the necessarily fairly heavy and detailed text leavened with a whole series of attractive on-the-page illustrations of portraits of key actors, of the title pages of petitions and other printed documents, and with elementary but effective maps. This is very much a labour of love by an experienced local researcher (especially into maritime history) and a retired archivist who spent many years in the Somerset Record Office.

When I was being interviewed for my first permanent post (at Stirling University exactly 50 years ago), I was asked: 'Dr Morrill, you have clearly illuminated the history of Cheshire but have you illuminated the history of England?' This book illustrates the history of Somerset in spades; but should those who are interested in Cromwellian times, but not especially Somerset in Cromwellian times want to read it? The answer is clearly yes, although the cost of the volume is bound to limit enthusiasm.

The book offers 180 pages of transcribed documents and 170 pages of introduction and commentary. There are seventeen transcribed documents (three of them, dated 1643 and 1644, in an appendix) but by far the longest of them, and the beating heart of the book, is a petition in defence of bishops and the established church order presented to Parliament on 15 December 1641. This takes up more than 100 pages, because it consists not only of a text that is just under 500 words in length, but also of the signatories of 'the Knights, Gentrie, Clergie, Freeholders and inhabitants of the countye of Somerset': 14,936 of them. Much of the introduction consists of an incredibly detailed analysis of these names: when and where they were gathered; by whom; how; what we can determine of the social and

geographical representativeness of those who signed; what we can say about those who signed and those who did not sign; what was their age distribution, and even what is indicated by the range of the Christian names of the signatories. All this involves a comparison of the names with those in the Protestation returns (for the 40 per cent of Somerset for which the returns have survived), with the authoritative list of clergy in the authoritative Clergy of the Church of England database, and with those serving as governors in the corporate boroughs of Somerset, together with tax records and parish registers. The labour is phenomenal, the results rich and often surprising. It shows the way petitioners' names were gathered in clusters of parishes (to bypass obstructive clergy or minor officials?), how it was collected over a period, and at the large gap in support for the petition in comparison to the (anti-Catholic) Protestation of May 1641. It suggests that some Catholic recusants and a few women (almost certainly widows) signed it; it indicates (at least to me) that episcopacy appealed far more to the older generation than to the younger one (echoing the research of two generations ago on MPs) and much else. This is the core of the book.

The other documents in the volume are also good to have: the 'puritan' petition delivered in response to the December petition (and the speech of Sir Thomas Wroth MP when he presented it), and four different versions of another petition more cautiously supporting the church by law established and finally presented to Parliament on 16 June 1642, plus a petition responding to it. There is also a cluster of documents relating to Somerset's response to the Irish Rebellion and (over-)reported massacres there. The documents deal with those who helped to underwrite the expeditionary force sent over to restore English rule with an expectation of handsome compensation in the form of confiscated Irish land; they also deal with the money raised to support the refugees who flocked over to England from war-torn Ireland. And the volume ends, interestingly if inconsequentially, with a peace (Clubman) Somerset petitions of October 1644 which can best be defined as 'a plague on both your houses'.

This is a rich collection that chronicles one county in distress, but which also shows how we can still find new methodologies to explore the particular ways in which each county and town reacted to a general crisis. It does indeed illuminate the history of England as well as the history of Somerset.

Laurence Spring, ***Campaigns of the Eastern Association: The Rise of Oliver Cromwell, 1642–1645***, Helion & Company, 2022. (248 pp.) ISBN 978-1-915113-98-6, £29.95 paperback.

reviewed by Dr Ismini Pells

It is perhaps understandable that the regional armies who fought for the parliamentarian cause in the Civil Wars have been overshadowed by the New Model Army. Hailed as the first standing army on English soil and forerunner of the modern British Army, the New Model Army also enjoyed a string of remarkable successes that would make the reputation of many armies pale by comparison. Yet, the contribution of regional armies to parliament's objectives in the first three years of the Civil Wars should not be overlooked. While the campaigns of 1642–4 lack the conclusiveness of 1645–6, parliament's regional armies too enjoyed some noteworthy successes. Of course, regional armies were not without their faults (what army isn't?), but they provided the lessons upon which later successes were founded. Ultimately, it was parliament's larger regional armies that were to provide the manpower for their centrally organised successor in 1645. Therefore, a fuller appreciation of the military history of the Civil Wars requires a fuller appreciation of the regional armies in the conflict.

Laurence Spring is an experienced author on regional armies in the Civil Wars. He has previously published *The Campaigns of Sir William Waller, 1642–1645* (Helion, 2019) and *Waller's Army: The Regiments of Sir William Waller's Southern Association* (Pike and Shot Society, 2007), before recently turning his attention to the Eastern Association with *The Army of the Eastern Association: Officers and Regiments* (Pike and Shot Society, 2016).The latter was, as the title suggests, a printed volume of officer lists for the Eastern Association. The present work under review, however, is a detailed account of the major campaigns fought by the Eastern Association in 1642–5.

The first chapter deals with the early years of the Eastern Association Army when it was under the command of Lord Grey of Warke; the second deals with the appointment of the Earl of Manchester and the reorganisation and rejuvenation of the army in the latter half of 1643. Thereafter, each of the next six chapters focuses on the key campaigns fought by the Eastern

Association until the end of 1644. Two more chapters follow, which deal with the arguments amongst the high command which ultimately led to the formation of the New Model Army, and the support provided by the remnants of the Eastern Association to the campaigns of spring 1645 respectively. The conclusion traces the later careers of some of the leading protagonists and there is thoughtful consideration given to the fate of the demobilised rank and file. As Spring notes, the Eastern Association continued to garrison King's Lynn, Boston, the Isle of Ely and various strongholds throughout Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire until 23 May 1646. I would have liked to have seen Spring elaborate upon this, as the continued service provided by regional forces after the establishment of the New Model Army is something which is especially neglected in the current scholarship.

Although the book has as its subtitle '*The Rise of Oliver Cromwell*', Spring has worked hard to place Cromwell's role in the Eastern Association in context. As Spring observes, 'True, Cromwell did play a major role in the war and the army, but he has overshadowed many who also deserve recognition for the parts they played. Cromwell largely contributed to this since he often wrote the accounts of battle himself which were published in the various parliamentarian newspapers of the time, with his actions overshadowing others. Even at the time he was accused of climbing to the top on the backs of others. As a qualified archivist, it is natural that Spring has firmly grounded his account in primary sources. There is rather an over-reliance on long quotations from these but perhaps some will enjoy hearing about the events under discussion largely in the words of the contemporaries who witnessed them. The section on colours, weapons, clothing and supply at the end perhaps feels a little predictable, but this is a book aimed at the general reader and no doubt military enthusiasts will delight in this. It is also in keeping with Helion's 'Century of the Soldier' series more generally. Stephen Ede Borrett's commentary on the colours is an added bonus.

There is no comparable work to Spring's undertaking. The focus of Clive Holmes's magisterial *The Eastern Association in the English Civil War* (Cambridge University Press, 1974) is more on the politics and administration of the Eastern Association than the military activities of its army. More recently, the capabilities of the Earl of Manchester have

undergone a reassessment in Malcolm Wanklyn's *Parliament's Generals* (Pen & Sword, 2019). Wanklyn's work is a surprising omission from Spring's bibliography. Of course, the numerous biographies of Cromwell devote their early sections to his East Anglian days but are concerned with explaining the transformation of the cavalry captain to Lieutenant-General. In light of this attention to the Eastern Association's senior command, Spring is to be commended for considering the perspective of the rank-and-file soldiers, mainly through the accounts available in petitions from maimed soldiers for military pensions. Hopefully, Spring's work will inspire others to uncover more about the Eastern Association and lead to fuller appreciation of the contribution of regional armies to the nature and outcome of the Civil Wars.

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Imogen Peck, ***Recollection in the Republics: Memories of the British Civil Wars in England, 1649–1659.*** Oxford University Press, 2021. (xiv and 232 pp., 6 b&w images.) ISBN 978-0-19-884558-4, £65 hardback.

reviewed by Dr Jon Fitzgibbons

In recent decades, studies of Britain's Civil Wars have shifted from seeking their causes to understanding their consequences. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the burgeoning scholarship on the way the conflict and its aftermath were remembered. Much has been written on remembering (and forgetting) the wars after the Restoration, including a plethora of academic journal articles and two substantial monographs by Matthew Neufeld and Edward Legon. In what is beginning to feel like a crowded field, Imogen Peck's excellent *Recollection in the Republics* makes a genuinely fresh contribution by providing the first book-length account of how the events of the 1640s and 1650s were remembered during the Interregnum, before the memory games that played out after 1660.

Memory is a commodious, imprecise and, in many ways, messy subject for historical analysis. This is both reflected in and compounded by the bewildering array of categories employed by historians, including 'individual memory', 'private memory', 'public memory', 'official memory' and 'collective memory'. This book acknowledges the multifaceted, dynamic and

slippery nature of remembering, revealing how different types of memory and commemorative practices overlapped and intersected. It illuminates not only official attempts to construct and control memories of the wars, but also the ways that groups, communities and individuals across the social spectrum appropriated, nuanced or challenged those narratives about the past. Peck also demonstrates that not all acts of remembering were political, pointing to their often quotidian, personal, and therapeutic aspects. This comprehensive and inclusive approach to memory is reflected in the impressively broad range of primary source material examined, including printed tracts, almanacs, diaries, memoirs, court records, petitions, buildings and monuments. As Peck demonstrates, memory was a 'multi-media' affair, communicated not only orally but also through writing, actions, objects and spaces.

The first two chapters of the book focus largely on a medium synonymous with the Civil Wars: the printing press. Chapter 1 explores the way that the kingless regimes and their supporters propagated narratives about the recent past that legitimised and strengthened their rule in the present. Among the key themes that Peck identifies was a tendency to emphasise Charles I's personal culpability for the wars and to portray parliament's erstwhile Scottish allies as cruel and perfidious bogeymen. This latter trope was largely a response to circumstances in the early 1650s as the nascent Commonwealth waged war on its northern neighbour. Forgetting internal divisions by blaming past conflicts on an external enemy was an effective means to forge national unity.

Recollection in the Republics does more than explore the content of memories of the Civil Wars, however: it also historicizes the process of remembering itself. Peck demonstrates how a distinctive dynamic of remembering in this period was the widely held belief in divine providence. The notion that signs of God's favour, or wrath, could be detected in past events not only structured the narratives people told about the past, but also provided a powerful theological imperative to remember that often outweighed secular or pragmatic considerations about forgetting for the sake of security and reconciliation.

Chapter 2 examines rival memories of the Civil Wars during the 1650s, with particular focus on printed works produced by the Royalists, Levellers and Commonwealthsmen. Each group appropriated, challenged and rewrote those official narratives outlined in chapter 1. They invoked the past to critique those ruling in the present, propagating commentaries about the malign workings of a nefarious faction who had misled and betrayed the parliamentarians, diverting them from their original war aims or the 'good old cause'. Yet, as Peck demonstrates, the regime's opponents were divided both between and among themselves about not only the past but also what it meant for the present and future settlement.

The remainder of the book shifts from political memories to consider the social depth of remembering. These are undoubtedly the book's most compelling chapters. Chapter 3 focuses on legal records to examine memories of ordinary men and women across England. Unsurprisingly, this material often fixates on Royalists who spoke words that recalled the past in a manner deemed threatening or derogatory by supporters of the incumbent regimes. Yet, Peck also shows how former parliamentarians might themselves recall their wartime service, or that of their enemies, strategically to secure their own goals or simply out of a sense of pride. In all events, Peck shows how memories of the Civil Wars were an integral and enduring part of ordinary people's identities during the 1650s and often impinged on their future prospects. The nature and timing of this remembering sometimes drew upon those official directives to remember or forget, as outlined in chapter 1, but quite often took on a dynamic all of its own and even challenged what some perceived as the willingness of the Interregnum regimes to forgive and forget former distinctions too readily.

While no monuments were built on Britain's Civil War battlefields in the 1650s, memories were nevertheless rooted as much in place as in time. Chapter 4 considers this spatial dimension of remembering, including commemorations by local communities, such as Gloucester's annual celebration of the city's relief in 1643. Supplementing Ian Atherton's important work in this area, Peck shows how battlefields, places of execution, and war-damaged buildings all served as continual and tangible reminders of past events and sufferings. The chapter's final section explores those (mostly Royalist) memorials erected in churches across England to

individuals killed in the conflict. Largely eschewing partisan statements and focusing primarily on military service, these monuments nevertheless embedded memories of the turbulent past in the fabric of the church, serving as a visible reminder to congregations.

The final chapter, on 'narratives of war', contrasts familiar memoirs and diaries written by elite figures with accounts provided in petitions from those of lower social origins. The discussion on self-fashioning in military memoirs of turncoats is largely a recapitulation of important work in this area by Andrew Hopper. Of greater interest and significance is the discussion on petitions by 'ordinary' people, including maimed soldiers and war widows. As Peck superbly demonstrates, these documents provide a window into popular perceptions of the past and the ways in which individuals narrated their wartime experiences. Of course, this material is not unproblematic. Many of these petitions were not actually written by the petitioner, who was either illiterate or incapacitated in a way that made it impossible for them to write themselves. Yet, even with those caveats in mind, petitioners still had a degree of autonomy to tell their own stories, often recalling experiences that went beyond the legal requirements of what was necessary to obtain a pension. Many recalled the past in ways that emulated aspects of remembering found elsewhere in the book, including references to providence or the use of place and battles as temporal markers. For wounded soldiers, the body itself became a mnemonic device, with each injury and scar serving as a reminder of wartime service.

The book's conclusion draws suggestive comparisons between the challenges facing the republican regimes of the 1650s in constructing a 'useable past' in the wake of internecine conflict and those of more modern post-Civil War states, from nineteenth-century America to twenty-first century Uganda. As illuminating as these comparisons are, however, more could have been said here about the period's most obvious analogue: memories of the Civil Wars in Britain post-1660. The book's thematic structure also makes it difficult to grasp the nuances and dynamics of memory across the 1650s as a whole. Allusions are made in various chapters to shifts in the content and nature of memories between the Commonwealth and Protectorate, but it would have been useful to scrutinise more closely ebbs and flows in memorial practices against the political backdrop. The rule

of the Major-Generals, which is given only brief coverage, is an obvious moment when concerns for security and God's wrath combined to provoke an intense period of state-directed recollection of wartime allegiances. A more thorough account of why the balance tipped at certain points in the 1650s between the providential imperative to remember and the pragmatic need to forget, would have been useful.

There are a few other quibbles. Given it spans barely 200 pages and is rather sparing with its illustrations, many will doubtless consider this book prohibitively expensive: a particularly regrettable trait for academic monographs, like this one, that actually deserve a much wider readership. There are also some errors: the famous effaced memorial to the parliamentarian commander Edward Popham in Westminster Abbey is inexplicably attributed to a 'Sir Hugh' Popham (pp. 160–1); the soldier run through 'with a Turk' [sic] (p. 181) is surely an unfortunate typographical error. There is also no clear rationale for why the parliament of the Commonwealth era is referred to throughout the book as the 'Purged Parliament' rather than its familiar sobriquet of the Rump Parliament. Given that at least two other parliaments in the 1650s had their memberships purged, it does not feel like a particularly useful term and makes navigating the book's index difficult for the uninitiated.

As with any study that ranges across largely unmapped territory, *Recollection in the Republics* also leaves plenty of scope for further exploration. The way that print propagated narratives about the past to a national audience, shaping, fixing and, in some circumstances, even acting as a surrogate for individual memories is particularly ripe for future study. As Peck demonstrates on several occasions, individual memories found in legal records and petitions often replicated the language and tropes found in official printed accounts. A similar phenomenon is evident in the post-Restoration memoirs of Bulstrode Whitelocke who routinely copied from printed news reports of events, even when he had himself been an eyewitness. The way that the print explosion of the 1640s shaped not just memories of the Civil Wars but also transformed the way people experienced and recollected events may turn out to be one of the more enduring legacies of this revolutionary period. Ultimately, *Recollections in the Republic* is a book crammed full of fascinating details, but also leaves the reader wanting more.

Ian Gentles, ***The New Model Army, Agent of Revolution*****,** Yale University Press, 2022. (xii + 386 pp., 9 maps, 16 half-tone plates.) ISBN 9780300226836, £25 hardback.

reviewed by Professor Peter Gaunt

This is a revised edition of a book of the same title, though with a different subtitle, which was first published in 1992. That original edition took the story of the New Model Army from its immediate antecedents and creation in winter and spring 1644–45 through to its involvement in the ejection of the Rump parliament in spring 1653, surveying those eight-and-a-bit years in thirteen, mainly narrative, chapters. This new edition extends the chronological coverage of the New Model through the rest of the 1650s and on to the Restoration of spring 1660.

Of the original thirteen chapters, one has largely disappeared, while the texts of the remaining twelve reappear here, though in compressed and edited forms. That compression has created space for the author to extend the two chapters on the New Model's conquests of Ireland and Scotland, which originally closed in 1651–52, charting Irish and Scottish developments to 1659, as well as to add three wholly new chapters, exploring the role of the New Model from the summoning of the Nominated Assembly to the return of the Stuarts. Accordingly, this volume blends a text of 1992, revisited and very significantly edited, with new writing on the mid and later 1650s.

The original edition was widely praised for the depth and breadth of its use of primary sources, both archival and – more notably and more extensively – the printed material of the day; the judicious use of an impressive range of primary sources, including within the sections and chapters which are new, remains a strength of this revised edition. The skill with which that mass of source material has been synthesised and deployed to produce a lucid and elegant text, in the main fast moving and pacey, in places pausing to interrogate a particular source, event or alternatives which presented themselves to protagonists, remains a conspicuous feature of this edition. The new sections on the post-1652 role of the New Model in Ireland and Scotland extend and enrich those existing chapters, bringing out the complexities of, as well as the differences between, the semi-military

administration of the two countries during the 1650s. They emphasise the financial and budgetary strains of running and maintaining the military presence in both countries as the decade wore on and they highlight the different personalities and approaches of the military leaders there: the stark contrast between Charles Fleetwood and Henry Cromwell as chief administrators and military commanders in Ireland, the differences between Richard Deane, Robert Lilburne and George Monck in Scotland.

The three fresh chapters on the New Model's role in English affairs from early summer 1653 onwards provide a solid account of the army's relations with the various legislative assemblies and parliaments of the period; of occasional outbreaks of military discontent, while also stressing that the army was overwhelmingly loyal to Oliver Cromwell as Protector, in a way that it was not to his son Richard; of the system of the Major-Generals and of military support for reform during the Protectorate more broadly; as well as of its key, if unhappy, role overseas in the Western Design. Curiously, however, there is almost nothing here on the New Model's campaigns, fighting alongside French troops against Spanish armies, in and around Flanders later in the 1650s.

In the closing chapter, on the run-up to the Restoration, the author both praises Monck – 'the second most gifted military leader after Oliver Cromwell, perhaps on a par with John Lambert' (p. 299), he feels – and consistently sees him as a clandestine supporter of the Restoration from an early date, though denying and disguising his real intentions and so hoodwinking his New Model colleagues until it was too late and they could not resist the tide of events and the outcome which Monck had long intended and worked for, the author suggests. This new material and extended coverage mean that, even more clearly than the first edition, this is far more a study of army politics, broadly defined, and of the army's role within political processes than it is a military history in the traditional sense.

However, all this new writing and the extended chronological range come at a price in terms of the depth and detail of the coverage of the years 1645–53. Close reading of the original and revised chapters reveals just how much has been lost in the editing process. For example, in 1992, chapter 3 ('Victory in Battle, 1645–6') had subheadings for and separate and often quite

substantial sections exploring Langport, Bridgwater, Bath and Sherborne, Bristol, Basing, Tiverton, Dartmouth and Torrington, packed full of detail and incident; all have been dropped from the new and much shortened chapter 3 ('The Year of Victories, 1645–46'). To take another example, more or less at random, the original chapter 10 contained a long section exploring the mutinies at Banbury, Burford and Northampton in 1649, while the comparable but much shorter chapter in the new edition (now chapter 9) recounts and examines Burford more or less alone. Many of the cuts are not quite as stark or as deep, but just about every chapter has been significantly edited and shortened to leave the main story told in 1992 largely intact, but pared down and shorn of much of its supporting detail and exemplification, of the subplots and incident which so enriched the original edition.

Comparison of the texts of the opening dozen chapters of the two editions also reveals how little entirely new there is here. Close reading shows that the 1992 text of those chapters has been thoroughly and thoughtfully edited to produce an elegant if shortened iteration, but it also becomes clear that it is overwhelmingly just a rewritten version of that earlier text. Thus, while many publications which have appeared since 1992 are cited in endnotes attached to these chapters, only rarely have they led to significant changes to or new discussion within the texts of these chapters. There are some exceptions – the use of the terms 'war party', 'peace party' and 'middle group' has been scaled back within or dropped from the opening chapter; on pp. 148–49 there is new discussion of the debate which has unfolded since 1992 about whether or not the king's fate was sealed before his trial opened; while on and around p. 183 there is a fuller assessment of how we might interpret Cromwell's actions at Drogheda, again informed by work published since 1992. But it is noticeable how infrequently substantial textual updating of this sort has been deemed necessary and undertaken and how much the author clearly stands by and has retained his arguments and interpretations of thirty years ago.

There are three more specific niggles; each one may be quite minor, but cumulatively amount to a lost opportunity. The text closes with a brief 'Epilogue', running to just over three pages, rather than the fuller and weightier conclusion which the volume surely deserved and would have benefited from. It is a shame that this new edition, like the old, has opted for

endnotes, rather than more accessible and reader-friendly footnotes. The book closes with a very select 'Select Bibliography' of one-and-a-half pages, rather than a proper guide to the array of source material and reading which is available and which readers might have hoped to find.

This new edition is an attractive, informative and thoughtful study of the New Model Army, usefully extending the chronological range found in the original edition and offering good new discussion of the army in the mid and late 1650s. However, in terms of its coverage of the years 1645–53, the text is neither as new as it might initially seem, nor anywhere near as detailed as that contained within the 1992 edition, which it does not completely supersede.

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Sarah Covington, ***The Devil From Over the Sea – Remembering & Forgetting Oliver Cromwell in Ireland*****,** OUP, 2022. (432 pp.) ISBN 978-0-19-8841-8, £25 hardback.

reviewed by Professor Martyn Bennett

As Sarah Covington relates, when Tony Blair showed Martin McGuinness Cromwell's death mask saying 'So you see he really is dead', McGuiness responded, 'I wouldn't bet on it'. He was probably right. Cromwell, if not a man for all seasons, is certainly a man for all times and perspectives. He has obsessed people, not just in the four nations of the British Isles, but people of several nations, especially when they were experiencing revolution. These reactions always differ. Sarah Covington really delves into the multiple memories of Cromwell in Ireland, over the centuries since his death. Where McGuiness has a point is mirrored by Covington's important exploration of how Cromwell has been remembered, memorialised, praised and, of course, blamed for the things he did and for many things he did not.

These memories are contextualised. There is an interesting and important study of Ormonde here too. An often under-explored figure, the earl/marquis/duke had a central role in the military and political history of the civil war in the British Isles. His actions were often controversial, and as

a result conflicting memories surrounded him, and he was not alone. Many actors in the civil wars have left a string of conflicting reputations. Cromwell, however, was the only one to leave such an enormous legacy. Covington has framed her study into chapters on the aftermath of Cromwell's campaign and later rule, religion, politics, property, the physical ruination which Cromwell is accused of wreaking across Ireland, and migration.

Covington is perhaps best known to date for her important work on Cromwell in folklore and this book rounds her work out, creating a thorough picture of the way Cromwell has become a figure who transcends time and space. There are important insights here into the specifics of memories of Cromwell, and also the analysis of memory creation and transmission, ensuring the book will have a readership beyond those of us drawn to the Lord Protector. Starting with the immediate aftermath of Cromwell's brief military expedition in Ireland, Covington looks at artistic and cultural references to Cromwell in near-contemporary plays and books, but does not leave it there, looking also at the wonderful poetry of Brendan Kennelly. The same is true of politics too, starting at the restoration of the monarchy and looking at the way the Revd Ian Paisley used Cromwell's legacy during his period as a crucial figure in the history of the twentieth century 'troubles'. Naturally, as indicated earlier, Covington also looks at Paisley's foe and later working colleague, McGuinness. And, as with all of the other facets of memories of Cromwell, her study encompasses the periods in between.

Cromwell and Catholicism is of course one of the areas which might be expected to centre in the book, and it does, within chapter two: The Religious Cromwell. Covington treads this controversial legacy gently and with great skill. There is always an ambivalence regarding Cromwell and the Catholic faith. On the one hand declaring in 1649 that he was not about interfering with peoples' conscience, yet, and this is important, in the name of the Parliament of England, declaring that mass was not to be celebrated and priests and other 'officials' of the church were proscribed: arrested, deported or driven into exile. Much of this was hardly original in Ireland's relationships with England and its parliaments in the post-Reformation past. Memories generated as a result of Cromwell's entry into the religiously turbulent years included stories of martyrdom and miracle, like Francis John

Kearney's apparent brief resurrection following his execution, or Wexford priests seeming to be impervious to musket balls.

Of course, the 'memories' of the dispossessed feature heavily in the chapter on property. Here, genealogical memory could be used for social advancement in later generations. Having property confiscated during the various stages of the occupation of Ireland by the British was one thing: being able to name the person responsible for the confiscation was another. Cromwell did find himself grouped with Elizabeth I, but his generally accepted responsibility for the 'Cromwellian Settlement' was a bona fides way of proving your status as a genuine Catholic 'martyr' despite the complication of Oliver not actually being responsible for much of it. On the opposite side of the fence there were those, generally Protestants, who had come to power in the 1650s precisely because of the Cromwellian era. Something which generated a 'collective amnesia'. This was true at many levels as so many people benefitted from the 'Cromwellian settlement' but it was also true at the uppermost strata or Restoration Irish Society. The first Earl of Orrey had serious work to do in this matter. Employed and seemingly trusted by Cromwell in 1649–1650, his role as a general in the English parliament's service was not easy to hide.

It is difficult to do justice to the wealth of investigation and exposition in a single review of this book. It is enlightening, instructive and is also entertaining. There is a Cromwell for each occasion and this book should become yet another string to the Lord Protector's influence on all of us. I heartily recommend reading it.

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by Professor Peter Gaunt

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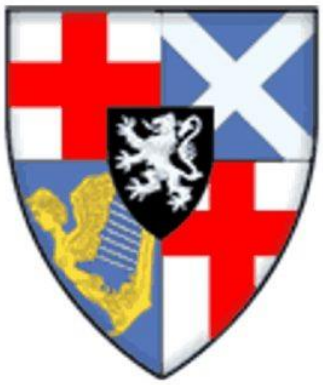

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