

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	vii
<i>List of Maps</i>	viii
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	ix
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiv
Introduction	1
<i>Patrick Little</i>	
1 1636: The Unmaking of Oliver Cromwell?	20
<i>Simon Healy</i>	
2 ‘One that Would Sit Well at the Mark’: The Early Parliamentary Career of Oliver Cromwell, 1640–1642	38
<i>Stephen K. Roberts</i>	
3 ‘Lord of the Fens’: Oliver Cromwell’s Reputation and the First Civil War	64
<i>S. L. Sadler</i>	
4 ‘A Despicable Contemptible Generation of Men’?: Cromwell and the Levellers	90
<i>Philip Baker</i>	
5 Cromwell and Ireland before 1649	116
<i>Patrick Little</i>	
6 Oliver Cromwell and the Solemn League and Covenant of the Three Kingdoms	142
<i>Kirsteen M. MacKenzie</i>	
7 Oliver Cromwell (<i>alias</i> Williams) and Wales	168
<i>Lloyd Bowen</i>	
8 The Lord Protector and his Court	195
<i>Andrew Barclay</i>	

9	John Thurloe and the Offer of the Crown to Oliver Cromwell <i>Patrick Little</i>	216
10	'Fit for Public Services': The Upbringing of Richard Cromwell <i>Jason Peacey</i>	241
	<i>Suggestions for Further Reading</i>	265
	<i>Index</i>	267

1

1636: The Unmaking of Oliver Cromwell?

Simon Healy

Three hundred and fifty years after his death, Oliver Cromwell remains an enigmatic figure: a man of action, but prone to moments of indecision; fiercely loyal, but prepared to abandon his allies when it suited him. Students of Cromwell's early years must also confront an evidential problem, as the sources for the first two-thirds of his life comprise only a handful of letters and a smattering of information about his birth, education, marriage, some of his contacts and interests.¹ Few statesmen leave a copious archive of their youth, but while Cromwell's origins clearly had a significant impact on his later life—his regiment of 'ironsides' and the protectoral court were populated by a fair number of his relations and early acquaintances—he was remarkably sparing with personal reminiscences about his formative years. One wonders whether Cromwell's reticence over the obscurer parts of his life suggests that he had something to hide.

In the absence of concrete information about Cromwell's early years, James Heath, Sir William Dugdale and other royalist detractors rushed to fill the void with tittle-tattle, much of which is unprovable, and some of which may have been outright lies. John Morrill's study of Cromwell's origins discards such reminiscences out of hand, but it is perhaps fairer to treat such tales with caution unless they are corroborated by other sources.² For example, Lord Treasurer Juxon's secretary, Sir Philip Warwick, recalled his first encounter with Cromwell in the

opening weeks of the Long Parliament, describing him as a grubby individual who nevertheless swayed the House with his passion:

I came into the House well clad and perceived a gentleman speaking (whom I knew not) very ordinary apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor. His linen was plain, and not very clean, and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar. His hat was without a hatband, his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour.³

This recollection may have been fabricated or distorted, but others testify to Cromwell's inelegant appearance at the time (his wife had not accompanied him to Westminster), while the point of Warwick's tale—that MPs were inclined to underestimate Cromwell in November 1640—was palpably true.

Cromwell's adversaries often painted him as an ordinary man floundering out of his depth, but he was astute enough to realise that a reputation as an ignorant backwoodsman could be turned to political advantage. At the opening of the 1654 parliament, he portrayed his relatively humble origins as an apprenticeship in civic and religious virtues:

I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity. I have been called to several employments in the nation—to serve in parliaments—and . . . I did endeavour to discharge the duty of an honest man in those services, to God and his people's interest, and the commonwealth.⁴

John Morrill's researches suggest that the lord protector's memory was somewhat selective; at the least, his patrimony was barely sufficient to sustain his status as a gentleman, which helps to explain his view during the first civil war that 'I had rather have a plain, russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call a gentleman and is nothing else'.⁵ As protector, Cromwell was at pains to emphasise his ordinariness: on 17 September 1656 he protested to MPs that 'I am plain and shall use a homely expression'; on 8 April 1657 he told parliament that he would 'speak very clearly and plainly to you'; and on 21 April 1657 he protested to the parliamentary committee that 'I speak not this to evade . . . but I say plainly and clearly I hope', adding that he would 'be very ready, freely, and honestly and plainly, to discharge myself' in his dealings

with them.⁶ In the Cromwellian lexicon, of course, epithets such as ‘plain’ and ‘honest’ implied not only candour, but also moral probity and godliness, the best example of the latter being an oft-quoted letter of 13 October 1638 to his cousin Mrs St John:

My soul is with the congregation of the firstborn, my body rests in hope, and if here I may honour God either by doing or by suffering, I shall be most glad. . . . You know what my manner of life hath been. Oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated the light. I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true; I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me. O the riches of His mercy!⁷

Reproduced at the start of the *Thurloe State Papers*, this is the earliest example of the biblical and evangelical rhetoric which suffuses Cromwell’s later correspondence, and is often cited as proof of his acquisition of the mental fortitude necessary to surmount the challenges he subsequently faced as a military and political leader.⁸ Yet this puts the cart before the horse. In 1638, Cromwell may have gained personal assurance of God’s mercy, but this cannot have come through foreknowledge of what divine Providence held in store for him over the next two decades.

Our perception of Cromwell as a godly gentleman has been substantially altered by the researches of John Morrill, whose study of the youthful Cromwell portrays a man more uncertain about his social and religious status than previous historians allow. By his account, Cromwell had tasted failure at least twice, first as a municipal politician in Huntingdon, then as a tenant farmer in St Ives. Moreover, while Cromwell clearly enjoyed many contacts among the godly in his early years, Morrill suggests that he was no cradle puritan, but experienced an evangelical awakening only in the aftermath of his humiliating confrontation with the Huntingdon corporation in 1630.⁹ What more can be said? The most significant point is that his biographers tend to view the Great Man in isolation. His later career obviously justifies such an approach, as it was quite exceptional: he was one of a few dozen men who exercised high military command during the civil wars; and the only one who went on to become ruler of the nations. In Morrill’s words, ‘no man who rises from a working farmer to head of state in twenty years is other than great’.¹⁰ Yet before 1640, he was—as he later claimed—a ‘mere’ gentleman worth (at best) a few hundred pounds a year, unlikely to become a leader of county society, let alone the nation at large. English local administration was staffed by thousands of that ilk, most of whom progressed

little further up the *cursus honorum* of the early modern ruling classes. Therefore, the key question to be asked about Cromwell's early life is, what marked him out from his cohort?

I

As John Morrill has established, Cromwell was not born with any expectation of a grand inheritance. This was in sharp (and perhaps painful) contrast to his closest relatives, the Cromwells of Hinchingsbrooke House. Descended from the sister of Henry VIII's minister Thomas Cromwell, the family acquired Ramsey Abbey, Hinchingsbrooke Nunnery and a vast estate of around 60,000 acres in Huntingdonshire following the dissolution of the monasteries, making them one of the great gentry families of Elizabethan England. Sir Henry Cromwell was considered for a peerage in 1588, as was his eldest son Sir Oliver in 1604, and the latter became an intimate of King James I.¹¹ However, when old Sir Henry died in January 1604, he bequeathed each of his five younger sons, including Oliver's father Robert Cromwell, no more than a house, a few acres of land and the income from an inappropriate rectory. Under the circumstances, Robert did reasonably well for himself: he married into a well-established family from the Isle of Ely, served as MP for Huntingdon in 1593 and as a JP for his county later in life.¹² However, he did little to improve his family's economic fortunes. A relative, Captain Henry Cromwell, who died at Robert's house in December 1601, left him all his goods, but the main part of this bequest was the right to recover a loan of £300 to Richard Whalley (a cousin by marriage). A protracted legal dispute ensued, and the debt seems never to have been repaid.¹³ Robert Cromwell's only known attempt to improve his son's inheritance lay in an ingenious act of administrative cunning. As he lay dying in 1617, he granted his wife a 21-year lease of his freehold lands, in order to allow the 18-year-old Oliver to escape the clutches of the court of wards (which would otherwise take control of the estate, on behalf of the crown, until the heir came of age). The ploy was initially accepted by the court of wards, but in July 1619 Cromwell's wardship was nevertheless sold for £150. Payment was undertaken by the exchequer auditor, Thomas Hutton, and Sir Lionel Cranfield's servant, Nicholas Harman, who were perhaps acting on behalf of Cromwell's mother.¹⁴

The controversy over his wardship presumably explains why Cromwell was not married until August 1620, shortly after he came

of age, at which time it was agreed that his main property, Hartford rectory (which lay just outside Huntingdon), was to be settled on his wife as a jointure estate. The bride's father, Sir James Bourchier, was essentially a Londoner, although he had also purchased an estate at Little Stambridge, Essex, making him a neighbour of the earl of Warwick, one of the leading godly peers of England. As Bourchier had sons to inherit his lands, his daughter must have been promised a cash dowry (the sum given to the groom by the bride's family); and the fact that Cromwell undertook to assign his largest estate as the jointure lands (assigned to the bride in return for the dowry payment) suggests that it was reasonably substantial. However, there is no indication that he invested any dowry money in freehold lands, so (if it was paid) it seems likely that he either bought leases of 'copyhold' lands (the sales of which are difficult to trace), loaned the cash out at interest, or used it to settle accumulated debts.¹⁵

The most significant financial transaction in which the young Cromwell participated was the sale of his Huntingdon estate. In May 1631 he passed his house (Austin Friars), most of his lands and the Hartford rectory to Richard Oakeley of Westminster and Richard Owen of Middlesex for £1800. At the time, arable land usually sold for around 20 times its annual rental value, but the tithes which comprised the main income of any rectory fetched a little less, so the sale price values Cromwell's patrimony at around £100 *per annum*. His mother, whose jointure interest was included in the sale, seems to have remained in Austin Friars as a tenant, but nothing is mentioned of his wife's interest in Hartford rectory. This suggests that he had failed to make a jointure settlement, despite having given a bond to do so at his marriage, and raises some doubt as to whether he ever received a dowry from his father-in-law.¹⁶ Equally interesting is the identity of one of the purchasers, Richard Oakeley, who was receiver-general of the lands of Westminster Abbey and a secretary to the Bishop John Williams of Lincoln (then resident at the episcopal palace at Buckden, only three miles from Huntingdon).¹⁷ It seems likely that Oakeley and Owen were acting as attorneys for Bishop Williams, as after his death, the latter's niece and her husband, Sir Owen Wynn, claimed the inheritance of lands in Huntingdonshire as part of a longstanding dispute arising from the bishop's failure to provide an adequate dowry at their marriage in 1624. In 1653 Wynn nominated Oakeley, 'whom I have not seen these 22 years and above' as an arbitrator of this dispute, but Oakeley apparently sold the lands back to the Cromwell family before his death in September 1653.¹⁸

The circumstances of Cromwell's departure from Huntingdon have been closely explored elsewhere. Having probably been a common councillor there since 1624 (when he became a JP for the borough), he was returned as MP in 1628. Thereafter he quarrelled with other members of the corporation over a bequest from Richard Fishbourne, a Huntingdon native who, having made his fortune as a London Mercer, left £2000 to the corporation for the endowment of a weekly sermon. As the town schoolmaster, Dr Thomas Beard, was already engaged to give lectures twice a week, a faction on the corporation led by Thomas Edwards (and probably supported by Cromwell) proposed to divert the money to poor relief. However, others successfully insisted that the original bequest be honoured, and while they failed to get Beard appointed to the new lectureship, he was given £40 to ease the pain of rejection. In the middle of this dispute, the town obtained a new charter appointing a bench of aldermen, from which Edwards and Cromwell were excluded. In such a small town, this omission constituted a public humiliation; and Cromwell and William Kilborne, similarly slighted, railed against their enemies in an outburst for which they were summoned before the privy council and forced to make a public apology.¹⁹

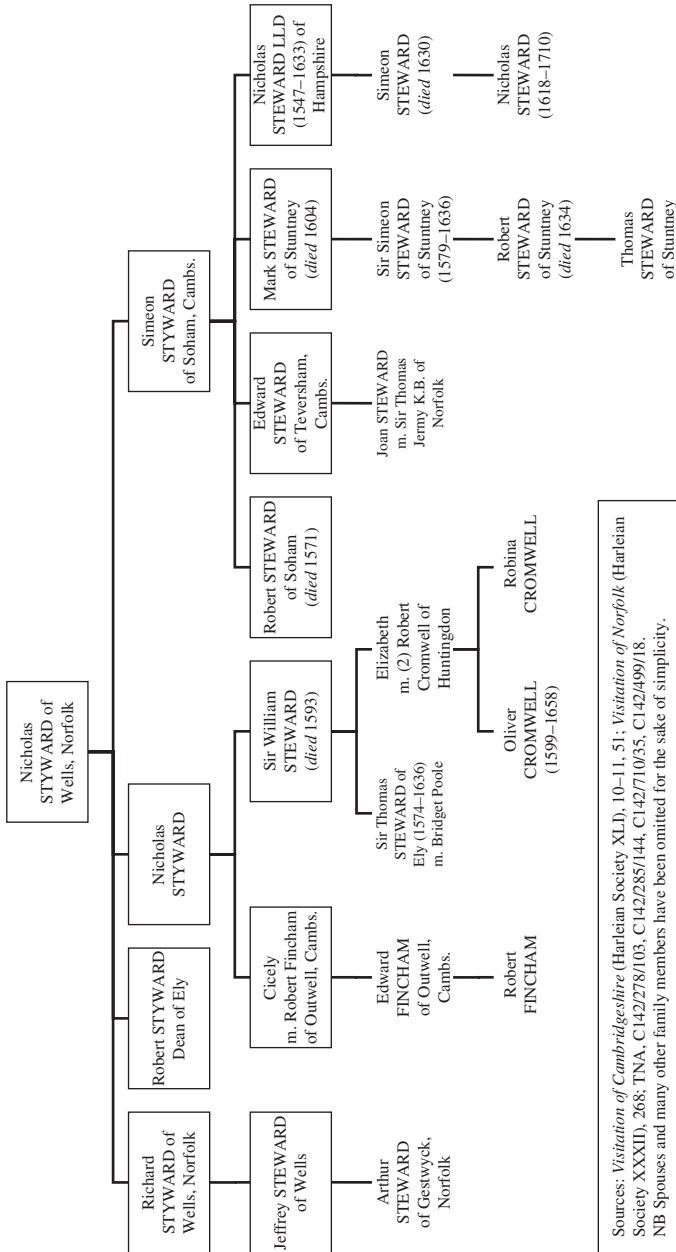
This local context certainly explains Cromwell's desire to leave Huntingdon, but property was the ultimate form of security in early modern England, and most landowners in his situation—that is to say, not being hotly pursued by their creditors—would simply have leased their estate and used the rental income to establish themselves elsewhere. So why did he sell up? It is often said that alterations in religious practices being promoted by William Laud—soon to be archbishop of Canterbury—and his Arminian allies prompted godly puritans to contemplate resettlement in New England. As we shall see, Cromwell's only recorded speech as an MP in 1629 certainly demonstrates that he was an opponent of the Laudians, and it is interesting that Henry Lawrence, who became Cromwell's landlord at St Ives after he left Huntingdon, was a patentee of the Connecticut company. However, the Plymouth colony was struggling at this time; Boston had been founded less than a year earlier; and Connecticut had only just obtained its charter; so any such interest on Cromwell's part would have been a little premature in 1631. In any case, his early biographer, Mark Noble, connects the story about emigration to the foundation of the Saybrook company in 1635–1636, by which time Cromwell had acquired other interests.²⁰ The most straightforward

answer to the conundrum of the Huntingdon sale in 1631 is, quite simply, that Cromwell had greater expectations elsewhere.

II

Cromwell's maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, was by any standards a prosperous man. He owned around 60 acres of freehold land in Ely, 50 acres situated some ten miles away at Elme, Cambridgeshire and Emneth, Norfolk, and 200 acres of fen at nearby Upwell. Like many fenland families, he leased further estates from the ecclesiastical authorities, who owned most of the choicest land in the Isle of Ely. He held Paradise Close in Ely, the rectory of Ely St Mary, and Chapman's close and Tilekilm close in the adjacent manor of Wichford from the dean and chapter, and the manor of Ely Barton from the bishop, which comprised at least 100 acres of land and a lucrative tithe income. Finally, Steward may have enjoyed the profits of the manor of Mullicourt House in the parish of Outwell, which was granted to his cousin Edward Fincham in 1626, and later inherited by Cromwell.²¹ The Stewards had been major tenants of church lands since the time of Sir Thomas's great uncle Robert Styward, the first post-Reformation dean of Ely, and they generally arranged to keep their estates within the family, so it is important to know when Steward decided to break with tradition and make Cromwell, his sister's son, his main heir.

The first time Cromwell was mentioned in connection with Steward's estates was in October 1610, when he was named as one of the three lives for which Steward's lease of Ely St Mary rectory was to endure. This citation conferred no legal rights upon Cromwell: leases for lives were customarily bestowed upon the children of the tenant in order to gain the maximum term for the lease; and in the absence of any children of his own, Steward chose his wife and two adolescents, Cromwell, and Robert Steward, son of his first cousin Sir Simeon Steward of Stuntney. A year later, in his lease of Paradise Close, Steward selected three different lives, including Robert Fincham, second son of his cousin Edward Fincham of Outwell, and Cromwell's infant sister, Robina.²² The first formal indication that Cromwell might be under consideration as one of Steward's heirs came in January 1625, when the bishop granted Sir Thomas a 21-year lease of the manor of Ely Barton, which included a covenant preventing Steward from alienating the lease without episcopal permission, 'unless it be to his wife, his children, his sisters or their children'. This clause was not repeated when the lease was renewed in 1629, but the



Sources: *Visitation of Cambridgeshire* (Harleian Society XLII), 10-11, 51; *Visitation of Norfolk* (Harleian Society XXXII), 268; TNA, C142/278/103, C142/285/144, C142/710/35, C142/499/18.
 NB Spouses and many other family members have been omitted for the sake of simplicity.

Oliver Cromwell and the Steward family (copyright Simon Healy)

omission may simply indicate that Steward had by then drafted a will naming Cromwell as the heir to much of his estate.²³ This decision is likely to have been controversial, as it ignored the claims of his second cousins, the Stewards of Stuntney.

Sir Thomas Steward enjoyed an unusual degree of freedom over his inheritance, as neither he nor his father, William, had established an entail on their estates. (Freehold land held under an entail descends *in tail male*, that is, to the sons, brothers, male cousins, and sometimes more distant male relatives of the landowner, effectively excluding female heirs from inheriting.) Gentry families were expected to follow the custom of male primogeniture, under which property reverted to the collateral branches of a family if the head produced no male heirs. This can be seen in the case of William Steward's first cousin Robert Steward of Stuntney, Cambridgeshire, who died childless: in his will of 1570 he entailed the Stuntney estate on each of his six brothers and their heirs male in turn, with reversions to Arthur Steward of Norfolk (a first cousin once removed) and then to William Steward of Ely, before finally conceding a remainder to his female heirs. Such entails were normally made at the marriage of the heir to the estate, or (as in Robert's case) shortly before death, but neither William nor Sir Thomas are known to have made any such settlement. There were, in fact, obligations on another part of Sir Thomas's estate, as a reversion of copyhold lands he held in Ely was assigned to Edward and Sir Mark Steward of Stuntney and their heirs male. There is also evidence of some closeness between the Ely and Stuntney families: Sir Thomas's father died at Teversham, a property owned by his Stuntney cousins; and when Sir Mark's grandson, Robert, died in 1634, Sir Thomas obtained the wardship of his heir, Thomas Steward. However, in the absence of an entail Sir Thomas was under no legal obligation to leave his freehold or leasehold estates to his Stuntney cousins; nor were they in any position to put pressure upon him, particularly after he became guardian to the heir of Stuntney.²⁴

In the absence of any draft will or other settlement, we cannot be sure that Cromwell was designated as heir to Steward's estate before 1636, but it seems likely that the decision was made at some time in the late 1620s; and the prospect of a larger inheritance would certainly explain why Cromwell was willing to sell his patrimony at Huntingdon in 1631. What happened next, however, was perhaps unique: in July 1635 an inquiry was ordered into Sir Thomas Steward's mental health. This was not, in itself, a particularly uncommon occurrence: the court of wards routinely dealt with the

estates of lunatics such as the father of the regicide Sir John Bourchier. However, wardship was generally the last resort of any family troubled by mental illness, as it greatly complicated routine legal and financial transactions.²⁵ So why was a writ sued in this case? In a much later account of 1681, the royalist Sir William Dugdale insisted that Cromwell had

so wasted his patrimony that, having attempted his uncle Steward for a supply of his wants, and finding that on a smooth way of application to him he could not prevail, he endeavoured by colour of law to lay hold of his estate, representing him as a person not able to govern it; but therein he failed.²⁶

It is easy to discount Dugdale's claim as a partisan attempt to smear the late lord protector's reputation, but the record verifies the most astonishing aspect of the case: an inquisition taken at Cambridge on 30 September 1635 certified that Steward was *not* a lunatic.²⁷ Given the profound reluctance of most families to initiate lunacy proceedings, this outcome strongly suggests that some form of foul play was at work, and as one of Steward's closest relatives, Cromwell must fall under suspicion as he stood a good chance of being appointed guardian, perhaps in tandem with Steward's wife, Dame Bridget. Cromwell's role in this enquiry is alluded to in two other pieces of evidence. First, at Oxford during the civil war, John Williams, by then archbishop of York, advised the king that 'your majesty did him [Cromwell] but justice in refusing his petition against Sir Thomas Steward of the Isle of Ely; but he takes them all for his enemies that would not let him undo his best friend'.²⁸ Secondly, Humphrey Steward, defendant in a lawsuit brought by Cromwell in 1636, recalled 'the disfavour wherein the complainant [Cromwell] stood with the said Sir Thomas not long before his death'.²⁹ These statements provide no more than circumstantial evidence, but the circumstances are most suggestive, as we shall see.

James Heath, Cromwell's most hostile biographer, claims that Steward was only dissuaded from disinheriting his nephew by the entreaties of puritan clergymen, who convinced him that Cromwell was a truly repentant sinner. Once again, the basic fact is verifiable: in his will of 29 January 1636 Steward left much of his property to Cromwell. However, one does not have to be a royalist to appreciate that Steward must have been incensed by his nephew's behaviour, and it is possible that Dame Bridget was even more upset—it was

only after her demise in December 1635 that Steward came to a settlement with Cromwell, as he himself lay dying.³⁰ Steward's will is a complex document which was misinterpreted by the most comprehensive chronicler of his life, W. C. Abbott, whose conclusions have influenced more recent biographers. Abbott stated, correctly, that Cromwell was to inherit part of Steward's freehold estate and most of his leasehold lands, but he overlooked the significance of the conditions Steward attached to this bequest. First, on the day before his will was signed, Steward assigned his leaseholds to Daniel Wigmore, the archdeacon of Ely, and Anthony Page, steward learned of the dean and chapter estates. Secondly, in his will he assigned these revenues and those of the freehold lands Cromwell was to inherit to his executor, Humphrey Steward, until his debts were paid off. Finally, he left his goods to his executor, and not to Cromwell.³¹ The extent of Steward's generosity to his nephew thus revolved around the scale of his debts, which Abbott tacitly assumed were relatively modest.³² He was wrong.

The contentious nature of Steward's will is demonstrated by the fact that Cromwell filed a lawsuit against the executor, Humphrey Steward, within a few months of his uncle's death (the date of his complaint is not legible, but Steward's answer was filed on 16 May 1636). Cromwell claimed that his uncle had intended that his goods should be assigned to pay off his debts, but Steward responded (correctly) that he had been granted Sir Thomas's goods without conditions; moreover, at the time of the lawsuit he had already agreed to sell these goods back to Cromwell for £2000. Humphrey Steward also observed that Sir Thomas had appointed him as executor because since 1633 the two men had been joint executors to Dr Nicholas Steward, another member of the Stuntney branch of the family, and that Sir Thomas's inventory included goods worth £1077 12s. 5d. which actually belonged to the estate of the late Dr Steward. He was legally entitled to recoup this sum from the deceased's estates, plus legacies of £200 and the costs of the funeral, all of which saddled the estate with debts of at least £1300.³³ What was Cromwell's landed inheritance worth? Humphrey Steward valued Sir Thomas's income at £500–600 *per annum*, but noted that this included copyhold lands which were settled on Thomas Steward, the underage heir of Stuntney. Much later, in the 1650s, Ely rectory was valued at £344 annual net value; as this was by far the most lucrative estate in the portfolio, the whole might therefore be valued at around £450 *per annum*.³⁴ By this conservative estimate, Sir Thomas Steward had thus

tied his estate up for around three years after his death, which some may have considered a remarkably mild reproach for his nephew's folly.

In highly charged circumstances such as those surrounding the Steward inheritance disputes often dragged on for years, but Cromwell, perhaps with the advice of his legal counsel, Oliver St John, quickly settled out of court.³⁵ The first indication of a compromise was the grant of a 21-year lease of Ely St Mary rectory to Cromwell by Dr William Fuller, dean of Ely, in October 1636. However, Humphrey Steward held on to the remaining lands for a full two years. The dean and chapter lands were eventually turned over to Cromwell on 29 October 1638, and the episcopal manor of Ely Barton four weeks later, on 24 November. These transactions probably indicate that Cromwell had finally cleared the debts due from his late uncle's estate to Humphrey Steward.³⁶

Ironically, Cromwell, having striven so mightily to secure the Steward inheritance, quickly alienated his ecclesiastical estates to the archdeacon of Ely, on 30 October 1640.³⁷ The cathedral authorities were presumably irritated at having a religious radical as one of their main tenants, and Cromwell was perhaps unhappy with the obligation imposed upon him by the Ely rectory lease to support two curates nominated by the dean and chapter. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the main factor behind the sale was Cromwell's return to the Long Parliament, as MP for Cambridge, three days earlier. If the session went well, financial resources might prove useful; but in the event of an abrupt dissolution, such as that of May 1640, a portable cash reserve could prove invaluable for someone who might suddenly become a fugitive. In short, the sale allowed Cromwell to keep his options open. What price might the archdeacon have paid for his lands? 21-year leases usually commanded an entry fine of 5–7 years' rental value, and with little of the term expired and an annual yield of around £400, Cromwell probably received around £2000. This would explain where he came by the £600 he subscribed to the Irish Adventurers in April 1642, and also the £500 he pledged to Parliament's English army two months later.³⁸

III

What does this excursion into the financial byways of Cromwell's youth tell us about the other key event of his formative years, his spiritual conversion? Most immediately, it puts his letter to Mrs St John

into a profoundly *personal* context. Its date, 13 October 1638, anticipated the final settlement of the dispute over Sir Thomas Steward's estates by just over two weeks. Thus when Cromwell stated 'you know what my manner of life hath been', he was assuming that the wife of his cousin and legal counsel was familiar with the controversy over the Steward bequest. Making no bones about his own responsibility, he continued, 'I lived in and loved darkness, and hated the light . . . I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me'.³⁹ Finally, this was not simply a private letter. The recipient was staying with Sir William Masham, one of the Essex godly network to whom Cromwell was connected via his aunt Joan (the widow of Sir Francis Barrington of Hatfield Broad Oak); and at this time Cromwell's sons were being raised in the same environment, at Felsted school, also in Essex.⁴⁰ The letter was thus probably destined to be passed among a wide circle of acquaintances, and therefore his aspiration that 'I may honour my God either by doing or by suffering' suggests an awareness that there might be some among his own friends and relations who still doubted the authenticity of his repentance. If this assumption is correct, the epithet 'a chief, the chief of sinners' was not merely an allusion to St Paul's words,⁴¹ but a semi-public *mea culpa*, which may well explain why this letter was preserved, when most of his early correspondence has been lost.

In theological terms, the conversion of St Paul had an obvious appeal to a chastened Cromwell. Saul, assiduous persecutor of the earliest Christians, had been confronted by his Saviour in a (literally) blinding moment of revelation on the road to Damascus, following which he was charged to bear witness of Christ's salvation 'unto all men'.⁴² This analogy undoubtedly suited Cromwell's purposes in the autumn of 1638, when he needed to demonstrate the humility of a prodigal son to his godly relations, but it is unlikely that it was the whole story. Conversion narratives, which abound for the post-Reformation period, generally record a more gradual process—akin to that described in St Augustine's *Confessions*—where a growing disquiet over the temptations of worldly existence, often accompanied by bouts of physical illness or mental anguish, eventually lead to a profound awareness of the immanence of God's saving grace.⁴³ There is ample evidence that Cromwell experienced such doubts long before arriving at an assurance of salvation.

First of all, there is the fact that Cromwell sprang from a godly milieu, where the quest for evangelical assurance was a commonplace. The only speech he is recorded to have made in parliament before

1640 places him on the fringes of the anti-Arminian group headed by John Pym and his half-brother Francis Rous. In a debate on 11 February 1629, Christopher Sherland claimed that Bishop Richard Neile of Winchester had been responsible for the procurement of royal pardons for the Arminians John Cosin, Roger Mainwaring and Robert Sibthorpe, all of whom had been investigated by the House of Commons in 1628. Cromwell recalled that Neile, some years earlier, had ordered Dr Thomas Beard not to attack the ‘flat popery’ preached by the Catholic convert, Dr William Alabaster, at Paul’s Cross. This allegation was quickly corroborated by Sir Robert Phelips, Sir John Backhouse and Sir John Jephson, who provided another example of Neile stifling anti-Catholic preaching, and proceedings concluded with a vote to summon witnesses for an investigation which clearly had the potential to grow into an impeachment.⁴⁴

Beyond this, there is evidence that the young Cromwell was a hypochondriac, and that his affliction included a spiritual dimension. The source most frequently quoted is the notebook of the royal physician Sir Theodore de Mayerne, who, following a consultation with a ‘Monsieur Cromwell’ in September 1628, diagnosed ‘*valde melancholicus corpus ad modum sici opsius, habere dolorum ventric’ periodicum*’. This is sometimes stated to have been a case of depression (*melancholicus*), but Mayerne actually identified a genuinely physical complaint, a severe affliction of the melancholic humour (black bile) producing periodic stomach pains—perhaps a stomach ulcer. There is an additional problem with this source. The patient is usually assumed to have been the future lord protector, but it could have been his cousin Henry Cromwell, who had every reason to be suffering from either real or stress-induced illness following his father’s sale of Hinchbrook House and a large slice of his inheritance.⁴⁵

There are, however, several other quasi-medical tales specifically linked to Oliver. Cromwell’s biographer, Mark Noble, recalled a story, still circulating in Georgian times, that as a tenant farmer, Cromwell was habitually seen around St Ives with ‘a piece of red flannel around his neck, as he was subject to an inflammation of the throat’.⁴⁶ His personal neuroses were also noted by his local physician, Dr John Symcotts. In 1642, Symcotts recalled that, years before, Cromwell ‘taking abundance of Mithridate to avoid the infection of the plague, cured his pimpled face’. Mithridate was the contemporary equivalent of snake-oil, and Symcotts was thus suggesting that Cromwell had been somewhat credulous. Later still, the courtier Sir Philip Warwick recalled discussing Cromwell with Symcotts while visiting the widow

of Sir Capell Bedell at Hamerton, Huntingdonshire in 1646. The doctor recalled his erstwhile patient as

a most splenetic man, and had fancies about the cross in that town [Huntingdon], and that he [Symcotts] had been called up to him at midnight and such unseasonable hours very many times, upon a strong fancy which made him believe he was then dying; and there went a story of him that in the daytime, lying melancholy in his bed, he believed that a spirit appeared to him and told him that he should be the greatest man (not mentioning the word king) in the kingdom, which his uncle Sir Thomas Steward, who left him all the little estate Cromwell had, told him was traitorous to relate.⁴⁷

While Warwick obviously imparted a royalist spin to this tale, there is no intrinsic reason to doubt its authenticity. Symcotts clearly dined out regularly on tales of the eccentricities of his celebrated patient, and nothing about this story seems unusual in the context of an evangelical struggling to find spiritual assurance.

IV

This account of Cromwell's formative years has important consequences for our view of his later career. First, the closet of his early life did contain at least one obvious skeleton: the mendacity, or—to express it more delicately—the connivance he exhibited in trying to deprive Sir Thomas Steward of his estates. Far more than a figment of royalist imagination, this incident shows Cromwell in a thoroughly unsavoury light, although paradoxically, it was ultimately the making of him. Having fretted for years about the perils his soul faced from the trivia of everyday existence, he eventually committed a genuinely damning sin, for which he faced public humiliation as a greedy charlatan; but nevertheless, God elected to save him from disgrace. As he himself said of this deliverance, 'truly no poor creature hath more cause to put forth himself in the cause of his God than I'. In other words, God had destroyed the unregenerate Cromwell—as with Saul—in order to create an apostle fit to bear witness to the gentiles of Caroline England.

Of course, this is to view the unmaking of Oliver Cromwell through his own eyes. One does not have to be a complete cynic to see that his personal epiphany involved a good deal of what a post-modernist might politely term 'self-fashioning'. Yet this is not quite

fair. The facility with which he persuaded others of his evangelical certainty over the years certainly suggests a capacity to convince himself of the rectitude of his arguments: to put a 'spin' upon his motives. Moreover, he was born with a penchant for taking risks of a magnitude which would have staggered most of his contemporaries. In particular, the decision to sell up at Huntingdon, or to pursue the incredibly rash course of having his uncle declared insane, suggests a man with an instinct to act rather than reflect. This was to serve him well on the battlefield, and also helps to explain why he staged more *coups d'état* than any other figure in English history. Yet the memory of the near-fiasco over the Steward inheritance may also help to explain the intermittent bouts of political indecision, as he weighed up the pros and cons of purging parliaments, executing the king or refusing the crown for himself. In short, the peculiar dispute over the Steward inheritance suggests that Cromwell's personality was not forged in the crucible of war and revolutionary politics, but was already there, fully formed, with all its inherent contradictions, in 1636–1638.

Notes

1. Most of the factual information about his life before 1640 is recorded in Abbott, i. 10–107.
2. J. Morrill, 'The Making of Oliver Cromwell' in Morrill (ed.), *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (Harlow, 1999), 20n.
3. Sir Philip Warwick, *Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I* (1813), 247–8.
4. I. Roots (ed.), *The Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (1989), 42.
5. Morrill, 'Making', 19–22; Abbott, i. 256; Gaunt, *Cromwell*, 48–51.
6. Roots (ed.), *Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, 92, 119, 163.
7. Abbott, i. 97; also printed in *TSP*, i. 1.
8. R. S. Paul, *The Lord Protector*, (1955), 34–42.
9. Morrill, 'Making', 19–36.
10. ODNB, 'Oliver Cromwell'.
11. BL, Lansdowne MS 104, fo. 52v; *HMC Hastings*, iv. 1.
12. TNA, C142/283/106; TNA, C142/361/140; P. W. Hasler (ed.), *History of Parliament Trust, House of Commons, 1558–1603* (1976), i. 682; TNA, SP14/33, fo. 32v.
13. M. Noble, *Memoirs of the Protectoral-House of Cromwell* (1787) 37, 77; TNA, PROB 11/99, fo. 309; TNA, C2/Jas.I/W2/52.
14. TNA, PROB 11/130, fo. 115; TNA, WARD 9/93, fos. 145v–6; Abbot, i. 31; TNA, WARD 9/162, fo. 311v.

15. Abbott, i. 35–6; TNA, C2/Jas.I/B17/63. TNA, LC4/199, fo. 220v gives the date of the marriage bond as 21 August 1620, not 25 August. This would make more sense, as it was the day *before* Cromwell's marriage.
16. Abbott, i. 71–2.
17. John Williams was both dean of Westminster and bishop of Lincoln; while until his sacking by Charles I in November 1625, he had also been lord keeper of the great seal.
18. C. S. Knighton (ed.), *Acts of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster* (Woodbridge, 2006), 93, 100; NLW, 468E/1999, 2003, 2005, 2014, 2018; Abbott, i. 72; J. Gwynfor Jones, *The Wynn Family of Gwydir* (Aberystwyth, 1995), 98–100; W. G. D. Fletcher, 'Sequestration Papers of Richard Oakeley of Oakeley', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society* (4th series), ii. 196–9.
19. Paul, *Protector*, 44; Morrill, 'Making', 26–33; *Acts of the Privy Council, 1630–1631*, 128, 140.
20. Paul, *Protector*, 44; Abbott, i. 73; ODNB, 'Oliver Cromwell'; Noble, *Protectoral-House*, i. 108.
21. TNA, C142/710/35; CUL, EDC 2/4/1, fos. 241, 284–6, 289; CUL, EDC 2/4/2, fos. 48–9; CUL, EDR, CC95553, 59–62.
22. CUL, EDC 2/4/1, fos. 284, 289; J. W. Clay (ed.), *Visitations of Cambridgeshire, 1575 and 1619* (Harleian Society xli, 1897), 10–11, 51; Noble, *Protectoral-House*, 90.
23. CUL, EDR, CC95553, 59–62; CUL, EDR, CC95554/7. Steward's will of January 1636 begins by revoking all former wills: TNA, PROB 11/170, fo. 72.
24. TNA, C142/285/144; TNA, C142/278/103; TNA, PROB 11/170, fos. 73v–4; *Visitations of Cambridgeshire*, 10–11; W. Rye (ed.), *Visitations of Norfolk, 1563, 1589 and 1613* (Harleian Society xxxii, 1891), 268.
25. *HMC Hatfield*, xi. 233; H. E. Bell, *Introduction to the History and Records of the Court of Wards & Liveries* (Cambridge, 1953), 128–32.
26. Dugdale's account in *A Short View of the Late Troubles* (1681) is reprinted in Abbott, i. 81–2.
27. TNA, C142/727/157.
28. J. Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata* (1693), ii. 212 (cited in Abbott, i. 82).
29. TNA, C2/Chas.I/C92/53.
30. Abbott, i. 82; TNA, C3/399/163.
31. CUL, EDC 2/4/2, fo. 79; TNA, PROB 11/170, fos. 72–4.
32. Abbott, i. 82–3.
33. TNA, C3/399/163; TNA, C2/Chas.I/C92/53; TNA, PROB 11/170, fo. 74. Humphrey Steward valued Sir Thomas's goods at £2000, with jewels worth £176 and £38 in cash.
34. CUL, EDC 8A/1/8, fo. 1v; Lambeth Palace Library, Comm. XIIa/7, fos. 164–6. I owe these references to Andrew Barclay.

35. The Lincoln's Inn lawyers, John Glanvill, Oliver St John and John Fountayne, signed Cromwell's complaint in TNA, C3/399/163. Of these three, only St John continued to give Cromwell (his cousin by marriage) legal advice in subsequent years; this early evidence of a professional connection between the two men has hitherto been overlooked.
36. CUL, EDC 2/4/2, fos. 94v-6, 100v-1, 103v-4 (printed in Abbott, i. 85-8, 97-9, 100-1, respectively). Abbott overlooked the new lease of Ely Barton in CUL, EDR CC95554/34.
37. Lambeth Palace Library, Comm. XIIa/7, fos. 167-8. I owe this information to Andrew Barclay, who is exploring the wider circumstances of this sale in his forthcoming book, *Oliver Cromwell: The Unknown Politician*.
38. *CSPI (Adventurers) 1642-59*, 319-20; *PJ*, iii. 472. These figures were subsequently verified by Cromwell in a letter to St John: Abbott, i. 258-9.
39. Abbott, i. 97.
40. Noble, *Protectoral-House*, 36, 132-4, 158-9; Abbott, i. 85, 107; Morrill, 'Making', 23, 42-3.
41. 1 Timothy 1:15 '... Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief'. For a fuller analysis of the biblical allusions in this letter, see Paul, *Protector*, 399-400.
42. Acts 22:6-16.
43. See, for example, M. C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580-1625* (Cambridge, 1996), 12-75; M. P. Winship, *Making Heretics* (Princeton, NJ, 2002), 12-27.
44. W. Notestein and R. H. Relf (eds), *Commons' Debates 1629* (Minneapolis, MN, 1921), 58-60, 139, 192-3; H. F. Snapp, 'The Impeachment of Roger Maynwaring', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, xxx (1966-1967), 217-32. Because of the early dissolution, nothing came of the Neile investigation. This interpretation differs from that offered in Morrill, 'Making', 25-6.
45. BL, Sloane MS 2069, fo. 92v; Huntingdonshire RO, D/DM50/1, 7; BL, Eg. MS 2644, fo. 246. Among many others, Hugh Trevor-Roper assumes Mayerne's patient to have been Oliver Cromwell: *Europe's Physician: The Various Life of Sir Theodore de Mayerne* (New Haven, CT, 2006), 8. I owe the medical analysis to Carole Rawcliffe.
46. Noble, *Protectoral-House*, i. 105n.
47. F. N. L. Poynter and W. J. Bishop (eds), *A Seventeenth Century Doctor and His Patients* (Bedfordshire Historical Record Society xxxi, 1951), 76; Warwick, *Memoirs*, 275-6.

Index

- Abbott, W.C., 2, 18, 30, 66
 Achan, sin of, 17, 236
 Adair, Patrick, 155–6
 Adamson, John, 122, 128
Agreement of the People (1647),
 101–3, 107, 110
 Alabaster, William, 33
 Ancrum, church of, 158
 Andover, lecturer at, 176
 Anglesey, 178
 Annesley, Arthur, 131
 Annesley, Samuel, 252
 Antrim, presbytery of, 155–6
 ap Evan, William, 171
 ap Gwrgant, Iestyn, 171, 172
 ap Howell, Morgan, 172
 ap Meredith, Madoc, 172
 Aprice, Simon, 170
 ap Tangno, Collwyn, 172
 Argyll, marquis of, *see* Campbell,
 Archibald
 army interest (1650s), 6, 7, 11, 45,
 65, 92, 149, 164, 227–8
 Army, New Model, 6, 9, 18, 58, 93,
 112, 122, 125, 127, 133,
 150–2, 184, 204, 217
 Arundel, earl of, *see* Howard,
 Thomas
 Ashe, John, 221–2
 Aston, Sir Arthur, 156
 Aubrey, Philip, 233
- Backhouse, Sir John, 33
 Bacon, Francis, 207
 Bacon, Francis, Lord Verulam, 205
 Bacon, Nathaniel, 207
 Baillie, Robert, 146, 148, 149
 Baker, Philip, 6, 14, 90, 114, 115
- Baptists, 186
 Barclay, Andrew, 11, 13, 36, 37,
 119, 138, 195
 Barkstead, John, 203
 Barnardiston, Sir Nathaniel, 55
 Barrington family, 32, 202, 206, 207
 Barrington, Abraham, 206
 Barrington, Sir Francis, 32
 Barrington, Henry, 206
 Barrington, John, 202, 206
 Barrington, Sir Thomas, 53, 56
 Bate, George, 241
 Beard, Thomas, 25, 33
 Beaufort, duke of (18th century),
 184
 Bedell, Sir Capell, 34
 Bedford, 4th earl of, *see* Russell,
 Francis
 Beke, Levina, 203
 Beke, Richard, 203, 209
 Belton House, 77
 Benburb, battle of (1646), 125
 Berry, James, 183
 Berwick-upon-Tweed, 153
 Billingsley, Sir Thomas, 202
 Biscoe, John, 203
 Blair, Robert, 154
 Blake, Robert, 135
 Blethin, Francis, 184
 Blethin, William of Dinham, 183–4
 Bodmin, 224
 Bordeaux, Antoine de, *see* France,
 ambassador of
 Boteler, William, 227
 Bottigheimer, Karl, 118, 119
 Bourchier, Elizabeth, *see* Cromwell,
 Elizabeth
 Bourchier, Sir James, 24, 243

- Bourchier, Sir John, 29
 Bourke, Ulick, earl of Clanricarde, 53
 Bowdon Hill, battle of (1644), 151
 Bowen, John of Swansea, 185
 Bowen, Lloyd, 9, 10, 42, 168, 208
 Boyle, Roger, Lord Broghill, 2, 130, 132, 134, 135, 136, 209–10, 219, 234, 254
 Brandon, Charles, duke of Suffolk, 201
 Breconshire, 185
 Bristol, earl of, *see* Digby, John
 Bristol, siege of (1645), 91, 94
 Brodie, Alexander, 159–60
 Broghill, Lord, *see* Boyle, Roger
 Brooke, Lord, *see* Greville, Robert
 Browne, John of Little Ness, 175
 Buchannan, David, 151–2
 Buller, John, 125
 Burford, 91, 109
 Burghley House, siege of (1643), 5, 75–6
 Burnet, Gilbert, 241, 247
 Bushell, Thomas, 207
 Butler, James, marquis of Ormond, 122, 123, 156
 Button, Joan daughter of Thomas, 172
 Cadwalladr, 171–2, 189
 Cambridge, 4, 5, 14, 26, 28, 29, 31, 39, 57, 64, 68, 69, 72, 77, 80, 81, 174, 175, 176, 203, 204, 205, 249, 251, 252
 Cambridge University, 5, 249, 251
 Camden, Noel, Viscount, 75
 Campbell, Archibald, marquis of Argyll, 152
 Cardiff, 169, 174, 175
 Caredig, lord of Powys, 171
 Carey, Lucius, Lord Falkland, 43, 51
 Carlyle, Thomas, 5, 2, 169, 171, 172
Case of the Armie Truly Stated, The (1647), 101
 Cavendish, Charles, 77
 Cavendish, William, earl of Newcastle, 72, 76–7, 79–80
 Chadwell, William, 54
 Charles I, king, 9, 17, 54, 72, 98, 104, 106, 108, 109, 122, 143, 150, 154, 161, 174, 197, 199, 201, 216, 218, 243, 247
 Charles II, king, 17, 144, 154, 159, 160, 161, 189, 196, 197
 Charles Louis (Karl Ludwig), elector palatine, 202
 Chepstow, 180–4
 civilian interest, 2, 12, 20, 96, 211, *See also* Court, Protectoral
 Clanricarde, earl of, *see* Bourke, Ulick
 Clarendon, earl of, *see* Hyde, Sir Edward
 Clarges, Thomas, 256
 Claypole, Elizabeth, 205
 Claypole, John, 201
 Clifton, Zachary, 252
 Clonmel, 116
 Clotworthy, Sir John, 52, 126
 Colchester, 206
 Coleman, Thomas, 50
 committee of both kingdoms, 64, 144, 145, 148, 149, 150
 Como, David, 91
 Conant, John, 255
 Connaught, province of, 133
 Cooper, Sir Anthony Ashley, 249
 Corbet, Miles, 56
 Cork, 122, 133
 Corkbush Field, *see* Ware, mutiny at
 Cosin, John, 33
 Cottenham, Suff, 41
 Court, Protectoral ceremonial, 49, 58, 195, 204, 255

- guards, 203, 204
 historians and, 2, 3, 10, 11, 16,
 45, 47, 66, 69, 81, 84, 107,
 134, 196, 197, 198, 217,
 219, 220, 233, 246
 personnel, 11, 185, 189
 structure, 11, 65, 143, 196, 197,
 200
- Covenant
 National (1638), 143, 149, 162,
 163
 Solemn League and (1643), 7, 9,
 93, 142–163
 supporters of ('covenanters'), 7,
 9, 95, 155
- Coward, Barry, 41, 54, 147
- Cradock, Walter, 10, 169, 174, 175,
 176, 179, 183, 184, 186–8
- Cranfield, Sir Lionel, 23
- Crawford, Lawrence, 93, 146, 148,
 149, 150
- Crawford, Patricia, 48–9
- Crawford, Sheldon, 148
- Creed, Richard, 186
- Cromwell, Bridget (daughter), *see*
 Ireton, Bridget
- Cromwell, Dorothy
 (daughter-in-law), 244
- Cromwell, Elizabeth (daughter), *see*
 Claypole, Elizabeth
- Cromwell, Elizabeth
 (daughter-in-law), 203
- Cromwell, Elizabeth (mother), 23,
 24, 122, 197, 210
- Cromwell, Elizabeth (sister), 203
- Cromwell, Elizabeth (wife), 200
- Cromwell, Francis, alias Williams
 (distant relative), 170
- Cromwell, Captain Henry (distant
 relative), 23
- Cromwell, Henry (cousin), 33
- Cromwell, Henry (son), 23, 243
- Cromwell, Henry (uncle), 171
- Cromwell, Sir Henry (grandfather),
 23
- Cromwell, Oliver
 ancestry of, 9, 168, 169, 170,
 171, 172
 artistic tastes of, 22
 council of (protectorate), 1, 2, 11,
 12, 204, 206, 209, 210, 230,
 231, 250, 256, 259
 and the crown, 11, 13, 17, 76,
 218
 death and funeral of, 155, 157,
 163, 171, 186, 223
 dream about, 160
 early life, 3, 4, 23, 170
 financial position, 8, 119, 121,
 124
 health of, 28
 heraldry of, 170
 humour, sense of, 33, 197, 244
 inauguration as protector (1653,
 1657), 253
 military activity, 5, 8, 22, 49, 57,
 64, 66, 80, 85, 92, 93, 121,
 122, 136, 144–50, 153,
 155–6, 161, 189
 parliament and, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 14,
 21, 32, 38–40, 43, 46, 56,
 57, 65, 66, 67, 72, 78, 81,
 205, 206, 11, 18–39, 72, 85,
 99–100, 103–8, 110, 155–9,
 166
See also Parliament, first
 protectorate, second
 protectorate, third
 protectorate
 plots against, 219, 235
 political skill, 2, 59, 236
 radicalism, 5, 14, 15, 187
 religious beliefs, 1, 2, 8, 9, 13,
 55, 67, 84, 94, 117, 119,
 131, 143, 149, 158, 185,
 186, 187, 217

- Cromwell, Oliver – *continued*
 reputation, 21, 29, 64–86, 90,
 102, 145, 156, 177, 182, 183
 restlessness, 15–6
 risk-taking, 4, 13, 14, 16, 35, 77,
 218, 227
 sporting interests, 197, 200, 202
See also Court, Protectoral;
 Cromwell, Richard; Ireland;
 Levellers; Scotland; Wales
- Cromwell, Oliver (son), 23
- Cromwell, Sir Oliver (uncle), 4, 54,
 181
- Cromwell, Richard, alias Williams
 (ancestor), 169–70
- Cromwell, Richard (son)
 and Hampshire, 185, 205, 243,
 248, 250
 military career of, 14, 66, 80,
 122, 249
 Oliver Cromwell and, 1, 2, 3, 9,
 12, 13, 17, 64–86, 163,
 168–89, 241–259
 and Oxford University, 255–6
 as Protector, 163, 256–7
 religious views of, 92, 94, 242
 reputation of, 252
 sporting interests, 247, 254, 255
See also Ireland; Scotland;
 Wales
- Cromwell, Robert (father), 23
- Cromwell, Robert (son), 243
- Cromwell, Robina (sister), 27
- Cromwell, Thomas, earl of Essex,
 149, 169
- Cromwell, Thomas Lord, 141
- Crowland, sieges of (1643–4), 5, 68,
 71, 72, 73, 74, 80, 81, 85
- Culpeper, Sir John, 55–6
- Cynfrig Sais, 172
- Davenport, Sir Humphrey, 44
- Davis, Colin, 1, 17, 66, 119
- Dawkins, Rowland, 185
- Deane, Richard, 135
- Dendy, Edward, 204
- Derby House committee, 126, 128,
 129, 130, 131, 132
- Dering, Sir Edward, 47, 52
- Devereux, Robert, earl of Essex, 5,
 51, 84, 149
- D'Ewes, Sir Simonds, 46, 50, 51,
 54, 59
- Digby, John, earl of Bristol, 52
- Disbrowe (or Desborough), John,
 13, 75, 204, 257
- Dodson, William (the 'opponent'),
 6, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83
- Don John of Austria, 230
- Douglas, Robert, 147, 155, 161
- Drogheda, siege of (1649), 8, 116
- Dublin, 7, 53, 116, 129, 132, 133,
 134, 135, 136, 156
- Dugdale, Sir William, 20, 29
- Dunbar, battle of (1650), 9, 157,
 254
- Dunch, Edmund, 56
- Dundas, Sir Walter, 142, 144
- Dungan's Hill, battle of (1647), 129
- Durham, James, 158
- Eastern Association, 7, 64, 68, 69,
 71, 72, 79, 80, 83, 92, 145,
 205
- Edgehill, battle of (1642), 68, 120
- Edward I, king, 196
- Edward IV, king, 201
- Edwards, Thomas, 25
- Edwards, William, 176
- Egloff, Carol, 219
- Elizabeth I, queen, 44
- Ellis, John of Dolgellau, 174, 189
- Elme, Cambs, 26
- Elton, Sir Geoffrey, 169
- Ely, 3, 4, 6, 14, 15, 23, 26, 28, 31,
 46, 67, 68, 69, 73, 74, 75, 76,
 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 122,
 130, 186, 205, 206

- Engagement (1647–8), 1, 101, 145, 152, 154
 opponents of ('anti-engagers'), 153–5
 supporters of ('engagers'), 9, 155, 158
- Erbery, William, 175, 176
- Essex, earl of, *see* Devereux, Robert
- Evelyn, John
 (of Wiltshire), 125, 131
- Everard, Robert, 101
- Factions, *see* army interest; civilian interest; Independents; Presbyterians
- Fairfax, Ferdinando Lord, 76
- Fairfax, Sir Thomas, 97, 123, 125, 129, 134, 148, 248
- Falkland, Lord, *see* Carey, Lucius
- Felsted School, Essex, 32, 243
- Fenton, Sir William, 130
- Fiennes, Nathaniel, 57
- Fiennes, William, Lord Saye and Sele, 53, 56
- Fife, churches in, 148
- Fifth Monarchists, 187
- Fincham, Edward, 26
- Fincham, Robert, 26
- Firth, Sir Charles, 117, 217, 219
- Fishbourne, Richard, 25
- Fisher, Payne, 225
- Fitzjames, John, 252
- Fitzmaurice, Patrick, Lord Kerry, 120
- Fleetwood, Charles, 13, 204, 205, 229, 231, 246
- Fleming, Sir Oliver, 203, 204
- Forbes, Alexander Lord, 120
- foreign affairs, 11, 204
- Fountayne, John, 37
- France, ambassador of, 216
- Freichfras, Caradoc, 172
- French, Thomas, 204
- Fuller, William, 31
- Gainsborough, battle of (1643), 5, 70, 76, 77, 78, 79, 84, 145
- Gardiner, S.R., 134, 169
- Gaunt, Peter, 1, 16, 17, 18, 127
- Gawler, Francis, 187
- Geoffrey of Monmouth, 173
- Gerard, Sir Gilbert, 56–8
- Gerard, John, 200
- Gillespie, Patrick, 159
- Gipps, John, 252
- Glamorgan, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 176, 180
 Cromwell's lands in, 124, 207
- Glanvill, John, 37
- Glasgow, 158–9
- Gloddian, prince of Powys, 170
- Glynn, John, 56, 222, 235
- Goddard, Jonathan, 255
- Goffe, William, 250–1, 254
- Goodwin, Ralph, 54
- Goodwin, Thomas, 255
- Gookin, Vincent, 222
- Gower, 176, 182, 185, 189
- Great North Road, 72–3
- Greville, Robert, Lord Brooke, 53, 56
- Grey of Warke, William Lord, 72
- Griffiths, Alexander, 188
- Griffiths, Jenkin, 187
- Grimston, Harbottle, 55
- Guizot, François, 241
- Guthrie, James, 159
- Gwaethfoed, 170
- Hamilton, duke of, *see* Hamilton, James
- Hamilton, James, duke of Hamilton, 9, 152, 201
- Hammond, Robert, 108
- Hampden, John, 45, 53–4, 56, 57, 58, 59
- Hampton Court, palace of, 11, 104, 197, 198, 200, 220
- Harlakenden, William, 79

- Harley, Sir Robert, 5, 40, 42, 49, 50, 57, 58, 174, 175–6, 184
- Harman, Nicholas, 23
- Harrison, Thomas, 178–9, 186
- Hart, Robert of Moccas, 175
- Hartford rectory, Hunts, 24
- Hartlib, Samuel, 257
- Harvey, Charles, 208
- Heads of the Proposals, The* (1647), 98, 100
- Healy, Simon, 3, 4, 13, 119
- Heath, James, 20, 29
- Henrietta Maria, queen, 72, 197
- Henry IV, king, 201
- Henry VII, king, 171, 172, 201
- Henry VIII, king, 23, 169, 201
- Hepburn, Sir Adam, 148
- Herbert, Edward of Moor Grange, 183
- Herbert family of Covington, 170
- Herbert, Philip,
- Herbert, Philip, earl of Pembroke, 42, 177
- Herbert, William, 177
- Hertford, marquis of, *see* Seymour, William
- Hesilrige, Sir Arthur, 46, 55, 125, 176, 178
- Hill, Christopher, 43
- Hilsden House, 146
- Hinchingbrooke House, 23, 33, 170, 209
- History of Parliament Trust, 39
- Hobart, John, 75
- Holbeach, Martin, 243
- Holles, Denzil, 5, 44–5, 50, 51, 56, 93, 125, 128, 176
- Hollister, Denis, 42
- Hollister, Edward, 42, 176, 177
- Holmes, Clive, 67
- Hooke, William, 246
- Hope, Sir James of Hopetoun, 159–60
- Hope, Sir Thomas of Craighall, 148
- Hotham, Sir John, 49, 51, 74
- Household, *see* Court, Protectoral
- Howard, Charles, 203, 209, 210
- Howard, Thomas, earl of Arundel, 52
- Humble Petition and Advice (1657), 217, 234, 252–3, 256, 259
- Humfrey, John, 53
- Hunneyball, Paul, 2, 197
- Huntingdon, 4, 24–8, 34, 35, 55, 70, 72, 75, 77, 78, 79, 170, 205
- Hutchinson, John, 165
- Hutchinson, Lucy, 165, 202
- Hutton, Thomas, 23
- Hyde, Sir Edward (later earl of Clarendon), 43, 45, 56, 220, 222, 229
- Iestyn of Glamorgan, 171
- Inchiquin, Lord, *see* O'Brien, Murrrough
- Independents, 6, 7, 16, 54, 59, 64–5, 67, 76, 83, 91, 93–4, 99, 106–7, 129–30, 140, 146, 149–50, 178, 183–4, 185, 203, 255
- Ingoldsby, Richard, 199
- Instrument of Government (1653), 195, 217, 221, 230, 249
- Ireland
- ‘adventure’ in, 31, 52–3, 57, 118–20, 121, 122, 123, 125, 126, 136
- Catholics of, 117–8, 121, 122, 136–7, 156
- Oliver Cromwell and, 3, 7, 8, 10, 12, 20–35, 38–59, 64, 90, 142, 144, 145, 152, 159, 168–189, 195, 228
- Protestants of, 1, 118, 120, 122, 125–6, 129, 133, 134, 136, 143, 151, 222

- rebellion in, 49, 51, 117–18, 119,
 128, 136, 143, 228
 Richard Cromwell and, 249
 troops for, 69, 82, 122, 226
 Ireton, Bridget, 208
 Ireton, Henry, 2, 7, 76, 79–82,
 84–5, 101, 102, 103, 105–6,
 107, 108, 128, 135

 James I, king, 23, 54, 199
 James II, king (as duke of York), 229
 James, John of Leintwaterdine, 175
 Jephson, Sir John, 33
 Jephson, William, 33
 Jesse, J.H., 241
 Johnson, Samuel, 1
 Johnston, Sir Archibald, of
 Wariston, 149, 156–7, 159,
 163, 225, 255
 Jones, Michael, 129, 132, 133, 134
 Jones, Philip, 10, 16, 169, 171,
 178–9, 183–7, 200, 208
 Josselin, Ralph, 173
 Juxon, Archbishop William, 20
 Juxon, Thomas, 125, 126

 Kelsey, Sean, 172
 Kemeys, Margaret daughter of
 Jenkin, 172
 Kerry, Lord, *see* Fitzmaurice, Patrick
 Kilborne, William, 25
 King, Edward, 83, 92
 King's Lynn, 69, 80, 83
 Kinsale, 120, 134–6
 Kirkcaldy, presbytery of, 148
 Knoppers, Laura Lunger, 196
 Knox, John, 144
 Kyle, Chris R., 54

 Lambert, John, 2, 13, 98, 210
 Laud, Archbishop William, 25, 55
 Laudianism and Arminianism, 25,
 33, 59
 Law, Robert, 161

 Lawrence, Henry, 25, 205, 258
 Leeds, 229
 Leicester, earl of, *see* Sidney, Robert
 Leighton, Alexander, 40–1
 Leinster, province of, 129, 133,
 134, 135
 See also Dublin
 Lenthall, William, 129
 Leslie, Alexander, earl of Leven,
 147–8, 151
 Leslie, David, 147, 148
 Levellers, 3, 6, 7, 90–110,
 221–2, 251
 See also Lilburne, John; Walwyn,
 William; Wildman, John
 Leven, earl of, *see* Leslie, Alexander
 Lewis, Evan of Neath, 185
 Lewis, John of Cardiganshire, 178,
 188
 Lewis, John of Glasgrug, 173–4,
 188
 Lilburne, John, 7, 40–1, 83, 90–4,
 95–6, 97, 99–100, 106, 107,
 109, 128
 Lincolnshire, 5, 69, 80, 83
 Lincoln's Inn, 248
 Lisle, Viscount, *see* Sidney, Philip
 Little, Patrick, 1, 18, 197
 Livingstone, John, 158
 Llanfaches, congregation at, 174–5,
 183, 184, 185
 Llwyd, Morgan, 173, 174, 175
 Lockhart, Sir William, 216, 217,
 230, 234, 236, 256
 Lomas, S.C., 2
 London, mayor of, 195
 London, Tower of, 57, 99–100, 251
 Lowry, John, 205
 Lowther, Sir Gerard, 133
 Ludlow, Edmund, 125

 Macinnes, Allan, 148
 MacKenzie, Kirsteen M., 8, 9
 Maidstone, Elizabeth, 206

- Maidstone, John, 198, 200, 206
 Majior, Dorothy, *see* Cromwell, Dorothy
 Majior, Richard, 131, 137, 243–5, 250
 Mainwaring, Roger, 33
 Manchester, earl of, *see* Montagu, Edward
 Mandeville, Lord, *see* Montagu, Edward
 Marston Moor, battle of (1644), 64, 65, 68, 84, 147–8, 151, 152, 154
 Marten, Henry, 47, 63, 106
 Masham family, 207
 Masham, Sir William, 32, 56, 63, 208
 Massie, Edward, 125, 127
 Mathiaid of Morgannwg, 170
 Mayerne, Sir Theodore de, 33
 Maynard, John, 43
 Meldrum, Sir John, 145–7, 165
 Militia Bill (1657), 220, 221, 222, 228, 235
 Monck, George, 201, 228–9, 231, 254
 Monmouthshire, 168, 170, 171, 174–5, 176–7, 178–9, 180–6, 186
 Cromwell's lands in, 180–5, 207
 Montagu, Edward, later earl of Sandwich, 203, 209, 227, 235
 Montagu, Edward, Lord Mandeville and 2nd earl of Manchester, 44–5, 64–5, 65, 79, 81, 93, 122, 146, 148, 204
 Montagu, Sir Sidney, 209
 Montgomery, Hugh, Viscount Montgomery of the Ards, 155
 Moore, John, 42
 Morrill, John, 1–4, 48, 54, 136, 219
 Mostyn, Ambrose, 175, 176
 Munster, province of, 116, 119–20, 122–3, 125, 127, 129–36
 Naseby, battle of (1645), 6, 122, 151–2, 162
 Naylor, James, 219, 220, 235, 252
 Nedham, Marchmont, 223, 258
 Neile, Bishop Richard, 33
 Netherlands, 204, 230
 New England, 25, 53, 174
 Newark, 72, 74, 146
 Newbury, 2nd battle of (1644), 65
 Newcastle, earl of, *see* Cavendish, William
 Newcastle, siege of (1644), 151
 Nicholas, John of Trellech, 183–185, 186
 Nicholas, Sir Edward, 123, 257
 Nicoll, John, 158
 Noble, Mark, 25, 33, 248
 Northampton, marquis of, *see* Parr, William
 Norton, Richard, 131, 245, 250–1
 Nuttall, Geoffrey, 174
 Oakeley, Richard, 24
 O'Brien, Murrough, Lord Inchiquin, 120, 123, 127, 135
 Oliphant, Patrick, 158
 'opponent', the, *see* Dodson, William
 Ormond, marquis of, *see* Butler, James
 Overton, Richard, 96, 97, 99, 100
 Owen, John, 16, 255–6
 Owen, Richard, 24
 Oxford University, 174, 252, 255–6
 Packe, Sir Christopher, 218
 Packer, William, 146, 149,
 Page, Anthony, 30
 Palgrave, Sir John, 75
 Parliament
 1628–9 Parliament, 25–26
 'Barebones' (1653), 159–60, 175, 179, 206

- first Protectorate (1654–5), 110, 172, 180
 House of Lords (1640–9), 40, 48–50, 51–3, 57, 96, 99, 100, 103–4, 106, 107, 120
 Long (1640–8), 3, 4, 7, 14, 15, 21, 31, 38–40, 42, 43, 50, 54, 78, 92, 96–97, 102–5, 122, 124, 130, 138, 174, 184, 205, 250, 258
 ‘Other House’ (1657–9), 13, 187, 256
 Rump (1648–53), 15, 161, 178–9, 209, 245
 second Protectorate (1656–8), 183, 220, 230, 253, 258
 Short (1640), 43, 54, 205
 third Protectorate (1659), 230
 Parr, William, marquis of Northampton, 201
 Parsons, Sir William, 133
 Paul, Robert S., 117
 Paulucci, Lorenzo, *see* Venice, ambassador of
 Peacey, Jason, 12, 91
 Peard, George, 46
 Pell, John, 257
 Pembroke Castle, 179
 Pembroke, earl of, *see* Herbert, Philip
 Pembrokeshire, 168
 Penington, Isaac, 55
 Pennard parish, Gower, 176, 182
 Penruddock, John, 247
 Pepys, Samuel, 198, 202
 Percivalle, Sir Philip, 123, 127
 Perth and Stirling, Synod of, 158
 Peterborough, 69–70, 73, 74, 75
 Peter, Hugh, 53, 200
 Petty, Maximilian, 98–9, 101, 102, 103
 Phaier, Robert, 130, 133
 Phelips, Sir Robert, 33
 Philphaugh, battle of (1645), 163
 Pickering, Sir Gilbert, 209, 210
 Pickering, John, 83
 Piedmont, collection for, 251
 Pierrepont, William, 209, 235
 Pontefract Castle, 132
 Popham, Edward, 135
 Powell, Vavasor, 187
 Presbyterians, 7, 58, 64–5, 83–4, 92–9, 103, 107, 125–7, 143, 150, 155–7, 161, 184, 235, 247, 252, 255, 258
 See also Covenant
 Preston, battle of (1648), 152, 153, 163
 Price, John of Gellihir, 185
 Pride, Thomas, 7, 108
 Pride’s Purge (1648), 18, 60, 108, 248
 Prideaux, Edmund, 43
 Protesters, Scottish, 158, 161, 254
 Providence Island Company, 53, 56–7
 Prynne, William, 40–1
 Pugh, Thomas, 173
 Purdon, Nicholas, 130
 Pury, Thomas, 55
 Putney, 7, 100, 101, 102, 103, 106, 109–10
 Pye, Moore, 186
 Pye, Sir Robert, 56, 58
 Pym, John, 33, 46, 50, 56, 57, 58, 62, 84, 119, 176

 Quakers, 184, 187
 See also Naylor, James

 Rainborough, Thomas, 100, 103, 105
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 246
 Ramsey Abbey, 23, 74
 Rathmines, battle of (1649), 134, 156
 Remonstrance (1657), 217, 218, 219, 225–9, 231–2, 235

- Resolutions, Scottish, 161, 254
 Rich, Nathaniel, 146
 Rich, Robert, earl of Warwick, 24, 252
Richard, The (ship), 256
 Roberts, Stephen K., 4, 178, 185
 Robinson, Humphrey, 255
 Rogers, Nathan, 184
 Rogers, Wroth, 184
 Rolle, Sir Samuel, 55
 Rolt, Edward, 202
 Roots, Ivan, 40
 Rous, Francis, 33, 41
 Row, William, 152, 161, 163
 Rupert, Prince, 68, 147
 Russell, Elizabeth, *see* Cromwell, Elizabeth
 Russell, Francis, 4th earl of Bedford, 45
 Russell, Sir Francis, 203, 209, 234
 Russell, William, 202

 Sadler, Susan L., 5, 6
 St Andrews, church in, 154
 St Ives, 4, 22, 25, 33, 44, 205
 St James's palace, 256
 St John, Oliver, 31, 37, 56, 63, 119, 121, 124, 137, 208, 233
 wife of, 23, 32
 St Paul, 32
 Salwey, Humphrey, 63
 Saye and Sele, Lord, *see* Fiennes, William
 Scotland
 committee of estates in, 149–50
 kirk of, 145, 148, 152–4, 157–8, 161, 254
 Oliver Cromwell and, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 18, 90, 116, 142–63, 243
 relations with England, 8, 10, 17, 65, 132, 142–4, 143–54, 159–63
 relations with Ireland, 122, 125, 129, 136, 144–5, 148, 155–6
 Richard Cromwell and, 245, 250, 258
 See also Covenant; Engagement; Protesters; Resolutions; Union
 Semple, Gabriel, 158
 Sexby, Edward, 102, 107
 Seymour, William, marquis of Hertford, 45
 Sherland, Christopher, 33
 Sherwood, Roy, 196
 Sibthorpe, Robert, 33
 Sidney, Philip, Viscount Lisle, 123–4, 126, 132, 134, 136, 248
 Sidney, Robert, earl of Leicester, 123, 134
 Sindercombe, Miles, 11, 100, 200, 219–29, 231, 235
 Skippon, Philip, 127
 Skutt, George, 60
 Smart, Peter, 41
 Somerset, Henry, earl of Worcester, 124, 130, 177, 180–2
 Spain, 222, 226–7, 229, 230
 Spurstowe, William, 55
 Stamford, 75–6
 Stane, Richard, 205
 Stane, William, 205, 214
 Stapilton, Sir Philip, 58, 125
 Star Chamber, court of, 40, 41, 95, 111, 170
 Sterry, Peter, 200
 Stevenson, David, 117, 144
 Steward family, 26, 278
 Steward, Arthur, 28
 Steward, Bridget, 29
 Steward, Edward, 27
 Steward, Humphrey, 29, 30, 31, 36
 Steward, Sir Mark, 28
 Steward, Nicholas, 30
 Steward, Robert, 27–8
 Steward, Sir Simeon, 26, 27

- Steward, Thomas, 28
 Steward, Sir Thomas, 2, 4, 14, 26,
 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 138
 Steward, William, 28
 Strachan, Archibald, 153
 Strafford, earl of, *see* Wentworth, Sir
 Thomas
 Strangways, Giles, 41, 60
 Strangways, Sir John, 46
 Strathbogie, Presbytery of, 148
 Strickland, Walter, 204, 210
 Strode, William, 40, 42, 43, 55, 57
 Stuart, Charles, *see* Charles II
 Stuart family, dukes of Lennox, 201
 Styward, Robert, 26, 27
 Suffolk, duke of, *see* Brandon,
 Charles
 Swansea, 180, 182, 185
 Sweden, 202
 Symcotts, John, 33–4, 205
 Symonds, Richard, 171, 175,
 176–7
 Temple, Edmund, 130
 Temple, Sir John, 130, 131, 132
 Thomas, Oliver of West Felton, 175
 Thomason, George, 60
 Thornhagh, Francis, 165
 Thurloe, John, 3, 11, 12, 13, 16,
 205, 207–8, 209–10, 216–36,
 248, 254
 Thynne, Henry Frederick, 42
 Thynne, Sir James, 42–3, 44
 Tickhill Castle, surrender of (1644),
 93
 Townsend, Colonel, 134
 Trevor-Roper, Hugh, 219, 233
 ‘triers’ and ‘ejectors’, 179, 185, 187
 Tudor, Jasper, 171
 Turberville family of Graffham, 170
 Ulster, province of, 118, 125, 126,
 133, 134, 135, 136, 143, 145,
 155–6
 Underwood family (of Whittlesey),
 205
 Underwood, Francis, 205
 Union, English and Scottish,
 159–60
 Uxbridge, propositions of (1645),
 150
 Vallance, Edward, 143
 Vane, Sir Henry junior, 46, 51, 53
 Vassall, Samuel, 55
 Venice, ambassador of, 224, 225,
 246, 253
 Vermuyden, Sir Cornelius, 81, 151
 Wales
 Catholics in, 177, 182
 Oliver Cromwell and, 3, 7, 9, 10,
 11, 13, 38, 168–89
 poetry and genealogy, 170–4
 propagation commission in,
 178–80, 183
 puritans in, 168, 174–7, 178,
 182, 184–5, 189
 Richard Cromwell and, 186
 royalists in, 168, 178, 183, 188
See also Cradock, Walter;
 Glamorgan; Jones, Philip;
 Monmouthshire
 Walker, Clement, 132, 182
 Walker, George, 41
 Waller, Sir Hardress, 123, 124, 125,
 126, 127, 132
 Waller, Sir William, 127, 149
 Walter, Henry, 175, 176, 187
 Walton, Valentine, 56, 75, 83
 Walwyn, William, 7, 91, 94–5, 96–9
 Warbeck, Perkin, 171
 Wards, court of, 23, 44
 Ware, mutiny at (1647), 105, 107,
 109
 Warwick, earl of, *see* Rich, Robert
 Warwick, Sir Philip, 20–1, 24,
 33, 53

- Waterhouse, Nathaniel, 186, 200, 207, 208
- Wedgwood, C.V., 169
- Welby, Captain, 71
- Wentworth, Sir Peter, 49
- Wentworth, Sir Thomas, earl of
Strafford, 43
- 'Western Design', 218, 236
- Westminster Assembly, 144, 146
- Westminster Hall, 195–6
- Whalley, Edward, 146
- Whalley, Richard, 23
- Wharton, Philip Lord, 120
- Wheeler, James S., 134
- Wheeler, William, 56
- Whetstone, Levina, *see* Beke,
Levina
- Whistler, John, 42
- Whitehall, debates at, 108, 132
- Whitehall, palace of, 11, 195–7,
198–9, 200, 210–11,
247, 253
- Whitehall, Robert, 255
- Whitelocke, Bulstrode, 42–3, 55,
209, 210
- Whittlesey, 74, 205
- Wigmore, Daniel, 30
- Wildman, John, 98–9, 101–2, 103,
104, 106, 128
- Wilkins, John, 255
- Williams, Bishop (later Archbishop)
John, 24, 29, 122, 171, 172
- Williams family of Alconbury, 170
- Williams, Morgan, 169
- Williams, Oliver, *see* Cromwell,
Oliver
- Williamson, Arthur, 160
- Willis, Sir Richard, 229
- Willoughby of Parham, Francis
Lord, 82, 147
- Winceby, battle of (1643), 80
- Winthrop, John, 53, 207
- Wisbech, 71, 72, 73, 80, 83
- Wogan, Colonel, 128
- Wolseley, Sir Charles, 209,
210, 235
- Wolsey, Thomas, 17
- Wood, Anthony, 241, 257
- Worcester, battle of (1651), 159,
163
- Worcester, earl of, *see* Somerset,
Henry
- Worden, Blair, 1, 2, 223
- Wrenn, Bishop Matthew, 46
- Wroth, William, 174, 175, 184, 186
- Wylde, John, 56
- Wynn, Sir Owen, 24
- Ynyr, king of Gwent, 170, 171, 172
- Youghal, 122, 130, 134, 135, 136