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978-0-521-83867-2 - Parliaments and Politics during the Cromwellian Protectorate
Patrick Little and David L. Smith

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Parliaments and Politics during the Cromwellian Protectorate

This ground-breaking volume fills a major historiographical gap by providing the first detailed book-length study of the period of the Protectorate Parliaments from September 1654 to April 1659. The study is very broad in its scope, covering topics as diverse as the British and Irish dimensions of the Protectorate Parliaments, the political and social nature of factions, problems of management, the legal and judicial aspects of Parliament's functions, foreign policy, and the nature of the parliamentary franchise and elections in this period. In its wide-ranging analysis of Parliaments and politics throughout the Protectorate, the book also examines both Lord Protectors, all three Protectorate Parliaments, and the reasons why Oliver and Richard Cromwell were never able to achieve a stable working relationship with any Parliament. Its chronological coverage extends to the demise of the Third Protectorate Parliament in April 1659. This comprehensive account will appeal to historians of early modern British political history.

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DAVID L. SMITH is Fellow and Director of Studies in History at Selwyn College, Cambridge.

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PATRICK LITTLE

History of Parliament Trust

AND

DAVID L. SMITH

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For Barry Coward and John Morrill,
with gratitude

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PREFACE

In the course of planning, researching, and writing this book, we have incurred many debts. We are very grateful to John Morrill for his advice and assistance in planning the book and devising the chapter structure. He also gave us helpful comments on an early version of chapter 6, as did Barry Coward on drafts of chapters 5 and 11. We have benefited greatly from conversations with many other friends and colleagues, especially Phil Baker, Andrew Barclay, Alexander Courtney, Colin Davis, Tim Harris, Mark Kishlansky, Kirsteen MacKenzie, Jason Peacey, Stephen Roberts, David Scott, Graham Seel, David Underdown, and Blair Worden. Needless to say, none of the above bears any responsibility for the shortcomings of the finished book.

We are most grateful to Clive Holmes and to Jason Peacey for allowing us to read work prior to publication. We also wish to thank the History of Parliament Trust for permitting us to see draft constituency articles before publication, and to make use of this material in the chapter on elections. Thanks are due to His Grace the Duke of Northumberland for permission to consult the microfilm of the Alnwick Castle manuscripts in the British Library. An early version of chapter 5 was presented at a seminar at the Institute of Historical Research, London; early versions of chapter 6 were read at seminars at Cambridge, Sussex, Yale, and the University of Pennsylvania, and at the Protectorate symposium held at the History of Parliament Trust, London. We are indebted to all those who participated on these occasions for their helpful contributions and suggestions. We are also grateful to the editorial team at Cambridge University Press, and especially to Karen Anderson Howes, Rosina Di Marzo, and Michael Watson.

The dedication reflects our profound and longstanding debt to two of the pre-eminent historians of this period and, appropriately, the past and present presidents of the Cromwell Association: it is offered with gratitude for their unstinting friendship, support, and inspiration.

This book is the result of a collaborative endeavour. We jointly devised the overall shape and chapter structure, and then allocated each chapter to one

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of us to produce a working draft. We then swapped drafts, sent comments to each other, and rewrote in the light of them. DLS is principally responsible for chapters 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9, and appendix 1; PJSJL for chapters 2, 5, 10, 11, 12, and 13, and appendix 2.

In the footnotes and bibliography, the place of publication is London unless otherwise stated. Spelling in quotations from primary sources has been modernised and the standard abbreviated forms have been expanded. Dates are given in old style, except that the year is taken to begin on 1 January rather than 25 March.

ABBREVIATIONS

A & O	C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, eds., <i>Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660</i> (3 vols., 1911)
Abbott	W. C. Abbott, ed., <i>Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell</i> (4 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1937–47)
BL	British Library
Bodl.	Bodleian Library
Burton	J. T. Rutt, ed., <i>Diary of Thomas Burton, Esq.</i> (4 vols., 1828)
CJ	<i>Journals of the House of Commons</i>
Clarendon, <i>History</i>	Edward, Earl of Clarendon, <i>The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England</i> , ed. W. Dunn Macray (6 vols., Oxford, 1888)
Clarendon SP	<i>State Papers Collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon</i> (3 vols., Oxford, 1757)
Clarke Papers	C. H. Firth and Frances Henderson, eds., <i>The Clarke Papers</i> (5 vols., Camden Society, 2nd series, 49, 1891; 54, 1894; 61 [recte 60], 1899; 62, 1901; 5th series, 27, 2005)
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</i>
CSPI	<i>Calendar of State Papers Ireland</i>
CSPV	<i>Calendar of State Papers Venetian</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
Firth, <i>Last Years</i>	C. H. Firth, <i>The Last Years of the Protectorate, 1656–1658</i> (2 vols., 1909)
Gardiner, <i>Commonwealth and Protectorate</i>	S. R. Gardiner, <i>History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649–1656</i> (4 vols., 1903; reprinted 1989)
Gardiner, <i>Constitutional Documents</i>	S. R. Gardiner, ed., <i>Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625–1660</i> (3rd edn, Oxford, 1906)

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- Guizot,
Richard Cromwell F. G. P. Guizot, *History of Richard Cromwell and the Restoration of Charles II*, trans. A. R. Scoble (2 vols., 1856)
- HJ *Historical Journal*
- HMC Historical Manuscripts Commission
- HR *Historical Research*
- LJ *Journals of the House of Lords*
- Lomas–Carlyle S. C. Lomas, ed., *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, with Elucidations by Thomas Carlyle* (3 vols., 1904)
- Ludlow C. H. Firth, ed., *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow* (2 vols., Oxford, 1894)
- NAS National Archives of Scotland
- Nicholas Papers* G. F. Warner, ed., *The Nicholas Papers* (4 vols., Camden Society, 2nd series, 40, 1886; 50, 1893; 57, 1897; 3rd series, 31, 1920)
- NLI National Library of Ireland
- NLS National Library of Scotland
- NRAS National Register of Archives for Scotland
- ODNB *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004)
- OPH [Various editors,] *The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England* (often referred to as the ‘Old Parliamentary History’) (24 vols., 1751–61)
- Parl. Hist.* *Parliamentary History*
- Schilling W. A. H. Schilling, ‘The Parliamentary Diary of Sir John Gell, 5 February–21 March 1659’ (MA thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1961)
- Stephen William Stephen, ed., *Register of the Consultations of the Ministers of Edinburgh and some other Brethren of the Ministry* (2 vols., Scottish History Society, 3rd series, 1, 1921; 16, 1930)
- TNA The National Archives (Public Record Office), Kew
- TSP Thomas Birch, ed., *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq.* (7 vols., 1742)
- Vaughan Robert Vaughan, ed., *The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell and the State of Europe during the Early Part of the Reign of Louis XIV* (2 vols., 1839)

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| Whitelocke, <i>Diary</i> | Ruth Spalding, ed., <i>The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605–1675</i> (British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History, new series, 13, Oxford, 1990) |
| Whitelocke, <i>Memorials</i> | Bulstrode Whitelocke, <i>Memorials of the English Affairs</i> (4 vols., Oxford, 1853) |

The place of publication of printed works in the above list, and in the footnotes, is London unless otherwise indicated.