

THE NEWSLETTER OF THE CROMWELL ASSOCIATION

The Protector's Pen

***Hill and Fraser
reappraised***

Dr Williams's Library

***British Civil War
Memorials***

**Last voyage of the
Gloucester**

***Marston Moor
monument restored***

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Book review

Vol 25 Issue 2 August 2023

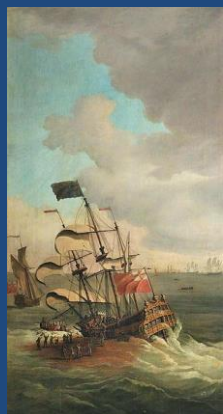
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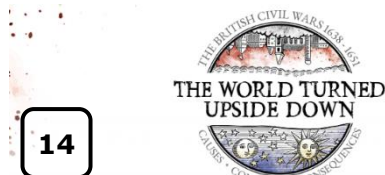
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The Wreck of HMS Gloucester off Yarmouth, 6 May 1682, Monamy Swaine, Royal Museums Greenwich (Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons)



PEOPLE, EVENTS AND IDEAS OF THE BRITISH CIVIL WARS EXPLORED AND EXPLAINED BY LEADING HISTORIANS

A unique FREE OPEN ACCESS resource for everyone interested in this time which shaped the Britain we know today



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

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

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

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

President	:	Peter Gaunt
Chair	:	John Goldsmith
Treasurer	:	Geoffrey Bush
Membership Secretary	:	Paul Robbins



www.olivercromwell.org



@Cromwellorg

All opinions expressed in *The Protector's Pen* are the views of the authors and not necessarily those of the Association. *The Protector's Pen* is produced twice a year (March and August) for the Cromwell Association and printed by Langham Press. All information is correct at the time of going to press.

Copy date for the next issue: 19 January 2024

Notes from the Chair

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

Anniversaries with a zero or a five at the end, be it a birthday or of an historical event, always seem to be of particular significance, or perhaps more of an excuse for a celebration. Cromwell anniversaries have sometimes been occasions that have had real impact. For example, the tercentenary of Cromwell's birth, in 1899, marked a highpoint of Cromwell's popularity in the nineteenth century. Events were held the length and breadth of the land, and before the year was out the statue of him at Westminster was finally, albeit without ceremony, unveiled. Forward the clock another hundred years and the quatercentenary of Cromwell's birth was marked, but not quite with the impact of that devised by our Victorian forebears. And as was pointed out to me recently next year marks the 425th anniversary of Cromwell's birth! (Is four and a quarter a thing these days?)

This year though marks another anniversary of a more recent event, only 50 years ago, but one which has probably influenced a great many people's view of Oliver Cromwell. In August 1973 Antonia Fraser's *Cromwell Our Chief of Men* was published, a copy of which I suspect can be found on the bookshelves of most members of the Association. When I found myself, almost by accident, in charge of the Cromwell Museum in Huntingdon, and without any real knowledge of the subject, I found myself turning time and time again to its pages. Not just for the analysis of what the events are that led Cromwell to greatness, but more importantly the chronology of his career.

Interestingly the journal of the Association, *Cromwelliana*, failed to review Antonia Fraser's book at the time, but the 1974 edition does give a transcript of the Cromwell Day address that she gave the previous year. It can be found in the Archives section of our website.

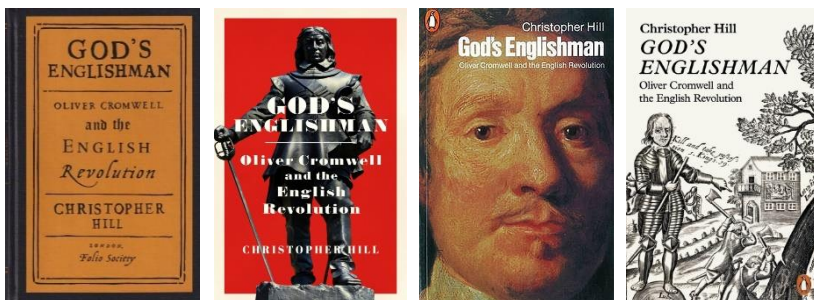
In this issue of *The Protector's Pen* our President, Peter Gaunt, reflects on the significance of her book and makes an interesting comparison with another important title published shortly beforehand, Christopher Hill's *God's Englishman* appeared in 1970. Two very different books, by two very different authors, but both still in print and deservedly so. Very many thanks to Professor Gaunt for his thoughtful analysis of this perhaps, otherwise, unnoticed anniversary.

Enclosed with this edition is a copy of our general membership leaflet, an enclosure made at the suggestion of one of our members. Please do pass it on to someone who you think might be interested or leave it in a place where it might be picked up. Organisations such as ours always want, and welcome, new members. There are many free resources available, but the Association plays a significant role in helping to stimulate interest in our subject through publication, study days and other events. For that we need members.

John Goldsmith

Chair

chair@olivercromwell.org



If you have an email address, but haven't already given it to us, please can you send your address to membership@olivercromwell.org to enable us to keep in touch with you. Thank you.

Notes from Council

Council of the Association has met twice since the last issue of *The Protector's Pen*, once as a hybrid meeting in late March, and as a Zoom meeting in mid-June. Both meetings were well attended and were very productive. A lot of what was considered is self-evident by the content of this issue and the events that have taken place, or that are planned, but there are several other issues that not all members will be aware of.

- For some considerable time the Association offered Life Membership, a category that many took advantage of as it represented very good value. It was withdrawn a number of years ago as the economics of it made it unviable for the Association to continue to offer that option. (Many of our Life Members, who comprise about 20% of the membership, do make generous and welcome donations.) It was agreed at the March meeting that all Life Members should be contacted to confirm that they wished to continue to receive mailings from the Association. Accordingly, these members were contacted, by email where we have an email address, or otherwise by letter. The anticipated outcome is that the mailing list will be trimmed which will be of significant financial advantage to the Association and hopefully avoid the necessity to increase subscriptions, which will remain fixed for the next membership year.
- Following from the suggestion by a member, the possibility of a 'digital only' category of membership was discussed at the June meeting. There are good arguments for and against, particularly with the ever-increasing cost of postage. It is thought that this might be a way of containing future subscriptions, particularly for members outside of the UK. Council would be very interested in your opinion on this possibility.
- The Post-Graduate Research Grant programme will continue for a further year and all details are on the website. Please do encourage take up of this scheme wherever possible.
- Council is very keen to encourage all members to renew their subscriptions as soon as possible; details are enclosed with this mailing. Prompt payment makes managing the Association's finances so much easier.
- The most recent communication with members via email was on 1st May. If you have not received it, but would expect to do so, please ensure that we have your current email address.

Council will meet again in early autumn, between the date of the Cromwell Day Service and the Study Day. If you have any issue that you would like to raise, please contact either the Secretary or the Chair; all details are on your membership card.

Contact chair@olivercromwell.org or write to:

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

Association News

AGM 2023

The AGM took place at King's Manor in York on 22nd April, kindly hosted by the History Department of the University of York.



Over thirty members attended. The president of the Association, Professor Peter Gaunt, welcomed everyone to the meeting and gave a brief history of the Kings' Manor, and Cromwell's links to York. The formal business of the AGM, reporting on the activities of the past year, was swiftly concluded. Terms of office for those serving on Council are three years, and this year no terms ended, and no nominations for new members of Council were received, so there were no elections. The morning session concluded with a talk by Dr Hannah Jeans (see article opposite). After an excellent buffet lunch there were two walking tours of York, aimed at different levels of stamina.

If you weren't there you definitely missed out on a very good day, so don't miss out on next year's AGM in Cirencester!



King's Manor with backdrop of York Minster (above), walking tour of York (below)



Social Media

The Cromwell Association's social media presence is expanding. In addition to our **Twitter** account, you can now find us on **Facebook** and **Mastodon**. Follow us to keep up to date with the Association's news and events, and contact us via any of these platforms if you have any events to share which would be of interest to our members.



@cromwellorg



olivercromwell.org



@cromwellorg@mastodon.social

For any queries relating to our social media please contact

socialmedia@olivercromwell.org



'Highly unusual': lost 17th century portrait of black and white women as equals saved for UK



The women's faces are covered in beauty patches that were fashionable at the time. Photograph: Compton Verney

A painting has been saved for the UK in recognition of its 'outstanding significance' for the study of race and gender in 17th-century Britain. The anonymous artist's portrait of two women – one black and one white, depicted as companions and equals with similar dress, hair and jewellery – has been bought by Compton Verney, an award-winning gallery in Warwickshire.

The Guardian, 23 June 2023

<https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2023/jun/23/lost-portrait-allegorical-painting-of-two-ladies-compton-verney>

Women's Life Writing and the British Civil Wars

Dr Hannah Jeans, University of York

Dr Jeans delivered a lively talk on a subject still relatively under-represented in studies of the civil war years and the seventeenth century generally: the role of women in that period. This situation is gradually being rectified and Dr Jeans' talk was a step in the right direction. As she notes, this was a significant time, the early modern period, when the tight orders of gender were being challenged and changes, albeit temporary, to the patrician order were evident. Women joined causes, and during the civil war years became involved in sects through which they supported either the parliamentary or royalist cause.

It has been said that behind a strong man there is a better woman, and there is some truth to this assertion. King Charles was backed up by his queen, Henrietta Maria. Parliamentary commander Sir John Hutchinson had Lucy Hutchinson, who following Sir John's arrest and trial as a regicide, managed to pull sufficient strings to have his sentence commuted to imprisonment. Lady Hutchinson later published the *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, and this brings us to the germ of Dr Jeans' paper.

Women were not only more visible and vocal, collectively they were making their voices heard in print through letters, petitions, and biographical works. Anne Fanshawe emulated Lucy Hutchinson when husband Richard was captured at Worcester in 1651. Petitioning by Anne resulted in Richard being released from prison due to ill health. Brilliana Harley, wife of iconoclast Robert Harley, specialised in strongly worded letters to the royalist enemies. This behaviour, almost unthinkable a generation previously, was not confined to the upper classes of society. Dr Jeans name-checked several Leveller women, including Elizabeth Lilburne, Mary Overton, and Katherine Chidley. Admittedly, within the Leveller movement these were prominent names, but there were others.



However, nothing lasts forever, and eventually there was a backlash against women taking assertive and prominent roles. Curiously, this attitude was shared by some parliamentarians and royalists alike, and the 'Parliament of Women' was derided. Conventional gender norms and expected models of behaviour were re-established very quickly after the civil war and the gains made by women were lost. This was a very lively talk, very well received and was followed by a spirited question and answer session. The Cromwell Association offers its grateful thanks to Dr Jeans for her time and trouble in creating and delivering this paper.

Robin Rowles

Editor's note: More on the subject of women in the 17th century at the websites below

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Menu

Search our website

[Home](#) > [Education](#) > [Classroom resources](#) > Women and the English Civil Wars

View lesson as PDF View full image

Women and the English Civil Wars

How did these conflicts affect their lives?

Lesson at a glance

Suitable for: [Key stage 3](#), [Key stage 4](#)

Time period: [Early modern 1485-1750](#)

Curriculum topics: [Diverse histories](#), [Events beyond living memory KS1](#), [Political and social reform](#), [Revolution and Rebellion](#), [The Civil Wars](#), [The Stuarts](#)

Suggested inquiry questions: What do these sources reveal about the roles played by women during the English civil wars?

Potential activities: Watch the 'History Hook video'

<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/women-english-civil-wars/>

The Rebellious Royalist Women of the English Revolution, Dr Emma Turnbull, University of Oxford

As part of a Knowledge Exchange Fellowship with The Oxford Research Centre in the Humanities (TORCH) Emma has been working with the National Trust to take a closer look at the stories of some of the fascinating women associated with their properties. Focusing on the English Civil War and Interregnum period (1640-1660), she has been examining how some women were able to break out of the confining boundaries of their society's gender roles in this era of huge social upheaval.

<https://www.history.ox.ac.uk/article/the-rebellious-royalist-women-of-the-english-revolution>

<https://www.torch.ox.ac.uk/women-and-war-female-activism-during-the-english-civil-war>

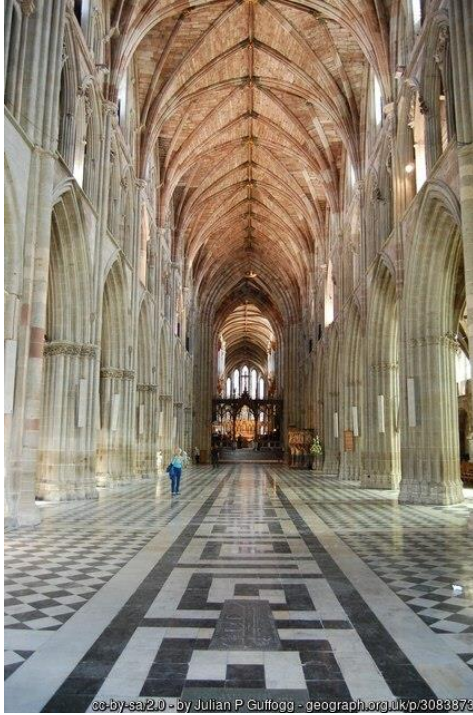


Cromwell Day 2023

Saturday 2nd September



Sadly it will not be possible this year to hold our annual service of commemoration for Oliver Cromwell at our traditional site, by the Thorneycroft statue outside the Great Hall at the Palace of Westminster. We will continue to make a request each year in the hope that at some point we can return. After some consideration it was decided that we should go back to Worcester, a place of great significance as it saw both the start and the end of the civil wars, most notably with the Battle of Worcester on 3rd September 1651.



We were last in Worcester five years ago, and on that occasion the service was held in the cathedral. This year the service will take place in St Andrew's Methodist Church which is in Cathedral Square, WR1 2QT. The service will start at 3.00pm and the address will be given by Dr Jonathan Fitzgibbons, intriguingly titled *In Conversation with Oliver Cromwell*. After the service there will be time to meet with fellow members over a cup of tea in the church.

Prior to the service, in the morning, there is the opportunity to visit the Library and Archives of Worcester Cathedral and the chance to see some of their treasures that relate to the civil wars. Places for the visit are limited and need to be booked, and paid for, in advance. Please see the enclosed booking form.



St Andrew's Methodist Church

At 2.15pm a wreath to commemorate Cromwell, and all who died in the wars, will be laid in the garden at The Commandery, Sidbury

Bridge, Worcester, WR1U 2HU. The Commandery has kindly agreed that members of the Association will be able to access the garden without charge. Please assemble outside the main entrance to The Commandery at 2.00pm in order that we can enter as a group. The Commandery have also offered a 10% discount to members who wish to visit over the weekend of 2–3 September on presentation of a valid membership card (which is enclosed with this mailing). The Commandery has an excellent café which can be accessed from the canal path, and is very convenient for the wreath-laying and the afternoon service.



Library and Archives, Worcester Cathedral
<https://www.worcestercathedral.co.uk/heritage/library>

Our friends in the Battle of Worcester Society will mark the anniversary of the battle the following day (Sunday 3rd September). Re-enactors will assemble at the Corn Market at 4.30pm before progressing via the Guildhall and Commandery to Fort Royal, which overlooks the city, where they will hold a drum-head service at approximately 5.30pm, which concludes with a musket volley. Members of the Association are invited to stay over in Worcester to participate in Sunday's events.

Timetable

Saturday 2nd September

Morning : Visit to the **Library and Archives of Worcester Cathedral** (booking required)

14:00 Gather at **The Commandery**

14:15 Wreath laying at **The Commandery**

15:00 Service in **St Andrew's Methodist Church**

Tea at the church

Sunday 3rd September

16:30 Battle of Worcester Society at **Corn Market Square**

17:30 Battle of Worcester Society at **Fort Royal**

The Commandery is open on Saturday 10:00am – 5:00pm, and Sunday 11:00am – 3:00pm. Scan for more details



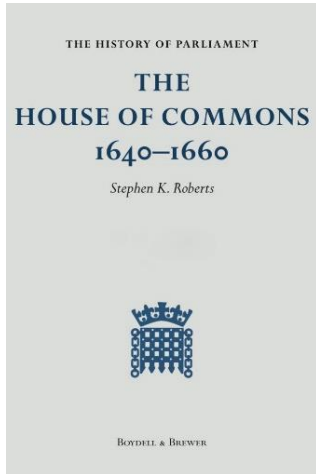
Study Day 2023

Saturday 14th October

Parliament, politics and people: the History of Parliament, House of Commons, 1640–1660



THE HISTORY OF
PARLIAMENT
British Political, Social & Local History



This year's study day, to be held in Huntingdon on Saturday 14th October, is in the best tradition of the Association, presenting recent top-level research into the history of the 17th century to a non-academic audience.

Members are hopefully well aware of the recent publication of the nine-volume set of the definitive history of the House of Commons from 1640–1660. The last issue of *The Protector's Pen* featured an article by one of the contributors, past chair of the Association and one of our vice-presidents, Patrick Little, about the publication. There was also the opportunity to purchase the full set at a heavily discounted rate. At nearly £500 it is not something that many members will want to buy for themselves, though priced per volume it is a very good offer for an academic work. The Association has bought a set for our library, which forms part of the Cromwell Collection, kept within the Search Room of the Huntingdon Record Office at Huntingdon Library, and available both to members and the general public.

It is therefore fitting that Huntingdon Library will be the venue for the study day, which will explore different aspects of the work. The welcome and introduction will be given by our President,

Professor Peter Gaunt and Jonathan Djanogly, MP for Huntingdon, who is both a trustee of the History of Parliament Trust and a trustee of the Cromwell Museum. Speakers include Dr Patrick Little, Dr Vivienne Larminie and Dr Andrew Barclay who have all contributed to our study days previously, on entirely different subjects.

A booking form is enclosed with this mailing and bookings can also be made online.

Our study days are part of our raison d'être and their success is important to the long-term viability of the Association. Please do make your booking as soon as possible, support the Association, and come and join us for what promises to be an absorbing day.



Schools Day 2023

Tuesday 20th June



Over the 103 years of the Palace Theatre's existence in Newark upon Trent, there have probably been few acts on a Tuesday morning that have held the attention of their audience so attentively as that of Gaunt, Pells, Fitzgibbons and Bennett, otherwise known as 'The Four Academics'. Not an a cappella group, nor trick cyclists, but exactly what the name suggests, four practising historians, who performed in front of an audience of A-level students by debating three key issues relating to the civil war.

This year's annual Schools Day, organised by Serrie Meakins on behalf of the Association, saw a return to the National Civil War Centre, whose premises are shared with the Palace Theatre. The number of places available, just over a hundred, were all sold out within a few weeks of being made available, and schools from as far afield as Cambridge and Chesterfield eagerly signed up.

The tried and tested formula of three debates, followed by academic led workshops in the afternoon, worked very well, to the satisfaction of both the pupils and their teachers, who were immediately enthusiastic in their praise. The three morning debates, on the significance of the Levellers, the trial of Charles I, and whether or not the mid-17th century was genuinely a revolution, were recorded and the audio files will be placed on our website shortly.

As well as thanks to Serrie and the academics, the Association would like to thank the National Civil War Centre, our partners for the day, and especially Denise Greany, the Learning and Participation Officer, who made the day run smoothly.



The Four Academics (left to right) Professor Martyn Bennett (Nottingham Trent University), Dr Jon Fitzgibbons (University of Lincoln), Dr Imini Pells (University of Oxford) and Professor Peter Gaunt (University of Chester)

Cirencester AGM 2024

Saturday 27th April

We are delighted to give prior notice that next year's Cromwell Association AGM will be held in the picturesque Cotswold town of Cirencester. It will be on Saturday 27th April 2024, and will take place in the renowned, award-winning Corinium Museum. The museum houses many spectacular treasures from Roman Cirencester, as well as smaller local history displays including a section on the Civil War in the town. As part of the day, the museum will be open and free to all AGM participants.



<https://coriniummuseum.org/>

The day will follow our usual format with the business meeting, followed by a lecture (details to be confirmed) and the afternoon walk will be with Ian Thomas, a local historian who specialises in Civil War Cirencester. As many of you will know, Cirencester has an important place in Civil War history and the storming of Cirencester in February 1643 was a particularly pivotal event.



Cirencester in the Civil War Town Tour with Ian Thomas

Hear about the 'storming of Cirencester' in 1643.

Town walking tours arranged by the museum

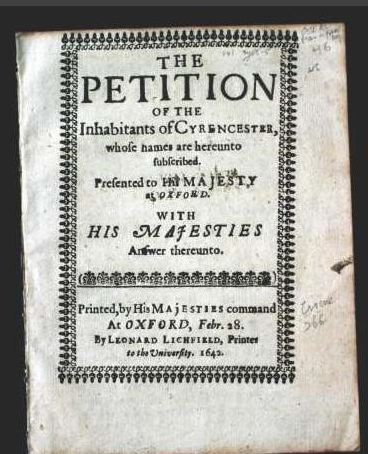
Cirencester is a great place for a weekend away in the Cotswolds – there is a range of hotels and pubs offering rooms and wholesome meals. Kemble railway station is 7 miles away and is on the Swindon to Cheltenham line. Swindon is a little further but both are connected by direct buses. There is so much to see and do close by. The Bathurst estate, in the centre of Cirencester, offers brilliant country walking; a little further away we have Chedworth Roman Villa and Westonbirt, the National Arboretum, Batsford Arboretum, Hidcote Manor and much, much more. The picturesque Cotswold towns of Moreton-in-Marsh, Stow-on-the-Wold and Bourton-on-the-Water are also close at hand.

For full details of what Cirencester has to offer see <https://www.cirencester.co.uk/visitorinformationcentre/>. More information will appear in the next edition of *The Protector's Pen*. We really hope we can encourage you to come along on 27th April, enjoy the AGM and explore this wonderful part of the world.



<https://coriniummuseum.org/>

For more information on the museum: <https://coriniummuseum.org/>



A contemporary copy of the petition for clemency presented to the king on behalf of the people in Cirencester.

British Civil War Memorials



British Civil War Memorials

The British Civil Wars Memorials website is now up and running, and can be accessed from our own site by clicking on the link in the top bar titled *Sites of interest*. The drop-down menu has a link to a page which then seamlessly takes you through to the Memorials site which is hosted by the Battlefields Trust (<https://www.battlefieldstrust.com/memorial/>). The project, as described previously, is a joint endeavour, led by the Battlefields Trust and supported by the Association along with several other organisations with similar interests. A key feature of the new site is that it is both interactive and fully searchable, so you can range over a map to find memorials or, by using the submission form, you can add memorials that are not yet recorded.

Memorial Type:

☐ INFORMATION BOARD

☐ MEMORIAL - FUNERARY

☐ MEMORIAL - PLAQUE

☐ MEMORIAL - STAINED GLASS

☐ MEMORIAL - OTHER

show more

Allegiance:

☐ NEUTRAL

☐ PARLIAMENTARIAN

☐ ROYALIST

☐ SCOTS COVENANTER

☐ SCOTS ROYALIST

show more

BCW Memorials Map

Leaflet | © OpenStreetMap

Although the initial intention was to restrict entries to combatants in the civil wars, the criteria have been relaxed so that there are entries for some members of the Cromwell family, such as Oliver's wife Elizabeth, who never took up arms. Over the eighty plus years of the Association's existence we have consistently worked towards increasing the sum total of plaques, monuments and memorials that mark the tumultuous events of the mid-seventeenth century. As you will read elsewhere in these pages we also continue to maintain those, such as Marston Moor, for which we are responsible. By using the search function on the site, and entering the term 'Cromwell Association', those we have created should be flagged up. There may still be some missing but we are working towards making the site as comprehensive as possible.

Featured & Newly Added Memorials



2nd Duke of Hamilton Memorial Plaque



Scariffholis Monument



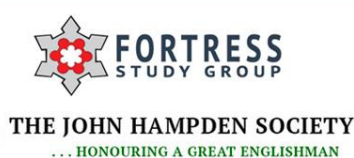
Stone honoring regicides Edward Whalley and William Goffe



Middleton Cheney memorial plaque

The new website is a real achievement and the Association's thanks are due to Simon Marsh, the Battlefields Trust Research Coordinator, who has led the project from the start. By developing the site as a joint enterprise it has been possible to achieve far more than if any single organisation had tried to do it on their own. Let it be whispered quietly, Royalists and Parliamentarians have successfully worked together!

OUR PARTNERS



Fifty years on: Hill and Fraser reappraised

The late 1960s and early 1970s saw the publication of a flurry of new or significantly revised works on Oliver Cromwell, including a handful by two figures who dominated Cromwellian studies for many years and who both served as presidents of our Association – Ivan Roots and Maurice Ashley



As seen in Waterstones, April 2023

Some of the books of that era have stood the test of time better than others and most have long since fallen out of print. However, those years saw the publication of two studies of Cromwell which both, in very different ways, stood out from the crowd, and which not only have remained in print since but also, half a century later, are still fully available, in paperback and Kindle editions. Given their impact and longevity, fifty years on it is worth marking the appearance and pondering the legacy of Christopher Hill's *God's Englishman: Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* and Antonia Fraser's *Cromwell, Our Chief of Men*.

They have things in common. For both authors, this proved to be their only full-length attempt to get to grips with Cromwell, for neither ever returned to their text of the early 1970s substantially to rewrite it for a new edition. While both authors proved to be prolific – Hill published extensively on aspects of the seventeenth century well into the 1990s and his own eighties, until he fell victim to Alzheimer's from which he died in 2003, while Fraser continues to have a distinguished literary career, publishing widely on aspects of English, British and French history as well as writing historical fiction and other novels – Cromwell

played no more than a peripheral role in their later full-length (non-fiction) works. In their one attempt to tackle Cromwell head on and at length, both authors sought a fresh perspective and to throw new light on their subject. Fraser proclaimed at the outset, in her 'Author's Note', that she wanted 'to rescue the personality of Oliver Cromwell from the obscurity into which it seemed to me that it had fallen', seeking to do so by 'humanizing' him for her readers. Hill, while not being so explicit in setting out his objectives at the start, was nonetheless clearly attempting to capture and convey the essence of the man in a new way, very different from most of the biographers who had recently preceded him.

Yet the paths they took to Cromwell's door were starkly different. Hill, born in York into a middle class, Methodist family, had a long academic career mainly at Oxford, including well over a decade as master of Balliol, the position he held at the time of *God's Englishman*; by that point he had left the Communist Party but he retained his radical edge and outlook, and was and is closely associated with the Marxist school of history. Fraser, the eldest child of the 7th Earl of Longford, who followed her parents and siblings in converting to Catholicism, formally

entered the London social scene as a debutante. Her long and glittering literary career has included a string of prizes for both her fiction and non-fiction and appointment as a CBE, DBE and CH. The two also adopted very different approaches in tackling their subject. For Fraser, this entailed assembling a huge and impressive body of printed primary and secondary source material and from it reconstructing Cromwell's life in as much detail as those sources would permit, producing a biographical narrative rich in incident and anecdote recounted in 24 weighty chapters, in most printings running to well over 700 pages of text. In contrast, Hill sought to capture the essence of Cromwell far more sparingly, selecting and sketching out key episodes and developments. Of his ten chapters, six taken together do provide a sort of life-story, while the remaining four explore particular themes, notably Cromwell's relationship with radical Calvinism in general and providentialism in particular. The individual and generally quite brief chapters have sometimes been likened to a series of impressionistic essays gathered together in a single volume, rather than a conventional biography.

Thus for readers seeking information on a particular episode, the two texts can have the feel of famine and feast. Take, for example, the coverage of Cromwell's military career during the main civil war of 1642–46. Hill, who by any measure was not a military historian, is at his most selective and impressionistic. So while he explores how Cromwell's social standing and background affected his ability to raise and command soldiers, the principles upon which he selected and promoted them and his care over their training, pay and welfare, there is precious little on his particular campaigns. Naseby gets a couple of paragraphs, Marston Moor is mentioned, though in a blink-and-you-miss-it manner, but almost all his other battles and sieges do not merit a mention; so there is nothing here

(cont'd)

on Gainsborough and Winceby, Newbury II and Langport, the sieges of Crowland, Burghley House, Devizes and so on. Fraser, in contrast, while probably not at her strongest as a military historian, nonetheless follows her subject's unfolding military career much more closely and carefully, and all those and many other military operations are accorded decent coverage, often with contemporary printed sources drawn on and quoted. The recounting of Marston Moor runs to around 14 pages, with lots of detail and incident and discussion of Cromwell's own role. Much the same is true of the coverage of Cromwell's later military and unfolding political careers. Hill focuses and expands upon particular issues or developments which he feels illuminate key aspects of Cromwell, while racing over or entirely omitting other events; Fraser is much fuller and more all-encompassing, with a sense that she wants to include just about everything that she has found and all the sources that she has assembled.

Hill had a clear thesis to expound and his interpretation of Cromwell becomes increasingly pronounced as the biographical chapters unfold. With just a few wobbles and questionable steps, during the 1640s Cromwell is seen as one of the heroes of the righteous parliamentary cause, supporting and driving forward reform and revolution. But in the early 1650s, and particularly with the failure of the Nominated Assembly, Cromwell changed, 'his high hopes had gone' and he became 'a tired, disillusioned old man, still confident that he enjoyed a special relationship with God, but with few positive ideas left, on the defensive'. As such 'the Revolution was over' – note Hill's use of upper case – and Cromwell was or became 'the saviour of propertied society'. As the 1650s wore on, he broke with radicalism and broke the radicals, drifting to the right, still paying lip service to the idea of reform, 'but it is noteworthy that the reforms which did occur were ... in the interests of conservative efficiency rather than of any radical change'. Cromwell's purges of the army, his (mis)handling of the Protectorate parliaments and his toying with accepting the crown are all interpreted in that dim light. Hill was far too good and thoughtful a historian to paint Cromwell in simple hues of black and white, however, and he goes on to

stress that Cromwell retained a genuine radical Protestant faith, that he always eschewed 'vulgar externals of ambition' and that even when he had largely gone off the revolutionary rails in the 1650s he still did much to improve education and cultural life. But there is no missing Hill's growing disappointment and disillusionment with his subject, a man who at one time had seemed behind revolutionary change, only to abandon and turn against it.

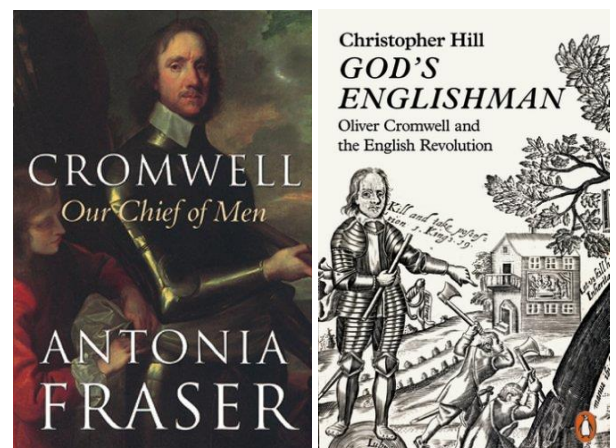
Fraser's much lengthier representation has far less polemic about it and nothing like the distinctive line which Hill was pursuing. Her avowed intention was, more conventionally, to capture Cromwell's personality and to understand 'the nature of the man himself' and in this she succeeds admirably. Although she opens by musing that it is 'at least possible to claim that Cromwell was the greatest Englishman', her ensuing portrait is balanced and fair, sympathetic but never too sympathetic, willing to explore his faults as well as to emphasise his virtues. She is perceptive in weighing up his character and exploring his actions. Keenly aware that 'the character of the man himself has so much of the paradox in it' and that Cromwell can be viewed in very different lights, in her hands he comes across as motivated by a profound religious faith, a modest family man who genuinely cared for the people and the nation, someone of 'extraordinary qualities' who was certainly no tyrant or hypocrite. It was Fraser's Cromwell rather than Hill's that was far more in tune with the image already emerging in mid-twentieth-century biographies.

Academic reviewers of *God's Englishmen* tended to regret its brevity and a few were not entirely convinced by Hill's portrayal of Protector Cromwell as a jaded and increasingly conservative figure, but in the main they were positive, praising the book as a breath of fresh air and for its pithy and thoughtful interpretation. Those of *Cromwell, Our Chief of Men* were far more mixed, noting the elegance of the writing, the breadth of the research and the sympathetic portrait produced, but generally feeling it to be too long, lacking focus, including

too much peripheral information and insufficiently discerning in its use of sources: 'Cromwell at times has to battle against submersion in floods of miscellaneous information' one reviewer wrote, with another regretting the piling up of 'ill-authenticated stories and legends'. Academics also pointed to a peppering of erroneous or misleading statements, mostly in the discussions of the wider political and religious contexts rather than in the recounting of Cromwell's own life.

Half a century or more on, both books, while still in print, have inevitably been overtaken in significant parts by fresh research and new discoveries. Certainly, no one now would turn to either book for an up-to-date view of its subject, just as none of today's Cromwellian specialists would be likely to write and seek to publish a new study drawn along the lines of either volume. But for all that, both books have proved popular and enduring and have sold well over the years. While few have followed Hill all the way in seeing Cromwell as moving from reformer and potential revolutionary to such a clapped-out and conservative opponent of radicalism in his later years, there has been more than a hint of that in some subsequent biographical studies. However much academic reviewers may have been sniffy about Fraser's heavyweight volume, her more sympathetic portrait of Cromwell remains the dominant image of most recent studies, just as her book is still probably the biography best known outside academic circles. And let us remember that only one of these two authors is a past winner of the annual Wolfson History Prize, the UK's foremost prize for history books – and that was Lady Antonia Fraser in 1984.

Professor Peter Gaunt



The last voyage of the *Gloucester*: Norfolk's royal shipwreck, 1682

An exhibition at Norwich Castle Museum until 10 September 2023

Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery

Three years ago *The Protector's Pen* (Feb 2020 v22.1) featured the excavation of a wreck of a vessel from Cromwell's navy, the *London*, which lies in the mud of the Thames estuary, off Southend.

A year ago, in June 2022, the discovery of another wreck from Cromwell's navy was announced to the world, the *Gloucester* which sank off Great Yarmouth in 1682. A wreck with an equally extraordinary story and some fascinating finds, it is now the subject of an exhibition at Norwich Castle Museum.

The *Gloucester* was a third-rate ship of the line, built in Limehouse and launched in the spring of 1654, as part of the enormous expansion programme of the Protectorate navy, which saw over 200 vessels built between 1649 and 1660. She sailed as part of the Western Design, the expedition to the West Indies in 1654, an adventure which ended in failure and caused Cromwell to question what he had done to offend God.

Ships in Cromwell's navy were often named after places of significance to parliament in the civil wars, and the city of Gloucester was taken from the royalists in September 1643. At the Restoration the *Gloucester* kept her name and the exhibition's catalogue suggests it is named after the king's younger brother, Henry, the Duke of Gloucester, who died in 1660. The ship saw action in both the Second and Third Dutch wars, before undergoing a complete rebuild at the end of the 1670s.

The voyage, which was to end in disaster, was from London to Scotland in May 1682. James Stuart, Duke of York, was on board and was travelling, in the wake of the Exclusion Crisis, to be reunited with his wife, Mary of Modena. The sandbanks off the Norfolk coast proved to be catastrophic. There was dispute over which course should be followed: inside the sandbanks, outside them, or through them. The duke who had considerable naval experience insisted, against advice, on the middle course. The *Gloucester* ran aground and immediately began to sink. It was early in the morning so many were



Johan Danckerts (c. 1682), *The Wreck of the Gloucester off Yarmouth, 6 May 1682*, Royal Museums Greenwich (Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons)

asleep, and could not get on deck to abandon ship, and royal protocol meant that none could depart before the duke. As a consequence it is estimated that between 130 and 250 lives were lost.

The exhibition tells what is in essence a simple story, with a great deal of complex detail, through a mixture of graphic panels, portraiture and supporting documents and objects. Norfolk Museums Service has rich collections but to create a

comprehensive narrative it has negotiated a wide range of significant loans. Johan Danckert's depiction *The Wreck of the Gloucester* has been borrowed from the National Maritime Museum (NMM) and was painted shortly after the tragedy. It is a fascinating but inaccurate depiction of events. The ship is shown beached on a sandbank, rather than part submerged as she must have been, with the duke sitting

(cont'd)



The bell from the *Gloucester* with the date 1681 cast into it

in a crowded tender whilst an axe and sword are taken to those trying to save themselves by scrambling aboard. The future king's reputation must surely have been questioned as a consequence of what is shown. Unless I missed it, there was no explanation of who commissioned the painting. There are also two drawings by William van de Velde the elder, probably of the *Gloucester*, and currently the subject of an exhibition at the NMM. But that is the story of what happened in 1682 and its aftermath, and very well told it is; what is of equal interest is that of the discovery of the wreck and the retrieval of some of the objects that went down with the ship.

A short, well-made film provides background information. Julian and Lincoln Barnwell, experienced wreck divers, set out to find the *Gloucester* over 20 years ago. As marine metal-detectorists it took them six years of careful, methodical searching before they located the *Gloucester* and could begin to investigate what might be retrievable. The object that convinced them, and others, that they had indeed discovered the *Gloucester* was the recovery of the ship's bell, with the date of 1681 cast into it, the date of the vessel's reconstruction. A number of small finds have been lifted, many of which are on display, including a cache of wine bottles (more than might have been anticipated on a less regal voyage), navigational dividers, clay pipes, fragments of the ship's oven, and pottery.

The sandbanks of the North Sea have also preserved a wide range of organic materials including shoes, a leather pouch, and a wooden box complete with spectacles. The most noteworthy finds come from two wooden chests, one of

Further Information

-  Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery, Castle Hill, Norwich, NR1 3JU
-  10am to 4.30pm Monday to Saturday and 1pm to 4.30pm on Sundays
-  Adult £7.40, Child (4-18) £6.30 (free under 4) – see website for discounts and concessions
-  01603 493625
-  museums@norfolk.gov.uk
-  www.museums.norfolk.gov.uk
-  <https://facebook.com/NorwichCastleMuseum>
-  <https://twitter.com/NorwichCastle>
-  <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC83kl1D74KJu6N5armQ4hHg>



which had a bundle of textiles at its base. Beyond any reasonable expectation the conservators of the Norfolk Museums Service have not only been able to save the fabrics but to conserve them so they can be unrolled and displayed. To be able to see a silk skirt that has been lost at sea for over 300 years is astonishing.

The Barnwell brothers are now working with the Marine Archaeology Trust, the Norfolk Museums Service, and the University of East Anglia to further study the *Gloucester*. A new trust has been created, chaired by General Lord Richard Dannatt to research, conserve and display their findings with the suggestion that the *Gloucester* could become Norfolk's *Mary Rose*. Similar thoughts have been expressed by those investigating the wreck of the *London* off Southend.

It is only to be hoped that both wrecks can continue to be scientifically excavated and so add to our overall understanding of ships built under the Commonwealth and Protectorate. The success of one project should not be at the expense of the other.



The Barnwell brothers measuring a cannon on the seabed

The exhibition at Norwich Castle Museum is highly recommended, and runs until 10th September 2023.

For more information see:

www.museums.norfolk.gov.uk

Admission charges apply.



Finds from the *London* are now part of the permanent exhibition at the Central Museum, Southend, see:

www.southendmuseums.co.uk

Admission is free.



The exhibition *The Van de Veldes: Greenwich, Art and the Sea* runs at the Queen's House, Greenwich until 14th January 2024, see:

www.rmg.co.uk

Admission is free.



John Goldsmith



Assemblage of clay pipes retrieved from the wreck

The World Turned Upside Down



Launched in June 2023, *The World Turned Upside Down* is a major new free-access teaching and learning resource for all those interested in the Wars of the Three Kingdoms and the Interregnum. It represents a collaboration between Oxford historians, the National Civil War Centre at Newark Museum and Mike Gibbs of West Midlands History Ltd.

<https://www.worldturnedupside-down.co.uk/>

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JUST ARRIVED

Ismini Pells
Mental trauma – These distracted times

In this interview, Dr. Ismini Pells reveals that PTSD in veterans is not a new problem. She discusses the psychological impact that can be seen in the men who fought in the Civil Wars.

Charles I – The road to execution | Ted Vallance
Why was Charles I executed?

In this talk Professor Vallance asks whether his condemnation and death were the pre-determined outcome of his trial.

Charles I – The road to execution | Andrew Hopper
Why did Royalists lose the Civil War?

This podcast discusses the range of factors which caused the defeat of the royalists in England and Wales during the First Civil War of 1642-1646.

Charles I – The road to execution | Ted Vallance
How far was Charles I responsible for causing the Civil War?

While many potential causes of the British Civil Wars have been identified, in this talk Professor Vallance focuses on the degree to which the king himself was responsible.

The website hosts many podcasts, usually 30–40 minutes long, delivered by experts. These take the form of either short talks or more interactive interviews focused on some of the period's key questions. The podcasts aim to widen access to the latest academic thinking and are aimed at a diverse audience of schools, universities, researchers, museum professionals and enthusiasts. There are up to 40 planned and we are releasing them on a fortnightly basis. We hope they will be particularly useful to schoolteachers, especially those struggling to teach the period for the first time.

Contributors so far include Peter Gaunt, Martyn Bennett, Lloyd Bowen, Ann Hughes, Stephen Roberts and Ted Vallance, with further podcasts planned from Jane Ohlmeyer, David Smith, Laura Stewart and Mark Stoye. Educational partners include the National Civil War Centre, the Civil War Petitions Project, the Battlefields Trust and the Cromwell Museum. The website also includes podcast transcripts, maps, timelines, and a glossary. Ideas for civil war sites to visit and a biographical dictionary of civil war characters are both forthcoming. Users can sign up, provide feedback and share their ideas for future programmes. Teachers of younger pupils at Key Stage 2 will find an exciting new sister resource especially designed for the primary classroom:

www.nationalcivilwarcentre.com/learn/upside-downworld

The World Turned Upside Down website is also the home of the Civil War Educators Network, an emerging alliance of history practitioners whose inaugural meeting is at Oxford this October. The network will consist of academics, teacher educators, teachers and museum professionals working together to share knowledge of the best online resources and widen their embedding into university programmes and the school curriculum. The initiative is a not-for-profit venture, kindly financed by the publisher Mike Gibbs of West Midlands History Ltd.

Contributing editors: **Professor Andrew Hopper**, Professor of Local and Social History, University of Oxford
Dr Ismini Pells, Department Lecturer, University of Oxford
Denise Greany, Learning and Participation Manager at the National Civil War Centre

Restoration of the Marston Moor Monument

A short cycle ride west from York you will find the village of Long Marston. Nearby, on the Tockwith road, is an imposing obelisk marking the destruction by Parliamentary forces under Fairfax and Cromwell of the Royalists' northern army on 2 July 1644 and an important turning point in the First Civil War.

The monument was unveiled on 1st July 1939 but only after considerable controversy in the pages of *The Times* surrounding the lack of acknowledgement of General Fairfax's part in the battle (a fuller description of the controversy was described in *Cromwelliana* 2013 pp 89-90). It is the only large-scale memorial erected by the Association and came just two years after the formation of the Association itself. It was constructed in concrete rather than traditional stone, presumably for reasons of cost. The inscription seen on the road-facing side reads:

This memorial was erected by the Cromwell Association and the Harrogate Group of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and was unveiled on the 1st July 1939. Restored 1973.

As far as we know the monument was restored in 1973, again in 2002 and now once more in 2023. Additionally, the Association paid for repairs in 2011 (out of the proceeds of an appeal that year). It might reasonably be asked why so much attention and cost has been necessary. It seems our major enemy is the harsh Yorkshire winter weather, particularly the frosts and storms which cause movement in the concrete blocks, in cracks and crumbling at corners affecting the base and the plinth in particular. Traditional stone may have held up better.

The 2023 restoration has cost £4,500. Fortunately, a donor has come forward with a substantial contribution. He wishes to remain anonymous but says that his ancestor was Colonel Thomas Horton who signed the death warrant of Charles I and died on campaign in Ireland.

Beside the monument there is an information board which was replaced in 2018 in collaboration with the Battlefields Trust.

Lastly, a plea to any local members. Council would be most grateful to any members prepared to weed around the base!

Geoffrey Bush



Marston Moor base damage: Spring 2022 (left) and restored base May 2023 (right)



Document that made Charles II king to be auctioned for £600k

Signed copy of 1660 *Declaration of Breda*, which restored monarchy in Britain after Cromwell's rule, goes on sale in May.

The *Declaration of Breda*, dated 4 April 1660, changed royal power forever and fundamentally helped to shape Britain's constitution. It outlined the terms on which Charles II would return to Britain and take the throne, two years after the death of Oliver Cromwell.

Charles II had been in exile since Cromwell seized power after the execution of his father, Charles I. The declaration, five copies of which were signed by Charles II, ensured the monarchy was restored without further civil war and marked the end of years of revolution.

The Guardian, 6 April 2023

[Ed. Note: no indication in press of auction value achieved at time of publication]



One of only two known copies of the Declaration of Breda. It is expected to fetch up to £600k at auction next month. Photograph: Martin Godwin/*The Guardian*

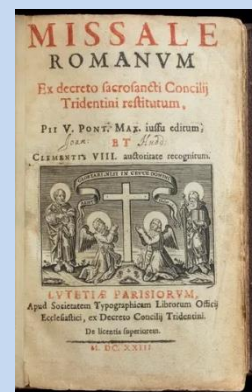
Prayerbook of priest who saved Charles II's life on display in Staffordshire hall

Rare 1623 missal bears signature of Catholic priest John Huddleston, who hid king after final defeat by Cromwell's forces.

A 400-year-old prayerbook owned by a Catholic priest who helped save the life of Charles II, son of the executed King Charles I, has gone on public display at the house where he sought refuge after being defeated by Oliver Cromwell's forces.

The prayerbook, published in Paris in 1623, bears the signature and annotations of Father John Huddleston, a Benedictine priest who lived at Moseley Old Hall near Wolverhampton and who had stayed loyal to the royalist cause after the execution of Charles I in 1649.

The Guardian, 23 June 2023



National Trust images / James Dobs

Dr Williams's Library: past, present and a confident future

For nearly three hundred years the Dr Williams's Library has formed a focus for the history and heritage of British Protestant dissent. Developed under the terms of the will of the minister and theologian, Rev. Daniel Williams (1643–1716), the library at its various homes has been London-based through the centuries. Growing from an original nucleus collection of nearly 8,000 items the collection has grown to house nearly 200,000 items, although a definite number remains elusive currently!



The original remit and holdings compensated in many respects for the inability of dissenters to attend Oxford or to graduate from Cambridge. In 1838 it was noted that the library was 'principally for the use of persons whose profession or taste leads them to the study of theology'. That said, the original library was something of a university in miniature and the books covered a huge variety of themes from Italian art, Spanish drama, geography, a diversity of subjects that would lend polish, so to speak, in addition to texts on theology and religion in general. However, the central core was always theology, and other material represented something of a haphazard 'medley', as described in a lecture in 1948.

Through the decades the library became the repository of material reflecting the changing fortunes of the dissenting tradition. This is evidenced in the rich holdings of the library to this day, which can claim to be the leading repository of material for the dissenting traditions in England. The holdings are diverse, from the papers of the theologian Richard Baxter (1615–91), manuscripts of the Parliamentarian Walter Boothby, letters of Philip Doddridge (1702–51), through to the library of New College, London, which came to the ownership of Dr Williams's Trust in the 1970s (<https://dwl.ac.uk>). The Trust recently acquired the very important manuscript of Edmund Calamy (1671–1732) entitled 'An Historical Account of my own Life, with Some Reflections on the Times I have liv'd in'. This was acquired with generous support from the Friends of National Libraries and reflects the Trust's wish to grow its collections, despite operational challenges. Books, manuscripts, and archival material are complemented by an array of art works (some 300) including recently restored portraits of Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

and the celebrated scholar and theologian Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), the latter by the significant painter Henry Fuseli (1741–1825).

Over the decades the library has become a source of specialist knowledge and research for the dissenting tradition with a particular emphasis on church history and the Unitarian tradition in particular. It has attracted scholars throughout Britain and internationally, from New Zealand, France and the United States. The library was, for a period, a close partner of the Dissenting Academies Project at Queen Mary University of London. The collection holds the library of philosopher George Henry Lewes, partner of the better-known George Eliot. And there are what many would consider anomalies such as the extensive holding of Byzantine material, the library of the celebrated Byzantinist Norman Baynes (1877–1961), who specifically wanted his material to be easily accessible to all, rather than behind the barriers of a formal university, as perceived at the time.

And yet many other fields remain to be explored: the nature of the book trade, the nature of printing and binding, as well as the unexplored themes in the collections. Conscious of its legacy and role as custodian of material heritage the Trust, into the future, will support a bursary for the annual London Rare Books School.

The historic building, and home of the library, was designed by the architectural pioneer, Thomas Leverton Donaldson (1795–1885), first Professor of Architecture at the adjoining University College London. Built originally as a university hall it reflected the emerging taste for historicism, being essentially a classical



building but overlaid with Tudor-influenced details – adding a touch of Oxford and Cambridge to the prevailing classical (late Georgian) idiom of the Bedford estate, in which it is located. The building has provided the public face of the library and the Dr Williams's Trust over the decades, and housed the Royal Institute of Philosophy, and in recent years the Congregational Library in a partnership that sadly came to an end as recently as early 2022.

(cont'd)

Nonetheless, and despite its fame, prestige and authority the library has now closed. An ambitious, and much overdue refurbishment programme was unable to proceed. Among an array of challenges, the costs escalated rapidly, and that was before the recent hikes in inflation. To that can be added insurance, heating, lighting, and staffing, all coming from a limited financial base and without public funding support. The operation was simply untenable and the historic building on Gordon Square, Bloomsbury, home to the library since the 1890s, is currently on the market.

But just as it is often darkest before the dawn, the library will in fact live to fight another day and the Trust itself will survive, with a renewed focus and energy. The books and manuscript material and works of art have been mostly decanted to off-site storage and the storage arrangements, indefinite as they may be, are providing excellent climatic control conditions and environments, better than in Bloomsbury. However, arrangements are in place for material to be accessible in London – hopefully later this year. It will be possible to order material and bring it to London for consultation. In tandem the library is in detailed discussions with third-level institutions who will manage the collections into the future. The Trust will of course retain ownership of the collections in all their diversity. There is no question of the collections being sold as has been suggested in some quarters. But the day-to-day care and management will be handled by others. It is anticipated that the Trust will fund the Dr Williams's librarian and the Dr Williams's archivist, both of whom will focus on the welfare of the material and the promotion of its heritage for the dissenting traditions. There will be a bursary and fellowship programme which will also lay an emphasis on the culture and heritage of dissent. And, of course, the numerous items in the collection will need conservation and care and there will be a need for the conservation component alone to be promoted and funded accordingly.

So, while the Trust will no longer be engaged in the day-to-day management of its collections it will be able to continue its remit of promoting the culture of dissent on two levels – the active and ongoing funding of its ministry programme at the University of Glasgow as well as the scholarly investigation of the rich legacy of the dissenting tradition in these islands. The prospects are both positive and encouraging.

Dr Hugh Maguire

Director

Dr Williams's Trust

Cromwell in stained glass in Cambridge

Following the piece in the last issue of *The Protector's Pen* about the Cromwell window in Rochdale Town Hall, there is at last some news about future access arrangements to visit and view the window that features Cromwell in the Emmanuel United Reformed Church, Trumpington Street, Cambridge.

Emmanuel URC was built in 1874 and is Grade II listed. One of the prominent members of the congregation was William Bond, who died in 1904. It was decided to create a memorial to him in the form of a series of six windows depicting prominent Puritan worthies associated with Cambridge. The windows are in the sanctuary, at the west end of the church, and were made in 1905 by Morris and Co, and dedicated the following year.

Cromwell is given equal billing with John Milton, and appears bareheaded, draped in a green cloak, but with two key elements of late 19th century Cromwell iconography: the Bible and a sword.

Pevsner's volume on Cambridgeshire dismisses the church in less than five lines, and fails to mention the window at all, but that is hardly fair. The window portrays an attractive image of Cromwell, by one of the leading stained-glass manufacturers of the time, and until the Association finally managed to get a blue plaque for Cromwell in the city, it was the only celebration of Cambridge's most significant former MP.

In May 2018 Emmanuel URC merged with the nearby St Columba's on Downing Street, and the church was sold to Pembroke College, since when the church has been closed to the public with no access to the window. As part of a large development of the Mill Lane site, the stated intention of the college is to use the church as an auditorium for performances, talks and panel discussions as previously Pembroke had no comparable space. Work had been progressing since then and the official opening is due to take place imminently.

Unlike during its previous existence as a chapel, visitors will no longer be able to just drop in to see the window, but the Association has been advised that if anyone emails the Head Porter with reasonable notice, and the space is not otherwise in use, the college will try to accommodate requests for access. It is always possible of course that the space may be used for some events which will be open to the public, in which case Cromwell will smile benignly on all those assembled.

(Head Porter - <https://www.pem.cam.ac.uk/college/people/staff-directory/porters-lodge>)



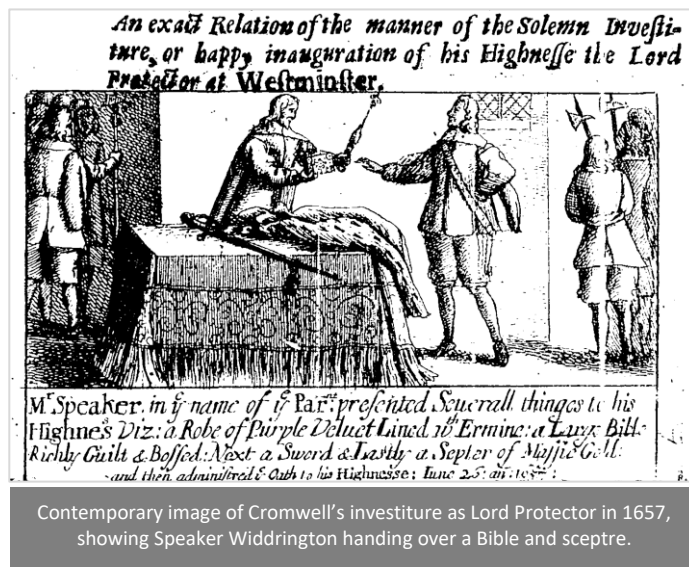
Cromwellian connections to the Coronation

It was inevitable that the coronation of another King Charles would elicit a lot of nonsense in the media about Cromwellian connections to the ceremony. Those wondering why little of the coronation regalia dates from before 1661 were told repeatedly, in no uncertain terms, that it was all Cromwell's fault.

The BBC News website provided a 'complete guide' to the coronation, informing its readers that the coronation spoon was the sole survivor of 'Oliver Cromwell's destruction of the regalia after the English Civil War'; the original St Edward's crown had been used at coronations since 1220, 'until Cromwell had it melted down'. The official website of the British Royal Family, hardly an impartial source, is even more emphatic, stating boldly that in 1649 'Cromwell ordered' the regalia to 'be totally broken' because it was symbolic of the 'detestable rule of kings'. Those reaching for the new edition of Cromwell's letters, writings and speeches will search in vain for these words: Cromwell never uttered them. Much like the old chestnut about Cromwell cancelling Christmas, the story assigns its protagonist an omnipotence that he did not possess. As I often have to remind my undergraduate students, Cromwell did not become Lord Protector in 1649; he was not even the overall commander of parliament's army at that point. It is perhaps understandable that the Royal Family's website seeks to elide the small matter of the kingless republican regime between 1649 and 1653. Nevertheless, it was the cash-strapped Rump Parliament that passed the order on 9 August 1649 for the regalia to 'be totally broken', to 'melt down the Gold and Silver of them' and to 'sell the Jewels for the best Advantage of the Commonwealth'. Cromwell, who was en route to Ireland at the time, had no direct role in either that order nor the Council of State's subsequent directive in October to deliver the gold to the Mint to be melted down and coined.

Of course, Cromwell famously never had a coronation. He refused kingship, and a crown, in May 1657. Yet, he twice participated in ceremonies to mark his investiture as Lord Protector, first under the terms of the *Instrument of Government* on 16 December 1653 and latterly *The Humble Petition and Advice* on 26 June 1657. Whereas the first ceremony was a rushed and modest affair given the circumstances of the Protectorate's creation, the second ceremony was on a grander scale. Though contemporaries and historians alike have drawn comparisons between this second investiture and royal coronations, the differences are more revealing. The setting was Westminster Hall rather than Westminster Abbey. To some extent, this reflected the fact that it was a more secular ceremony than royal coronations – there was no anointing and, obviously, no archbishop presiding: that honour belonged to the Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Thomas Widdrington. As the location of the central law courts and also the site of the trial of Charles I, the Hall also served as a potent reminder to both Cromwell and his audience of the legal foundation, and limits, of his powers as chief magistrate. The MPs tasked with devising the ceremony deliberated over what items should be conferred as

part of the investiture. Initial plans involved only the transfer of a sword but were eventually developed so that Cromwell would also receive from the Speaker a purple velvet robe lined with ermine, a richly gilt Bible and a gold sceptre. Had the regalia not been melted down in 1649 the last item would doubtless have been sourced more easily, and certainly more cheaply than the staggering sum of £650 (a little under £100,000 in today's money) that the Council disbursed to cover its manufacture.



Yet, if the regalia was most likely made anew for the ceremony, there is one possible direct link between the 1657 investiture and royal coronations: St Edward's Chair. The Royal Family's website further notes how the medieval coronation chair was one of the few items not to suffer Cromwell's iconoclastic proclivities, for it 'was used in 1653 [sic] at Westminster Hall when Cromwell was installed as Lord Protector'. Yet, this often-repeated story seems to derive from a single source: an 'eyewitness' description of the 1657 investiture, printed in the later eighteenth century, which notes that the 'chair of Scotland' (an allusion to the Stone of Scone ensconced in its base) was brought from Westminster Abbey for the occasion. The publication in question, *Prestwich's Respublica* (1787), claims that an ancestor of the author was present at the investiture and penned the account. On close inspection, however, the document is a melange, fabricated from contemporary printed accounts and riddled with falsehoods, such as the remarkable presence of the 'Lords of the Other House' at a ceremony that took place five months *before* the membership of that institution was chosen by Cromwell.

While there is poetic irony in the notion that the Lord Protector warmed the seat occupied by King Charles III, without more reliable evidence it can remain only a tantalising possibility. If only among the chair's famed graffiti could be found the telling inscription: 'Oliver was here'.

Jon Fitzgibbons

Hursley Park revisited

As has been reported previously in *The Protector's Pen* (Feb 2022 v24.1), the home of Richard Cromwell, Hursley Park in Hampshire, is being excavated by a local archaeology group. This summer was the third, and final, of three short seasons of digging, and during their last week on site a small group of Association members visited.



Excavation Director, Andy King, explained the complex building sequence on site, and the difficulty in determining absolute dates on any of the structures. It is possible, but not as yet proven, that Richard Cromwell's father-in-law, Richard Major, who bought the estate in the 1630s may have added an extension to the building. The remains of extensive cellars were clear, and when the house was demolished c.1720, all the cellars were backfilled with the detritus that could not be recycled.

One man's rubbish is another man's treasure, and amongst the infill were the remains of wine bottles from the late 17th century. Glass bottles were a new and expensive innovation, and it was fashionable for gentlemen to have their own bottles stamped with their personal seal or crest. Hursley was owned by Richard's son, Oliver (1656–1705), after the death of his mother Dorothy in 1676, and three bottle seals with the monogram OC have been found.

The group also took the opportunity, led by Antonia Strickland, to visit the nearby parish church, All Saints', where Richard and many of his family are buried. Thanks to Andy and Antonia for a memorable afternoon.



Fragment of a bottle with the monogram OC within a laurel wreath



The Winchester Archaeology and Local History Group hope to produce a monograph detailing their findings, along with specialist reports on the finds

John Goldsmith

<https://hursleypark.wixsite.com/history>

In this year...1660

A summary of events in the first 5 months...

- Jan 01 General Monck sends his advance guard from Coldstream into England.
- Jan 06 Parliament orders Monck to proceed to London with his army (marches on the 16th)
- Jan 23 Parliament issues a declaration affirming the establishment of the Commonwealth, without a King or House of Lords, to be governed by representatives of the people.
- Feb 01 Mutiny among soldiers at St James's, who refuse to leave London until their arrears of pay are settled.
- Feb 04 Parliament resolves that its numbers should be made up to 400 members with constituencies distributed as they were in 1653. A committee appointed to supervise the re-arrangements.
- Feb 08 Householders and freemen address a petition to the Lord Mayor and Common Council of London urging that no taxes should be paid until a full Parliament has voted them.
- Feb 11 Monck sends a letter to Parliament insisting that writs for new elections be issued within a week. He apologises for his actions in dismantling the City gates and sends his soldiers to occupy the City.
- Feb 11 "The Roasting of the Rump": a night of wild popular rejoicing in London and the provinces at news that the Rump Parliament is coming to an end.
- Feb 18 Parliament passes an act disqualifying various classes of people from voting or standing for election.
- Feb 21 Under General Monck's protection, seventy-three surviving MPs purged in 1648 are re-admitted to Parliament and the Long Parliament is restored.
- Feb 23 Parliament holds elections for a new Council of State of thirty-one members.
- Feb 27 Re-appointment of John Thurloe as joint Secretary of State with John Thompson.
- Mar 16 Final dissolution of the Long Parliament after MPs pass the Act of Dissolution and authorise free elections. The Council of State to exercise executive authority until the new Parliament assembles.
- Apr 04 Charles II leaves Brussels in the Spanish Netherlands for Breda in Holland. On the way, he gives Sir John Grenville the manifesto later known as the Declaration of Breda, and dispatches for Monck, Montagu, the Speakers of the Lords and Commons and the Lord Mayor of London.
- May 01 Sir John Grenville presents the Declaration of Breda and letters from the King to both Houses of Parliament. The Houses answer with an acknowledgement that the government of the nation is, and ought to be, by King, Lords and Commons.
Popular rejoicing throughout the nation at the prospect of the King's return. May Day celebrations held for the first time since the beginning of the civil wars.
- May 08 King Charles proclaimed in London.
- May 09 First reading in the House of Commons of the Bill of General Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion.



Extract from: <http://bcw-project.org/timelines/1660>

Full timeline can be found at: <http://bcw-project.org/>

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Cromwell Curator's Corner

Spring has flown past at the Cromwell Museum, not least as we've been getting lots of visitors coming to see us. The year up until 1st April 2023 saw our busiest year for over a decade, including visits from quite a few members of the Association. It has been lovely to see some familiar faces and to make the acquaintance of new ones too!

We're looking forward to a busy summer with our new temporary exhibition, *Secret State: Cromwellian Spies and Intelligence*, which looks at the development of espionage during the 1640s and 1650s. We've been delighted to secure some great items on loan from other institutions as part of this display, including the recently discovered Parliamentarian cipher in the Earl of Manchester's papers from Huntingdonshire Archives, which was featured in an article in *The Protector's Pen* by Alan Akeroyd last year, and one of the 'King's Cabinet' letters from the UK Parliamentary Archives which was captured after the Battle of Naseby, this one from Queen Henrietta Maria and decoded in Charles I's own hand. Our friends at the National Civil War Centre in Newark have also kindly lent a lovely dagger of the period – maybe like the one used to assassinate Isaac Dorislaus...? The exhibition runs until 17 September and is free to view during normal museum opening hours. There's also an associated programme of events, which you can find more about on our website.

We also have some exciting news about an expansion of the museum. As members will know, for some years we have been hoping to take over a neighbouring building should the opportunity arise, and an award of funding through the Towns Fund has just made that possibility move a step closer. There's a long way to go yet, but we're now moving from 'possible' to 'probable'...

Do keep an eye out too for upcoming events, activities, and videos on our social media channels. We continue to produce a new YouTube video at least once a month; recent

ones include readings of some of Cromwell's most iconic speeches by a professional actor, and a discussion with John Morrill on the ever-thorny issue of Cromwell and Ireland.



You can find more information on the exhibition and an associated programme of events on our website at: www.cromwellmuseum.org,

or via our social media:

 @thecromwellmuseum

 @thecromwellmuseum

 @museumcromwell

www.youtube.com/c/CromwellMuseum

I hope to see you soon!

Stuart Orme,
Curator, The Cromwell Museum



Meet a Civil War Soldier

05-08-23 - 05-08-23

11:00 AM - 4:00 PM

Discover more about life
in the 1640s as one of
Parliament's soldiers



Cromwell's Huntingdon Guided Walk

10-08-23 - 10-08-23

7:00 PM - 8:30 PM

An evening guided walk
exploring Huntingdon in
the 1600s.

On my bookshelf...



...Book Review

Going to the Wars: The Experience of the British Civil Wars, 1638–1651 by Charles Carlton

The book I have selected for my contribution to *On my bookshelf* is one which will no doubt be familiar to many of you, although I am constantly surprised to learn that many people have still never read it: Charles Carlton's *Going to the Wars: The Experience of the British Civil Wars 1638–1651*.

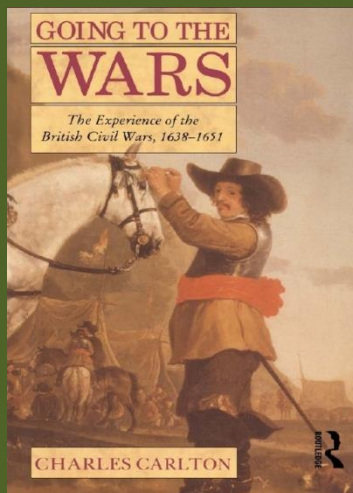
This may seem like an obvious choice for an article such as this, but it is difficult to name a book which has had a more profound impact on my life and career. I never intended to become an early modern historian; throughout my education and all the way up to university I believed that the 19th century was destined to be my life's focus. However, in my second year I decided to be a bit more adventurous in terms of the modules I picked to study, and chose, amongst others, two modules on the 17th century. *Going to the Wars* was on the reading list, and it was the first of the books I purchased.

As a starting point for my investigation into the English Civil Wars as a naïve undergraduate I could not have picked a more engaging text. Carlton set the scene for the outbreak of war with skill, exploring the statistics of violence and weapon ownership in late-Tudor and early-Stuart England, before analysing the probability of previous military experience amongst the early recruits. The conflicting attitudes of the commanders and the soldiers themselves, both in response to the Irish Rebellion of 1641 and the outbreak of Civil War, was a stark reminder that there will never be a 'right' side in warfare; it will be bloody, it will be brutal, and it will cause immense suffering.

I was particularly struck when I first read it of the skilful way Carlton weaved quotes from historical sources into his narrative text and analysis, and it is a style I have tried to emulate in my own work ever since. I found the presentation of first-hand accounts alongside historical context was so much more engaging than books purely focussed on the narrative.

The focus on the human cost of warfare, keeping the attention on individual soldiers and civilians, rather than the wider view of the manoeuvrings of military commanders, is what drew me into this book. Carlton used accounts from both royalists and parliamentarians, showing that the common threads of injury, pain, disease, suffering, plunder, and grief were not partisan. Although this text was my introduction to the English Civil Wars, I still constantly find myself reaching for it, and *Going to the Wars* will retain its position as one of the most influential books on my shelf for many years to come.

Dr Charlotte Young



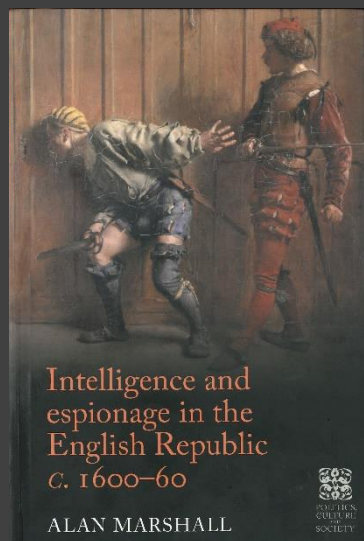
Intelligence and espionage in the English Republic c.1600–60

by Alan Marshall

Knowing that I was going to be preparing an exhibition at the museum on espionage and intelligence during the Cromwellian period, I was itching to get a copy of Alan Marshall's new book when it was published. My expectations were not disappointed.

The author provides an engaging, thorough, and well-researched overview of the development of intelligence services in England from Walsingham to Thurloe. His book looks at the role such 'edg'd tools of government' played in the Elizabethan period, focussed very much on the personal networks of the Secretary of State, through the upheavals of the Civil War (with an overview of military intelligence and the 'spy fever' that gripped the country at the time) to the recognisably more modern intelligence service of the Republic. The book highlights the role played by Thomas Scot in developing this service –

overshadowed by his successor John Thurloe – and the personal role played by Cromwell himself. The Lord Protector seems to have had a particular interest in effective intelligence, perhaps something that he transferred from his military experience.



The interception of mail, codes, ciphers, interrogations, the recruitment and use of agents and informers, assassinations – a fascinating world which is brought effectively to life by Alan Marshall. My only complaint is the cost, another example of where a very accessible scholarly book is denied a wider audience (which it surely has) by the price.

Stuart Orme

Charles Carlton, *Going to the Wars: The Experience of the British Civil Wars 1638–1651*, 440pp, Paperback 1993, Taylor & Francis Ltd, ISBN: 9780415103916

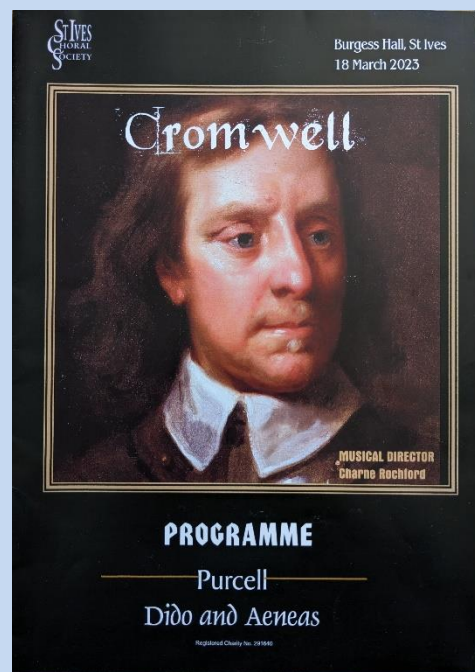
Alan Marshall, *Intelligence and espionage in the English Republic c.1600–60*, 280pp, Manchester University Press, Hardback, 2023, ISBN 9781526118899

Cromwell – An Oratorio

by Tom Randle, Librettist Nikki Racklin

The world premiere of this piece was given by the St Ives Choral Society and St Ivo Youth Choir, conducted by Charne Rochford, musical director of the Choral Society. Stephen Gadd, baritone, took the role of Cromwell and was accompanied by Camerata East led by Helen Medlock. The performance took place in the Burgess Hall, St Ives, Cambridgeshire on 18 March 2023 and lasted about 45 minutes. Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, which is of similar length, opened the evening. The oratorio was written about 30 years after Cromwell's death, just after the 'Glorious Revolution'.

The excellent programme, a bargain at £2, included the full libretto for both pieces and it is the libretto, rather than the inevitably martial music, which will be of most interest to Cromwellians. (For *Cromwell* the 12-piece orchestra was supplemented by two sets of drums, surely one too many; although Aeneas was also a warrior, he didn't need drums – this part of his life is a love story).



The libretto, very much a mixed bag, is interestingly structured. Opening with the *Funeral of Cromwell*, and closing with his *Death*, there are five other sections: *Rise of the Protector*, *Cromwell's Conversion*, *To Battle*, *Myths and Rumours*, and *Cromwell in Parliament*, making seven

sections in total. That, as Cromwell knew, is the biblical number of perfection/ completion, but whether that is deliberate on the part of the librettist one doesn't know.

The order of the five sections is something of a mystery. Chronologically it should start with *Myths and Rumours*, though this section would be much better omitted, followed by the *Conversion*, *To Battle*, *Rise of the Protector*, and *Cromwell in Parliament* which deals with the dismissal of the Rump. There is absolutely nothing about family which was incredibly important to Oliver, and a section on this would have been vastly better than the fairy tale nonsense of *Myths and Rumours*.

We open at the *Funeral* where 'the faithful' laud the late Protector while 'detractors' do the opposite. However, both sides agree that he was 'King in all but name'. If one thought that heralded a well-balanced approach, the 'Chorus of Street Children' removes the illusion. Having the decisive word, they are clear that everyone is pleased to see him gone.

Rise of the Protector is essentially a series of charges against Oliver; the Dutch, Spanish, Irish and Charles are all crushed, if not in that order. The language – brutalise, traumatize, paralyse, terrorise – is over the top. I wasn't impressed by the pandering to Irish prejudice; hasn't Nikki Racklin read Tom Reilly?

As indicated earlier, *Conversion* is

chronologically misplaced, but it is perhaps surprisingly warm and there is no doubt about its genuineness.

To Battle, though it concentrates on domestic warfare, is in a somewhat similar vein to *Rise of the Protector*. Did 'The Rules of Engagement mean nothing to Oliver'? Was he 'a madman'? Madmen tend not to last long on the battlefield. Cromwell had courage and judgement, qualities not mentioned here.

Myths and Rumours repeats the story about Oliver giving Charles a bloody nose when they were children. There's also stuff about the Great Ouse turning crimson with blood (mimicking the Nile?) and various other nonsenses.

Cromwell in Parliament is a short summary of his speech dismissing the Rump. The concluding section, *Death of Cromwell*, is very different from the opening *Funeral* and much more sympathetic to our hero. Faith, not this world, is what counts.

Overall, it's difficult to know what to make of the libretto. In the round, is it balanced? For me there are too many inaccuracies while the absence of a section on Family is a serious howler.

All the performers, particularly Stephen Gadd in the title role, were excellent. The choirs, mature and youthful, blended well, and the musicians coped well with two very different pieces.

John Gibbon



Twitterbox

A few select tweets from a quick search of Twitter...



Cromwell Association Retweeted

London Town Tours @TownTours · Jan 17

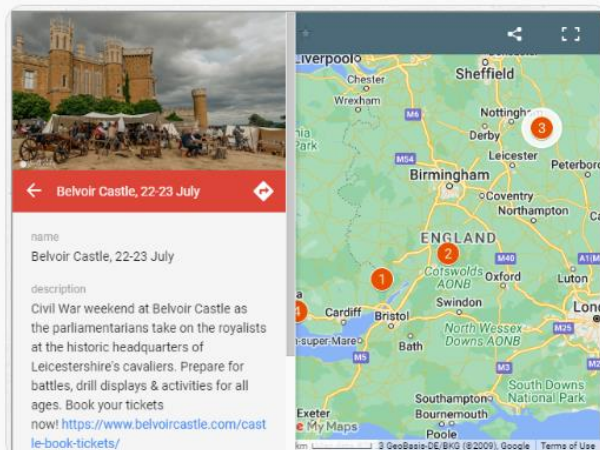
A happy accident or fantastic planning by the architects of the Barbican estate? Through the memorial window to Oliver Cromwell's marriage in @stgilesch you can see Cromwell Tower #lifeofaguide @cityoflondon @BBGuides



Lord Grey's Regiment @joinLordGrey · Mar 31

We've updated our events page to show where we'll be bringing the English Civil Wars to life this summer. Why not come and see us? More events to be added soon.

#reenact #EnglishCivilWar #history #FridayFeeling
lordgreys.weebly.com/events-page.ht...



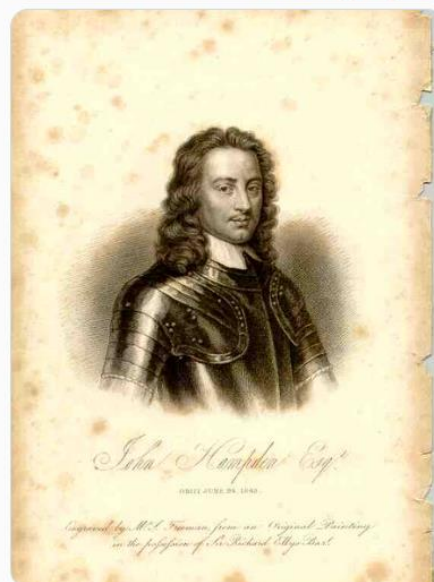
The Cromwell Museum @MuseumCromwell · Jun 24

#OnThisDay 24 June 1643 John Hampden died of his wounds sustained days before at the Battle of Chalgrove Field. His loss was a severe blow to the Parliamentarian cause, as he was a moderating force between the various factions in Parliament. #17thCentury #EnglishCivilWar #OTD

Heritage Alliance @Heritage_NGOs · Jun 20

Replying to @Heritage_NGOs

Meanwhile, our friends @battletrust and @WarMemorials trust work on the protection, conservation, and interpretation of Battlefields and War Memorials throughout the UK, respectively. [4/6]



Protector's Pen Quiz

Answer: Battlefield Walk – March 2023

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

Powick Bridge	23 Sep 1642
Edgehill	23 Oct 1642
Turnham Green	13 Nov 1642
Braddock Down	19 Jan 1643
Chalgrove	18 Jun 1643
Adwalton Moor	30 Jun 1643
Ripple	13 Apr 1643
Lansdown Hill	5 Jul 1643
Roundway Down	13 Jul 1643
Winceby	11 Oct 1643
Nantwich	25 Jan 1644
Cropredy Bridge	29 Jun 1644
Naseby	14 Jun 1645
Alford	2 Jul 1645
Langport	10 Jul 1645



Rare set of etchings depicting Charles II coronation found

A set of rare etchings which depict the coronation of Charles II more than 350 years ago have been found in the back of a cupboard.

The images were created by famous graphic artist Wenceslaus Hollar to document the lavish ceremony held in 1661.



A view of a set of etchings at by Wenceslaus Hollar (Gareth Fuller/PA) (PA Wire)

Now the etchings have been found 362 years later during a house clearance at a property in Notting Hill, London, and are being put up for sale through Kent-based Catherine Southon Auctioneers.

Ms Southon explained that the discovery was made up of 20 etchings divided into four horizontal rows on five sheets of folding papers with watermarks, measuring 42cm by 49.5cm (16.5in by 19.4in).

She said that similar sets of etchings are held in the Royal Collection as well as the British Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Independent and i Paper, 25 April 2023



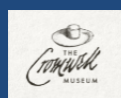
Sounds of musket and cannon-fire will be filling Colchester's city centre over the weekend of the 19–20 August, as Colchester City Council and the English Civil War Society prepare to stage an epic re-enactment and commemoration of the 73-day siege of Colchester, which took place 375 years ago, in 1648.

<https://colchester.cimuseums.org.uk/events/colchestersiegespectacular/>

Exhibitions and Events

Links have been provided below to some websites should you wish to look up further details on forthcoming events as they are announced:

NCWC, Newark	http://www.nationalcivilwarcentre.com/events/
English Civil War Society	http://www.ecws.org.uk/
Worcester Commandery	http://www.museumsworcestershire.org.uk/
Cromwell Museum	http://www.cromwellmuseum.org/
Cromwell's House, Ely	http://visitey.org.uk/cromwell/oliver-cromwells-house
Battlefields Trust	http://www.battlefieldstrust.com/default.asp
Sealed Knot	http://www.thesealedknot.org.uk/
Scottish Battlefields Trust	http://www.scottishbattlefields.org/events-1
John Hampden Society	https://www.johnhampden.org/
Pike and Shot Society	https://www.pikeandshotsociety.org/



THE SEALED KNOT
LOVE HISTORY! LIVE IT WITH THE SEALED KNOT



The English Civil War Society
We bring history alive...



NATIONAL CIVIL WAR CENTRE
NEWARK MUSEUM

