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Lucy Hutchinson's Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson

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Introduction

Lucy Hutchinson is best known for her work "The Life of John Hutchinson of Owthorpe in the County of Nottingham Esquire." The "Life" was composed after John Hutchinson's death, some time between 1664 and 1667, but it was only published in 1806, under the title *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*. It covers the time span from 1637 to 1664, but also includes some flashbacks that go back to the reign of Henry VIII. The focus of the narrative is Lucy Hutchinson's husband, John Hutchinson, who was Governor of the castle and town of Nottingham during the first English Civil War, between 1643 and 1647, and who was elected an MP for Nottinghamshire in 1646. In January 1649, he took part in the trial of Charles I and signed the King's death warrant (1649). After briefly serving Oliver Commonwealth (1649-1653), i.e. England's first and only republic, he distanced himself from Cromwell's monarchical republic, the Protectorate (1654-1658), and retired to Owthorpe, near Nottingham, finding it equally impossible to "assist any tyrant or invader of the people's rights," or "to rise up against them without a manifest call from God" (Hutchinson 1973: 216). The Colonel was pardoned when monarchy was restored in 1660, with his name figuring in the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion (1660). However, he was arrested in October in 1663 for his alleged participation in the Northern Plot against the monarchy. He was first imprisoned in the Tower of London, before being sent to Sandown Castle in Kent where he died in captivity on 11 September 1664.

It is assumed that Lucy Hutchinson started to write the *Memoirs* soon after the Colonel's death and that she had completed the manuscript by 1667 (Seddon 2016). The reason why she decided to put pen to paper was that she did not want "oblivion's curtaine" to be drawn over the Colonel's "dead face" (Hutchinson 1973, 1–2). This was a way for her to "moderate her woe" as well as to commemorate her husband (Hutchinson 1973: 1). Hence her weaving together, through a clever device of digressions, the history of England and the life of John Hutchinson, with the avowed aim of rehabilitating him in the eyes of his children as well as posterity.

Lucy Hutchinson's manuscript seems to have circulated very little at the Restoration (the time when Charles II was restored to the monarchy), when the possession of a republican writing was liable to the charge of treason (Keeble 1990: 236). Unlike some memoirs, including those of the republican Edmund Ludlow (1617-1692), which were published at the turn of the eighteenth century (1698-1699), Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs* remained in manuscript until 1806 (MacGillivray 1974: 170–85). The first editor, Julius Hutchinson, a descendant of the Hutchinson family, mentions that during his uncle's lifetime the manuscript "had been seen by many persons," but that he had "uniformly refused its publication," even when he was asked by Catharine Macaulay (1731-1791) who needed to consult the *Memoirs* to write her *History of England* (Hutchinson 1806: i). When the *Memoirs* were eventually published in 1806, they met with immediate success, and eventually became a classic. They were used both as a historical source – for instance in Guizot's *History of the English Revolution* – and as a history in its own right, when they were re-edited by the Victorian historian C. H. Firth (1885, 1906).

The Author

Most of what is known about Lucy Hutchinson comes from the manuscript entitled "The Life of John Hutchinson in the County of Nottingham Esquire" (*Memoirs*, DD/HU4) and the "Life of Lucy Hutchinson," the manuscript of which was lost after the dispersal of her works at the death of the

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editor Julius Hutchinson (Norbrook 2004a and 2015; Hutchinson 1806). Even if the "Life of John Hutchinson" (here referred to as "the *Memoirs*") primarily focuses on the story of Colonel Hutchinson, the whole narrative is based on Lucy Hutchinson's own experience of the English Civil War. She repeatedly refers to herself as "Mrs. Hutchinson" and stands as a witness – and sometimes as an actor – in her history of Civil War and Restoration England.

A brief biography

Lucy Hutchinson, née Apsley (1620-1681), was born in 1620 at the Tower of London. She was the daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, Lieutenant of the Tower, and Lucy St John of Lydiard Tregoze. According to Lucy Hutchinson's autobiographical fragment, her mother passed her Calvinist faith on to her, and persuaded her that "the knowledge of God was the most excellent study" (Hutchinson 1973: 288). Lucy Hutchinson was educated in languages, as her father "spar'd not any cost for the education of both his sons and daughters in languages, sciences, musick, dancing, and all other quallities befitting their father's house" (Hutchinson 1973: 207). She was indeed an excellent Latinist and was "so apt that [she] outstript [her] brothers" (Hutchinson 1973: 288). This educational context makes it very likely that she had read most of the authors of the curriculum studied by her brothers, in particular Sallust, Tacitus, Livy, Polybius, and Caesar (Burke 1966). She might also have read ancient histories in translation, for example Lucan's *Pharsalia* (trans. Thomas May, 1626), Thucydides' Peloponnesian War (tr. Thomas Hobbes, 1629), and Polybius's *History* (tr. Edward Grimestone, 1633).

Lucy Apsley's life changed abruptly in the summer of 1637 when she met John Hutchinson, a gentleman from Nottinghamshire (1615-1664), who was staying in Richmond, at a musician's place, where Lucy and her sister Barbara studied. In the *Memoirs* Lucy Hutchinson describes this encounter as love at first sight and recounts how, a year later, they were happily married. As the conflict between the King and Parliament escalated in 1641, the Hutchinson family moved to Owthorpe, near Nottingham. Between 1643 and 1646, Lucy Hutchinson assisted the Colonel in all his tasks as Governor of the castle of Nottingham. It is probably towards the late 1640s that she wrote a first narrative of the Civil War, which was called the "Note-book" by the second editor of the *Memoirs*, the historian C. H. Firth (Hutchinson 1885: xii). During the Interregnum (1649-1660), the Hutchinsons moved back to their house in Owthorpe, employing some of their time and money to renovate and improve the estate, showing great generosity and hospitality towards their neighbors – including the royalist gentry. It is assumed that Lucy Hutchinson translated Lucretius's *De rerum natura* during this relatively peaceful period. At the Restoration she constantly feared for her husband's life, and she actively sought to secure his name in the Act of Oblivion. However, despite all her efforts to save him, he was arrested on 11 October 1663 and conveyed to the Tower of London on 31 October. He was finally sent to Sandown Castle in Kent in May 1664, and died there in his wife's absence on 11 September 1664. In all probability Lucy Hutchinson lived at Owthorpe after her husband's death. It is also assumed that she wrote "The Life of John Hutchinson" in this house.

The *Memoirs* testify to Lucy Hutchinson's acute interest in contemporary politics, both at local and national levels. The Hutchinsons were regular readers of the many pamphlets and newsbooks which poured off from the presses in the middle years of the seventeenth century. When they arrived at Owthorpe in 1641, "Mr. Hutchinson [...] applied himselfe to understand the things then in dispute, and read all the publick papers that came forth betweene the King and Parliament, besides many other private treatises" (Hutchinson 1973: 53). Lucy Hutchinson advises her readers to do the same, inviting

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them to consult the Parliament's "printed papers" in order to understand "the righteousness of the Parliament's cause in poynt of civill right" (Hutchinson 1973: 53).

Despite straightened circumstances and the sale of Owthorpe in 1672, Lucy Hutchinson's literary activities did not stop after that date, but they took on a decidedly religious turn, as she completed a religious epic, *Order and Disorder, or, The world made and undone, being meditations upon the creation and fall* (Hutchinson [1679], 2001), as well as two works of theology. *On the Principles of the Christian Religion* is an educational treatise in the Calvinist faith dedicated to her daughter, and *On Theology* is the translation into English of the first two parts of John Owen's Latin treatise *Theologoumena Pantodapa* (Hutchinson 2018). Both books of theology evince Lucy Hutchinson's familiarity with theological issues, as she for instance initiated a debate about the baptism of infants (Hutchinson 1973: 168–169 and Norbrook 2015: 143). Her religious commonplace book, filled after the Civil Wars, contains excerpts from Calvin's *Institutes*, as well as some notes taken at sermons, some verses, and various religious reflections (*Religious Commonplace Book*, DD/HU3). Even though she is not known to have been a member of any independent church (Norbrook 2004a), she was a supporter of independency, and disapproved of the Church of England as an established church, denouncing that "greate mistake of the nationall Churches" (Hutchinson 1973: 169).

A witness to the Civil Wars.

From June 1643 to June 1646, Lucy Hutchinson lived almost uninterruptedly in Nottingham Castle with her husband. As the Governor's wife she was in charge of running the household, keeping accounts, and drawing lists of supplies (Hutchinson 1973: 84). She also dressed the wounds of the injured soldiers, even if they were royalists (Hutchinson 1973: 99). But the castle was not only a fortified garrison: it was also a unique vantage point which allowed Lucy Hutchinson to be an eyewitness to what was happening within and without the city walls. Eye-witnessing was praised by Thucydides and Polybius as the best position for historians and recommended by many humanist historians in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Despite this advantageous position, Lucy Hutchinson's view was restricted: she was present neither on the battlefields nor in Parliament, and she often had to rely on second-hand reports to write the *Memoirs*. To be sure, ear-witnessing was held less reliable than eyewitnessing, but, as the royalist Hamon L'Estrange observed, "they who wrote the memorials of their own times, as Thucydides, Xenophon, Herodian and others, who are the most accurate Reporters, ingenuously confesse, they as well derive some things, upon trust from others, as other things they deliver upon their own credit" (L'Estrange 1655: sig. A4). John Hutchinson was Lucy Hutchinson's chief informant, and she was his confidant or, to use her own words, the "faithfull depository of all his secrets" (Hutchinson 1973: 7). She was thus in a position to explain why he had decided to vote the death of the King in conscience.

In line with this situation of enunciation, Lucy Hutchinson's descriptions of battles and sieges – the set-pieces of ancient history (Burke 1969: 106-117) – rest on the Colonel's military experience of the war. The two attacks and brief occupations of Nottingham by the Newark royalist forces, from 23 to 28 September 1643 and on 26 January 1644, provide good examples of her transcription of her husband's own visual experience. The resulting picture is often uncertain: "Att length on Saturday, the 23rd of September, in the afternoone, the Governor *saw* a greate many goods and persons going over the Line bridge, and not knowing what it meant, sent some cannon bulletts after them; when, on the other side of the Towne, he *discern'd* a body of men whom he knew not at first whether friends or

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foes" (Hutchinson 1973: 96–97, my emphasis). Lucy Hutchinson was aware that ocular observation was flawed, and she points out the discrepancy between what John Hutchinson could see and the military situation. However, the memorialist was not discouraged by the epistemological limits of eye-witnessing. What mattered to her in these pages was to turn the reader into a spectator and to produce an impression of truth – what could be called verisimilitude. In so doing she drew upon ancient historiographical practices, which were revived at the Renaissance. After Plutarch, the historian's ability to make history visible and believable was praised by Thomas Hobbes in his preface to Thucydides's Peloponnesian Wars: "He filleth his narration with that choice of matter, and ordereth them with that judgment, and with such perspicuity and efficacy expresseth himself that, as Plutarch saith, maketh his auditor a spectator. For he setteth his reader in the assembly of the people and in the senate, at their debating; in the streets, at their seditions; and in the field, at their battles" (Hobbes 1629).

Lobbying at the Restoration

In the final quarter of the *Memoirs*, covering the years 1660-1664, Lucy Hutchinson still stands as a witness to history. But by then the Colonel was removed from public life, and her chief informant at court was her brother, the royalist Sir Allen Apsley, who was a friend and trusted agent of the King's councilor, Edward Hyde. Furthermore, during this period, Lucy Hutchinson herself became an agent in history, a position which was then considered a privileged stance from which to write history. This type of experience-based history was already practiced by Thucydides and Polybius, while both Lucian and Montaigne recommended it: "The only good histories are those that are written by such as commanded, or were imploid themselves in weighty affaires, or that were partners in the conduct of them, or that at least have had the fortune to manage others of like qualitie. Such in a maner are all the Graecians and Romans" (Montaigne 1613: 232). Nevertheless, however epistemologically desirable this position may have been, it could prove perilous, especially when the historian was a woman, at a time when women had "no voyse in Parliament, They [made] no Lawes, they consent[ed] to none, they abrogate[d] none" (Edgar 1632: 6). Lucy Hutchinson unequivocally endorses these patriarchal values in the *Memoirs*, in which she repeatedly mocks domineering wives, among whom were Charles I's wife, Henrietta Maria (Hutchinson 1973: 39), and the wives of two army generals during the Civil Wars, Lady Fairfax (195) and Lady Lambert (204). Yet, it appears that political circumstances ultimately compelled her to subvert gender roles. Lobbying at court and Parliament – a man's world – was the only possible way for her to save the Colonel and his family: "Mrs. Hutchinson [...] saw that he was ambitious of being a publick sacrifice, and therefore, herein only in her whole life, resolv'd to *disobey* him" (Hutchinson 1973: 229, my emphasis). The climax of Lucy Hutchinson's wifely disobedience was her decision to forge "a letter in his name to the Speaker" in which he begged "his liberty upon his parole, till they should finally determine of him" (Hutchinson 1973: 229). Thanks to her brother, Sir Allen Apsley and his network of highly placed friends, her lobbying proved fruitful: "[he] was voted to be free without any engagement, and his punishment only to be discharg'd from the present Parliament, and from all office, military or civill, in the State for ever" (Hutchinson 1973: 230).

One of the risks for historians who took part in the events they reported was to produce a biased and incomplete account. Lucy Hutchinson did not avoid this danger, as she omitted to tell the full story of the forged letter; in particular she did not mention that it was a letter of recantation and repentance,

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meant as a corrective to the equivocal speech which the Colonel had given in the Convention Parliament on 12 May 1660. According to C. H. Firth, in doing so she conceals "much of the truth and misrepresents many of the facts" in this episode (Hutchinson 1885: xix). In a thorough investigation of Restoration "micropolitics," David Norbrook has shown that the ambiguities of the letter cannot be fully resolved, all the more so as John Hutchinson was not considered to be a loyal supporter of the King – his name, from the Restoration up until the nineteenth century, remained strongly associated with dangerous republican ideas (Norbrook 2012).

Lucy Hutchinson's involvement in Restoration politics in the final quarter of the *Memoirs* accentuates the autobiographical bent of her narrative. The result is that her original apologetic project is partly reoriented, as she not only seeks to vindicate her husband as a martyr of the republic, but also endeavors to justify her own agency in history, namely her role in trying to save her husband's life. The paradox is that, despite her direct experience of events, her treatment of the early Restoration period is far from reliable: some facts are kept silent, while others are distorted, which challenges her own historiographical claims about historical truth.

The Text

In 1806, the "Life of John Hutchinson" was published for the first time as the *Memoirs of the Life of John Hutchinson*. This edition was the work of Julius Hutchinson, a descendant of John Hutchinson's half-brother, Charles Hutchinson, who had inherited Lucy Hutchinson's manuscripts. The 1806 edition included five items: an autobiographical fragment (18 pages), a dedication to the children ("To My Children," 29 pages), "The life of John Hutchinson" (319 pages), the inscription on John Hutchinson's monument in the Church of Owthorpe, and some "Verses written by Mrs Hutchinson." Only "To My children" and the "Life" are part of a manuscript now kept at Nottinghamshire Archives (*Memoirs*, DD/HU4). The manuscripts corresponding to the autobiographical fragment and the verses are lost while the inscription on the vault comes from another manuscript also kept in Nottingham (*Elegies*, DD/HU2). "The Life of John Hutchinson" is far longer than the other sections, and critics and historians have often found it convenient to refer to this text as the *Memoirs*, an appellation that has been retained here.

The *Memoirs* stand at the intersection of the private and the public, the personal and the collective, which is much in keeping with Lucy Hutchinson's project. She wrote, she explains, not only to "moderate her woe" (Hutchinson 1973: 1), but also to preserve the Colonel's public memory and to rehabilitate his actions during the Civil War. Admittedly she dedicates the "Life" to her children, but she also specifies that she composed the "life" for "the benefit of all" (Hutchinson 1806: 2), in order to "instruct the erring children of this generation" (1). Calling the Restoration age "wicked" (Hutchinson 1806: 1), and "darke" (3), she unequivocally positions herself as an opponent of Charles II's monarchy, her chief aim being to counter official royalist historiography and dispel suspicions about the Colonel's loyalties at the Restoration.

Life-writing

Since antiquity, lives had been considered a historical genre, and remained so in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Donaldson 2002: 67). The most relevant definition of lives was provided by Francis Bacon's typology in *The Advancement of Learning*. Lives, he argued, were "perfect history"

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that "excelle[d] in profit and use." "Lives," he continued, "if they be well written, propounding to themselves a person to represent, in whom actions both greater and smaller, publique & priuate haue a commixture; must of necessitie containe a more true, natiue, and liuely representation" (Bacon 1605: II, 10).

Lucy Hutchinson does not mention Bacon, but his definition of the genre of lives reflects her own project (Mayer 1997). "The Life of John Hutchinson" is indeed "well written" and displays the "commixture" that Bacon advocates, the private being never split from the public, the personal from the historical. It is indebted to the humanist tradition of life-writing inherited from Plutarch as well as to the Protestant tradition of godly lives (Collinson 1983). By extolling the Colonel as a Renaissance gentleman and as a saint, Lucy Hutchinson seeks to persuade the reader to follow his example and to emulate his commitment to the public cause. John Hutchinson's life was a profitable kind of history because it was exemplary in its various aspects, ethical, political and religious (Sharpe and Zwicker 2008: 4). The Colonel, Lucy Hutchinson writes in the "Final Meditation," was "a notable [example] of living that should be "registered in perpetual memory" (Hutchinson 1995: 337). His life – like Plutarch's lives – should be seen as a mirror in which the readers may look at themselves in order to fashion their own lives. Logically enough, his exemplary virtues constitute the prism through which we, readers, are invited to read the whole text. For example, the Colonel's fortitude, which includes both his heroic magnanimity and his patience, shapes all his life, from the Civil War in Nottingham until his martyrdom. In her view, Hutchinson was a witness of God and a martyr in the sense that he placed God and the cause of the godly above earthly matters, including his own family, hence her desire to "celebrate the glories of a saint" (Hutchinson 1973: 2).

"The Life of John Hutchinson," however, exceeds the limits of the genre of lives as it was practiced by humanists. The difference lies in the fact that, unlike Thomas More and Francis Bacon, who respectively wrote the lives of Richard III and Henry VII, Lucy Hutchinson intimately knew the protagonist of her narrative; unlike them, she could also draw upon her own experience and knowledge of history. Writings of this kind, based on the experience of their authors, were highly prized in the wake of the Civil Wars because they were supposed to give a more direct access to "historical truth." This type of testimony was typical of the memoir genre which was "one of the dominant genres in which the history of the Civil War was made in the period from 1660 to the publication of Catharine Macaulay's pioneering History in the late eighteenth century" (Wiseman 2006: 316); it was also the genre in which Edmund Ludlow, Richard Baxter and Edward Hyde wrote, even if they did not necessarily call their works "memoirs." From this perspective, Julius Hutchinson's later choice to entitle Lucy Hutchinson's "Life of John Hutchinson" *Memoirs* was not only the product of a nineteenth-century vogue; it also testified to the editor's good grasp of his ancestor's historiographical and literary enterprise in Restoration England (Gheeraert-Graffeuille 2022: 11–22).

[A Local history of the Civil War in Nottinghamshire: history from behind the scenes](#)

Lucy Hutchinson lived with her husband in Nottingham Castle, and she was a witness to much of what was going on during the Civil War. She recorded this experience in a text, which C.H. Firth called the Notebook, a convenient term that shall be kept here (Hutchinson 1885: xii). The Notebook has long been considered as a draft for the *Memoirs*, but it is more accurate to consider it as a narrative of its own, on which Lucy Hutchinson drew to write her account of the Civil War in Nottinghamshire in the *Memoirs*, as she herself acknowledges: "Thus far was transcribed out of a *more particular collection*"

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(Hutchinson 1973: 196, my emphasis). This manuscript, which focuses on the persecution of Colonel Hutchinson by the Nottingham Committee, is the basis of Lucy Hutchinson's behind-the-scenes history of the Civil War. Like many of her contemporaries, she sought to disclose what external observers could not relate, namely the details about the negotiations that were then conducted – sometimes in secret and by spies – between her husband and the royalist enemy. She was not an intelligencer herself, but, as the Colonel's confidant, she was in a perfect position to report the protracted negotiations that took place in Nottingham between October 1642 and March 1644, between John Hutchinson and the Cavaliers who wanted the surrender of Nottingham, because it was a strategic passage between the North and the South. Being aware of the local gentry's allegiances and private interests, she was able to offer a very detailed rendering of the negotiations. We first learn about the traps set by John Digby, the High Sheriff of Nottinghamshire, who wanted the delivery of the fort. Lucy Hutchinson gives a meticulous account of their exchanges, setting the scene, identifying the protagonists and describing their every move (Hutchinson 1973: 74). After Digby's attempt, the Earl of Newcastle, William Cavendish, who commanded the royalist troops in the North, sent to the Colonel "a summons for the delivery of the Towne and Castle" (S88). The bellicose – although civil – exchange that followed was published in the pro-Parliamentary newsbook *Mercurius Britannicus* (23-29 August 1643), which indicates that what happened in Nottingham could be of interest to the whole nation. Similar attempts were soon made by the royalist Governor of Newark, Sir Richard Biron, who was John Hutchinson's cousin and who did not hesitate to resort to psychological blackmail in order to obtain the delivery of the castle – an episode in which the two men appear "to each other the most uncivil enemies that can be imagined" (Hutchinson 1973: 90). In December 1643 new attempts were made by the Cavaliers to bribe the Colonel and obtain the city and castle. Once more, Lucy Hutchinson stresses the psychological manipulation used by Colonel Dacre, Newcastle's emissary, against George Hutchinson, the Colonel's brother (then Lieutenant Colonel in Nottingham), in order to obtain the Fort in exchange for money and favor (Hutchinson 1973: 110). But the Colonel, as always in his wife's narrative, remains incorruptible and loyal to the Parliament. His response to the last summons (25 March 1645) sums up his attitude throughout the *Memoirs* and reminds us of their apologetic purpose: "though the whole kingdome were quit besides this towne, yet he would maintaine it so long as he was able, and he trusted that God would preserve it in his hands; but if he perish'd, he was resolv'd to bury himselfe in the ruines of it, being confident that God would after vindicate him to have been a defender and not a destroyer of his county" (Hutchinson 1973: 124–125).

This episodic account of local quarrels has often been considered less appealing than the rest of the *Memoirs* (MacGillivray 1974:182). It is largely based on the Notebook, which may have been conceived as a defense of the Colonel whose authority was challenged within the Nottingham Committee of War (Norbrook 2004b: 111 and Wall 2021: 632–633). Hence, Lucy Hutchinson's determination to unveil what was hidden from the public eye by revealing the opportunism, greed, and jealousy that drove the predominantly Presbyterian committee members to conspire against the Colonel. Furthermore, what happened in Nottingham was emblematic of what happened within many other counties, where factionalism and moral baseness were just as much the rule as in Nottinghamshire: "every County," she writes, "had more or lesse the civill warre within it selfe" (Hutchinson 1973; 60). In this sense, the Civil War is not so much to be taken in the sense of *bellum civile*, that is to say as a confrontation between two armies of citizens, as a civil war in the Greek sense of *stasis*, a broader concept which refers to the diseases and conflicts affecting the body politic, and, by extension, the individual (Loroux

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1997: 11-33). For Lucy Hutchinson, it seemed "as if Discourd had infected the whole English ayre with an Epidemicall hart-bruning and dissension in all places, even the King's Councells and Garrisons were factiously devided" (Hutchinson 1973:158). Of course, this bitter view of politics was highly retrospective: it was not contemporaneous with the events reported, as it was written at the Restoration by a grieving Lucy Hutchinson who had in mind her husband's death and sought to account for the final defeat of the so-called Puritan revolution.

The Memoirs' art of digression

Lucy Hutchinson's authorial interventions in the *Memoirs* suggest that she was aware of the Renaissance debate about the relevance of digressions (Milhe Poutingon 2012). For ancient rhetoricians, irrelevant digressions could be detrimental to a work's coherence and persuasiveness. Quintilian admits, however, that a digression can be "advantageous," provided that it "fits in well with the rest of the speech and follows naturally on what has preceded" (Quintilian: IV, 3). In the *Memoirs*, Hutchinson uses digressions in order to combine national history with particular history, namely to weave together her husband's story with the tumultuous history of the times, what Bacon calls "Chronicle" (Bacon 1605: II, 11). Such combination of the Colonel's story with the tumultuous history of times was not unique, but Lucy Hutchinson was particularly successful at integrating the local and the national, the better to rehabilitate the Colonel's actions during the Civil War and Interregnum (MacGillivray 1974: 170–184).

The causes of the Civil War

The investigation of the causes of the Civil Wars was on the agendas of most Restoration historians; all of them, from John Rushworth to Thomas Hobbes and Edward Hyde, endeavoured to explain why a civil war broke out in 1642. Lucy Hutchinson's own inquiry is an eighteen-page digression, placed before the actual beginning of the Civil War. This long excursus, which draws upon Thomas May's *History of the Parliament* (1647), is meant to depict "the state of England in those dayes wherein he, whose actions I am tracing, began to enter into his part in this greate Tragedy" (Hutchinson 1973: 53). The originality of Lucy Hutchinson's approach lies in her tracing the origins of the Civil War back to the "greate contest between the Papist and Protestant," i.e. to Henry VIII's religious settlement which she finds too popish (Hutchinson 1973: 37). The King's position as both head of the State and Church, she argues, obliterates the difference between the spiritual and the political realms. In a passage that she crosses out in the manuscript, she denies the monarch the title of Protestant reformer despite his break with the Catholic Church: "King Henry the eighth who by his regall authority cast out the Pope did not intend the people of the land should haue any ease of oppression but onely change their forreigne yoke for homebred fetters [...] soe that I cannot subscribe to those who entitle that king to the honor of beginning a reformation all that he made was a little rout" (*Memoirs*, DD/HU4: 63). Similarly, Lucy Hutchinson criticizes the next three kings for their collusion with the Roman Catholic Church. She considers that Elizabeth was too lenient towards Mary Stuart, and she blames both James I and Charles I for their romanization of the Church (Hutchinson 1973: 40–43 and 46–49). In her view their excessive indulgence towards Roman Catholics and their persecution of the Puritans accounts for the outbreak of the Civil War. James I was too lenient towards Roman Catholics, while "the Nonconformists were cast out of doors" and "[s]ecret treaties were entertain'd with the Court of Rome" (Hutchinson 1973: 42). Lucy Hutchinson views with even more severity the reign of Charles I, denouncing his marriage with the Catholic French princess, Henrietta-Maria, and the monarch's

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growing tyranny: this King, she argues, "was a worse encroacher upon the civill and spirituall liberties of his people by farre than his father" (Hutchinson 1973: 46).

From a synoptic vision of the Civil to a defense of tyrannicide

Lucy Hutchinson uses digressions in order to offer a synoptic view of history: the Civil War was played out not only in Nottinghamshire, but in "all the countreyes in England," which were "noe longer idle spectators, but severall stages whereon the Tragedie of the civill warre was acted" (Hutchinson 1973: 78). Exploiting the Renaissance astronomical metaphor of the armillary spheres (an ancient astronomical instrument) she shows that the only way to understand the conflict at home (in Nottingham) is to connect the local events and the life of Colonel Hutchinson (the "lesser wheelles") with national history ("the greate Orbe"): "It being necessary to carrie on the maine story for the better understanding of the motion of those lesser wheelles that moov'd within the greate Orbe, I shall but name in what posture things were abroad in the Kingdome while these affaires I relate were transacted at Nottingham" (Hutchinson 1973: 78). Moreover, the metaphor of the armillary spheres reminds the reader of the importance of the particular, while emphasizing the fundamentally national dimension of the English Civil War. Still, Lucy Hutchinson was acutely aware of the dangers of using digressions indiscriminately. She repeatedly reminds the reader that what happened "abroad" was only important as long as it shed light on the Colonel's life at "home": "It will not be amisse in this place to carry on the Parliament story, that wee may the better judge of things at home when we know the condition of affaires abroad" (Hutchinson 1973, 125). Much in the same way, she explains that her excursuses, despite their epistemological limitations, were absolutely necessary both to vindicate the cause of Parliament and to inscribe the Colonel's life in national history: "In conducting the state of England, in those dayes, wherein he, whose actions I am tracing, began to enter into his part in this greate tragedy, I have bene too long for that I intended, a bare summary, and too short to give a cleare understanding of the righteousnesse of the Parliament's cause" (Hutchinson 1973: 53).

What is remarkable about these digressions is that if put together, they can be read as a republican narrative of the Civil War, telling us about the beginnings of the conflict, the victories of the King and of Parliament, the successes of the Parliamentarian New Model Army, the King's flight and defeat, the struggle between Independents and the Presbyterians in Parliament, the growing power of the army, the Second Civil War, and, finally, the rise of Cromwell, who seized control of the Commonwealth to become its lifelong head of state in 1653 (Gheeraert-Graffeuille 2022: 268-274). But the function of these digressions is not merely informative; they also serve as an apology for tyrannicide. In all her excursuses, Lucy Hutchinson substantiates the "charge drawne up against [Charles Stuart] for leavying warre against the Parliament and people of England, for betraying their publick trust reposed in him, and for being an implacable enemie to the Commonwealth" (Hutchinson 1973: 189). She indefatigably shows that from 1642 onwards the King never had the intention of accepting a compromise. In 1646, John Hutchinson, as MP for Nottinghamshire, became a direct witness of the debates leading up to the King's trial, and in the *Memoirs* the national chronicle logically meets the particular story of John Hutchinson. To make this climactic moment even more persuasive, Lucy Hutchinson chooses to reconstruct, from the inside, the logic that drove her husband and his fellow commissioners to vote the King's death. The judges, Hutchinson argues, would be called to account if they let the King escape again for, if this ever happened, Charles would inevitably continue to shed innocent blood. This would be a crime which would both destroy the sacredness of kings and pollute the whole nation. Seen from

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this angle, the Colonel's decision to sign the King's death warrant could be regarded a moral duty and a patriotic responsibility.

The Context

Civil War historiography and historical truth

The consequences of the Civil War for historiography are momentous: as Daniel R. Woolf has shown, history was no longer written in the same way before and after 1640 (Woolf 1997). According to the royalist historian, Thomas Fuller, the task of the historian became complex during the Civil War, when the confusion of Babel seemed to have descended again upon England:

Such as lived after the Flood, and before the Confusion of Tongues, were happy in this particular, that they did Hear to Understand, and Speak to be Understood with all persons in their Generation. [...] Happy those English Historians who wrote some sixty years since before our Civil Distempers were born or conceived [...]. But alas! Such as wrote in or since our Civil Wars, are seldom apprehended truly and candidly save of such of their own persuasion, whilst others doe not (or what is worse will not) understand them aright (Fuller 1659: sig. B).

Before the outbreak of the Civil War, historians still sought to write a national history, which was a history of reigns. When the conflict between Parliament and the King escalated in the early 1640s, a unified history became problematic: the life of Charles I could no longer be equated with England's national history (Woolf 2000: 76). In his *History of Parliament*, Thomas May, who had been commissioned by Parliament to write a history of the times, lamented the divisions of the people's "understandings," as well as of their "affections" in terms very similar to Fuller's. As May argued, in times of Civil War, historians were committed to one party and history was necessarily biased:

The Subject of this work is a Civill War [...]; a Warre as cruell as unnaturall; that has produced as much rage of Swords, as much bitterness of Pens, both publike and private, as was ever knowne; and divided the understandings of men, as well as their affections, in so high a degree, that scarce could any vertue gaine due applause, any reason give satisfaction, or any Relation obtaine credit, unlesse amongst men of the same side. (May 1647: sig. A4v).

The historiographical field became highly politicized, and even historians who had both fought for the King, for example Peter Heylin and Thomas Fuller, crossed swords (MacGillivray 1974: 41–47). Another posthumous historiographical controversy opposed Thomas May and Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (Norbrook 2008). According to Hyde, May, in his *History*, "prostituted himself to the vile Office of celebrating the infamous Acts of those who were in Rebellion against the King; which He did so meanly, that He seemed to all Men to have lost his Wits, when He left his Honesty; and so shortly after, died miserable and neglected" (Hyde 1759: I, 35).

As a matter of fact, the very definition of history as "the light of truth" (Cicero, *De oratore* II, 9, 36) was challenged during the Civil Wars. To be sure, historians claimed to seek truth at all cost, and May declared in the preface to his history: "I will only professe to follow that one Rule, Truth, to which all the rest [...] may be reduced, against which there are many waies, besides plain falsehood, whereby a Writer may offend" (May 1647: sig. A3). However, for many historians, truth was falsified. According to Heylin, "truth was often times irrecoverably lost, the Reader led aside from the waies of Verity into

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the Crooked lanes of Errour" (Heylin 1659: sig. [A2^v-A3]). Likewise, Rushworth, who was a supporter of Parliament and of the Cromwellian regime, declared: "some [men] durst write the Truth; whilst other mens Fancies were more busie then their hands, forging Relations, building and battering Castles in the Air; publishing Speeches as spoken in Parliament, which were never spoken there; Printing Declarations, which were never passed; relating Battels which were never fought, and Victories which were never obtained [...] to abet a Party or Interest" (Rushworth 1659: sig. [bv]-b2).

Furthermore, historians of the Civil War found it difficult to narrate a war that was fought simultaneously in several counties when accounts of it varied so much depending on the location; it was an epistemological obstacle to truth of which Thomas May was acutely aware: "where Warre continues, people are inforced to make their residence in severall Quarters, and therefore severall, according to the places where they converse, must their information be concerning the condition and state of things. From whence arises not onely a variety, but a great discrepancy for the most part in the Writings of those who record the passages of such times" (May 1647: sig. B^v). In a similar way, Richard Bulstrode notes that reports of battles are necessarily biased both for political reasons as well as for more practical ones – the view of the two opposing armies is always uncertain and limited:

There is always great Difference in Relation of Battles, which is usually according to the Interest of the Relators; when it is certain, that, in a Battle, the next Man can hardly make a true Relation of the Actions of him that is next him; for, in such a Hurry and Smoke as in a set Field, a Man takes Notice of nothing but what relates to his own Safety. (Bulstrode 1721: 84)

Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs* bear the mark of those uncertainties. When recounting battles and sieges she admits that the Colonel, who was her main informant, could not always make sense of what he saw – and her narrative reflects those epistemological difficulties (Gheeraert-Graffeuille 2022: 144-145). For example, during the first occupation of Nottingham in September 1643 she underlines how difficult it was to make sense of the military situation: "Att length on Saturday, the 23rd of September, in the afternoone, the Governor saw a greate many goods and persons going over the Line bridge, *and not knowing what it meant*, sent some cannon bulletts after them; when, on the other side of the Towne, he discern'd a body of men whom *he knew not at first whether friends or foes*" (Hutchinson 1973: 96–97). She adds that the Colonel could not figure out the numbers of soldiers who were taken prisoners, wounded or killed.

Finally, Lucy Hutchinson did not ignore the partisanship and lies of many histories: "although those [the bookes] of our enemies are all fraught with abominable lies, yett if all ours were supprest, even their owne writings impartially consider'd would be a sufficient chronicle of their injustice and oppression" (Hutchinson 1973: 37). Still, she encouraged the reader to turn to the "stories that were then written" (Hutchinson 1973: 191) in order to have a fuller view of events. On one occasion she engages in a posthumous debate with Thomas May's *A Breviary of the History of England* (1655), declaring "Mr. Maye's History, which I find to be impartially true, so farre as he hath carried it on, saving some little mistakes in his owne judgement, and misinformations which some vaine people gave of themselves, and more indulgence to the King's guilt than can justly be allow'd" (Hutchinson 1973: 53). But despite her disagreement with May, her historical excursions are based on his narratives of the Civil War, which is evidence enough of her acquaintance with the historiographical debates of her times and of her awareness of epistemological perils when writing history.

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Restoration Lives and Memoirs

Particular narratives of the Civil War, especially memoirs and lives, dominated Restoration historiography (Wiseman 2006, 316 and above "Text" / "Life-writing"). When some historians and polemicists assumed that truth was "lost," memorialists claimed that their relations were reliable because they focused either on their own experience or on the experience of someone they were closely acquainted with. The value of such a perspective on history is well explained by Margaret Cavendish at the beginning of the life of her husband, the royalist general, William Cavendish: contrary to "general history," she claims, "the History of the life and actions of some particular Person [...] goes not out of its own Circle, but turns on its own Axis, and for the most part keeps within the Circumference of Truth" (Cavendish 1667: [sig. cv]). The reason why particular narratives were so advisable, she adds, was that these narratives were written "by the Prime Actors, or the Spectators of those Affairs and Actions of which they write, as Caesars Commentaries are" (Cavendish 1667: [sig. c^v].) Memorialists of the English Revolution all shared this concern regarding truth. Hugh Cholmley declared to his son that in his Memoirs he wanted to "perform the duty of a historian, which is to express all things with as much truth and clearness as may be." (Cholmley 1870: 3–4). In a very similar way, in the narrative of his life and time, Baxter wrote that he wanted "only in faithfulness Historically to relate things as indeed they were" (Baxter 2020: vol. 1, 277). Even if Lucy Hutchinson did not theorize her practice of history as Margaret Cavendish did, her goal was similar, as she constantly focuses on the life and actions of her husband in order to capture the "truth of him," repeating that his story mattered more to her than general chronicles (Hutchinson 1973: 1).

As a matter of fact, such emphasis on particular history written by the actors and witnesses of history predates the Civil War; it originates in the humanist "rejection of conjecture and of invented speeches or scenes, the concentration on secondary (human) rather than primary (providential) explanation, the commitments to impartiality and to plain style" (Mayer 1997: 9). This stance was endorsed by humanist historians from Thomas More to Francis Bacon, who favored a history that was written by its witnesses and its actors, and who took as their models Thucydides and Polybius (Hartog 2005). During the Civil War this type of history writing was praised by Thomas Fuller who considered that "the most Informative Histories to Posterity and such as are most highly prized by the judicious, are such as were written by the Eye-witnesses thereof, as Thucydides, the reporter of the Peloponnesian Warre" (Fuller 1656: Book X, sig. Ggg2v). Such emphasis on experience can fruitfully be related to the contemporary rise of empiricism and of a "culture of fact" that gave primacy to "facts" derived from experiment and observation as the foundation for true knowledge (Shapiro 2000: 34–62).

The belief that an experience-based narrative was more trustworthy than a general history is reminiscent of Bacon's view of history, which also privileged the particular above the general: "if particularitie of actions memorable, were but tolerably reported as they passe, the compiling of a complete HISTORIE of TIMES mought be the better expected" (Bacon 1605: II,14). During the Civil War, several writers of history took up the Baconian idea that a reliable general history of the Civil War could be obtained through a compilation of testimonies. John Toland, in his preface to Denzill Holles's *Memoirs* (1699), argued that compiling particular narratives was the most suitable way, he argued, to make the history of a highly conflictual and divisive period: "Such as really desire to know the naked Truth [...] have ever exprest a desire in their Writings of seeing the Memoirs of all parties made public, as the most effectual means of framing a true General History: For in those places where nothing is

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licens'd to appear but what visibly tends to the advantage of one side, there can be no sincere representation of Affairs." (Holles 1600: ix). From this defense of the memoir genre emerged a polyphonic conception of history which dominated the Restoration. Memoirs, it was argued, could be a corrective to partisan histories of divided times.

Even though the memoir genre was often thought suitable to make the history of the Civil War, memoir-writing did not escape "the polemical warfare" of the Restoration (Sharpe and Zwicker 2008: 19). A first controversy broke out around the publication of the *Memoirs* of James Touchet, Earl of Castlehaven, an English Catholic royalist who had sided with the King in the Irish Confederate wars (Gheeraert Graffeuille 2022: 102-104). A second controversy arose when Ludlow's *Memoirs* were published in 1699, after they had been revised by the Irish republican, John Toland (Ludlow 1978: 1). These writings, which shared many features with Lucy Hutchinson's (MacGillivray 1974: 170), were not to the taste of – among others – William Baron, the chaplain to the second earl of Clarendon, who considered Ludlow's narrative to be "such a Farrago, such an Hodgpodg, of Calumnies, and Falshoods"; Baron also deplored the same recycling of "superannuated Stories, and Commonwealth Fictions, which serv'd their several turns from 41. forward, as if Time, the Mother of Truth, had not yet brought forth anything of clearer discovery" (Baron 1700: 4). Ludlow's *Memoirs* were soon followed by the publication of other radical Whig Memoirs, namely those of Denzil Holles, Thomas Fairfax, and Sir John Berkeley. These prompted Tory responses with the publication, in 1701, of the memoirs of Sir Philip Warwick and Sir Thomas Herbert as well as Edward Hyde's *History of the Rebellion*, which was highly memorial in form. According to Blair Worden all these testimonies "supplied a new genre of Civil War history," which aptly reflected the fragmented and divided nature of the Civil Wars (Ludlow 1978: 22).

Enduring influence

Nineteenth-century editions

The circulation of "The Life of John Hutchinson" was very limited up until the publication of the *Memoirs* in 1806. In the *Life of the English Regicides* (1798), the antiquarian Mark Noble mentions that he had heard of "a MS. written by the widow of the guilty Mr Hutchinson, relative to the important times in which she lived: it was hoped that it would have been lent, to copy what must have been highly gratifying to both the public, and the writer of these volumes; but he was not fortunate enough to obtain the perusal of it" (Noble 1798: 1 367). In the preface to the 1806 edition, the editor Julius Hutchinson writes that his uncle was extremely reluctant to circulate his ancestor's manuscript and refused it to be published: "The *Memoirs of the Life of Col. Hutchinson* had been seen by many persons, as well as the editor, in the possession of the late Thomas Hutchinson, Esq. of Nottinghamshire, and of Hatfield Woodhall, in Hartfordshire; and he had been frequently solicited to permit them to be published, particularly by the late Mrs. Catharine Maccaulay, but had uniformly refused" (Hutchinson 1806: i). However, despite this limited circulation, the story of John Hutchinson was known by many in the eighteenth century, as the Colonel's name appeared in many accounts of the regicide (Burden 2019: 176–178).

The publication of the *Memoirs* in 1806 was a commercial success. According to David Norbrook, the "book did well, going through three editions in four years" (Norbrook 2018, xiii). By 1868, ten editions

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of the *Memoirs* based on Julius Hutchinson's edition had been published (Norbrook 2004b). In order to make the *Memoirs* appealing to a broad readership, Julius Hutchinson had taken pains to adapt Lucy Hutchinson's views to a moderate nineteenth-century Whig agenda (Looser 2000: 31–32); hence the editor's care to erase the revolutionary violence of the Civil Wars, and to euphemize the Puritanism and the republicanism of the *Memoirs* (Worden 2001: 12). The Colonel, Julius Hutchinson argues, did nothing but assert the "claims of the people to command through their representatives, the public purse, the freedom of debate in parliament and the responsibility of ministers" (Hutchinson 1806: v). These demands, which were those of the Long Parliament in 1642, contributed to England's "constitutional progress" until the nineteenth century; in other words, the triumph of constitutional monarchy, which coincided with the Revolution of 1688, was the direct consequence of the first Revolution of 1640-1660. The Colonel's views could finally be interpreted as politically acceptable even in the eyes of the Tories: "Upon a fair review of the contest it will be seen that what the Tory and the Courtier of the present day, the friend or even the flatterer of kingly power, admits as axioms, were the grand desiderata of the Whig and the Patriot of those times, and that what were then cried out upon as daring encroachments now pass as the most moderate and unquestioned claims" (Hutchinson 1806: vi). In other words, had Colonel Hutchinson lived in the nineteenth century, he would have been a Whig and a defender of what the editor describes as a "well-limited monarchy" (Hutchinson 1806: vi). In the religious sphere, he "would either have been a conforming member of the church of England, or at most have only dissented from it in few things, and that with modesty and moderation" (Hutchinson 1806: viii). According to the editor Julius Hutchinson, the *Memoirs* compare well with other histories of the English Revolution, even with the work of Clarendon:

although there are many histories of the same period, there is not one that is generally considered satisfactory; most of them carry evident marks of prejudice or partiality; nor were any of those which are now read written at or near the time, or by persons who had an opportunity of being well acquainted with what was passing, except that of Clarendon. But any one who should take the pains, which the Editor has done, to examine Clarendon's State Papers, would find therein documents much better calculated to support Mrs. Hutchinson's representation of affairs than that which he himself has given. (Hutchinson 1806: x)

Julius Hutchinson's edition of the *Memoirs* was translated into French by François Guizot and his students, and published in Guizot's *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à la Révolution d'Angleterre* (1823-1825). Both the English and the French editions share the same liberal political background. However, the French historian is less indulgent towards Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs* than the English editor, as he detects in her account the "the prejudices and passionate ignorance of the Puritan and Republican fanaticism of her time" (Guizot 1851: 126). Guizot was obviously less intent than Julius Hutchinson to rehabilitate the Colonel because of his revolutionary ideas. As he explains in a biographical notice published in 1851, his tragic death was, in some ways, deserved: "The Colonel was one of the judges of Charles I, and signed the sentence of his condemnation – a great moral iniquity, and detestable piece of policy, for which the republic and its partisans suffered a just punishment" (Guizot 1851: 130) Guizot's interest in the *Memoirs* rather lay in drawing parallels between the French Revolution and the English Revolution (Gheeraert-Graffeuille 2017) than in English domestic issues.

The *Memoirs* were re-edited and copiously annotated by the Victorian historian C. H. Firth in 1885 and 1906. Firth did not have access to the manuscript of the "Life," which had been lost at Julius

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Hutchinson's death. His preface and his notes show that he was more interested in the historical veracity and reliability of the *Memoirs* than in its political and religious aspects: "The aim of the present edition is to bring together the documents which relate to the subject of these *Memoirs*, in order to illustrate and explain them, and, so far as possible, to estimate their value and authority" (Hutchinson 1885: 1, ix). In the twentieth century, the popularity of the *Memoirs* gradually declined, but they remained an important historical source: in *A Source Book of English History* (Innes 1912), out of the thirteen texts reprinted in Chapter 2 ("Civil War and Commonwealth. 1641–1660"), four are excerpts from the *Memoirs* while the name of Lucy Hutchinson is mentioned among the "authorities cited," next to the names of Oliver Cromwell, Edward Hyde, and Andrew Marvell.

The nineteenth-century reception

Reception in England

In England, the *Memoirs* were seen as an important piece of national historiography and often praised for their patriotism. They were received with enthusiasm by most reviewers, regardless of their political and religious agendas. For example, the Scottish liberal Francis Jeffrey, who was the founder of the *Edinburgh Review*, defended the Civil War as a very positive period, referring to "times to which England owes all her freedom and all her glory" (Jeffrey 1808: 1). He believed that the Colonel had signed the King's death warrant in conscience, having surrendered himself to God; his decision was in keeping with his political and religious commitments and, it should not be criticized. Therefore, he adds, it was not a feeling of shame but of pride that should animate the reader of the *Memoirs*: "England should be proud, we think, of having given birth to Mrs. Hutchinson and her husband; and chiefly because their characters are truly and peculiarly English" (Jeffrey 1808: 22-23). Likewise, the more conservative *Critical Review*, which was close to Tory High Church circles, praised the patriotic overtones of the *Memoirs*: "It appears, however, that it is essential to nations to believe in their own excellence, which they sometimes reach, but always claim; and no true-born Englishman at any period was ever known to acknowledge the superiority of another country. Mrs. Hutchinson, in whose breast the fire of patriotism burned with a bright flame, felt this sentiment of preference in an eminent degree" (*Critical Review* 1807: 68-69). However, this patriotic enthusiasm, which was often paired with anti-Catholicism, did not mean the reviewers shared similar views of the past. On the issue of regicide, for example, the conservative reviewer of the *Critical Review* did not express any nostalgia for the Civil War period and unambiguously condemned the republicanism of the *Memoirs*. Still, he carefully distinguished the aristocratic and respectable republicanism of the Hutchinsons from the hypocrisy of a Cromwell, which he, like Lucy Hutchinson, systematically denounced (*Critical Review* 1807: 82).

Reception in France

In France, before Guizot's translation of the *Memoirs* was published, two French liberal historians, François-Abel Villemain and Augustin Thierry, commented on Lucy Hutchinson's "Life of John Hutchinson." In his *Histoire de Cromwell d'après les Mémoires du temps et les recueils parlementaires*, Villemain draws on Julius Hutchinson's edition in order to shed light on the complex relations that existed between the republicans and Cromwell, whose portrait he compares with Bonaparte's, another despotic figure according to Villemain. By contrast, he portrays Colonel Hutchinson, as a man of integrity who, "in the candour of his republican zeal, hated both the moderation of the Presbyterians and the violence of the army" (Villemain 1819: 196-197, my translation). For John

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Hutchinson, he argues, tyrannicide was the only way to save liberty: "most of the republicans believed that this crime was necessary for the establishment of the freedom they hoped for. Vane, Ludlow, Sidney, and Hutchinson shared this guilty delusion, but would have liked the form of government to be settled before the death of the King, lest the army should try to raise to the vacant place a leader from its ranks" (Villemain 1819: 199). When discussing Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs* in the *Censeur européen*, the French historian Augustin Thierry leaves out the issue of regicide; he only concentrates on the Colonel's defense of the freedom of the people and shows how the English events foreshadowed what happened in France during the French Revolution. Thierry believed that John Hutchinson was a forerunner of the fight for liberty and compared him to Lafayette (Thierry 1836: 86). He also deplores the death of the colonel who was "condemned without cause to an indefinite detention"; however, instead of seeing his tragic death as the logical consequence of his decision to vote the regicide, Thierry turns the Colonel into a "martyr" of liberty, placing him in the pantheon of heroes, next to John Hampden, who died in 1643 for defending Parliament, and the republicans Vane and Sidney, who were executed for treason in 1662 and 1683 (Thierry 1835: 82-86).

Posterity of the *Memoirs*: from history to fiction

Julius Hutchinson's preface largely shaped the reception of the *Memoirs* in the nineteenth century. The *Memoirs*, the editor explains, should be read as a "history of a period the most remarkable in the British annals, written one hundred and fifty years ago" (Hutchinson 1806: x). Nineteenth-century critics followed Julius Hutchinson's advice and were quick to point out the historical significance of the *Memoirs*. The *Monthly Review*, for example, concluded, that Lucy Hutchinson's work could "rightly stand alongside the histories of Rushworth, Clarendon, and Ludlow" (*The Monthly Review* 1807: 273). Another reviewer stated that had this volume been published at the Restoration, "its merits would have raised it to the rank of a standard work among contemporary histories" (*The Eclectic Review* 1807: 16). But Julius Hutchinson does not only describe the *Memoirs* as a work of history; he also presents Lucy Hutchinson's account as a "literary curiosity of the first order" (Hutchinson 1806: x) and concludes the preface by saying that the "The ladies will feel that it carries with it all the interest of a novel, strengthened with the authenticity of real history" (Hutchinson 1806: xiv). His sentimental reading was taken up by Francis Jeffrey who was fascinated by Lucy Hutchinson's domestic virtues (Jeffrey 1808: 5). Like Julius Hutchinson and Francis Jeffrey, Guizot considered the *Memoirs* as a work of history, but he also shared with them a romantic perception of the *Memoirs*. The French editor thus considered Lucy Hutchinson as "a woman of the most energetic character as well as of the most distinguished mind"; he admired "this household so pious, so grave, so tender", "the passionate exaltation of a woman's love for her husband" (*Memoirs* 1823: vi, vii, my translation). Similar readings can be found in the many biographies derived from the *Memoirs* that flourished in the nineteenth century, as well as in the fictional rewritings of the work. Devoney Looser has shown how this process of dehistoricization marginalized the historiographical impact of the *Memoirs*, while it reduced Lucy Hutchinson to her role as wife and mother (Looser 2000). As David Norbrook has argued, Lucy Hutchinson's poetic and theological works have received more attention than the *Memoirs* over the last decades (Norbrook 2015: 141). One reason for this may lie the military contents of the *Memoirs* work, which have often been found untypical of women's writing. Still, in the wake of Norbrook's own scholarship on Hutchinson, there has been renewed scholarly interest in the *Memoirs* very recently, as evidenced in a 2023 issue of the *Seventeenth Century*. Moreover, the forthcoming Oxford edition

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of Lucy Hutchinson's two major historiographical manuscripts, "The Life of John H" and the "Notebook," is very likely to stimulate new studies.

Conclusion

Lucy Hutchinson's successful use of several genres and traditions of history writing put her on a par with other historians and memorialists of the English Restoration, in particular Richard Baxter, Edmund Ludlow, or Edward Hyde – all of them drew on their experience of the Civil War to authorize their narratives at a time when historical truth was constantly challenged. In the face of this epistemological crisis, Lucy Hutchinson's eye-witnessing and her position as the Colonel's confidant enabled her to have a first-hand experience of the Civil War. Nevertheless, her experience, however essential, was limited and biased.

In order to overcome these limitations, she had to rely on her husband's testimony but also on other sources, such as Thomas May's *History of Parliament*. She also devised a sophisticated use of digressions: through flashbacks and narrative excursions she managed to go back in time, and to combine a national approach to the Civil War with a more local one. Another problematic feature of Lucy Hutchinson's historical narrative lay in its partisanship, which she nonetheless vindicated, since her avowed goal was to rehabilitate her husband as a republican martyr of the Stuart monarchy. Her use of digression highlights her commitment to Puritan and republican ideas. In a long digression about the causes of the Civil War she thus offers a scathing anti-Catholic account of the reigns of James I and his father, while in the digressions punctuating her local account of the Civil War in Nottingham, she writes a defense of tyrannicide. But it is in the Restoration section that she takes the most liberties with historical truth omitting to tell the full story of the forged letter, for example. Still, she maintains her apologetic narrative was historically justified, for in her view it served a higher truth that manifested itself in the Colonel's heroic martyrdom which culminated with his death in 1664.

All in all, two competing views of history emerge from the *Memoirs*: first, a disenchanting, tragic vision of the English Revolution, associated with the defeat of the Good Old Cause and the death of Colonel Hutchinson; second, a millenarian perspective epitomized throughout the *Memoirs* by the latter's heroic martyrdom. Not only did the martyr-Colonel's last words to his children offer a source of spiritual consolation, but they also aroused political hopes in his family and among his nonconformist friends. When the Colonel talked to his son just before dying, he promised him that the "cause would revive, because the interest of God was so much involv'd in it" (Hutchinson 1973: 264). Such millenarian hopes come to counteract the Puritan defeat and the death of the Colonel; in this sense, the *Memoirs* can be construed as a counter history of the English Revolution at the time of the Restoration as well as a polemical attempt to resist the Stuart monarchy's plan to cast into oblivion the memory of the "great rebellion" and of its Puritan heroes.

'Classic Work' Extract

Hutchinson, Lucy. *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*. Ed. Julius Hutchinson. London, 1806. <https://archive.org/details/lifeofcolonelhut00hutc/page/50/mode/2up>

p. 51-78

[51] When the dawne of the gospell began to breake upon this isle, after the darke midnight of papacy, the morning was more cloudy here than in other places by reason of the state-interest, which was mixing and working itself into the interest of religion, and which in the end quite wrought it out. King Henry the Eighth, who by his royall authority cast out the pope, did not intend the people of the land should have any ease of oppression, but only change their forreigne yoake for homebred fetters, deviding the pope's spoyles betweene himselfe and his bishops, who cared not for their father at Rome, so long as they enioy'd their patrimony and their honors here under another head: soe that I cannot subscribe to those who entitle that king to the honor of the reformation. But even then there wanted not many who discern'd the corruptions that were retein'd in the church, and eagerly applied their endeavours to obtaine a purer reformation, against whom, those who saw no need of further reformation, either through excesse of ioy for that which was allready brought forth, or else through a secret love of superstition rooted in their hearts, thought this too much, were bitterly incens'd, and, hating that light which reprov'd their darknesse, every where stirr'd up spiritts of envy and persecution against them. Upon the greate revolution which tooke place at the accession of Queene Elizabeth to the crown, the nation became divided into three greate factions, the papist, the state-protestant, and the more religious zelotts, who afterward were branded with the name of Puritane. In vaine it was for these to addresse to the queene and parliament; for the bishops, under the specious pretences of uniformity and obedience, procur'd severe punishments to be inflicted on such as durst gainsay their determinations in all things concerning worship, whereupon some even in those godly dayes lost their lives.

[52]The papists had a most inveterate hatred to all the protestants, but especially to those who were godly, and they againe many of them suffer'd their zeale to runne out into bitter personall hate. Betweene these two extreames, the common protestant was in the middle, though I cannot reckon them as a vertuous medium; for of them the more prophane and ignorant only left popery because, it grew out of fashion, but in their hearts inclin'd that way; those who were peaceable, conscientious, or morall persons, enclin'd to the puritane; of whom there were many that unwillingly bore the burthen of the cerimonies, for quietnesse sake, and through false doctrine of their unfaithfull teachers, as well as some that discern'd the base and carnall minds of those seducers, and would not be perswaded by them to defile their consciences: the former sort of these, in zeale to reduce the whole land from their idolatrous practices, procur'd lawes and invented oathes to suppress popery, which they little thought, but wee now sadly find, are the bitterest engines to batter downe the pure worship and destroy the pure worshippers of God; which I have often looked upon as an evidence that God is not pleased with the conversions that are enforc'd by men's lawes. We have spirituall weapons given us for spirituall combats, and those who go about to conquer subjects for Christ with swords of steele, shall find the base metall breake to shivers when it is used, and hurtfully flie in their owne faces.

About the time of the reformation, there was a greate change in the civill interest of all that part of the world which had long layne under the bondage of the Roman prelate and his tyrannicall clergie. These had by degrees so encroacht upon all the secular princes, that they

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were nothing but vassalls and hangmen to the proud insolent priest. Obtaining his empire by fraud, false doctrine, lies and [53] hipocrisie, he maintained it by blood and rapine, till it pleas'd God to cause that light to breake forth about Luther's time, which hath ever since bene encreasing, and notwithstanding all the attempts of Sathan and his ministers, will in the end grow up to a glorious flame and quite devoure that bloody city. When the wrath of princes and priests was in vaine at first blowne up against the professors of the gospell, and their blood and ashes became fruitefull seed in God's field, then the old fox comes into the fold as a lamb, and seduces some of them that saw the approach of Christ's kingdome, to sett it up irregularly, and indeed, (though I know not whether they perceiv'd their owne delusion), to sett up themselves in Christ's throne, casting downe the thrones of all other magistrates, and destroying the proprieties of men, and ruling by their owne arbitrary lust, which they brought forth in the name of God's law. This example was so threatning to all mankind, that the gospell itself, by the adversaries thereof, suffer'd much reproach upon this miscarriage; whereupon the Protestants, in all places, to cleare themselves from the iust aspersions, which the Munster anabaptists and others had occasioned, fell into an error on the other hand, not much lesse hurtfull in the consequence ; for to flatter the princes of the world, whether Popish or Protestant, they invested them with God's prerogative, and preach'd to them and the people such doctrines as only chang'd the idoll, but left the idolatry still in practice.

About this time in the kingdom of Scotland, there was a wicked queene, daughter of a mother that came out of the bloody house of Guize, and brought up in the Popish religion, which she zealously persever'd in, as most suitable to her bloody lustful temper; she being guilty of murthers and adulteries, and hateful for them to the honestest of the people, was depos'd, imprison'd, and forc'd to flie for her life ; but her sonne was receiv'd into the throne, and educated after the strictest way of the protestant religion according to Calvin's forme. Those who were chiefly active and instrumental in the iustice executed on this wicked queene, were the reformers [55] of religion in Scotland, which made the neighbouring idolatrous princes to feare them of the same faith. About the same time likewise, the provinces of the Netherlands united themselves in a resistance of the King of Spaine, and cast of that yoake wherewith he had most barbarously gall'd them. The King of France, persecuting his protestant subiects with much inhumane violence, forc'd them to defend themselves against his unsanctified league, and much blood was shed in those civill warrs, 'till at length those who had had so much experience of God's providence, in delivering them from their cruell princes, were perswaded to make up an alliance with the enemies of God and religion, and by the treacherous foe drawne into his snares, where they were most wickedly and barbarously massacred. Now, although religion were the maine ground of those bloody quarrells, yet there were, in all these countries, many disputes of civill right, which for the most part bore the face of the warrs ; wherent I have only hinted, in this survey of the condition of other states, and their interests in those days and since; which is something necessary to be knowne for the better understanding of our owne, with which I shall now proceed.

The civill government of England from the time called the Conquest, had been administer'd by a King, Lords, and Commons, in a way of Parliaments ; the Parliament entrusted with the

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legislative, and the King with the executive power; but severall of the kings not satisfied with their bounded monarchie, made attempts to convert it into an absolute soveraignty, attempts fatall both to themselves and their people, and ever unsuccessfull ; for the generous people of England, as they were the most free and obsequious subjects in the world to those princes that manag'd them with a kind and tender hand, commanding them as freemen, not as slaves, so were they the most untameable invincible people, in defence of [56] their freedoms against all those usurping lords, that scorn'd to allow them liberty. The nobility of the realme having at first the greate ballance of the lands, and retaining some of that free honorable vertue, for which they were exalted above the vulgar, ever stood up in the people's defence and curb'd the wild ambition of the tyrants, whom they sometimes reduc'd to moderation, and sometimes depos'd for their misgovernments, till at length, the kings, eager to breake this yoake, had insensibly worne out the interest of the nobility, by drawing them to their courts, where luxuries melted away the greate estates of some, others were destroy'd by confiscations in divers civill warrs, and others otherwayes mould'ed with time. While the kings were glad to see the abatement of that power, which had bene such a check to their exorbitancies, they perceiv'd not the growing of another more dangerous to them, and that when the nobility shrunke into empty names, the throne lost its supporters, and had no more but a little puffe of wind to beare it up, when the full body of the people came rolling in upon it. The interest of the people, which had bene many yeares growing, made an extraordinary progresse in the dayes of King Henry the eighth, who returning the vast revenues of the church into the body of the people, cast the ballance cleare on their [57] side, and left them now only to expect an oportunity to resume their power into their owne hands, and had not differences in religion devided them among themselves, and thereby prolong'd the last gasps of expiring monarchy, they had long since exercis'd it in a free commonwealth.

England was not an idle spectator of the greate contest betweene the Papist and Protestant, in which all Christendome seem'd to be engag'd. During the reigne of Queene Elizabeth, the protestant interest, being her peculiar interest, that princesse became not only glorious in the defence of her owne realme, but in the protection she gave to the whole protestant cause, in all the neighbouring kingdomes: wherefore, as if it had bene devolv'd upon her person, the Pope shott all his arrowes at her head, and sett on many desperate assassinations against her, which, by the good providence of God, were all frustrated, and she not only miraculously deliver'd from those wretches, but renown'd at home and abroad for successes against her rebellious subjects in England and Ireland, and for the assistance of her distressed neighbours ; but above all for the mercy which it pleased God to afford her and this realme in the year 1588, when the invading Spaniard had devour'd us in his proud hopes, and by the mighty hand of God was scatter'd as a mist before the morning beames. That which kept alive the hopes of the Papists, most part of her reigne, was, the expectation of the Queene of Scots, who entring into confederacy with them lost her head for the forfeit, wherein the Duke of Norfolk suffer'd alsoe for her the losse of his. The Queene of England was very loath to execute this necessary iustice ; but the true-hearted protestants of her councills, foreseeing the sad effects that might be expected, if ever she arriv'd to the crowne, urg'd it on, and after the

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death of Queene [58] Elizabeth, the wiser of them much oppos'd the admission of her son: but he dissembling the resentment of his mother's death, by bribes and greater promises, manag'd a faction in the court of the dechning queene, which prevail'd on her dotage to destroy the Earle of Essex, who only had courage to have kept out him they thought dangerous to lett in. So subtilly brought they their purpose about, that which councill was in vaine to a blinded and betrey'd people. The antiprelaticall party hoping that with a king bred up among the Calvinists, they should now be freed from the episcopal yoake, were greedie of entertaining him, but soone cured of their mistake, when immediately after his entry into the kingdome, himselfe being moderator at a dispute betweene both parties, the nonconformists were cast out of doores, the offensive cerimonies, instead of being remoov'd, were more strictly impos'd, the penalties against papists relax'd, many of them taken into favour, those families who suffer'd for his mother grac'd and restored as farre as the times would beare, and those who consented any way to the iustice done upon her, disfavour'd. A progresse was made suitable to this beginning, the protestant interest abroad was deserted and betrey'd, the prelates at home dayly exalted in pride and pomp, and declining in vertue and godlinesse. Arminianisme crept in, to the corruption of sound doctrine, till at length they had the impudence to forbid preaching of those greate and necessary truths, concerning the decrees of God; secret treaties were entertained with the court of Rome, and notwithstanding that hellish powder plott, the papists lost not their credit at court, where they now wrought no longer by open and [59] direct wayes, but humouring the king and queene in their lusts and excesses, found the most ready way to destroy the doctrine of the gospell, was to debosh the professors. The court of this king was a nursery of lust and intemperance, he had brought in with him a company of poore Scotts, who comming into this plentiful kingdome, surfetted with riott and debaucheries, and gott all the riches of the land only to cast away. The honor, wealth, and glory of the nation, wherein Queene Elizabeth left it, were soone prodigally wasted by this thriftlesse heire, the nobillity of the land utterly debased by setting honors to publick sale, and conferring them on persons that had neither blood nor meritt fitt to weare, nor estates to beare up their titles, but were faine to invent projects to pill the people, and pick their purses for the maintenance of vice and lewdnesse. The generality of the gentry of the land soone learnt the court fashion, and every greate house in the country became a sty of uncleannesse. To keepe the people in their deplorable security, till vengeance overtooke them, they were entertained with masks, stage playes, and sorts of ruder sports. Then began murther, incest, adultery, drunkennesse, swearing, fornication, and all sort of ribaldry, to be no conceal'd but countenanc'd vices; because they held such conformity with the court example. Next to this, a greate cause of these abominations was the mixt marriages of papist and protestant families, which, no question, was a designe of the popish party to compasse and procure, and so successefull that I have observ'd that there was not one house of ten, where such a marriage was made, but the better party was corrupted, the childrens soules were sacrific'd to devills, the worship of God was laid aside in that famely, for feare of distasting the idolater; the kindred, tenants, and neighbours, either quite turn'd from it, or cool'd in their zeale for religion. As the fire is most fervent in a frosty season, [60] so the generall apostacy from holinesse, if I may so call il, and defection to lewdnesse, stirr'd up sorrow, indignation, and feare, in all that retein'd any love of God in the land, whither

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ministers or people: the ministers warn'd the people of the approaching iudgements of God, which could not be expected but to follow such high provocations; God, in his mercy, sent his prophets into all corners of the land to preach repentance and cry out against the ingratitude of England, who thus requited so many rich mercies as no nation could ever boast of more ; and by these a few were every where converted and established in faith and holinesse : but at court these were hated, disgrac'd, and revil'd, and in scorn had the name of Puritane' fix'd upon them. And now the ready way to preferment there, was to declare an opposition to the power of godlinesse, under that name; so that their pulpitts might iustly be called the scorner's chair, those sermons only pleasing that flatter'd them in their vices and told the poore king that he was Solomon, that his sloth and cowardize, by which he betrey'd the cause of God and honour of the nation, was gospell meekenesse and peaceablenesse, for which they rays'd him up above the heavens, while he lay wallowing like a swine in the mire of his lust. He had a little learning, and this they call'd the spiritt of wisdom, and so magnified him, so falsely flatter'd him, that he could not endure the words of truth and soundnesse, but rewarded these base, wicked, unfaithfull fawners with rich preferments, attended with pomps and titles, which heav'd them up above a humane heighth : with their pride their envie swell'd against the people of God, whom they began to proiect how they might roote out of the land ; and when they had once given them a name, whatever was odious or dreadfull to the king that they fixt upon the Puritane, which, according to their character, was nothing but a factious hypocrite.

The king had upon his heart the dealings both of England and Scotland with his mother, and harbour'd a secrett desire of revenge upon the godly in both nations, yet had not courage enough to assert his resentment like a prince, but employ 'd a wicked cunning he was master of, and called king-craft, to undermine what he durst not openly oppose, the true religion : this was fenc'd with the liberty of the people, and so link'd together, that 'twas impossible to make them slaves, till they were brought to be idolaters of royalty and glorious lust, and as impossible to make them adore these gods while they continued loyall to the government of Jesus Christ. The payment of civill obedience to the king and the lawes of the land satisfied not; if any durst dispute his impositions in the worship of God, he was presently reckon'd among the seditious and disturbers of the publick peace, and accordingly persecuted: if any were griev'd at the dishonor of the kingdome or the griping of the poore, or the uniuert oppressions of the subiect, by a thousand wayes, invented to maintaine the riotts of the courtiers and the swarms of needy Scotts, the king had brought in to deuoure like locusts the plenty of this land, he was a Puritane: if any, out of mere morallily and civill honesty, discountenanc'd the abominations of those days, he was a Puritane, however he conform'd to their superstitious worship : if any shew'd favour to any godly honest person, kept them company, relieved them [62] in want, or protected them against violent or uniuert oppression, he was a Puritane : if any gentleman in his country maintain'd the good lawes of the land, or stood up for any publick interest, for good order or government, he was a Puritane : in short, all that crost the viewes of the needie courtiers, the proud encroaching priests, the theevish projectors, the lewd nobillity and gentry, whoever was zealous for God's glory or worship, could not endure blasphemous oathes, ribbald conversation, prophane scoffes, sabbath

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breach, derision of the word of God, and the like ; whoever could endure a sermon, modest habitt or conversation, or anie thing good, all these were Puritanes ; and if Puritanes, then enemies to the king and his government, seditious factious hipocrites, ambitious disturbers of the publick peace, and finally, the pest of the kingdome : such false logick did the children of darknesse use to argue with against the hated children of light, whom they branded besides as an illiterate, morose, melancholly, discontented, craz'd sort of men, not fitt for humane conversation; as such they made them not only the sport of the pulpitt, which was become but a more solemne sort of stage, but every stage, and every table, and every puppett-play, belcht forth prophane scoffes upon them, the drunkards made them their songs, all fidlers and mimicks learnt to abuse them, as finding it the most gainefull way of fooling. Thus the two factions in those dayes grew up to greate heighths and enmities, one against the other, while the Papist wanted not industry and subtilty to blow the coals betweene them, and was so successefull that, unlesse the mercy [63] of God confound them, by their owne imaginations, wee may iustly feare they will at last obtane their full wish.

But to deale impartially, wee must, with sadnesse enough, confesse, that the wolfe came into the fold in a sheepe's clothing, and wrought more slaughter that way among the lambs, then he could have done in his owne skin ; for it is true that many of witt and parts, discontented, when they could not obtaine the preferments their ambition gaped at, would declare themselves of the puritane party, and such were either bought of, or, if the adversary would not give their price, seduc'd their devout hearers, sometimes into undiscreete opposition, to worke out their owne revenge, others that had neither learning, nor friends, nor oportunities to arrive to any preferments, would put on a forme of godlinesse, finding devout people that way so liberall to them, that they could not hope to enrich themselves so much any other way. Some that had greater art and parts, finding there was no inconsiderable gaine to be made of the simple devotion of men and weomen, applied their witts to it, and collected greate summes for the advancement of the religious interest, of which they converted much to their owne private uses. Such as these tempted the people of God to endeavour to shelter themselves in humane pollicies, and found out wayes, by bribes and other not lesse indirect courses, to procure patrones at court, and to sett up against the prelates with countermines and other engines, which being of man's framing, were all at last broken.

The puritane party being weake and oppress'd, had not faith enough to disowne all that adhered to them for worldly interests, and indeed it requir'd more then humane wisdom to discern at the least all of them, wherefore they, in their low condition, gladly accepted any that would come over to them, or encline towards them ; and their enemies through envie at them augmented much their party, while, with iniuries and reproaches, they drove many, that never intended it, to take that party; which in the end got [64] nothing but confusion by those additions. While these parties were thus counterworking, the treasure of the kingdome being wasted by court-caterpillars, and parliaments call'd to resupply the royall coffers, therein there wanted not some, that retin'd so much of the English spirit, as to represent the publick grievances, and desire to call the corrupt ministers of state to an account; but the king, grudging that his people should dare to ganesay his pleasure, and correct his misgovernement, in his favourites, broke up parliaments, violated their

priviledges, imprisoned their members for things spoken in the house, and grew disaffected to them, and entertain'd projects of supplie by other grievances of the people. The prelates in the meane time, finding they lost ground, meditated reunion with the popish faction, who began to be at a pretty agreement with them; and now there was no more endeavour in their publick sermons, to confute the errors of that church, but to reduce our doctrines and theirs to an accommodation: the king, to bring it about, was deluded into the treaty of a match for his sonne with the Infanta of Spaine ; and the Prince, with the Duke of Buckingham, privately sent into Spayne, from whence he difficultly came back, but to the greate reioycing of the whole people in generall, who were much afflicted at his going thither. During this treaty the papists got many advantages of the king, to the preiudice of the protestant interest at home and abroad, and the hearts of all but the papists were very much sadned, and the people loath to lay the miscarriages of things at the king's owne dore, began to entertaine an universall hatred of the Duke of Buckingham, rays'd from a knight's fourth sonne to that pitch of glorie, and enjoying greate possessions, acquir'd by the favour of the king, upon no meritt but [65] that of his beauty and his prostitution. The parliament had drawne up a charge against him, and though the king seem'd to protect him, yet knowing the fearefullnesse of his nature, and doubting his constancy, it was believ'd he added some helpe to an ague that kill'd that king; however the king died, and the Duke continued as high in the favour of the next succeeding as of the deceased prince; whereupon one, not unaptly, sayes of him, "he seem'd as an unhappie exhalation, drawne up from the earth, not only to cloud the setting, but the rising sun."

The face of the court was much chang'd in the change of the king; for King Charles was temperate, chaste, and serious; so that the fooles and bawds, mimicks and catamites, of the former court, grew out of fashion; and the nobillity and courtiers, who did not quite abandon their debosheries, had yet that reverence to the king, to retire into comers to practise them: men of learning and ingenuity in all arts were in esteeme, and receiv'd encouragement from the king; who was a most excellent iudge and a greate lover of paintings, carvings, gravings, and many other ingenuities, less offensive then] the bawdry and prophane abusive witt, which was the only exercise of the other court. But as in the primitive times, it is observ'd that the best emperors were some of them stirr'd up by Sathan to be the bitterest persecutors of the church, so this king was a worse encroacher upon the civill and spirituall liberties of his people by fan'e then his father. He married a papist, a French lady, of a haughty spiritt, and a greate witt and beauty, to whom he became a most uxorious husband. By this meanes the court was replenisht with papists, and many who hoped to advance themselves by the change, turned to that religion; all the papists in the kingdom were favoured, and, by the king's example, matcht into the [66] best famelies; the puritanes more than ever discountenanc'd and persecuted, insomuch that many of them chose to abandon their native country, and leave their dearest relations, to retire into any foreigne soyle or plantation, where they might, amidst all outward inconveniences, enjoy the free exercise of God's worship; such as could not flee were tormented in the bishops courts, fin'd, whipt, pillor'd, imprison'd, and suffer'd to enjoy no rest, so that death was better then life to them; and notwithstanding their patient suff'rance of all these things, yet was not the king satisfied till

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the whole land were reduc'd to perfect slavery. The example of the French king was propounded to him, and he thought himselfe no monarch, so long as his will was confin'd to the bounds of any law; but knowing that the people of England were not pliable to an arbitrary rule, he plotted to subdue them to his yoke by a forreigne force, and till he could effect it, made no conscience of granting anything to the people, which he resolv'd should not oblige him longer then it served his turne; for he was a prince that had nothing of faith or truth, iustice or generosity, in him; he was the most obstinate person in his self-will that ever was, and so bent upon being an absolute uncontrollable soveraign, that he was resolv'd either to be such a king or none. His firme adherence to prelacy was not for conscience of one religion more then another, for it was his principle that an honest man might be sav'd in any profession; but he had a mistaken principle that kingly government in the state could not stand without episcopall government in the church, and therefore as the bishops flatter'd him with preaching up his soveraigne prerogative, and inveying against the puritanes as factious and disloyall, so he protected them in their pomp and pride, and insolent practises against all the godly and sober people of the land. In the first [67] parliament after he came to the crowne the duke of Buckingham was impeacht concerning the death of king James, and other misdemeanours, but the present king, who had receiv'd him into the same degree of favour that he was with the former, would not endure the question of his favourite, and, to deliver him from it, broke up the parliament, which gave too iust a suspition that he favour'd the practise; for it is true that the duke's mother, without the consent of the phisitians, had made an application to the wrists of the king for his ague, after which he died in his next fitt. Some other parliaments there were, but still abruptly broken up, when they putt forth any endeavour to redresse grievances. The protestants abroad were all lookt upon as puritanes, and their interest instead of being protected, sadly betrey'd; ships lett out to the French king to serve against them; all the flower of the English gentry lost in an ill-manag'd expedition to the Isle of Rhee, under pretence of helping them, but so order'd that it prov'd the losse of Rochell, the strong fort and best defence of all the protestants in France. Those in Germany were no lesse neglected in all treaties, although his owne sister and her children were so highly concern'd. The whole people were sadly griev'd att these misgovernments, and loath to impute them to the king, cast all the odium upon the duke of Buckingham, whom at length a discontented person stabb'd, believing he did God and his country good service by it. All the [68] kingdome, except the duke's owne dependents and kindred, reioyc'd in the death of this duke, but they found little cause, for after it the king still persisted in his designe of enslaving them, and found other ministers, ready to serve his selfe-will'd ambition, such as were Noy his atturny-generall, who set on foote that hatefull tax of ship mony, and many more illegall exactions; and ten of the iudges who perverted iudgement in the cause of those who refused the illegall imposition; although there were even in that time found two honest iudges, who durst iudge rightly against the king, although he had chang'd the words usuall in their commissions, which were *Quamdiu bene se gesserint* [as long as they act right], into another forme, *Durante bene placito* [during the king's good pleasure]. Besides these, and a greate rascally company of flatterers and proiectors, there were all the corrupted tott'ring bishops and others of the proud prophane clergy of the land, who, by their insolencies, growne odious to the people, bent their strong endeavours to disaffect the prince to his honest godly

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subjects, and to gett a pretence of power from him, to afflict those who would not submit to their insolent dominion. But there were two above all the rest, who led the van of the king's evill councillors, and these were Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, a fellow of meane extraction and arrogant pride, and the earl of Strafford, who as much outstript all the rest in favour as he did in abillities, being a man of deepe pollicy, sterne resolution, and ambitious zeale to keepe up the glory of his own greatnesse. In the beginning of this king's reigne, this man had bene a strong assertor of the liberties of the people, among whom he had gain'd himselfe an honorable reputation, and was dreadfull to the court party, who thereupon strew'd snares in his way, and when they found a breach at his ambition, his soule was that way enter'd and captivated. He was advanc'd first to be lord president [69] of the councill in the north, to be a baron, after an earle, then deputy of Ireland; the neerest to a favourite of any man since the death of the duke of Buckingham, who was rays'd by his first master, and kept up by the second, upon no account of personall worth or any deserving abilities in him, but only upon violent and private inclinations of the princes; but the earle of Strafford wanted not any accomplishment that could be desir'd in the most serviceable minister of state: besides he having made himselfe odious to the people, by his revolt from their interest to that of the oppressive court, he was now oblig'd to keepe up his owne interest with his new party, by all the mallitious practises that pride and revenge could inspire him with. But above all these the king had another instigator of his owne violent purpose, more powerfull then all the rest, and that was the queene, who growne out of her childhood, began to turne her mind from those vaine extravagancies she liv'd in at first, to that which did lesse become her, and was more fatall to the kingdome, which never is in any place happie, where the hands which were made only for distaffes affect the management of sceptres. — If any one object the fresh example of Queene Elizabeth, let them remember that the felicity of her reigne was the effect of her submission to her masculine and wise councillors; but wherever male princes are so effeminate as to suffer weomen of forreigne birth and different religions to entermeddle with the affairs of state, it is always found to produce desolations; and it hath bene observ'd that a French queene never brought any happinesse to England: some kind of fatality too the English imagin'd to be in her name of Marie, which, 'tis sayd, the king rather chose to have her call'd by then her other, Henrietta, because the land should find a blessing in that name, which had bene more unfortunate; but it was not in his power, though a greate prince, to controule destiny. This lady [70] being by her priests affected with the meritoriousnesse of advancing her owne religion, whose principle it is to subvert all other, applied that way her greate witt and parts, and the power her haughty spirit kept over her husband, who was enslav'd in his affection only to her, though she had no more passion for him then what serv'd to promote her designes. Those brought her into a very good correspondency with the archbishop and his prelati call crew, both ioyning in the cruell designe of rooting the godly out of the land. The foolish protestants were meditating reconcilliations with the church of Rome, who embrac'd them as farre as they would goe, carrying them in hand, as if there had bene a possibilitie of bringing such a thing to passe ; meanwhile they carried on their designe by them, and had so ripened it, that nothing but the mercy of God prevented the utter subversion of protestantisme in the three kingdomes. — But how much soever their designes were fram'd in the darke, God reveal'd them to his servants, and most miraculously order'd

providences for their preservation. About the yeare 1639 the Scots having the English service book obtruded upon them violently, refus'd it, and tooke a nationall covenant against it, and enter'd England with a greate armie, to luring their complaints to the king, which his unfaithfull ministers did much, as they suppos'd, misreport. The king himself leaved an armie against them, wherein he was assisted by the nobillity and gentry, but most of all by the prelates, insomuch that the warre got the name of bellum episcopale; but the commonalty of the nation, being themselves under grievous bondage, were loath to oppose a people that came only to claime their iust liberties. When the king was at Yorke, the chiefe of the Scotch covenanters came, under a pretence of treating with the king, but their chiefe intent was to disabuse the nobillity of England, and to take of their edge against them by remonstrating [71] those grievances and oppressions from the prelaticall innovators, which had forc'd them thus to defend their religion and liberties. This they did so effectually, that the hearts of the English were much mooved towards them, and the king perceiving it, by their medialions, consented to a dissembled peace for that time, and return'd home. But the Scots unsatisfied in the performance of their articles, made preparation for a second returne into England; whereupon the king, in his anger and necessity, was forc'd to have recourse to the long neglected remedie of parliaments, and assembled one at Westminster the 13th of April 1640, which he suffered to sitt but 21 dayes, and broke it up againe, apprehending that if he had suffer'd them to sitt a day longer, they would have voted against the war with Scotland, which he was violently bent to prosecute.

The bishops at that time devised as an anti-covenant, in their convocation house, that execrable oath knowne by the name of the *etcaetera*, wherein all ministers were required to swear to uphold the government of the church of England by archbishops, deanes, archdeacons, &c. After this the Scotts enter England, the king makes a second expedition into the north against them, and sends part of his armie to keepe the passes upon the river Tine; but the souldiers being raw and heartlesse to this warre, and the commanders themselves unexperienced, they were vanquisht, and the Scotts forc'd their way, after they had bene refus'd to passe quietly by, with their petitions in their hands, and thus possessed themselves of Newcasde and Durham. At that time the Scotts had put forth a declaration, wherein they had affirm'd their intentions not to lay downe arms till the reform'd religion were settled in both nations upon sure grounds, and the causers of these present troubles brought to publick iustice, and that in a parliament. This was so plausible to the English, that the king, finding both the hearts and hands of his people faile him in this occasion, was induc'd to grant the petition [72] of twelve noble lords, who at that lime interpos'd, and calling together all his lords at Yorke, agreed upon a parliament at London, to convene the third of November following. In the meane-time there was a treaty condiscended to of sixteene lords of each side, Scotch and English, who agreed upon a cessation betweene both armies for the presentt, in order to a peace, to be concluded at London with the parliament, who mett as appoynted in November.

They began with throwing downe monopolies, and then impeacht the earle of Strafford of high treason, who, after a solemne triall and hot disputes on both sides, was at length attainted of treason, and the king, against his owne mind, to serve his ends, gave him up to

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death. The archbishop of Canterbury was alsoe made prisoner upon an accusation of high treason, for which he after suffer'd; Wren bishop of Norwich was likewise committed to [73] Tower; severall other prelati call preachers were question'd for popish and treasonable doctrines; the starre chamber, an uniust and arbitrary court, was taken away, and the high-commission court; an act was procur'd for a trienniall parliament, and another for the continuation of this, that it should not be broken up without their owne consents. There were greate necessities for mony by reason of the two armies that were then maintain'd in England, and the people would give the king no mony without some ease of grievances, which forc'd him against his inclination to grant those bills, which, after he had granted, he found he had bound up his owne hands, and therefore privately encourag'd plotts that were in those times contriv'd against the parliament. One of them was to have rescued the earle of Strafford out of prison, and put him in the head of eight thousand Irish, which the king would not consent to disband, when the parliament had some time before moov'd him to it; then the English armie in the north should have bene brought up and engaged against the parliament itselfe upon a pretence of maintaining the king's prerogative, episcopacy, and some other such things. This plott was manag'd by Percy, Jermyn, Goring, Wilmot, Ashburnham, [74] Pollard, Suckling, O'Neale, and others, of whom some confess'd and impeacht their fellows, others fled, others were put in prison. While this parliament was sitting, the king would needs, contrary to their desires, take a iourney to Scotland, and past by the two disbanding armies in his iourney, where some report that he secretly attempted to urge the Scotch armie against the parliament, which then succeeded not. The houses had reiourned for some time, and left a standing committee of fifty to prepare businesses. About that time a plott was discover'd to them from Scotland, against the lives of some of the greatest peeres of that kingdome; the committee fearing the like attempts from the same spring, placed strong guards in divers parts of the citie of London. The king's designe in going to Scotland was variously coniectur'd, but this was a certeine effect of it, that it retarded all the affaires of the government of England, which the king had put into such disorder that it was not an easie taske to reforme what was amiss, and redresse the reall grievances of the people; but yet the parliament shew'd such a wonderfull respect to the king, that they never mention'd him, as he was, the sole author of all those miscarriages, but imputed them to evill councillors, and gave him all the submissive language that could have bene us'd to a good prince, fixing all the guilt upon his evill councillors and ministers of state, which flattery I feare they have to answer for: I am sure they have thereby expos'd themselves to much scandall. While the king was in Scotland, that cursed rebellion in Ireland broke out, wherein above 200,000 were massacred in two months space, being surpriz'd, and many of them most inhumanely butcher'd and tormented; and besides the slaine, abundance of poore famelies stript and sent naked away, out of all [75] their possessions: and, had not the providence of God miraculously prevented the surprize of Dublin castle, the night it should have bene seiz'd, there had not bene any remnant of the protestant name left in that country. Assoone as this sad news came to the parliament, they vigorously set themselves to the worke of relieving them, but then the king return'd from Scotland, and being sumptuously welcomed home by the citie, tooke courage thereby against the parliament, and obstructed all their proceedings for the effectuall reliefe of Ireland. Long was he before he could be drawne to proclaime these murtherers rebels, and when he did,

by special command, there were but 40 proclamations printed, and care taken that they should not be much dispais'd ; which courses afflicted all the good protestants in England, and confirm'd that the rebellion in Ireland receiv'd countenance from the king and queene of England. The parliament, besett with so many difficulties, were forc'd for their owne vindication to present the king with a petition and a remonstrance of the state of the kingdome, wherein they spared him as much as truth would beare, and complained only of his ill counsellors and ministers; but this, instead of admonishing, exasperated him, and was answer'd with another declaration of his, and upon severall occasions the parliament being enforc'd to iustifie their proceedings publickly, and the king setting forth replies, these open debates were but the prologue to the ensuing tragedie. The citie [76] declaring their good affections to the parliament by a petition, gave the king distrust, and he was observ'd to entertaine an extraordinary guard of cavaliers, who killed and wounded some of the poore unarm'd men that pass'd by his house at Whitehall, and the parliament conceiving themselves not safe, desir'd a guard might be allow'd them under the command of the Earle of Essex ; but he refus'd it, with an assurance that he would command such a guard to waite upon them as he would be responsible to Almighty God for, and that the safety of all and every one of them was as deare to him as that of his owne person and children. Yet the very next day after this false message he came to the house of commons, attended with his extraordinary guard, of about four hundred gentlemen and souldiers, arm'd with swords and pistolls, and there demanded five of their members, whom not finding there (for a greate lady at court had before informed one of them of his coming, and the house order'd them to retire) he return'd, leaving the house under a high sense of this breach of their privelledge. At this time the people began in greate numbers to bring petitions to the king and parliament [77], to beg a more chearefull concurrence betweene them for the reliefe of Ireland, and to encourage the parliament in their honorable endeavours for the reliefe of both kingdomes. The king was offended at this, and retir'd first to Hampton-court, then went with the queene to Canterbury, whom he sent from thence into Holland with her daughter, lately married to the prince of Orange, under pretence of conducting her to her owne court, but really to manage his businesse abroad, and procure arms to be employ 'd against the parliament, by the sale of the crowne iewells, which she carried over with her. After her departure the king, taking the prince and the duke of Yorke with him, went to Theobalds, whither the parliament sent a petition to him to returne to his parliament and abide neere London, and that he would not carry the prince away with him, and that he would grant the millitia of the kingdome to be put into such hands as the parliament should recommend, and might confide in; all which he denied, and went immediatly to New-market, and from thence to Yorke; all this while, by many false pretences, really obstructing the reliefe of bleeding Ireland, and seducing many of the poore people of England into blood and ruine.

In conducting the state of England, in those dayes, wherein he, whose actions I am tracing, began to enter into his part, in this greate tragedy, I have bene too long for that I intended, and too short to give a cleare understanding of the righteousnesse of the parliament's cause; which I shall desire you to informe yourselves [78] better of by their owne printed papers, and Mr. Maye's history, which I find to be impartially true, so farre as he hath carried it on,

saving some little mistakes in his owne iudgement, and misinformations which some vaine people gave of the state, and more indulgence to the king's guilt then can iustly be allow'd.

To take up my discourse of Mr. Hutchinson where I left it, he was now come to his owne house at Owthorpe, about the time when the Irish massacre was acted, and finding humors begin to be very stirring, he applied himselfe to understand the things then in dispute, and read all the publick papers that came forth, betweene the king and parliament, besides many other private treatises, both concerning the present and foregoing times. Hereby he became abundantly informed in his understanding, and convinc'd in conscience, of the righteousnesse of the parliament's cause, in poynt of civill right; and though he was satisfied of the endeavours to reduce poperie, and subvert the true protestant religion, which indeed was apparent to every one that impartially considered it, yet he did not thinke that so cleare a ground of the warre, as the defence of the iust English liberties;' and although he was clearly [79] sway'd by his owne iudgement and reason to the parliament, he, thinking he had no warrantable call, at that time, to doe anything more, contented himselfe with praying for peace. At thattlime Mr. Henry Ireton was in the country, and being a kinsman of Mr. Hutchinson's, and one that had received so much advantage to himselfe and his famely in the country by Sr. Thomas Hutchinson's countenance and protection, that he seem'd a kind of dependant upon him, being besides a very grave, serious, religious, person; there was a greate league of kindnesse and good will betweene them. Mr. Ireton being very active in promoting the parliament.

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It being necessary to carrie on the maine story, for the better understanding the motion of those lesser wheelles that moov'd within the greate orbe, I shall but name in what posture things were abroad in the kingdome, while these affaires I relate were transacted at Nottingham. After the retreat from Brainford fight, a treaty was ineffectually carried on betweene the king and parliament from the 31st of January 1642, to the 17th of Aprill 1643, after which my Lord of Essex marched to Reading, where the king had a garrison and besieg'd it. The king's horse came to relieve it, and had an encounter with my lord's armie, wherein many gentlemen of quallity fell on the king's side, the king himselfe being in a place where he saw them. In a few dayes after Reading was yeilded upon composition to the Earle of Essex, whose souldiers having bene promis'd their pay and a gratuity to spare the plunder of the towne, fell into a mutiny upon the failing of the performance, and many of them disbanded. Among those who remain'd there was a greate mortallily, occasioned by the infected ayre in the towne of Reading ; in so much that my lord was forc'd to returne and quarter his sick and weake armie about Kingston and those townes neere London. And now were all the cuntryes in England noe longer idle spectators, but severall stages, whereon the tragedie of the civill [124] warre was acted, except the easterne association, where Mr. Oliver Cromwell, by his dilligence, prevented the designes of the royall party, which were so successfull the first yeare in all other places, that the parliament's condition appear'd so desperate, as many of their members, of both houses, ran away to Oxford to the king, and others sate among them conspiring against them. One plott, conducted by Mr. Waller, and carried on among many

disaffected persons, in the citie, was neere taking effect, to the utter subversion of the parliament and people; but that God, by his providence, brought it timely to light, and the authors were condemn'd, and some of them executed ; but Waller, for being more a knave than the rest, and peaching his complices, was permitted to buy his life for ten thousand pounds. This summer all the west was reduc'd by the king, the Earle of Stamford yielding up Exeter, and Collonell Fiennes Bristol. Sr. William Waller had lost all his armie, which had bene victorious in many encounters. The king was master of all or most part of Wales, and the parliament had no armie left in the field, soe that had he taken the opportunity to have gone immediatly to London, that summer, he had accomplisht his designe: but being denied the towne of Glocester, and taking it in disdaine, that that towne, in the heart of the land, should make a resistance when the greater cities were yielded to him, he stopp'd his course to take in that place, where he stay'd to turne the tide of his good fortune, as his generall my Lord of Newcastle did, at the siege of Hull. My Lord Newcastle was generall of the north, and master [125] of all the strong places, to the very borders of Scotland, and formidable to all the neighbouring counties. Only the Lord Fairfax, with his Sonne Sr. Thomas, headed all the religious, honest English men, they could rayse, in those parts, and with a far inferior force, kept him in play, and in severall skirmishes came of conquerors. But as the fortune of the parliament declined, in other places, so those who had not principles strong enough to hold them fast to a iust, though falling cause, sought early to secure their lives by treasons, which destroy 'd them. The Earle of Newcastle's armie was iudg'd to be about eight thousand, horse and foote, my Lord Fairfax had not above two thousand one hundred foote, and seven troopes of horse. After this there was a greate accession of strength to my Lord Newcastle, by the coming, first of the Lord Goring, with many old commanders ; then of Generall King, with six thousand arms, from beyond the seas ; then of the queene herselfe, who, in February 1642, landed neere Sunderland, coming out of Holland, with large provisions of arms, ammunition, and commanders [126] of note, with which she was convoy'd, by the Earle of Newcastle, to Yorke, and thither came to her the Earle of Montrosse, out of Scotland, with a hundred and twenty horse: then Sr. Hugh Cholmly, governor of Scarborough, revolted from the parliament, whereof he was a member, and came to the queene, with three hundred men. Browne Bushell alsoe, who was left in charge with the towne, yielded it up. Then had the queene's practises wrought so upon the two Hothams, that their treason was not all together undiscerned ; but my Lord Fairfax, having only strong presumptions, and no power to secure them, while they had the strong towne of Hull in their hands, it was all he could doe to be vigilant and silent, till God should give oportunity to secure that great danger. My Lord of Newcastle had given the papists in the north commissions to arme in the king's defence, and now the queene was preparing to march up, with the assistance she had gotten to the king. Those countries through which she was to passe, could not but be sensible of their danger, especially the gentlemen at Nottingham, who were but a few young men, environn'd with garrisons of the enemie, and scarcely firme among themselves, and hopelesse of reliefe from above, where the parliament, strugling for life, had not leizure to bind up a cutt-finger. But God was with them in these difficulties, and gave an unexpected issue.

The Earle of Kingston a few months stood neuter, and would not declare himselfe of either party, and being a man of greate wealth and dependancies, many people hung in suspence, by his example; whereupon the gentlemen of Nottingham often spoke to [127] his sonne, to perswade his father to declare himselfe; but he told them, he knew his father's affections were firme to the parliament, that he had encourag'd him to ioin with them, and promis'd him money to carrie it on, and such like things, which he continually assur'd them, till the collonell's cold behaviour, and some other passages, made them at length, those at least who were firme to the cause, iealous both of the father and the sonne. Hereupon when the danger grew more eminent, and my lord lay out a brave prey to the enemie, they sent Captaine Lomax, one of the committee, to understand his affections from himselfe, and to presse him to declare for the parliament, in that so needfull season. My lord professing himselfe to him rather desirous of peace, and fully resolv'd not to act on either side, made a serious imprecation on himselfe in these words: "When," said he, "I take amies with the king against the parliament, or with the parliament against the king, let a cannon bullet devide me betweene them;" which God was pleased to bring to passe a few months after: for he going into Gainsborough, and there taking up armes for the king, was surpriz'd by my lord Willoughby, and, after a handsome defence of himselfe, yielded, and was put prisoner into a pinnace, and sent downe the river to Hull, when my lord Newcastle's armie marching allong the shore, shot at the pinnace, and being in danger, the Earle of Kingston went up upon the decks to shew himselfe, and to prevaile with them to forbear shooting, but assoone as he appear'd a cannon bullett flew from the king's armie and devided him in the middle, being then in the parliament's pinnace, who perished according to his owne unhappie imprecation. His declaring himselfe for the king, as it enforced the royall, so it weak'ned the other party.

[128] Sr. Richard Biron was come to be governor of Newark. A house of my lord Chaworth's in the vale was fortified, and some horse putt into it, and another house of the Earle of Chesterfield's, both of them within a few miles of Nottingham. Ashby de la Zouch, within eight miles of Nottingham, on the other side, was kept by Mr. Hastings. On the forrest side of the country, the Earle of Newcastle's house had a garrison in it, and another castle of his, within a mile, was garrison'd. Sir. Roger Cooper's house, at Thurgaton, was alsoe kept; so that Nottingham, thus beleaguer'd with enemies, seem'd very unlikely to be able either to resist the enemie or support itselfe. Therefore the gentlemen, upon the newes of my lord Newcastle's intended approach that way, sent up Mr. John Hutchinson to acquaint the parliament with their condition, who so negotiated their businesse that he procur'd an order for Coll. Cromwell, Coll. Hubbard, my lord Grey, and Sr. John Gell, to unite their forces, and rendezvous at Nottingham, to prevent the queene from joining with the king, and to guard those parts against the cavaliers. Accordingly in the Whitsun holidays 1643, they all came, and the younger Hotham alsoe brought some more rude troopes out of Yorkshire, and ioin'd himselfe to them. The forces now united at Nottingham were about five or six thousand, my lord Grey being their commander in chiefe. Upon the urgency of the gentlemen at Nottingham, he drew them out against Wiverton-house in the vale, but upon a groundlesse apprehension quitted it, when they might in all probabillity have taken it, and retreated to Nottingham, where, two or three days after, the enemie's horse faced them, but they would

not be prevailed with to goe out, though they were not inferior to them. Young Hotham, at that time, earned on a private treaty [129] with the queene, and every day receiv'd and sent trumpetts, of which he would give no account. Then was Nottingham more sadly distrest by their friends then by their enemies; for Hotham's and Cell's men not only lay upon free quarter, as all the rest did, but made such havock and plunder of friend and foe, that 'twas a sad thing for any one that had a generous heart to behold it. When the committee offered Hotham to assigne him quarters for his men, because they were better acquainted with the country, he would tell them he was no stranger in any English ground. He had a greate deale of wicked witt, and would make sport with the miseries of the poore country, and, having treason in his heart, licens'd his souldiers, which were the scumme of mankind, to all villanies in the country that might make their partie odious. Mr. Hutchinson was much vext to see the country wasted, and that little part of it, which they could only hope to have contribution from, eaten up by a company of men who, instead of relieving them, devour'd them, and Hotham's souldiers, having taken away goods from some honest men, he went to him to desire restitution of them, and that he would restraine his souldiers from plunder; whereupon Hotham replied, he fought for liberty, and expected it in all things. Replies follow'd, and they grew to high language; Hotham bidding him, if he found himselfe griev'd, to complaine to the parliament. Mr. Hutchinson was passionately concern'd, and this being in the open field, Coll. Cromwell, who had likewise had greate provocations from him, began to shew himselfe affected with the countrie's iniuries, and the idle wast of such a considerable force, through the unexperience of the chiefe commander, and the disobedience and irregularities of the others; so they, at that time, being equally zealous for the publick service, advis'd together to seeke a remedie, and dispatcht away a post to London, who had no greater ioy in the world then such employments as tended to the displacing of greate persons, whether they deserv'd it or not; him they sent away immediately from the [130] place, to informe the parliament of Hotham's carriages, and the strong presumptions they had of his treachery, and the ill management of their forces. This they two did, without the privity of any of the other gentlemen or commanders, some of which were little lesse suspected themselves, and others, as my lord Grey, through credulous good nature, too greate a favourer of Hotham. The messenger was verv dilligent in his charge, and return'd assoone as it was possible with a committment of Hotham, who accordingly was then made prisoner in Nottingham-castle, and Sr. John Meldrum was sent downe to be connnander in chiefe of all those united forces. When they marcht away, a troope of my lord Grey's having the charge of guarding Hotham, towards London, suffer'd him to escape, and thereby putt the towne of Hull into a greate hazard; but that the father and sonne were there unexpectedly surprizd, sent up prisoners to London, and after some time executed. Those who knew the opinion Cromwell after had of Mr. Hutchinson, believ'd he registred this businesse in his mind as long as he liv'd, and made it his care to prevent him from being in any power or capacity to pursue him to the same punishment, when he deserv'd it; but from that time, growing into more intimate acquaintance with him, he allwayes us'd to professe the most hearty affections to him, and the greatest delight in his plainnesse and open-heartednesse that was imaginable. [131]

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Assoone as Sr. John Meldrum came downe to his charge at Nottingham the queene's forces came and faced the towne, whereupon the cannon discharging upon them, the Duke of Vendosme's Sonne and some few others were slaine. The parliament horse drew out of Nottingham to receive the queene's, but they came not on, after this execution of the cannon, for in the meane time the queene was passing by, and although the parliament horse pursued them, yet would not they engage, for it was not their businesse; so when they saw they had lost their designe, the horse return'd againe to Nottingham, where the foote had stay'd all the while they were out. When the Earle of Kingston declar'd himselfe for the king he rays'd what forces he could and went into Gainsborough, a towne in Lincolneshire, scituate upon the river of Trent. There, before he was fortified, my lord Willoughby, of Parham, surpriz'd the towne and all his souldiers, who disputed it as long as they could, but being conquer'd, were forc'd to yield, and the earle himselfe retreated into the strongest house, which he kept till it was all on flame round him, and then giving himselfe up only to my lord Willoughby, he was immedialely sent prisoner to Hull, and shott [132] according to his owne imprecation. Immediately part of my lord Newcastle's armie, with all that Newark could make, besieg'd my lord Willoughby in Gainsborough, and Generall Essex sent a command to Sr. John Meldrum to drawe all the horse and foote he could out of Nottingham, to relieve ray lord, leaving only a garrison in the castle of Nottingham. Sr. John Meldrum call'd the committee of Nottingham together, to consult what was to be done for the settlement of the place, which upon deliberation he had iudg'd not fitt to leave in the hands it was, nor in Coll. Pierrepont's, who, with some apparence, lay under suspition at that time; and therefore conceiving Mr. Hutchinson the most able to manage, and the most responsible for it, both Sr. John and the whole committee order'd him to take the castle into his charge, which, though there were many causes why he should decline, yet believing that God hereby call'd him to the defence of his country, and would protect him in all the dangers and difficulties he led him into, he accepted it, and the 29 of June, 1643, receiv'd an order for that government from Sr. John Meldrum and the whole committee; whereunto Collonell Pierrepont subscrib'd, though with a secret discontent in his heart, not for any ill opinion or ill affection he had to Mr. Hutchinson's person, but for that he resented it as a greate affront that himselfe was past by. It is true that this discontent produc'd some envious and malitious practises, secretly in him, against Mr. Hutchinson, who in the end overcame him, with so many good offices, in requitall of his bad ones, that he lived and died full of love, and acknowledgment of kindnesse to him.

The castle was built upon a rock, and nature had made it capable of very strong fortification, but the buildings were very ruinous and uninhabitable, neither affording roome to lodge souldiers nor provisions. The castle stands at one end of the towne upon such an eminence as commands the chiefe streetes of the towne. There had bene enlargements made to this castle after the first building [133] of it. There was a strong tower, which they call'd the old tower, built upon the top of all the rock, and this was that place where Queene Isabell, the mother of King Edward the Third, was surpriz'd with her paramour Mortimer, who by secret windings and hollows in the rock came up into her chamber from the meadows lying low under it, through which there ranne a litle rivolett, call'd the Line, almost under the castle rock. At the entrance of this rock there was a spring, which was call'd Mortimer's Well, and

the caverne Mortimer's Hole: the ascent to the top is very high, and not without some wonder at the top of all the rock there is a spring of water; in the midway to the top of this tower there is a little piece of the rock, on which a dove-coate had bene built, but the governor tooke downe the roofe of it, and made it a platforme for two or three pieces of ordinance, which commanded some streetes and all the meadowes better then the higher tower; under that tower, which was the old castle, there was a larger castle, where there had bene severall towers and many noble roomes, but the most of them were downe ; the yard of that was pretty large, and without the gate there was a very large yard that had bene wall'd, but the walls were all downe, only it was situated upon an ascent of the rock, and so stood a pretty heighth above the streetes; and there was the ruins of an old paire of gates, with turrets on each side.

Before the castle, the towne was on one side of a close, which commanded the fields approaching the towne; which close the governor afterwards made a platforme ; behind it was a place call'd the Park, that belong'd to the castle, but then had neither deere nor trees in it, except one, growing under the castle, which was almost [134] a prodigee, for from the root to the top, there was not one streight twig or branch of it; some say'd it was planted by King Richard the Third, and resembled him that sett it. On the other side the castle, was the little river of Line, and beyond that, large flatt meadowes, bounded by the river of Trent. In the whole rock there were many large caverns, where a greate magazine and many hundred souldiers might have bene dispos'd, if they had bene cleans'd and prepar'd for it, and might have bene kept secure from any danger of firing the magazines by any mortar-pieces shott against the castle. In one of these places, it is reported, that one David, a Scotch king, was kept in cruell durance, and with his nayles, had scratcht on the wall the story of Christ and his twelve apostles. The castle was not flanker'd, and there was no workes about it, when Mr. Hutchinson undertooke it, but only a little brestworke, before the outmost gate. It was as ill provided, as fortified, there being but ten barrells of powder, eleven hundred and fifty pounds of butter, and as much cheese, eleven quarter of bread corne, seven beeves, two hundred and fourteen fitches of bacon, five hundred and sixty fishes, and fifteen hogshheads of beere. Assoone as the governor receiv'd his charge, he made proclamation in the towne, that whatsoever honest persons desir'd to secure themselves or their goods in the castle, should have reception there, if they would repaire their quarters, which divers well affected men accepting, it was presently made capable of receiving 400 men commodiously.

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It will not be amisse, in this place, to carry on the parliament story, that we may the better iudge things at home, when we know the condition of affaires abroad. The queene, being suffer'd to passe through Nottinghamshire by those forces which were sent downe thither to have prevented her, ioyn'd with Prince Rupert and came to the king, and was by the parliament voted traitor for many actions, as pawning the crown iewells in Holland, [201] encouraging the rebellion in Ireland, heading a papisticall armie in England, &c.

The Earle of Essex his armie lay sick about London for recruits; Sr. William Waller, after many victories in the west, was at length totally routed, and returned to London, Prince Maurice

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and Sr. Ralph Hopton having recover'd and possesst allmost the whole west of England for the king. The north my lord Newcastle's armie commanded so fully, that they were advanct into Nottingham and Lincolneshire, and the adiacent counties. The parliament, being in this low condition, had agreed with Scotland, and enter'd into a solemne nationall league and covenant, which was taken throughout both kingdomes, and the king had made a cessation of armes with the Irish rebels, and brought over the English armie, that had bene honor'd with so many successes against them, to serve him here; but God never blest his affaires after they came to him, though indeed before their arrivall God had begun to turne the scale; for the citie of Gloucester stopping, by its faithfull and valliant resistance, the carreere of the king's victories, after Bristoll and Exeter and all the west was lost, the king, disdainig to leave it behind him unvanquisht, sate downe before it, which employ 'd him and [202] his whole armie, till the Earle of Essex and his recruited armie, assisted with the London auxiliaries, came and reliev'd it, and persued the king's armie to an engagement at Newberry, where the parliament obtain'd a greate and bloody victory, and the king for ever lost that opertunity he lately had of marching up to London, and in probabillity of subduing the parliament. My lord New-castle, by a like error, about the same time, setting downe before Hull, mist the opertunity of wholly gaining all those neighbouring-counties, and much wasted his greate and victorious army, being forc'd to rise with losse and dishonor from the unyielding towne. After the fight at Newberry Sr. William Waller, having gotten a new armie, had divers successes with it, and at length totally routed all Hopton's armie, about that time that Prince Rupert rays'd the siege at Newark, and was the occasion that call'd the prince so hastily out of those counties.

The Earle of Essex persuing the warre, had a designe to block up Oxford, where the king was, and accordingly attempted it, he on one side, and Waller on the other; but the king, with a few light horse, escaped out of the towne, and went to ioyne with his greater armies, which being done, Essex marcht farther into the west, and in Cornwall was besieg'd, where he lost all his foote, ammuniton, and ordinance, and came dishonorably home to London. Waller unsuccessefully follow'd the king, and the parliament's affaires, all that summer, were very unprosperous in the west, south, and midland counties, but contrary in the north, where the Scotch armie, under Generall Leven, advanc'd, tooke some townes and forts, and wasted the Earle of Newcastle's armie more by their patient sufferance of the ill weather and martiall toyle, which the English could not so well abide, then by fighting. Sr. Thomas Fairfax, having againe taken the field with his father, after a miraculous victory they had gain'd over the Irish army which the king [203] had brought over, ioyn'd the Scots; and the Earle of Manchester, having rays'd a force in the associated counties, with which he made an expedition to Lincolne, having Coll. Cromwell for his lieftenant-generall, marcht into Yorkshire, and uniting with the other two armies, they all besieg'd the Earle of Newcastle in Yorke. To rase this siege. Prince Rupert came with a greate armie out of the south; the besiegers rise to fight with the prince, and Newcastle drew all his force out of Yorke to ioyne with him, when both armies, on a greate plaine call'd Marston Moor, had a bloody encounter, and the Scotts and my lord Fairfax were wholly routed, and the battle lost, but that Cromwell, with five thousand men which he commanded, routed Prince Rupert, restor'd the other routed parliamentarians,

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and gain'd the most compleate victory that had bene obtain'd in the whole warre. The victors possesst all the prince's ordinance, carriages, and baggage; whereupon the prince fled, with as many as he could save, back into the south; the Earle of Newcastle, with some of his choyce friends, went into Germany, and left Sr. Thomas Glenham governor of Yorke, which he soone after surrender'd, and then the three generalls parted; Leven went back into the north and tooke the towne of Newcastle, Fairfax remain'd in Yorkshire, and Manchester return'd into the south, by the way taking in many small garrisons as he past through the counties.

The queene that summer went into France, to sollicite forreigne ayd for her husband, but uneffectually; meanwhile new treaties were carried on betweene the king and parliament, but to no purpose [204]; for the king's false dealing and disingenuity therein was so apparent that they came to nothing, but a further discovery of the king's falsehood, and favour of the Irish rebels, with whom he had now employ 'd Ormond to treat and conclude a peace. This treaty was that at Uxbridge, where commissioners mett on both sides, but effected nothing; for the parliament itselfe began to grow into two apparent factions of Presbyterians and Independents, and the king had hope, by their de visions, to prevaile for the accomplishment of his owne ends.

It was too apparent how much the whole parliament cause had bene often hazarded, how many oportunities of finishing the warre had bene overslipt by the Earle of Essex his armie, and believ'd that he himselfe, with his commanders, rather endeavour'd to become arbiters of warre and peace, then conquerors for the parliament; for it was knowne that he had given out such expressions: wherefore those in the parliament, who were griev'd at the preiudice of the publick interest, and loath to bring those men to publick shame, who had once well merited of them, deviz'd to new model the armie, and an ordinance was made, call'd the self-denying ordinance, whereby all members of parliament, of both houses, were discharg'd of their commands in the armie. Cromwell had a particular exception, when Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh, surrender'd their commissions, and Sr. Thomas Fairfax was made generall of the new-model armie, Cromwell lieftenant-generall, and Skippon maior-generall. The armie was reduc'd to twenty-one thousand, who prosecuted the warre not with designe of gaine and making it their trade, but to obtaine a righteous peace and settlement to the distracted kingdome, and accordingly it succeeded in their hands.

[205] To retume to Nottingham, after the prince was marcht away out of the country, the enemy without was still designing against the garrison, and the governor's enemies within were still perplexing all his affaires. Upon the eleventh of May, a letter was found by a wench in the night-time, dropt in the shoemaker's booths; which letter was directed to Sr. Richard Biron, informing him that the businesse betweene them went on with good successe, and that the time drawing on, it behoov'd him to be very dilligent, and desiring him to burne the letter;" which was subscrib'd, "Your carefull servant A. C.;" and a postscript written, "Faile nothing by any means, and there shall be no neglect in me." The governor tooke all courses that could be imagin'd to discover this person, but could never find him out. About this time some troopers going by a house, where one Henry Wandall, a debosht mallignant apothecary had liv'd, (but the house was now empty, and he had the key of it) ; they perceiv'd a smoke

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to come out of it, and went in and found some kindled sticks, laid in a potsherd, iust by a rotten post, under the stair-case, with hurds and other combustible things [206] about it, which it was evident were put there to fire the house, but for what reason, or by whom, was not discover 'd.

The governor hearing of some troopes of the enemie in the Vale, had a design to goe thither, and acquainted the committee with it ; telling them he would take out all the horse, and himselfe march with the body, and leave a foote companie and thirty horse behind him at the bridges, so as by that time he was marcht by Wiverton, which would give Shelford the alarum, the thirty horse, which were more then Shelford had to send out, should face the house on that side next Nottingham, and the foote should march a private way through the closings, so that if Shelford horse or foote should come forth against those thirty horse, the foote might get betweene them and home, or take any advantage that was offer'd. All this the committee very well approved, and so it was resolv'd to put it in execution the next night after, because it would take some time to provide horses for the musketeers. The governor coming out of the committee, met Capt. White upon the parade in the castle-yard, and acquainted him with the designe, who, with a dejected countenance and a faynt voyce, pretended to approve it, but desired the thirty horse who were to stay some howers behind, might be of his troope; to which the governor assented to gratifie his desire, though he told him, he was very loath to spare any of that troope, who were old souldiers and well acquainted with the country ; but he desir'd him the rest might not faile to be ready. The captaine promis'd they should, and so departed. When the governor had made ready all the horse and dragoones, and was himselfe iust ready to march out with them, being at Coll. Thornhagh's house. White came in ; the governor, not doubting of his intention to goe, ask'd him if his troope were ready ? He replied, "They were out upon service ; thirty," said he, "are gone by your consent, and the rest [207] went to fetch in a mallignant at Ekering, some few odde ones remaine, which you may have if you will." The governor desir'd him to goe himselfe and assist him, the captaine desir'd to be excus'd, for "to what purpose should he goe when his troope was not there?" The governor went from thence to his owne lodgings, and meeting the committee, acquainted them how White had serv'd him, who seem'd to resent it very ill at that time ; and while they were discoursing of it, White's officer came up with warrants to be sign'd for hay for the quarters, which being offer'd the governor, he tore, and say'd he would signe no warrants for such a disorderly troope, as would doe no service but what they list, whose officers knew neither how to give nor obey commands.

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Questions for Consideration

- 1) What is Lucy Hutchinson's view of the Protestant Reformation?
- 2) How does Lucy Hutchinson portray English monarchs and their religious policies? What is her view of monarchy?
- 3) Considering the extract (p. 51-78) is part of a polemical inquiry into the causes of the English Civil War, how are Catholics and puritans characterized in the *Memoirs*? What roles are they given? To what extent does Lucy Hutchinson write an anti-Catholic history of England?
- 4) What types of devices does Lucy Hutchinson use to connect local events in Nottingham with England's national history?
- 5) Lucy Hutchinson writes that "every county had the civill warre, more or lesse, within it selfe" (p. 95). What does she mean? How does this apply to her description of Nottinghamshire during the first Civil War ?