

### Abstract

#### Parliamentary Army Chaplains 1642-51

Thesis submitted for the degree of D.Phil. by Anne Laurence,  
Linacre College, Trinity Term, 1981

The intention of this thesis is to examine the careers of chaplains in the parliamentary armies and, more widely, the subject of religion in the parliamentary forces in the light of generalisations that have been made by historians about them. To this end, some 280 chaplains have been identified and their biographies have been summarised in the biographical index (Appendix II).

The main text of the thesis, however, is devoted to a general discussion of chaplains' careers and of what has been said about them by seventeenth-century commentators and by later historians. The details of chaplains' employment, the circumstances of their service in the different parliamentary armies and their relationship with the clerical profession as a whole are assessed.

In Chapter I consideration is given to the fact that most seventeenth-century commentators confined their remarks to either the armies of Essex and Manchester or the New Model army. Few said anything about service in the provincial forces, which, until 1647, out-numbered the New Model army, or about the parliamentary forces which served in Ireland and Scotland. Hence this contemporary description cannot be considered to be representative of the majority of the parliamentary forces. Furthermore, much of the seventeenth-century writing on preaching in the parliamentary armies did not refer to chaplains. Thomas Edwards, for example, named many religious radicals who preached in the army, of whom the majority were soldiers and junior officers, not chaplains.

A number of the twentieth-century historians who have written on chaplains and religion in the parliamentary forces have not fully appreciated the limitations of some of the seventeenth-century writing on this subject. Particular attention is paid to the study by Professor Leo Solt of the political and religious ideas of certain New Model army chaplains. Dr. Mark Kishlansky's work on the New Model army is also discussed. It seems that twentieth-century historians have largely confined their observations to a few chaplains who served in the New Model army, especially those at the general's headquarters. These chaplains were singled out for comment by their contemporaries because they were unusual.

The circumstances in which chaplains served are described in the second chapter, as well as the ways in which they were appointed and paid and what they did. It was considered normal for each regiment to have a chaplain, usually appointed by the colonel, sometimes with the advice of a body like the Westminster Assembly or a county committee (in the case of a provincial regiment). However, few regiments had chaplains continuously throughout their existence. It was difficult to recruit chaplains and few served for longer than a few months. Colonels seem to have appointed chaplains to keep up their troops' morale and to preach conformity to the beliefs of the army command. Colonels seem rarely to have appointed chaplains who shared their particular religious idiosyncracies. It is clear, however, that a number of chaplains shared a close personal and working relationship with their colonels, more so indeed than with one another, for there were rarely periods when large numbers of regiments were gathered together. Chaplains acted as messengers and confidential agents for their colonels, performing tasks which ranged from taking news of a victory to Parliament to helping to negotiate the marriage of Cromwell's son.

The following five chapters are devoted to the chaplains in each of the main parliamentary armies: Essex's, Manchester's and Waller's, the provincial forces, the New Model, and the armies in Ireland and in Scotland. Most of the chaplains who joined the armies in the early months of the war were Presbyterians and several of them had been conspicuous for their opposition to the policies of Charles I and Archbishop Laud. As the war progressed the better known Presbyterians left, to return to their parishes or to sit in the Westminster Assembly. They were replaced by other Presbyterians and, increasingly, by Independents. However, the Independents in Manchester's army seem to have been conspicuous more because of their disputes with the Scottish Presbyterians in the same army than because of their numbers, which were no greater than those in Essex's army.

Dr. Kishansky contends, from Professor Solt's work, that only nine New Model army chaplains have been identified. However, over the period 1645-1658, thirty-eight men are known to have served as chaplains. The largest number serving simultaneously was seventeen (in 1647), but even the smallest number was ten (in 1650). This suggests that by no means all regiments had chaplains. Nevertheless, regimental chaplains were not a negligible presence. The New Model army recruited a higher proportion of Independent chaplains than had served in the armies of Essex and Manchester, from which the New Model was largely recruited. This proportion continued to grow until 1647 when the Presbyterians were virtually driven out. The proportion of radical sectaries amongst the soldiers in the New Model remained small and the only sectarian chaplains seem to have been Baptists. It therefore seems unlikely that chaplains were responsible for influencing soldiers with radical political or religious ideas. Indeed, the extent to which they were identified with the army command by their appointments would have made this unlikely in any case. However, it seems probable that chaplains were partly responsible for making soldiers,

dislocated from their normal environment, more receptive to new ideas. It is also likely that a number of chaplains were themselves influenced by these ideas, though they espoused them only after leaving the army.

The provincial forces, until 1647, outnumbered the other parliamentary forces and hence deserve more consideration than work on the parliamentary forces traditionally gives them. These forces were even more fragmented and short-lived than the others so it is hard to make generalisations about them. However, eighty-two men who served as chaplains in the provincial forces between 1642 and 1650 can be named. A high proportion of them were Presbyterian, and Presbyterians remained an important presence in the provincial forces longer than they did in the New Model. Sectaries seem to have been less tolerated than in the New Model and only one Baptist chaplain is recorded. Most of the provincial forces were recruited from and served in a confined area. They were officered by the local gentry and their chaplains were the local clergy, so they did not suffer the same dislocation as the soldiers in Essex's army and the New Model. They seem to have been markedly less receptive to radical political and religious ideas, possibly as a consequence of the retention of these local links.

The armies which went to Ireland and Scotland were technically part of the New Model, but the army which went to Ireland seems to have been treated as an expeditionary force for which a number of people, particularly chaplains, were specially recruited. The chaplains who went to Ireland in 1649 and the early 1650s were expected to minister to the Protestant settlers as well as to the soldiers. It is, therefore, hard to distinguish precisely between those chaplains on the army establishment and those on the civil list. They were predominantly Independent, though

several Baptists went too. Many of them seem to have had some previous connection with Ireland rather than any previous army experience. By contrast many of the chaplains who went to Scotland in 1650 were already serving in the army. The expedition to Scotland was seen more as an extension of the New Model's activities in England and Wales and most of those chaplains who went North in 1650 returned with the army in 1651.

In the period 1642 to 1651, the Presbyterian chaplains in the parliamentary forces seem to have been replaced by Independents, though this process worked at a different pace in the individual armies. The Independents were never, however, supplanted by sectaries and of the sectaries only a few Baptists became chaplains. Chaplains do not, then, seem to have been responsible for sectarianism amongst the soldiers, nor did they encourage them to political radicalism. They may well have encouraged soldiers to be receptive to radical ideas, but only in those armies where the soldiers were already removed socially and geographically from their normal environment. Chaplains cannot, therefore, be seen as political commissars or ill-qualified opportunists. Most of them were men who had interrupted a normal clerical career to serve with the army.

## SHORT ABSTRACT

### Parliamentary Army Chaplains 1642-51.

Thesis submitted for the degree of D.Phil. by Anne Laurence,  
Linacre College, Trinity Term, 1981.

The intention of this thesis is to examine the careers of chaplains in the parliamentary armies in the light of generalisations that have been made about them, and about religion in the parliamentary forces, by historians. To this end some 280 chaplains have been identified and their biographical details assembled in Appendix II.

By looking at chaplains in the context of the armies in which they served, it has been possible to show that not only did the parliamentary forces differ in character from one another, but also that chaplains reflected these differences.

The Presbyterian chaplains in the armies of Essex, Manchester and Waller at the outset of the war were increasingly replaced by Independents as the war progressed. In the New Model there remained a substantial number of Presbyterian chaplains until 1647, but Independents became more numerous and a few sectarian chaplains, mainly Baptists, were appointed. Many of the chaplains who served in Scotland had served with the New Model in England, but those who went to Ireland more commonly had some earlier Irish connection than any previous army service. The chaplains in the provincial forces were most like those in the armies of Essex, Manchester and Waller. They were predominantly Presbyterian, but retained much stronger links with their parishes than other chaplains,

since they usually served close to home.

The New Model army was conspicuous amongst parliamentary armies for the political and religious radicalism of the soldiers. However, it seems most unlikely that the chaplains were responsible for the dissemination of radical beliefs. In all the parliamentary forces they reflected the religious ethos of the army command, rather than the precise religious beliefs of the colonels who appointed them to the regiments.

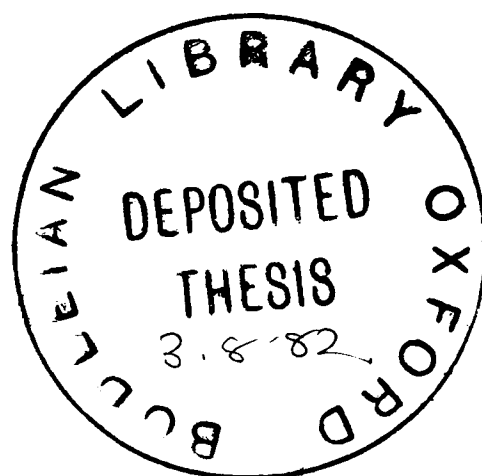
Chaplains in the New Model army may have encouraged soldiers to be receptive to new ideas, but it is likely that the soldiers' social and geographical dislocation from their normal environment was at least as important. Soldiers in the provincial forces, serving near home, officered by the local gentry and with the local clergy as chaplains, showed little inclination towards political or religious radicalism.

PARLIAMENTARY ARMY CHAPLAINS

1642 - 51

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Thesis submitted at Oxford University  
for the degree of D.Phil.



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Linacre College  
October 1981 [ie 1982] 17



## Acknowledgements

The author wishes to acknowledge with gratitude the help of  
Dr. B. R. White and Professor G. Aylmer, Mrs. Irene Hatt,  
Professor C. Hill, Miss Ann Hughes, Dr. D. Massarella,  
Professor A. Marwick, Miss L. Montgomery, Mr. H. Reece,  
Mr. K. V. Thomas and The Open University.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used throughout the text.

Cal. S. P. Dom.	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series.
Cal. S. P. Ireland	Calendar of State Papers, Ireland.
<u>Clarke Papers</u>	<u>Clarke Papers</u> , ed. C. H. Firth (Camden Society, 1891-901) 4 vols.
Commons Journals	Journals of the House of Commons (London, 1742 - ) 17 vols.
<u>Cromwell's Army</u>	C. H. Firth, <u>Cromwell's Army</u> (London, 1902) 1962 edition, ed. P. Hardacre.
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography.
Eng. Hist.Rev.	English Historical Review.
Firth and Davies	C. H. Firth and G. Davies, <u>Regimental History of Cromwell's Army</u> (Oxford, 1940) 2 vols.
Gardiner, <u>Civil War</u>	S. R. Gardiner, <u>History of the Great Civil War</u> (London, 1893) 4 vols.
Gardiner, <u>Commonwealth and Protectorate</u>	S. R. Gardiner, <u>History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate</u> (London, 1903) 4 vols.
H.M.C.	Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports.
Lords Journals	Journals of the House of Lords (London, 1767 - ) 17 vols.

## INTRODUCTION

The intention of this thesis is to examine the careers of those men who became chaplains in the parliamentary armies in the period 1642-1651. The thesis terminates at 1651 since the parliamentary field army in England was dispersed into garrisons, or quartered round the country in troops and companies rather than by regiments, after the battle of Worcester. There were, however, still English armies in Scotland and Ireland after that date, so the chapters concerned with those countries extend beyond 1651.

The thesis is organised in two volumes. The first contains a general description of how men became chaplains, what they did and believed, and what others have written about them. At the end of this volume is Appendix I, which consists of lists of the chaplains who served in each army and their colonels. Only those colonels who are known to have had chaplains are listed. These lists indicate to which chaplains chapters III-VII refer and are essential for showing the argument of those chapters, as are the tables comparing the chaplains in different armies. These lists and tables are effectively an index linking the main text with the biographies of chaplains in the second volume. This volume, Appendix II, contains the detailed biographies of the 280-odd men known to have served as chaplains and of a few putative chaplains. Where a chaplain is referred to by name in the first volume further details may be found in the second

volume where the references to biographical sources are cited.

As much detail as possible was gathered about the careers of chaplains, although the biographies tend to concentrate on the period 1640-1660.

It will be observed that to some extent the conclusions reached in this thesis are negative ones. This is not to devalue them, for it is important to establish that the New Model chaplains were not the clerical tribunes that they are sometimes believed to have been. Nevertheless, the most important reason for the nature of the conclusions reached here is the lack of evidence. Our knowledge of many of the parliamentary forces, especially of those in the counties, of their structure and methods of appointing and paying soldiers, is defective, and it is unlikely that material will come to light to remedy this. It has been impossible in a few cases to discover anything about a chaplain but his name, and in a number of other cases it is difficult to establish whether all the material relates to the same person or to more than one person of the same name.

Such material as has been collected leads to some useful conclusions, establishing that certain individuals did serve as chaplains with the parliamentary forces and with which regiments. It is worth noting that there is no evidence to confirm that that much-bruited army chaplain John Webster was ever actually paid to serve with the army. It is, of course, probable that more people served as chaplains and to a larger number of regiments than are indicated here and that those who can be identified actually served for longer than is indicated here. However,

it is impossible to conjecture about evidence which has not survived. So this study is composed of a minimum of army chaplains rather than of a maximum.

The first volume of the thesis opens with a chapter discussing the present state of knowledge of parliamentary army chaplains and the sources upon which historians have relied for information both on chaplains and on religion in the army. This is followed by a chapter describing the circumstances in which chaplains were appointed and in which they served, and examining the mechanisms by which they were paid. The following five chapters are concerned with the chaplains who served in each of the major types of parliamentary army. There were important differences between these forces which were, to some extent, reflected in the kind of chaplain who served with each one. The views and careers of these men are analysed and compared by means of the tables in Appendix I.

A subject of particular concern in this study has been the connection between the political opinions and the religious beliefs of chaplains. Evidence survives of the views of only a small number of chaplains, but what there is suggests that radical religious beliefs by no means imply any commitment to radical political opinions. It seems that the majority of chaplains, in their capacity as preachers, expressed no political views other than those implied by their joining the parliamentary army. Those who did espouse radical politics did so after leaving the army.

Another subject to which some attention has been devoted is the role of colonels as patrons of the clergy and the connection

between the views of colonels and those of the chaplains they appointed. There seems to be little necessary connection between their religious beliefs. Colonels appointed chaplains not so much to reflect their own religious idiosyncracies but rather to reflect the general ethos of the army. Hence Baptist colonels did not necessarily have Baptist chaplains, but the proportion of Independent chaplains in the parliamentary forces increased during the 1640s as the proportion of Presbyterian chaplains declined. Colonel Twisleton, for example, of whose views and motives little is known, seems to have had a penchant for religious radicals, having employed as chaplains both Thomas Collier and Laurence Clarkson. This illustrates the point that it is difficult to infer the views of a colonel from those of his chaplain, and vice versa.

There was little likelihood of radicals becoming chaplains owing to the way in which appointments were made. Chaplains were appointed by colonels to raise the morale of the troops and to support the prevailing religious spirit of the army. Most were professional ministers for whom service in the army was simply an interlude in a clerical career, albeit one upset by the troubled times. Chapter VIII is, therefore, devoted to examining the careers of chaplains in the context of the clerical profession as a whole.

The remainder of this Introduction will be used to give a very brief outline of the ways in which the terms denoting the different religious denominations are used. The range of religious beliefs is seen in terms of a spectrum of different denominations shading into one another, not as a series of separate categories.

It is also recognised that considerable changes took place within the organisation of different denominations and in the beliefs of their members during the period 1642-1651.

Presbyterians are understood to be those who believed in a state church in which discipline was exercised by lay elders and by a parochial ministry supported by tithes. They believed that the church should be governed by a hierarchy of assemblies, although they differed over how far these should be answerable to Parliament. Services and prayers were to be conducted according to set forms from which divergence was discouraged. In 1642 many Presbyterians would have been happy to settle for a system similar to that of the Scots, but the Westminster Assembly revealed that there was a substantial proportion of people, both clergy and laity, who were not wholeheartedly committed to the introduction of the Scottish system. Most Presbyterians tried to put into effect the measures introduced by the Assembly and enacted by Parliament, though with only limited success. Few English Presbyterians sided with the king when he made his Engagement with the Scots, but many signed the Attestations and Testimonies in 1648 which stated that 'the Presbyteriall Government is that Government which is most agreeable to the minde of Jesus Christ, revealed in Scripture'.<sup>1</sup> By 1650, however, a number of Presbyterians refused to sign the Engagement to the Commonwealth, because to do so was to abjure the Solemn League and Covenant.

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1. Calamy Revised, ed. A.G. Matthews (Oxford, 1934) p.553.



Presbyterian/Independents are understood to be those who, unlike Presbyterians, believed that the gathered congregation was the essential basis of the church, but who, unlike Independents, believed that it should operate within a national system of meetings.

Independents embraced a wide range of views, from those distinguishable from Presbyterian/Independents only by a difference of emphasis, to those who believed in the baptism of adult believers (but without making it a condition of church membership). There were a number of Independents who held a variety of mystical beliefs as well. The most distinctive of the beliefs held by Independents was that the basis of the church was the gathered congregation. Consonant with this was the belief that a minister might only be called by a congregation and that the civil magistrate had no part to play in the regulation of the church. Radical Independents, descended from the separatists of the early seventeenth century, advocated complete religious toleration and rejected any formal association between congregations. Conservative Independents held benefices and, during the 1650s, were involved in the attempt to establish a minimal state church with agreed fundamentals of belief. It would be misleading to identify many Independents in 1642, but their numbers swelled rapidly during the 1640s.

Baptists, referred to by contemporaries as Anabaptists and by themselves as churches of Christ, were divided between Arminian (General) and Calvinistic (Particular) Baptists. The latter were also divided amongst themselves over requiring believers' baptism as a condition of church membership. Open membership churches differed little from Independent churches which admitted

baptised adults. The Baptists established themselves more successfully during the 1640s and 1650s than did any other sectaries except, possibly, the Quakers, for neither group's survival was threatened by the Restoration.

Sectaries are seen as the most radical extreme of Independents. To some extent they shared a common ancestry in the separatists of the early seventeenth century, whom they followed in rejecting completely any intervention in religious matters by the civil magistrate, any form of ecclesiastical hierarchy, and any form of parochial ministry supported by tithes. Most believed in religious toleration for everyone except episcopalians and Roman Catholics, though some were prepared to tolerate the latter providing they undertook not to coerce anyone. In the early 1640s there were very few sectaries, most of whom were members of pre-war separatist congregations which had existed secretly in England or had come from the Netherlands or New England. Large numbers of people became sectaries or were influenced by sectarian beliefs during the 1640s and 1650s. Presbyterian critics of religious radicalism seem often to have used the term sectary interchangeably with Independent since both shared the heresy that the congregation was the essential unit of the church. This leads to some confusion when using seventeenth century works. Quakerism is not discussed here, for, although it became an important force in the army, it did not do so until after 1651.

This description has been included in order to clarify the way in which these terms are used in the following text and the appendices. It is important to emphasise again that these terms

are not static. Such was the degree of change in the 1640s and 1650s that sects appeared and disappeared with great rapidity and many individuals altered their opinions just as fast.

## CHAPTER I

ARMY CHAPLAINS, ARMY RELIGION AND  
ARMY RADICALISM.

Chaplains have been the focus of much of the discussion of religion in the parliamentary forces because they can more easily be studied than nebulous religious movements. Some historians have tried to draw conclusions about army religion on the basis of a study of chaplains; others have generalised about chaplains from statements on army religion. Obviously it is not possible to disentangle completely these two subjects for they were not separate in the minds of contemporary commentators. But much historians' work does not take account of the fact that army chaplains are not synonymous with army religion. Some studies, too, are based upon a very small number of chaplains, far fewer than can actually be traced. Certain chaplains have been chosen often to exemplify the sort of person appointed and the quality of army religion, but such characters as Hugh Peter, William Dell and John Saltmarsh were singled out by their contemporaries because their views and their behaviour were exceptional rather than representative.

Many historians have also conflated army religion and army political radicalism. These concepts were not separate in the minds of contemporary writers. Thomas Edwards makes a distinction between Levellers and religious radicals no greater than that between sects. He and many others believed they were all equally subversive. Murray Tolmie has shown

that the political radicals learned their organisation from the sectaries.<sup>1</sup> Many of the radicals prominent in the political agitation of 1647 were members of sectarian congregations. Whilst there were personal connections, however, there were no necessary ideological connections. None of the religious radicals had a common political platform and few of them believed that their religious beliefs implied political action.<sup>2</sup> Few chaplains engaged in the political action of 1647 or expressed political views, although several were present at the army debates of 1647 and 1648-9.

This chapter is concerned with what has been said by contemporary commentators and by later historians on the subjects of army chaplains, army religion and army radicalism. Modifications to these statements will be made in later chapters, in which the organisation of chaplains is described, as is the part that they played in the various parliamentary armies. It should then be possible to show what can be said about army chaplains, and about some army religion, and what cannot be said about army radicalism.

It is from the writings of Nehemiah Wharton, John Vicars, Robert Baillie, Thomas Edwards and Richard Baxter that the idea of an army filled with praying, preaching and psalm-singing soldiers, inspired by their chaplains, is mainly drawn.

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1. Murray Tolmie, The Triumph of the Saints (Cambridge, 1977) pp. 144, 147, 159-60.

2. This is obviously truer of the 1640s than the 1650s with the upsurge of millenarian-inspired political activity.

These sources share certain defects. They are nearly all confined to descriptions of the armies of Essex and Manchester and the New Model. The various writers rarely had experience of more than one army and none of them had any experience of any of the armies after 1646. They were all more sympathetic to the Presbyterian than to the Independent interest, and all supported the alliance with Scotland. Nehemiah Wharton, a London volunteer in Lord Brooke's regiment in Essex's army, wrote a series of letters to his former employer during the first two months of the war. His letters are full of information about religious practices, but there is nothing about religious opinions, and he describes only Essex's army. His writings end too early to be considered Presbyterian rather than Independent.<sup>1</sup>

John Vicars was a journalist and propagandist against the royalists. England's Parliamentarie Chronicle<sup>2</sup> came out in three parts between 1644 and 1646 and is presented like a newspaper. In it appears the famous description of the chaplains riding amongst the troops at Edgehill:

'Our truely godly and reverend Divines, who were Chaplaines to the Army, ..... who (I say) rode up and downe the Army, through the thickest dangers, and in much personall hazzard, most faithfully and couragiously exhorting and encouraging the Souldiers to fight valiantly, and not to flye, but now if ever to stand to it, and to fight for their Religion, Lawes and Christian Liberties, according to the deep Protestation taken by them.'<sup>3</sup>

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1. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1641-3, pp. 371-3, 379-80, 382-8, 391-400.
  2. Jehovah Jireh. God in the Mount (London, 1644); Gods arke Overtopping the World's Waves (London, 1646); The Burning-Bush not Consumed (London, 1646).
  3. John Vicars, Jehovah Jireh (London, 1644) p.200.

His descriptions are confined to the armies of Essex and Fairfax and to their activities until 1646. Vicars was strongly Presbyterian and published a pamphlet against Independency in 1645, but he makes no reference to religious divisions among the parliamentarians or to the spread of sectarianism until the end of The Burning-Bush not Consumed. There he refers to the petition of 26 May 1646 from the City of London to Parliament against 'all Anabaptists, Brownists, Hereticks, Schismaticks, Blasphemers, and all such Sectaries as conforme not to the publike Discipline established or to be established by Parliament'.<sup>1</sup> Vicars reinforces this with his own exhortation to Parliament to do something 'for the purging of Gods House, at this time, from dangerous and damnable Errours, Schismes and blasphemous Opinions of too audacious and most impudent Sectaries'.<sup>2</sup> He does not say that these were particularly prevalent in the army, but his exhortation was directed at those who were neglecting the Covenant. He was convinced that there should be a single Presbyterian orthodoxy and that to allow heterodoxy would, undermine both church and state.

Robert Baillie came to England as one of the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly. His letters to Scotland contain reports of religious affairs in England as well as of the progress of the war. His chief concerns were the religious settlement and the interests of the Scots in

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1. John Vicars, The Burning-Bush not Consumed (London, 1646) p.430.

2. ibid. p.457.

England. His comments upon the armies reflect this. He observed 'Anabaptists' and sectaries in London in 1643 and their increase in numbers and treated the Independents in the Westminster Assembly as schismatics. He noted in May 1644 that:

'much more than the most part of my Lord Manchester's armie are seduced to Independencie, and very many of them have added<sup>1</sup> either Anabaptisme or Antinomianisme, or both'.

His concern was principally that:

'our silly simple lads are in great danger of being infected by their companie'.<sup>2</sup>

He noted, however, that there was little sectarianism, or Independency (for he tended to use the terms interchangeably) in Essex's or Waller's armies. From 1644 he commonly described sectaries as Antinomians or Anabaptists and observed that they were pressing for universal religious toleration.<sup>3</sup> He noted the prosecution of a soldier for denying the Trinity and that millenarianism was 'one error so famous in antiquitie, and so troublesome among us'.<sup>4</sup> In November 1645 he said that the Anabaptists

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1. Robert Baillie, Letters and Journals, ed. D. Laing, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1841-2) II 185.

2. ibid. II 185.

3. ibid. II 218.

4. ibid. II pp. 280, 313.



were 'the greatest and most prevalent sect here'.<sup>1</sup> After the formation of the New Model army, many of whose officers Baillie observed were sectaries, he referred to no other parliamentary army. He frequently called it 'the sectarian army', but he also said that:

'Sundrie wise men, whom I speak with, believes (sic) that the new armie is not so full of sectaries as is said'.<sup>2</sup>

Baillie clearly saw the Independents as political opponents, mainly in the arena of the Westminster Assembly, and he saw the quarrel between Manchester and Cromwell as a reflection of this, as a

'great plott by this army, to counterballance us, to overawe the Assemblie and Parliament both to their ends'.<sup>3</sup>

Thomas Edwards is perhaps the most important contemporary commentator on religion, both inside and outside the army. He never joined the parliamentary forces, but seems to have known many soldiers and chaplains. He was aware of the differences between sectaries:

'the best Independent Churches and Congregations are mixed Assemblies and medlies, consisting of persons whereof some are Anabaptists, some Antinomians, some Libertines, others hold Arminian and Socinian Tenets'.<sup>4</sup>

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1. ibid. II 327.

2. ibid. II 265.

3. ibid. II pp.229-30.

4. Thomas Edwards, Gangraena (London, 1646) Rota facsimile edition 1977, II 16.

Similarly he was aware of the differences between the different parliamentary forces, although most of his examples came from the New Model army. Of the army sectaries to whom he refers, only a small minority were chaplains; most were soldiers, non-commissioned officers, and junior officers. He noted, in 1646, that Independents or sectaries made up about a sixth of the New Model army.<sup>1</sup> He also believed that there were few sectaries who had not at some time been soldiers or chaplains and that, 'Our Armies are the Nurseries of all errours and all our evils'.<sup>2</sup>

Edwards commented in much more detail than anyone else upon sectarian divisions, especially in the army, of which he wrote:

'The Army is so much spoken of upon all occasions in the news Books, Pulpits, Conferences, to be Independent (though I conceive upon good information, that upon a true muster of the whole, Commanders and common souldiers, there would not be found above one in six of that way) yet of that Army, cal'd by the sectaries, Independent, and of that part of it which truly is so, I do not thinke there are 50 pure Independents, but higher flown, more Seraphicall (as a Chaplaine, who knows well the state of that Army, expressed it) made up and compounded of Anabaptisme, Antinomianisme, Enthusiasme, Arminianisme, Familisme, all these errours and more<sup>so</sup> sometimes meeting in the same persons, ..... in one word, the great Religion of that sort of men in the Army, is liberty of conscience, and liberty of preaching'.<sup>3</sup>

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1. ibid. I pp.16, 60.

2. ibid. III 266.

3. ibid. I pp.16-17.

He saw the spread of sectarianism in the army as the result of a sectarian plot to take over the army and thus seize power.<sup>1</sup> He noted the prevalence of Anabaptists in the army and what he believed was the spread of Antinomianism. He mentions many other heresies, but none so consistently in connection with the army.

Richard Baxter was the only one amongst these writers who actually served as a chaplain himself. He preached to the garrison at Coventry, travelled with Colonel Mitton's regiment in 1643 and with Colonel Barker's Warwickshire regiment in 1644, and served as chaplain to Colonel Whalley's regiment from July 1645 until July 1646. When writing about the parliamentary forces he distinguishes between them. However, Baxter actually wrote his autobiography after 1660; Matthew Sylvester edited it for publication in 1696. He wrote that he found the New Model army very different from the garrison and county forces he had seen. Sectaries held influential positions in the New Model army, 'though much fewer in number than the rest (being indeed not one to twenty throughout the Army'.<sup>2</sup> He believed that the reason for the prevalence of sectarianism was 'that it was the Ministers that had lost all, by forsaking the Army, and betaking themselves to an easier and quieter way of Life'.<sup>3</sup> He said that after Edgehill most of the regimental preachers had gone home and ministers became increasingly averse to joining the parliamentary forces as the number of sectaries increased.

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1. ibid. I 62.

2. Reliquiae Baxterianae, ed. M. Sylvester (London, 1696) I50.

3. ibid. I51.

Eventually, discouraged by their influence, he too left.

Baxter noted the presence of Baptists in the army in 1644, but writes this of his experience of the New Model army :

'And when the Court News-book told the World of the Swarms of Anabaptists in our Armies, we thought it had been a meer lye, because it was not so with us, nor in any of the Garrison or County-Forces about us. But when I came to the Army among Cromwell's Soldiers, I found a new face of things which I never dreamt of: I heard the plotting Heads very hot upon that which intimated their Intention to subvert both Church and State. Independency and Anabaptistry were most prevalent: Antinomianism and Arminianism were equally distributed; and Thomas Moor's Followers (a Weaver of Wisbitch and Lyn, of excellent Parts) had made some shifts to joyn these two Extreame together'.

Baxter wrote

'that I was almost always, when I had opportunity, disputing with one or other of them; sometimes for our Civil Government, and sometimes for Church Order and Government; sometimes for Infant Baptism, and oft against Antinomianism and the contrary Extream. But their most frequent and vehement Disputes were for Liberty of Conscience, as they called it; that is, <sup>the</sup> the Civil Magistrate had nothing to do to determine of any thing in Matters of Religion, by constraint or restraint, but every Man might not only hold, but preach and do in Matters of Religion what he pleased'.

He said that many of the sectarian leaders were poor preachers

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1. ibid. I 50.

2. ibid. I 53.

but that 'A great part of the mischief they did among the Soldiers was by Pamphlets, which they abundantly dispersed'.<sup>1</sup> He included amongst these people Overton and Lilburne. The doctrines which he believed were most prevalent were those of Baptists, Antinomians and Arminians, but he regarded the Levellers as the most seditious individuals.

It is important to realise that each of these writers confined his comments to a short period of time and, commonly, to a single army. It will be argued that historians have tended to take these descriptions as being true of all the parliamentary forces for the whole period of the war and have underestimated the differences between the various parliamentary forces. As well as showing what each writer was describing, I have tried to show what aspects of army religion gave Baillie, Edwards and Baxter particular cause for comment. They all noted the spread of 'Anabaptistry', Antinomianism and Arminianism and the desire for religious toleration. Edwards and Baxter also wrote against those, who wanted what Baxter called 'state democracy' as well as those who wanted 'church democracy'. They all mention various other doctrines and heresies, like Socinianism and millenarianism, but none are so universally associated with the army as Anabaptistry, Antinomianism and Arminianism and the desire for religious toleration.

Many of the doctrines which sectaries adopted during

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1. ibid. I53.

the years of the civil war were not new, but were ancient heresies revived. What was new was the context in which they reemerged. There was an atmosphere of tremendous religious enthusiasm and beliefs were not subjected to formal tests of validity. The doctrines of the sectaries bore less and less resemblance to those of their precursors. Furthermore there were many beliefs which seemed to loom larger in the minds of opponents of sectarianism (chiefly Presbyterians) than they did in the minds of sectaries. Scarcely anyone called himself an Anabaptist, an Antinomian or an Arminian. These terms all have positive meanings but they were usually used by such commentators as Baillie, Edwards and Baxter to imply that those so called did not believe in certain doctrines which they regarded as central. Hence an Anabaptist was merely one who rejected infant baptism, an Antinomian was one who disregarded what Presbyterians saw as God's ordinances because he believed that he was saved without them, and an Arminian was one who rejected the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. Modern historians have tended, however, to attach systems of belief to these terms. Some, following Professor Solt, have deduced the political implications of certain religious beliefs, especially that a belief in democracy was a natural consequence of Arminianism. This suggests that individuals necessarily worked out the consequences of their opinions and that this kind of intellectual consistency was as much prized in the seventeenth century as it is in the twentieth.

We should remember that people's beliefs changed, sometimes very rapidly. Between 1640 and 1660 many individuals

adopted and rejected a wide variety of opinions. Some adopted a central belief to which they remained faithful whilst modifying details of doctrine. Thomas Patient became convinced of the necessity for believers' baptism, and subsequently came to accept closed communion and the dual covenants.<sup>1</sup> Laurence Clarkson, by contrast, travelled through a whole series of different beliefs. In twelve years he passed from the established church, through the churches of the Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Seekers (although they were not properly speaking a church), and Ranters, until, finally, he came to rest with the Muggletonians.<sup>2</sup> He joined more churches than most people but the direction of his passage was a common one. In 1642 there were a very few separatist congregations. By the 1650s there were a large number of sectarian congregations, largely peopled by those who in 1642 would probably have described themselves as members of the established church.

Much criticism was unjustly directed against Baptists. They rejected the term Anabaptist, calling themselves the churches of Christ or baptized churches. The Particular Baptists entitled their first confession of faith in 1644, The Confession of Faith of those Churches which are commonly (though Falseley) called Anabaptists. There were many people, including some outside the normal Baptist congregations, who, during the 1640s, adopted the idea of the baptism of adult believers instead of infant baptism. However, the original reason for Presbyterians' abhorrence of the Baptists

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1. Thomas Patient, The Doctrine of Baptism (London, 1654).

2. Laurence Clarkson, The Lost Sheep Found (London, 1660).

seems to have been that they were associated with the German Anabaptists and the events at Münster in 1534-5 and were therefore seen as social revolutionaries. Both General and Particular Baptists, who were frequently confused by contemporary writers, rejected the idea that the magistrate might have any control over religious matters. They were anathema to the Presbyterians, and were therefore excluded from the Westminster Assembly and refused to share in later attempts to legislate for a religious settlement. Both groups also rejected tithes, benefices and the creation of a caste of ministers by university education and ordination. It is possible, too, that the success of the Baptists in making converts caused concern. In 1642 there were 6 General and Particular Baptist congregations in London, by 1645 there were 11.<sup>1</sup> They were very successful in the army. We know little about the numbers of Baptists in the New Model army, or how they secured converts, but by the time that the army went to Scotland and Ireland Baptists were obviously well organised in it.

As will be seen there were relatively few Baptist chaplains in the parliamentary forces and these were mainly in the New Model army. Those Baptists who in the later 1650s objected to a maintained ministry do not all seem to have objected to chaplaincies before 1651 on the same grounds, but few colonels seem to have appointed Baptists as chaplains.

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1. Murray Tolmie, The Triumph of the Saints (Cambridge, 1977) p.122.



Few of the Baptists prominent in the army and named by Murray Tolmie were actually chaplains.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Edwards reinforces this impression by naming many soldiers, non-commissioned and junior officers who preached Baptist doctrines.

Presbyterians saw Antinomianism as something thoroughly socially subversive. In their writings they perceived its threat as two-fold. In the first place it challenged the basis for moral behaviour by extending Calvinist doctrines to unacceptable conclusions. In the second place a number of those who were alleged to have preached Antinomianism were well known and influential people. Antinomianism was not necessarily associated with predestinarianism. Some Antinomians believed that the saints, that is those predestined to salvation, were absolved from the need to observe divine laws. Others believed that man was saved by believing and could therefore do nothing to improve his chances of salvation since it was already assured. Antinomianism was thought to imply the removal of all restraints in society and the abolition of any ecclesiastical restrictions.

Antinomianism seems to have been, at least, a movement of opinion, and, at most, the rejection of Calvinist orthodoxy. There was no Antinomian church and Antinomianism was not characteristic of any groups except Seekers and Ranters. Richard Baxter and Thomas Edwards described individuals as Antinomians or as holding or preaching Antinomian doctrines. They do not

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1. Murray Tolmie, op.cit. pp. 155-9.

seem to have seen Antinomianism as a single doctrinal position, but rather to have used it to denote the rejection of certain beliefs. Nowhere, for example, does Edwards say what constituted Antinomian doctrines, although he defined most of the other heresies he discusses. Perhaps he used the word in the sense that nihilistic and anarchistic have come to be used in the twentieth century. Seekers were Antinomians in the sense that they believed that God would reveal himself in his own time, and that all they had to do was to wait for him to do so. They saw no point in either observing or not observing any laws. Ranters drew social consequences from the belief that because they were saved they were not subject to any divine laws. Laurence Clarkson, Abiezer Coppe and Jacob Bauthumley all developed this in various ways, but not until after they had left the army.

Arminianism was a source of contention for different reasons. In the first place it implied spiritual subversion rather than the social anarchy of the Baptists and Antinomians, and in the second place it had been the first rallying cry of revolution in the 1630s. Nicholas Tyacke has tried to show that Laudian Arminians were the first revolutionaries in that they challenged the Calvinist orthodoxy of the established church and united the Puritan opposition.<sup>1</sup> This was not, however, the only manifestation of Arminianism in England. The General Baptist congregations, originating from the

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1. Nicholas Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution', in The Origins of the English Civil War, ed. Conrad Russell (London, 1973).

congregations of John Smyth and Thomas Helwys, had come to accept the universal redemption of mankind as well as believers' baptism.<sup>1</sup>

John Goodwin, John Saltmarsh, Henry Denne and William Erbury were all accused of preaching universal redemption in the 1640s. All are known to have had extensive contacts with people of widely differing views and all had unorthodox ideas about who constituted the saints.

Some Ranters, like Joseph Salmon, believed that Christ worked in everyone, but many believed that only the elect were freed from God's laws.<sup>2</sup> The belief in universal redemption does not seem to have been widespread and, more than other doctrines rejected by Presbyterians and Independents, was associated with several specific groups, in particular the General Baptists and, later, the Quakers. This belief appears, however, to have attracted markedly more adherents from the lower classes than from the higher.<sup>3</sup>

The Arminianism of the sectaries had little in common with that of the Laudians. Both challenged Calvinist predestinarianism, but they did not agree on the means by which salvation was to be achieved. Neither justification by faith nor justification by works was necessarily associated with Arminianism. Many religious radicals believed that salvation was available to everyone, but was not necessarily received by everyone.

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1. B. R. White, The English Separatist Tradition (Oxford, 1971) pp. 139, 164-5.
  2. Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down (London, 1972) p. 143.
  3. Hill, op. cit. p.276.

The more conservative Arminians thought that their good works demonstrated the reality of their faith. So Arminianism cannot, therefore, be taken to imply more than a turning away from hard line Calvinism, which in itself was taken as a radical rejection of true Protestantism, witness the abuse of Laudian Arminians as much as of sectarian Arminians.

The sects' desire for religious toleration was criticised by such commentators as Baillie, Edwards and Baxter. It was in toleration that the religious and political aims of the radicals were seen to come together. On the one hand it implied freedom for all doctrines and practices, and on the other it implied a limitation of the power of the magistrate in certain ways. As has already been said, both Edwards and Baxter discussed the levellers and their precursors in the same terms as they treated sectaries. Both saw them preparing an alternative tyranny, particularly as there were obviously sectaries who did not want toleration for Presbyterianism. Edwards wrote this:

'It will be found that the Sectaries, though they have pretended liberty, yet if they come to have the upper hand, they would make the people of England the greatest slaves that ever they were in any time, and indeed rule them by an Army, and force instead of Lawes, and would trample as much upon the City of London and the Countries as ever John of Leyden and Knipper dolling did upon the poor Citizens of Munster'. 1

Liberty of conscience therefore contained the twin threats of doctrinal anarchy and social subversion.

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1. Thomas Edwards, Gangraena (London, 1646) Rota facsimile edition, 1977, III 240<sup>g</sup>.

The belief that Christ would come to reign on earth for a thousand years was very widespread and transcended divisions between Protestants. Until the emergence of the Fifth Monarchists it was not associated with any particular sect. Thomas Edwards lists millenarianism as a type of error and the belief in Christ's second coming and visible reign on earth for a thousand years as a heresy, but he does not give examples of sectaries who held this.<sup>1</sup> There were many variations on the millenarian theme based especially upon differing interpretations of the books of Daniel and Revelation. Associated with it was the idea that English history was following a path described in the Bible and that such events as the victories of the New Model army and the execution of the king were clearly indicated there. Critics of the sectaries did not associate millenarianism with the army in the way that they associated 'Anabaptistry', Antinomianism and Arminianism with it. Later historians have, however seen millenarianism as being particularly strong in the army. This seems to depend on two factors. Firstly, there were several rather startling incidents inspired by millenarian beliefs. William Sedgwick's prophecy of 1647 'that the world will bee at an end within 14 dayes Christ then coming to Judgement and that Christ appeared to him in his study ye last weeke at Elye and tould him soe much' is an obvious example.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, the consciousness of many soldiers that they were in some way combating Antichrist contributed to the New Model army's sense of identity.

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1. Thomas Edwards, Gangraena (London, 1646) Rota facsimile edition, 1977, I pp.15, 23.

2. Clarke MS. 110 unfoliated, 30 March 1647.

Later historians writing about parliamentary army chaplains and about army religion have relied heavily upon the writings of Wharton, Vicars, Baillie, Edwards and Baxter. Historians have used them for factual information, but they have also assimilated their perception of religion in the parliamentary forces. Vicars, Baillie, Edwards and Baxter were all Presbyterians (although of very different types) and all but Vicars, in their writings about the armies, commented adversely upon the spread of sectarianism and the prevalence of certain views which they all regarded as offensive. This has lent a certain character to the way in which historians have written about chaplains and army religion. This is a characteristic example:

'Had Edwards accompanied Baxter in the latter's conversations around the campfires, his exclamations of horror would have resounded with understandable panic. The endless passionate disputes, the vehement preaching of the soldiers, the rise of Anabaptist officers, Cromwell's encouragement of toleration, the founding of Baptist churches in the wake of victorious marches, the recognition, for the first time in English military history, of soldiery merit alone as the basis of promotion - these were the revolutionary seedground soon to be planted thick again with the pamphlets of Lilburne and Overton'.<sup>1</sup>

This quotation epitomises the assumptions made by historians about the character and conduct of religious life in the parliamentary forces, subjects which elicit colourful descriptions from the soberest of historians. Their defect lies not in their colourfulness, but in their unrepresentativeness.

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1. Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution, ed. D.M.Wolfe (New York, 1944) p.16.

Such descriptions usually refer to a limited number of forces for a relatively short period at the beginning of the war, yet purport to be representative of all the parliamentary forces throughout the war. The historians whose work is discussed below make fewer generalisations than Wolfe, but they still treat changes in the religious character of the parliamentary forces as being uniform in all the different armies. This failure to acknowledge the lack of uniformity amongst the parliamentary forces does not necessarily invalidate these historians' arguments in respect of the army's role in political affairs. But it does reduce the extent to which soldiers can be seen to have influenced the civilian population by their example. Few soldiers in any parliamentary army but the New Model were religious radicals and their influence outside the army seems to have been out of all proportion to their actual numbers.

The five modern works discussed here all have different purposes, but all contain definite statements about army religion and army chaplains. Professor Leo Solt's work is the most direct study of army chaplains.<sup>1</sup> Apart from Saints in Arms he has written on two individual chaplains.<sup>2</sup> The subject of Mark Kishlansky's work is the later radicalisation of the army. He has studied the creation of the New Model army

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1. I am excluding Sir John Smyth's book In This Sign Conquer The Story of the Army Chaplains (London, 1968), which is a contribution to modern regimental history.

2. Leo F. Solt, 'John Saltmarsh: New Model Army Chaplain', Journal of Ecclesiastical History II (1951); Leo F. Solt, 'William Dell: New Model Army Chaplain', Church Quarterly Review CLV (1954).

and the appointments made in it<sup>1</sup> and the process by which the New Model army took the political initiative in 1647.<sup>2</sup> In so doing he has commented upon the part played by chaplains and the role of religious radicalism.<sup>3</sup> It is evident that he relied heavily upon Solt's work for factual information regarding chaplains.

The three other writers whose work is discussed are less concerned with army chaplains than with army religion. They are all concerned with the debate about when the parliamentary war aims became religious rather than just political. This is seen as the result of two phenomena. The first is the spread of religious radicalism in the army and the second is the development amongst New Model soldiers of the consciousness of their own ability to mould events. The presence of the chaplains and of religious radicalism in the army was not just a coincidence, but it is hard to establish a precise connection. It seems probable that the chaplains were important not so much for spreading radical doctrines, but for what we might call consciousness-raising.

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1. Mark A. Kishlansky, 'The Sales of Crown Lands and the Spirit of the Revolution', Economic History Review, 2nd series XXIX (1976);  
Mark A. Kishlansky, 'The Case of the Army Truly Stated: The Creation of the New Model Army', Past and Present 81 (1978);  
Mark A. Kishlansky, 'The Army and the Levellers: The Roads to Putney', The Historical Journal 22 (1979).
  2. Mark A. Kishlansky, The Rise of the New Model Army (Cambridge, 1979).
  3. ibid. pp. 70-73.



Professor Leo Solt's book Saints in Arms has as its declared purpose 'To re examine the prevailing interpretation [of the contribution of the Puritan Revolution to the growth of democratic thought] in the light of the press and pulpit polemics of the saints in arms - the chaplains of the New Model Army'.<sup>1</sup> His re-examination is based upon various 'politico-religious polarities'. His work is not an exhaustive study of parliamentary army chaplains. It is a study of the writings and reported views of a small number of New Model army chaplains. He discusses the work of the three men he considers to have been the leading chaplains in the New Model army, Dell, Saltmarsh and Peter, and to a lesser extent, of Erbury, William Sedgwick, Bowles, Baxter, Pinnell and Ram. He also identifies certain ministers who preached to the army from time to time and some mechanick preachers.

Professor Solt's thesis is based upon the assumption that the chaplains at the army headquarters were the predominant influence over the rank and file. He plays down the part played by regimental chaplains. Much of this thesis is based upon the view expressed by Thomas Edwards:

'In their Sermons Master Del, and Saltmarsh preach free grace, and say, Christ judges not by the eye, or eare, he regards not mens prayers or duties; if they have Christ in their heart ..... Christ judges them according to their heart. Secondly, We have no use of secular power, and they that would borrowe

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1. Leo. F. Solt, Saints in Arms (Stanford, 1959) p.3.

the Magistrats power to make a Reformation in the Kingdome of Christ are Anti-christian ..... Thirdly, They pressed hard to have the law of Love and Liberty observed, that there may be an equality; that is their phrase and the Anabaptists ..... Fifthly, There is no need of Universities; for if men be anointed with the spirit, and accepted amongst the Saints, they are sufficiently qualified for the Ministry.' 1

Professor Solt calls this Antinomianism and argues that it failed to transmute its theology into concrete political terms, that is to say that individuals did not derive democratic political ideas from it.<sup>2</sup>

Professor Solt identifies certain doctrines which together make up Antinomianism. These are free grace (ie. that God makes grace unconditionally accessible to the believer through Christ), that faith is not a condition of salvation to be fulfilled by man, the indwelling spirit, and the perfectibility of man.<sup>3</sup> Of these he sees the most important to be free grace and sometimes suggests that the belief in free grace is synonymous with Antinomianism. He also uses the term Arminianism not just to mean the rejection of Calvinistic predestination, but as synonymous with the belief in justification by works.<sup>4</sup> To argue this he relies chiefly upon the works of William Dell, John Saltmarsh and Henry Denne up to 1647, and upon the descriptions of religion in the army by Richard

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1. Thomas Edwards, Gangraena (London, 1646) Rota facsimile edition. 1977, III 45.

2. Solt, op.cit. p.103.

3. ibid. pp. 28, 33.

4. ibid. p. 26.

Baxter. Because Professor Solt is mainly concerned with Antinomianism as a manifestation of free grace he misses many of the denials by those accused of Antinomianism, who use the term in the sense of rejecting God's ordinances. Saltmarsh writes 'I am not against the Law, nor repentance, nor duties, nor ordinances, as some would say'.<sup>1</sup> Dell writes 'He that through the law of grace is freed of the law of the letter, is not set free from the law, that thereby he may have opportunity and liberty to live to sin and himself, but that he may thereby live unto God', and calls the liberty to sin Antinomianism.<sup>2</sup>

Professor Solt is interested in the prevalence of certain ideas in the New Model army. He has, therefore, studied the writings and the newspaper reports of the sermons of those chaplains for whom these survive. He has not made an exhaustive study of who was or was not an army chaplain, of chaplains outside the New Model army, or of chaplains in the New Model army who published nothing. His study has strictly limited aims. This means that it is really not possible to base on this work generalisations about New Model army chaplains, or about army religion in the wider sense.

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1. John Saltmarsh, Sparkles of Glory (London, 1647) Epistle to the Reader.
  2. William Dell, The Crucified and Quickened Christian (1651) in Select Works of William Dell (London, 1773) pp. 278-9.

Mark Kishlansky is concerned to reassess the process by which the New Model army became a political force in its own right. He has argued that this was partly the result of breakdown at Westminster, and that the New Model army was not as different from other armies as some historians have argued. In particular he claims that the radicalization of the army was the result of the emergence of a political consciousness fired by the events of the spring of 1647 rather than by the wholesale adoption of Leveller propaganda.<sup>1</sup>

Dr Kishlansky's statements on the nature of appointments in the New Model army will be discussed in a later chapter and his comments on individual chaplains may be examined in the light of material in the biographical index. He does, however, make a number of general points about chaplains and about religion in the New Model army. He relies heavily upon Professor Solt's work for information about who served as a chaplain in the New Model army. Professor Solt uses Richard Baxter extensively, a source which Dr. Kishlansky largely disregards, along with Thomas Edwards.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Kishlansky's use of Professor Solt's work is somewhat uncritical and he takes no account of the limitations outlined above.

Dr. Kishlansky queries Hugh Peter's connection with the army, which he is right to do, but he goes on to say that

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1. Mark A. Kishlansky, The Rise of the New Model Army (Cambridge, 1979) p.180.
  2. Leo F. Solt, Saints in Arms (Stanford, 1959) pp. 6-8, 99; Mark A. Kishlansky, The Rise of the New Model Army (Cambridge 1979) pp. ix, 70-73.

only nine New Model chaplains have been identified. Amongst this nine he includes Robert Ram, chaplain of Colonel Rossiter's regiment whose links with Lincolnshire were closer than its links with the New Model army. In fact at least twenty-six chaplains who served with the New Model between 1645 and 1647 can be named. These twenty-six will be discussed in more detail in chapter VI but Dr. Kishlansky is certainly right to point out that there were Presbyterians amongst the New Model chaplains and that the importance of the chaplains' roles has been overplayed. He also suggests that there was no necessary connection between radical religion in the army and radical political activity. As will be shown, chaplains in the New Model were not significant for the part which they played in either. It is not the purpose of this thesis, however, to suggest where the origins of radical religion in the army and radical political activity did lie.

The three writers whose work will now be examined are Brian Manning, Tai Liu and Murray Tolmie. All believe that the New Model army had a distinct religious character unlike that of the other parliamentary forces. All think that there were men in the army who saw themselves as saints working out God's purpose and that they imparted to the army as a whole a particular self-consciousness. Professor Manning believes that this was the result of a strong element of popular Puritanism, whose influence was evident as early as 1643. Tai Liu believes that it was the result of the chaplains' millenarian vision and that it developed between

1641 and 1648. Unlike Professor Manning, he distinguishes between the effects of political and religious radicalism. Murray Tolmie sees the army as a forum for organised sectarian activity inspired from London, and as the place where the interests of the sectaries came to conflict with those of the political radicals.

Brian Manning gives an account of godly men in the parliamentary army, relying heavily upon the early years of the war. He is more aware of the provincial forces than most historians and cites Adam Martindale and examples from Coventry, Nottingham and Manchester. He writes that 'The conversion of the parliamentary cause from a constitutional to a religious struggle took place during 1643'.<sup>1</sup> He also sees the godly element in the army becoming increasingly influential and believes that this was a necessary part of Parliament's victory for

'Unarmed and untrained masses did not make an army and parliament turned to professional soldiers and conscripts who would serve for <sup>the</sup> pay, but serving only for <sup>the</sup> pay (and plunder), and lacking belief in the righteousness of the cause, they did not have the morale to surmount defeats and win victories'.<sup>2</sup>

He argues that an army of godly men was a necessary concomitant of a party which wanted all-out victory, not a compromise peace

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1. Brian Manning, The English People and the English Revolution (London, 1978) p. 276.

2. Brian Manning, 'Religion and Politics: The Godly People' in Politics, Religion and The English Civil War, ed. Brian Manning (London, 1973) pp. 98, 118.

with the king, and that the concept of godliness helped to create a self-conscious middle sort of people motivated to win the war.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Manning makes no suggestions about the process by which godliness was fostered in the New Model army. He is much more concerned with the idea of a popular Puritanism inspiring both the civilian population and the parliamentary forces to oppose royalists, than with the process by which this popular Puritanism was disseminated. He emphasises that godliness was prized in certain parts of the parliamentary forces, in Cromwell's troop and amongst the senior officers in the New Model army.<sup>2</sup> Ultimately this popular Puritanism encouraged soldiers to reject old social distinctions of rank in favour of a new order based on godliness and merit. He makes the very important point that 'service in the armies and garrisons was a formative circumstance, bringing them [parliamentary soldiers] new experiences, shaking their old assumptions and exposing them to new influences'.<sup>3</sup>

Tai Liu believes that the most important shift in the definition of the aims of the war took place in 1648 when the saints actively put forward claims to rule the world.<sup>4</sup>

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1. ibid. p.103.

2. Brian Manning, The English People and the English Revolution (London, 1978) pp. 270-273.

3. ibid. p.272.

4. Tai Liu, Discord in Zion (The Hague, 1973) p.63.

'The Saints now claimed a higher authority in the world than the authorities of mundane governments. In this sense, the English Revolution entered a new stage after 1648, and the center (sic) of the Revolution was shifted to the saints in the Army and the gathered churches.' 1

He describes this as the transformation of the content of millenarianism from spiritual and religious to temporal and concrete, the result of a process that had been taking place since 1641.<sup>2</sup> He makes a number of remarks about the part played by army chaplains, saying that they became increasingly important in Puritan ideas and politics with the triumph of the New Model army.<sup>3</sup> He comments upon the views held by army chaplains, likening them to Independent divines and contrasting them with Presbyterians.<sup>4</sup> He distinguishes army chaplains from other Puritan divines by their attitude to the millennium. 'For the Army chaplains, perhaps more than for others, the coming millennium and the Army's actions became inseparable',<sup>5</sup> and 'Thanks to the influence of the Army chaplains, a strong millenarian sentiment had been created in the Army'.<sup>6</sup> Tai Liu believes

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1. ibid. p.57.

2. ibid. pp. 65, 63.

3. ibid. p. 61.

4. ibid. p. 62.

5. ibid. p. 62.

6. ibid. p. 63.



that there were certain views common to chaplains in the New Model army different in emphasis from those of other Independent divines, and that the chaplains were responsible for the strength of millenarianism in the army.

Tai Liu reverses Bernard Capp's analysis of how millenarianism took hold in the army. Dr. Capp describes it as a wave which caught up Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists alike, spreading through the whole range of Protestant belief and through all levels of society. He goes on to say that many of those who preached millenarianism joined the army as chaplains.<sup>1</sup> Tai Liu suggests that army chaplains were particularly responsible for creating a strong millenarian sentiment in the army, by identifying the army's actions with the coming millennium.<sup>2</sup> During the late 1640s and 1650s increasingly large numbers of people began to think about the social and political implications of Christ's imminent arrival. This led ultimately to the Fifth Monarchy movement. It may be that this was a response to the failure of political radicals to secure the reforms of which they were so hopeful in the 1640s. The presence of millenarianism in the army was highlighted after Pride's Purge and the execution of the king, less because it was stronger there than anywhere else, but because the army was now in a position to take political initiatives with the failure of Parliament.

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1. Bernard Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men (London, 1972) pp. 38-40.

2. Tai Liu, op.cit. pp. 62-3.

Murray Tolmie sees the parliamentary forces as an important arena for the development of lay preaching.<sup>1</sup> He is particularly concerned with the London sectaries, mainly Baptists, in the army. Most of those he mentions were soldiers not chaplains.<sup>2</sup> He notes that a number of Baptists left the army at the end of the first civil war, but that they began to rejoin it in 1646, giving as the reason that,

'faced with the ominous approach of an intolerable Presbyterian settlement, they anticipated the exercise of some form of political influence on their behalf by the Army in securing a final religious settlement in the nation'.<sup>3</sup>

He suggests, too, that the political organisation of the lower ranks of the army in the spring of 1647 was a sectarian rather than a Leveller achievement, and that by August 1647 sectarian and Leveller interests had become quite distinct.<sup>4</sup>

Murray Tolmie, then, believes that the London sectaries were responsible for the spread of radical religion in the New Model army and identifies the chief individuals responsible as both soldiers and officers. He believed that the part played by the sectaries in early 1647 was crucial in the politicisation of the army, but that they did not really come into their own until December 1648, when

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1. Murray Tolmie, The Triumph of the Saints (Cambridge, 1977) pp. 126-7.

2. ibid. pp. 155-62.

3. ibid. p. 158.

4. ibid. pp. 168, 160.

'the religious radicals became a force in their own right as saints; they co operated with the saints in the Army to seize the initiative in the revolution, and the execution of the King became the symbol of their triumph as saints'.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Tolmie sees the Independents and sectaries in the army as rivals of the Levellers for 'control of the radical initiative'.<sup>2</sup> This suggests that he believes that they had a sufficient corporate existence to be able to act in concert, for which there is little evidence. He also believes that whilst London sectaries were influential in the army in 1647, by 1648 the political leadership of the separated churches in London was in the hands of the army grandees, thus spreading the army's religious influence more effectively.<sup>3</sup>

One explanation for the differences of opinion of these three historians over the religious character of the parliamentary army and the point at which this became crucial in determining the army's actions, is the varied meanings which they give the concept of 'godliness'. Professor Manning sees it as almost a system of ethics, strongly associated with the emergence of a self-conscious middle class. Tai Liu associates godliness in the army with the development of millenarianism as a revolutionary ideology. Murray Tolmie distinguishes sharply between religious radicalism and radicals on the one hand, and political radicalism and radicals on the other. He sees the army as being of only secondary importance for the development of religious radicalism.

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1. ibid. p.189.

2. ibid. p.162.

3. ibid. p. 189.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to assess what has been said about parliamentary army chaplains and army religion by seventeenth century commentators and by some twentieth century historians. There are obvious limitations to the use that can be made of the writings of seventeenth century commentators because of the circumstances in which they wrote, and because each wrote about a confined period of time and about one or two armies. Historians have not always taken heed of these limitations. They have, for example, highlighted certain doctrines which critics of the New Model army singled out for censure and they have looked most closely at those chaplains who attracted the greatest adverse criticism. In the succeeding chapters it will be shown how far the statements of seventeenth century commentators were representative of parliamentary army chaplains as a whole and how far the work of later historians has been affected by the limitations of these commentators. Comments upon individual chaplains are made in the biographical index.

## CHAPTER II

THE PAY, SERVICE, AND APPOINTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY ARMY  
CHAPLAINS

The intention of this chapter is to describe the way in which chaplains were appointed and paid and the circumstances in which they served. This is followed by an examination of the way in which patronage worked upon appointments. Its effects will be seen in later chapters.

The most useful source of information on the administration of the parliamentary armies is the Commonwealth Exchequer Papers (S. P. 28) in the Public Record Office. Much of the material in this collection consists of pay warrants and accounts of arrears. These provide details of the pay, method of appointment, equipment, and length of service of members of the parliamentary forces in the period 1642-1660. From them may be discovered the names of chaplains, with which regiments they served and for roughly how long, although usually it is only possible to estimate the minimum period of service because warrants rarely mention the date of commission or of disbanding, and the collection is by no means complete. It is probable that very few chaplains had long periods of continuous service. Many of them did not resign from their benefices and lectureships and had to return

to them in order not to be ejected for absenteeism.<sup>1</sup>

Fortunately it is possible to estimate the probable proportion of missing warrants. The account books of the treasurers, or their deputies, for Essex's and Manchester's armies survive for a substantial period of the armies' existence. By comparing the warrants with the payments authorised by the treasurers it is possible to establish that approximately two thirds of the payments mentioned in the account books survive as warrants.<sup>2</sup> These account books also indicate that it was common for regiments to be without chaplains for long periods of time. This was especially so in the cavalry, which was not, at first, organised in regiments.<sup>3</sup> Troops of horse were really too small each to have a chaplain but many captains of horse, particularly in the early months of the war, held another command, as a staff officer or as a colonel of foot. Regiments aspired to have their own chaplains, so it is possible that cavalry troops, where appropriate, shared the

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1. See the letter from William Goode to Simeon Ashe, 6 May 1644, 'you desired libertie to leave us awhile, that yourselfe might supply your lectures at London, and provide for them .....'. / William Goode, A Particular Relation of the Severall Removes etc. (London, 1644) p.33. Only two chaplains are known to have installed curates when they left their benefices for the army: Samuel Kemme and William Sedgwick.
  2. S.P. 28/143 Account book of Francis Vernon, deputy treasurer of Essex's army, account book for various Eastern Association regiments; S.P. 28/144/3 Account book for the Eastern Association.
  3. Godfrey Davies, 'The Parliamentary Army under the Earl of Essex', Eng. Hist. Rev. 49 (1934) p.33.

chaplains of their commanders' foot regiments. With the successive reorganisations of 1643 and 1644 most troops of horse were combined into regiments and the amount of pluralism among commanders was reduced, so cavalry regiments began to acquire their own chaplains.

The other record of payments to members of the army is in the accounts of arrears. Some of these accounts are in S.P.28 as, for example, the payments made at the disbanding of the armies of Essex, Manchester and Waller to those who did not join the New Model. There are also the registers of certificates for the sale of crown lands (E.121). Dr. Ian Gentles has asserted that the lists of debentures there 'constitute the closest approximation there is of a muster roll of the parliamentary Army in 1648'.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Kishlansky has contested this and has shown that there were a number of officers not in service in 1648 whose debentures are listed.<sup>2</sup> Some were members of Massey's Western army, others of the Northern forces and other provincial forces as well as members of the New Model army. Dr. Gentles says in his rejoinder that 'these men appear to have been the exception to the rule',<sup>3</sup> but there were a considerable number of them. Of the 26

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1. Ian Gentles, 'The Sales of Crown Lands during the English Revolution', Economic History Review 2nd Series XXVI (1973) p.621.
  2. Mark Kishlansky, 'The Sales of Crown Lands and the Spirit of the Revolution', Economic History Review 2nd series XXIX (1976) p.127.
  3. Ian Gentles, 'The Sales of Crown Lands: A Rejoinder', Economic History Review 2nd series XXIX (1976) p.131.

chaplains listed in E. 121 only 17 were to receive arrears of pay for service in the New Model army. Of these several served before mid-1647, for their commanding officers left the army in the summer of 1647.

The lists of debentures give no indication of when a chaplain's service took place, and the amount of arrears due is not necessarily an accurate guide to the length of service. The amount of arrears payable is comparable with that due to the junior officers, and ranges from £20 due to Thomas Close, chaplain to Okey's regiment of dragoons, to £350 due to Thomas Crompton, chaplain to the regiments of Sir Thomas and Sir William Fairfax and to Colonel Morgan.<sup>1</sup> These documents are a useful supplement to the pay warrants, for a number of chaplains' names appear here and nowhere else. Hugh Peter, the truth of whose testimony is hard to judge, claimed that he never 'had penny from any General, but lived in debt',<sup>2</sup> though he admitted to having been rewarded by Parliament for his service to the Earl of Essex and to Parliament with an estate which was later confiscated. In fact, he received the manor of Newenden, Kent for some £65 of arrears for service in Fairfax's train of artillery.<sup>3</sup> Joseph Salmon, later known as a Ranter, was paid arrears for his service in Ireton's regiment both as a soldier and as chaplain.<sup>4</sup>

The first parliamentary regiments were raised in July 1642. They were paid by warrant by Nicholas Bond, paymaster of the army,

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1. E. 121/1/1; E. 121/3/3.

2. Hugh Peter, A Dying Fathers Last Legacy to an Onely Child (London, 1684) p.103.

3. E. 121/2/11.

4. E. 121/3/4.



each warrant usually being made out for a whole regiment, enumerating its members. These show that many regiments lacked chaplains. The Earl of Essex, commander in chief of the army, began to sign warrants in early August 1642. By October 1642 separate warrants were being made out to individual officers, including chaplains, and to individual companies and troops. Similar warrants were signed by the Earl of Warwick and Sir William Waller, although there are not many of these, and, after January 1644, by the Earl of Manchester, for the Eastern Association. These warrants show that the printed army list dated December 1642, which names several chaplains, is actually for some time before November, for it mentions Sir John Merrick's regiment which was disbanded in November.<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of the war the normal rate of pay for a chaplain was eight shillings a day, in addition to which he generally received, on joining the army, a lump sum of twenty pounds. This was 'By way of advance for the providing of necessaries for his attendance'.<sup>2</sup> It seems to have been an ex gratia payment equivalent to a month's wages, rather than literally a month's pay in advance. This rate of pay,

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1. A List of the Army Raised under the command of his Excellency Robert Earl of Essex (London, 22 December 1642), also printed in The Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers, ed. Edward Peacock (London, 1874); Godfrey Davies, 'The Parliamentary Army under the Earl of Essex', Eng. Hist. Rev. 49 (1934) pp. 47-8.
  2. S.P. 28/1A/ f.213 (or f.197).

however, could not be sustained. By May 1643 chaplains were being paid by debentures.<sup>1</sup> These were presumably just promises of payment on the public faith rather than anything resembling the systematically issued certificates on delinquents' or crown lands of later years.

Some element of organisation was introduced by the ordinances of 20 January 1643/4 and of 26 March 1644. The first was for recruiting, maintaining and regulating the forces of the Eastern Association and included among the provisions the clause that all officers and specialist personnel, who were paid more than ten shillings a day, with the exception of the regimental ministers, were to receive half pay, and all officers whose pay was between five and ten shillings a day, two-thirds.<sup>2</sup> The same arrangement was made for Essex's officers, apparently without the exception of ministers, by the ordinance of 26 March 1644.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Calybutte Downing, S.P. 28/7/ f.144; Cornelius Burgess, S.P. 28/8/pt. II, f.100.

2. Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, ed. C. H. Firth and R.S.Rait (London, 1911) I pp.369-70; Clive Holmes, The Eastern Association in the English Civil War (Cambridge, 1974) p.143.

As given in Firth and Rait the ordinance does not contain the proviso about ministers and specialist personnel, and in any case, chaplains were paid less than ten shillings a day, though Dr. Holmes mentions the proviso.

3. Firth and Rait, op. cit.I 404.

Certificates promising repayment 'on the publique faith' when the war ended were issued for the respited sums, but some of these arrears seem to have been paid off at the disbanding of Essex's and Manchester's armies. Certainly chaplains in both armies were amongst those whose pay was respited, being paid at a rate of five shillings and fourpence a day.<sup>1</sup>

Chaplains in the early years of the war received an allowance of eight pence a day for a servant. To begin with this was paid to the chaplain, but after about 1644 the servant, if there was one, was paid with the ordinary soldiers, and seems often to have been one rather than someone brought along by the chaplain.<sup>2</sup> Chaplains were also provided with transport when with a marching army; some brought their own horses but they could be provided with either a horse or a waggon. The sums allowed for horses varied from six to thirteen pounds.<sup>3</sup> Twenty pounds seems to have been the standard rate for waggon money.

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1. Examples are George Burdett, minister of Colonel Tyrrell's regiment, and Oliver Calderwood, minister of Sir William Balfour's regiment, both in Essex's army, and Henry Feild, minister to Manchester's own regiment in the Eastern Association. [S.P. 28/18/pt. I, f. 54; S.P. 28/133/pt. III, f. 356; S.P. 28/15/pt. III, f. 266].
  2. William Dell, minister to Colonel Hobart's regiment and his man 'who serves in Quartermaster Generalls troope', [S.P. 28/24/pt. III, f. 360].
  3. S.P. 28/146/f. 147;  
S.P. 28/24/pt. III, f. 335;  
S.P. 28/147/pt. II, f. 299.

William Benn, chaplain to the Earl of Bedford's regiment, was allowed this in 1642,<sup>1</sup> and in 1643 the chaplain and surgeon of Skippon's regiment were allowed forty pounds for a waggon which they shared.<sup>2</sup> The only references to chaplains being armed suggest that they were not normally expected to carry arms but that if they wished to do so, they might provide their own. Colonel Henry Marten certified that Thomas Gilbert had attended his regiment as chaplain between April and August 1643 and had brought his own horse and arms,<sup>3</sup> and Patrick Levington, who was chaplain successively to the regiments of James Kerr and Hans Behre in 1643 and 1644, provided his own horse, arms and quartering.<sup>4</sup> Many accounts and receipts for billets for ordinary soldiers survive, but there seem to be none for chaplains, nor are there any records of the payment to them of billet money. As they were commonly classified as staff officers the same rules about billeting and free quarter presumably applied to both: that they should find their own quarters and pay for them, unless free quarter was in force.

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1. S.P. 28/3A/pt. III, f. 277.

2. S.P. 28/7/f. 8.

3. S.P. 28/47/pt. I, f. 24.

4. S.P. 28/22/pt. I, f. 47.

It was not usual for chaplains to carry arms, and the minister captured by Sir John Byron's royalist forces at Cirencester in 1643 who was armed 'back and brest with Sword and Pistolls' was a subject for comment.

[A Particular Relation of the Action before Cyrencester (London, 1642) p. 13] Oliver Calderwood, chaplain of Sir William Balfour's regiment, 'never had any free quarter wherewith the state can be charged, ever had either horse or Armes delivered him by the state, neither did hee or any other to his use levy or take any money or other goods of the Countrey.'

[S.P. 28/34/pt. IV, f. 465.]

New Model chaplains were paid by warrant in the same way as chaplains in earlier armies. Unfortunately there is nothing for the New Model army comparable to the treasurers' account books for Essex and Manchester's armies. Initially the majority of warrants were signed by Fairfax (from April 1645), but the committee for securing the £80,000 lent by the City of London, which was created in March 1645, also issued some. By October 1645, this committee seems to have become known by the name of one of its more active members, Robert Scawen, who was evidently a moving spirit until 1647 when it was reorganised, having disbanded a large number of garrisons. By early 1648 the new Army Committee seems to have taken over much of the financial administration of the army and issued an increasingly large number of warrants, whilst Fairfax issued fewer. By the Act of 17 April 1649 the committee took over the administration of garrisons from the county committees and by mid-1649 this had become its main function. This act appointed county commissioners in addition to the central government officials who administered army finance.<sup>1</sup> Cromwell and Bradshaw and the Council of State signed the pay warrants for the forces in Ireland. Fairfax and Lambert issued a few warrants for forces in England until June 1650, when Fairfax resigned as commander-in-chief. Cromwell signed most of the warrants for paying troops in Scotland, while Ireton and the Committee for Ireland (one of whose

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1. Firth and Rait, op. cit. II 63-5.

members was Colonel Hewson) issued them for the troops in Ireland.

New Model chaplains were evidently equipped with horses, but not with arms.<sup>1</sup> Each was probably still provided with a servant, although servants are not mentioned on the pay warrants. The servant was probably appointed from among the soldiers and paid with them. The rate of pay remained eight shillings a day. The New Model Ordinance of 17 February 1644/5 ordered that officers' pay should be respited on the same terms as laid down in earlier ordinances and no specific exemptions were mentioned.<sup>2</sup> On 5 March 1644/5, however, the House of Commons 'Ordered, That, notwithstanding any former Order, the Chaplains employed in this Army, upon the New Model, shall have the full Allowance as formerly, during the Time of their Employment'.<sup>3</sup> There is no reference to chaplains' pay being respited, as it had been by earlier ordinances. On the other hand their pay did run into arrears, since a number of chaplains' names appear on the debenture certificate lists. There appears to have been another payment made to chaplains, to which only one reference survives. In

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1. 'To Mr. Dell as a Gratuity from the Generall to by him a Horse having lost his own the 2nd of September 1646 £10.'  
[S.P. 28/140/pt. II, f.49.]
  2. Firth and Rait, op.cit. I 619.
  3. Commons Journals 5 March 1644/5.

Fairfax's Order Book, for 7 December 1649, the following note is recorded: 'Order to Col: Wetham to cause Capt. Pitson and others to pay their dues to ye Minister or to dismiss them ye Army'.<sup>1</sup> In Elizabethan armies chaplains were paid from a levy made on all soldiers in the regiment, but some time in the early seventeenth century the financial administration of the army took over the responsibility for paying them. It seems unlikely that any supplementary charge was made on the soldiers for the benefit of the chaplain since he was in a financially advantageous position, his pay exceeding that of many of the beneficed clergy.<sup>2</sup>

It is difficult to discover how much garrison chaplains were paid, since they were often paid for holding a local benefice or lectureship, or for each sermon given. Chaplains in some of the provincial armies often supplemented their incomes in this way, and some beneficed clergy supplemented their incomes with chaplaincies. Nathaniel Lancaster, chaplain to Sir William Brereton and the Cheshire regiment, and apparently simultaneously lecturer to the

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1. Fairfax's Order Book 1648-9, Clarke MS. 69 unfoliated, 7 December 1649.
  2. A chaplain's pay amounted to a hundred and forty-six pounds a year, although few chaplains spent more than two years in the army and they rarely received their pay in full. Any benefice which paid over a hundred pounds a year was considered a good living and some paid as little as twenty pounds a year.

garrison of Nantwich,<sup>1</sup> was paid twelve pounds for three months.<sup>2</sup> He also received various gratuities and had his board and lodging in Chester paid for by the city committee. The county committees, or the county treasurer in counties where military finance was administered separately, seem to have been responsible for paying chaplains, at least until 1649. Since, however, the committees were also responsible for supplementing deficiencies in the local parish clergy, the two jobs were often combined. After the fall of Chester to Parliament, the local committee paid for a number of godly divines to come to the city to preach. There were hardly any clergy there as the city had been held by the king's forces since the beginning of the war.<sup>3</sup> These men preached both to the local populace and to the garrison, hence there was no need to appoint a separate garrison chaplain. In spite of the vigilance of some local committees, many garrisons were not provided with chaplains. The garrison of Edgbaston under Colonel John Fox had no minister or surgeon in April 1646,<sup>4</sup> neither had the garrison at Warwick in November 1646.<sup>5</sup> The central government took note of this negligence. In 1649 the Council of State wrote to Colonel Whichcott, governor of Windsor castle:

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1. S.P. 28/30/pt. VII, f. 722.

2. S.P. 28/42/pt. VI, f. 698.

3. S.P. 28/39, 40, 41, 42, 144.

4. S.P. 28/123/pt. II, f. 294.

5. S.P. 28/123/pt. IV, ff. 607-8.



'We are informed that there are no sermons in the castle for the garrison and prisoners, and desire care may be taken for a supply; meantime we desire you to speak to Mr. Symons and Mr. Batchelor to preach there in turns.'<sup>1</sup>

Another instance of their concern occurs in May or June 1650 when a fast was ordered and chaplains or commanders were instructed to send in a report to army headquarters on its progress. Many of these reports simply said that the fast went well. Others mentioned the amount of drunkenness in the army, said that the Presbyterians would not join the fast, expressed sorrow at the lack of participation from the citizens in Exeter, and invoked God to destroy Babylon and Antichrist and to exalt Zion.<sup>2</sup>

Nowhere are the duties of a parliamentary army chaplain explicitly set out. Essex's Lawes and Ordinances of Warre<sup>3</sup> which was the only disciplinary code for the parliamentary forces during the civil war, says little. It contains injunctions against blasphemy, unlawful oaths, and scandalous acts and the penalties for absence from sermons and public prayers. The royalist ordinances are much more specific.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1649-50, p. 32.

2. Clarke MS. 18 unfoliated.

3. Lawes and Ordinances of Warre Established for the better Conduct of the Army by His Excellency the Earle of Essex (London, 1642).

4. Military Orders And Articles Established by His Majesty For the better Ordering and Government of His Majesties Army (Oxford, 1643).

'And that the service of Almighty God be not neglected, it is ordained, That there be a Chaplain appointed ~~for~~ every Regiment, who shall read Prayers orderly, and duly once every day whil'st they are in Leaguer, and shall Preach, or expound some place of Scripture, or Catechism once at least on every Sunday, and Holiday, in some such convenient place as the Colonell of the Regiment shall appoint, and by the sound of a Trumpet, or Drumme notice shall be given of the time, in such manner, as the whole Regiment may take notice thereof.'<sup>1</sup>

Penalties were set out for the chaplain who neglected his duties and the two chaplains at the general's headquarters were 'to take care that the Chaplaines of the particular Regiments carry themselves well and orderly, and performe their duties'.<sup>2</sup> These two chaplains were to be appointed by the king, the general or the lieutenant-general and the regimental chaplains by the king or the colonel of the regiment.<sup>3</sup> The organisation of chaplains in the Scottish armies was highly centralized. The first article laid down:

'That in everie Regiment under a Collonell, there bee an ecclesiasticall Eldership or Kirke Session, consisting of the Minister or Ministers of the Regiment, and of Elders to be chosen to that effect; who shall sit at their appointed times, and judge in all Kirke affaires, according to the word of God, and the rules and order of Discipline used in the Kirke of Scotland ..... And that all things bee done herein, as in every parosh in the time of peace .....'<sup>4</sup>

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1. ibid. p.3.

2. ibid.

3. ibid. p.4.

4. Articles of Militarie Discipline (Edinburgh, 1639).

The only analogous arrangement in the parliamentary forces was those regiments who considered themselves to constitute a gathered congregation,<sup>1</sup> but this was not part of official policy.

Most of the accounts of what chaplains did are by writers like Richard Baxter and Thomas Edwards, and in newspapers. They preached to their regiments, especially before and after engagements. They faced increasing competition from lay preaching, especially in the New Model army. This seems to have created a vicious circle. There was a shortage of chaplains, so laymen started to preach and the resulting spread of sectarianism discouraged ministers,<sup>2</sup> according to Richard Baxter, from joining the army as chaplains. The shortage of chaplains was common to all armies throughout the war. After 1648 there were no regimental chaplains in the New Model army in England. There were still chaplains at the army headquarters. Isaac Knight, one of the chaplains at headquarters, sent out letters of spiritual consolation to soldiers in garrisons at Wallingford and Oxford.<sup>3</sup>

Chaplains carried out many other tasks apart from their ministerial duties. The Westminster Assembly ceased to

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1. Reliquiae Baxterianae ed. M. Sylvester (London, 1696) I 51.

2. ibid.

3. Clarke MS. 18 unfoliated.

act as a rival attraction to New Model army chaplains as the number of Presbyterians declined. Few New Model chaplains held benefices or lectureships concurrently with their army appointments. Many chaplains acted as confidential agents to their commanders. Edwards Bowles took the news of the victory at Naseby to Parliament,<sup>1</sup> Robert Stapylton brought news of the battle of Worcester,<sup>2</sup> and Hugh Peter the news of the fall of Bridgewater, amongst many other letters.<sup>3</sup> Often the bearer of such letters was entrusted with verbal instructions as well, as Fairfax's words show:

'Besides the general Account I have already given by One of my Servants whom I sent up to London Yesterday, I thought fit to send this Bearer Mr. Boles, who may more particularly inform you'.<sup>4</sup>

Messengers carrying good news were often granted substantial sums of money by Parliament as a reward. They also commonly took messages, and, occasionally, money from Parliament and the Council of State back to the army. Robert Stapylton

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1. Lords Journals 16 June 1645.
  2. Commons Journals 5 September 1651; Bulstrode Whitelocke, Memorials of the English Affairs (Oxford, 1853) III 345-6.
  3. Sir Thomas Fairfax's Letter To ..... William Lenthall ... of all the Particulars concerning the taking of Bridgewater (London, 1645) p.4.
  4. Lords Journals 16 June 1645.

received Cromwell's pay on his behalf in May 1649.<sup>1</sup>

Some chaplains even published their own newsletters, as did Simeon Ashe and William Goode, Thomas Case and Edward Bowles. Few chaplains seem to have taken on public responsibilities outside their ministerial work, though Robert Fogg signed the articles of surrender at Ruthin Castle in April 1646.<sup>2</sup> Robert Stapleton acted for Cromwell in a less public matter in the negotiations for the marriage between Richard Cromwell and Dorothy Mayor.<sup>3</sup> Hugh Peter, of course, was famous for his public political involvement, but one reason for his notoriety was that no other chaplain acted in this way.

Garrisons and provincial army chaplains also carried out a wide variety of tasks. The correspondence between Sir Samuel Luke, governor of Newport Pagnell, and his chaplain Thomas Ford shows this clearly. Ford preached at various places outside the garrison, carried messages for Luke, and kept a watchful eye on the garrison in Luke's absence. He also gave advice on the appointment of ministers to local benefices.<sup>4</sup> John Bryan, rector of Coventry and

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1. S.P. 28/60/pt.I, f.660.

2. Three Victories in Wales ..... And a Coppy of the Articles for the Surrender of Ruthen Castle to Major Generall Mitton, (London, 1646).

3. Thomas Carlyle, The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, ed. S.C.Lomas (London, 1904) I pp. 418, 420.

4. 'The Letter books of Sir Samuel Luke', ed. H. Tibbutt, Bedfordshire Historical Record Society 42 (1963) pp. 341-2, 327, 417, 423.

minister to Warwick garrison, was paymaster to the garrison. He gave evidence at the enquiry about whether Major Bridges, then governor of Warwick, had embezzled a quantity of goods stored in the castle after Edgehill. He petitioned Parliament for the relief of soldiers wounded at Edgehill and sent to Warwick, and tried to pacify the soldiers in the garrison after one of them was accidentally killed at a muster of the militia.<sup>1</sup> John Warr, chaplain to Colonel Edward Pritchard's regiment in the garrison of Cardiff, was probably also one of the principal agents for the sale of crown lands and the legal reformer.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the accounts of chaplains who held military rank, or who fought in battle, occur before 1645. Samuel Kemme and Francis Cheynell acted simultaneously as field officers and chaplains,<sup>3</sup> and Hugh Peter is apparently the Mr. Peters whose business in October 1649 in respect of his regiment was referred to the Irish Committee, and who was given some of the recruits already raised to avoid further charge.<sup>4</sup> Henry Denne was a Baptist minister who became

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1. S.P. 28/33/pt. IV, f. 457-8;  
S.P. 28/36/pt. III, f. 254-6;  
Commons Journals 31 July 1643;  
Mercurius Aulicus 21<sup>st</sup> week, 24 May 1643, pp. 276-7.

2. Ian Gentles, 'The Sales of Crown Lands during the English Revolution', Economic History Review 2nd series XXVI (1973) pp. 626-7; Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down (London, 1972) ch. 12.

3. D.N.B. 'Samuel Kemme' and 'Francis Cheynell'.

4. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1649-50, p. 349.

a cornet in one of the New Model regiments,<sup>1</sup> and Paul Hobson, major of Hesilrige's regiment when it was garrisoning Newcastle, assumed substantial pastoral duties: having started as a soldier-preacher he left the army to work full time as a Baptist minister.<sup>2</sup> Joseph Salmon, probably the future Ranter, received arrears for his service in Ireton's regiment as a soldier and as chaplain.<sup>3</sup> George Downing, the scout-master general to the army, was the chaplain of Okey's and then Hesilrige's regiments.<sup>4</sup> A number of contemporary accounts suggest that this combination of duties was considered possible. No specific references survive to chaplains acting as schoolmasters, but it is likely that they did fulfil some sort of educational function.

Chaplains, like other officers, received commissions from the general on their appointments to regiments. They were in an anomalous position in the army for they were not part of the hierarchy of officers, yet they had no ecclesiastical superior inside or outside the army. It is probable that colonels were responsible for appointing their own chaplains, sometimes on recommendations from the Westminster Assembly, a provincial assembly, or classis. Ordinances for impressment expressly excluded clergy and students of the universities, so it was presumably impossible to impress

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1. D.N.B. 'Henry Denne.'

2. Roger Howell, Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution (Oxford, 1967) pp. 248-9.

3. E.121/3/4.

4. D.N.B. 'George Downing.'

men as chaplains.<sup>1</sup> Baxter, writing of how the increasing number of sectaries made people averse to joining the army as chaplains, added 'I believe now they had little Invitation'.<sup>2</sup> This suggests that colonels had to invite people to join as chaplains and often failed to do so. The appointment seems to have been a personal one, for few chaplains continued to serve with regiments after the colonel who had appointed them had left and rarely even switched armies with their colonels. In the early years of the war in Essex's army and throughout the war in the provincial forces, colonels seem to have appointed chaplains with whom they had some personal connection. This was much more rarely the case in the New Model army.

The connections between a colonel's views and his chaplain's seem to be very complicated. Colonels do not usually seem to have looked for chaplains who shared their own precise theological position, nor do they seem to have looked for chaplains who would combat religious opinions to which they were unsympathetic (like Presbyterianism or sectarianism). Thus it is uncommon to find a chaplain reflecting his colonel's religious eccentricities. Instead, colonels seem to have chosen chaplains whose views reflected the prevailing ethos. What chaplains were really being called upon to do was to justify a civil war and to strengthen the morale

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1. Ordinance . . . . . for Raising an Army of Horse and Foot, 12 July 1644  
(London, 1644) p. 11; Commons Journals 23 Feb. 1643/4.

2. Reliquiae Baxterianae, ed. M. Sylvester (London, 1696) I 51.



of the troops to participate in it. They were not called upon to instill revolutionary fervour into the troops and to this extent the analogy between chaplains and commissars in the Red Army is inappropriate. Hence in Essex's army most chaplains were middle-of-the-road Presbyterians and in the New Model most were moderate Independents. Chaplains who wanted to criticise the army command, either for their religious views or for their political views, did so after leaving the army. In the rest of this chapter the process by which chaplains were appointed in the different armies will be examined and in the succeeding chapters the consequences of those appointments will be discussed.

There appears to have been no special mechanism for appointing chaplains to the armies of Essex, Manchester and Waller. Many of the colonels who raised regiments and troops in 1642 had been prominent in the parliamentary opposition to the king. They chose chaplains, often from London where the major part of Essex's army was raised, who had been conspicuous for their opposition to the Laudian innovations. Several of the chaplains appointed had preached parliamentary fast sermons or sermons at the Artillery Garden or to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London. The colonels seem to have made their appointments in a spirit similar to that in which they would have acted as lay patrons to clerical benefices, something which many of them had already done. Few of these early chaplains remained for long with the army. Many of them served with

regiments which were dispersed early in the war or amalgamated with others and whose colonels left. Most of them had the distraction of benefices and lectureships and membership of the Westminster Assembly. They were replaced by less well known divines, of similar qualifications, most of whom were Presbyterians. Many of the chaplains who served in Manchester's army were from East Anglia and held benefices there. They seem to have been selected from the local clergy in a similar fashion to chaplains in the provincial forces. Several of the Scots colonels in Essex's and Manchester's armies had Scots chaplains, but it is impossible to discover how they acquired them: whether they brought chaplains with them or had chaplains recommended by the General Assembly of the Kirk.

Two chaplains from Essex's army served in the New Model army in England (Edward Bowles and William Erbury) and two from Manchester's (William Dell and William Cook). But none of them served with the same regiment continuously. William Dell, for example, was chaplain to Sir Miles Hobart's regiment in Essex's army. At the formation of the New Model army men from the regiment were drafted into the regiments of Hammond and Skippon, and Dell became Fairfax's chaplain. None of the Scots ministers who had served in Essex's and Manchester's armies joined the New Model.

The arrangements for appointing chaplains to the New Model army seem to have remained as before: the choice of

the colonel, commissioned by the general. However in setting up the army the House of Commons, mindful of the shortage of chaplains, resolved in March 1645

'That it be recommended to the Assembly of Divines, to present the Names of some godly and learned Ministers to Sir Thomas Fairfaxe, and that he may thereby be the better enabled to furnish his Army with able and godly Ministers'.<sup>1</sup>

The Assembly considered the question on 21 March and on 21 April ordered three members to speak with Sir Robert Harley on the matter, but it is not known who, if anyone, was recommended by these means.<sup>2</sup> In May 1645 'twelve able Schollers' were ordained ministers 'to supply the defect of Ministers in the Army, and to enlighten some blind and ignorant places of this Kingdome with the beauty of the Gospell of Truth'.<sup>3</sup> It seems probable that more of these ministers went to blind and ignorant places than joined the army. Richard Baxter wrote of how he 'sent abroad to get some more Ministers among them [the soldiers], but I could get none'.<sup>4</sup> Most of those colonels who left the army in the summer of 1647 took their chaplains with them.

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1. Commons Journals 21 March 1644/5.

2. Minutes of the Westminster Assembly, ed. A. Mitchell and J. Struthers (London, 1874) pp.71, 83.

3. A Diary or an Exact Journal, No. 54, 22-29 May 1645.

4. Reliquiae Baxterianae, ed. M. Sylvester (London, 1696) I 56.

In January 1648 the Council of the Army intervened in the appointment of ministers:

'The Councell of the Army having information of the willingnesse and readynesse of divers godlye men of the ministry to bestowe theyr paynes to preach the gospell of Christ in ye Armye, it was resolved by ye Councell that some of them whose heart's god should most incline to that worke should bee desired to come to the Army for that purpose and bee assured frō the Councell of all Incouragement thereto and good Acceptance of theyr paynes therein'.<sup>1</sup>

This recommendation, in the event, had little effect, since of the twelve ministers named, only Mr. Salloway and Mr. Caryll had any subsequent connection with the army, although Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye and Mr. Strong had all preached at Whitehall.<sup>2</sup> In July 1649 four officers wrote to Fairfax petitioning

'That a Chapline may be Allowed<sup>to</sup> this Devission. That an allowance of pay may be granted to the Staffe Officers of this Devission, Their being not any allowance in the warrants from the Committee for them .....'<sup>3</sup>

By May 1650, however,

'The committee which meets with the army officers [S] to ascertain what regiments want ministers, and what have them, and who they are, and to let them know that 8s. a day is allowed to them; they are to confer with Mr. Carrill, Greenhill, Carter un, Nye, Bond and Owen, as to finding persons to supply those regiments who want ministers.'<sup>4</sup>

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1. Clarke MS. 110 unfoliated, 9 Jan. 1647/8

2. Mercurius Elencticus no. 8, 12-19 January 1647/8, p. 59.

3. S.P. 28/61/pt. II, f. 386.

4. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1650, p. 171.

And in 1652 the Council of State wrote to Colonel Wetham to disband four soldiers at Portsmouth garrison, and with the money arising 'to entertain such person as he shall think fit to be chaplain there'.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the chaplains who served in Ireland before 1649 appear to have had some previous connection with Ireland. Only two chaplains actually accompanied Cromwell's expedition in 1649, Robert Stapylton and John Owen. Both seem to have been appointed by Cromwell personally. Owen was probably taken because of his wider interests in religious and educational reform. On his return to England in February 1649/50 he was active in pleading for more preachers and for better ecclesiastical administration in Ireland. 'I would there were for the present one gospel preacher for every walled town in English possession in Ireland'.<sup>2</sup> Owen's hope implies that army chaplains in Ireland preached to the soldiers and ministered to the Protestant English settlers. The only people who went to Ireland in 1649 who were already serving as chaplains were Robert Stapylton and Jenkin Lloyd, both chaplains to Cromwell. It has already been stated that it was uncommon for chaplains to transfer from one colonel to another, or from one regiment to another. The chaplains who went to Ireland in 1649 were no exception to this. This was partly because very few of the New Model regiments which were transported to Ireland were unchanged in their composition. Indeed there seem to have been more changes in the regiments

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1. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1651-2, p.300.

2. R. Glynn Lloyd, John Owen: Commonwealth Puritan (Pontypridd, 1972) p.68.

which went to Ireland than in those which went to Scotland. It is also possible that there was a conscious search for a different kind of chaplain to serve in Ireland, because of the particular circumstances of service there.

Service in Scotland seems to have been seen much more as an extension of service in England than was service in Ireland. Only two chaplains already in the army accompanied the army to Ireland in 1649, whilst six went with their regiments to Scotland in 1650.<sup>1</sup> The Scottish expedition does not seem to have resulted in much reorganisation of regiments. The Council of State resolved on 20 June 1650 that some ministers be appointed to go with the marching army and that encouragement be given them to go.<sup>2</sup> In 1653 a group of chaplains received arrears for their service in Scotland between 20 May 1650 and 20 October 1651 and the majority did not serve as chaplains anywhere else.<sup>3</sup> In September 1650, however, the Irish Committee sent for Messrs Owen, Caryl, and other such ministers as they thought fit, to confer with them as to the possibility of going to Scotland at Cromwell's desire. After further meetings, and a request from Parliament, Caryl and Owen seem to have gone, but Edward Bowles, who was proposed as the third, did not.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Burdett, Coventry, George Downing, Oates, Smallwood, Stapylton.
  2. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1650, p.210.
  3. Bell, Briscoe, Coventry, Eaton, Freer, Gibbs, Ives, Ramsbotton, Roote, Saunders, Smallwood. [S.P. 28/94].
  4. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1650, pp.336, 348, 591; Commons Journals 13 September 1650; Weekly Intelligencer of the Commonwealth no.2, 31 December-7 January 1650/1; Cal. S.P. Dom. 1651, p.74.

Appointments of chaplains in the provincial forces seem to have been made by colonels and governors of garrisons, sometimes with the intervention of the county committee. William Pairtree, preacher to the garrison of Nantwich under Brereton's command and one of the peripatetic preachers authorised by the Cheshire deputy lieutenants, was paid by warrant from Brereton.<sup>1</sup> Baxter refers to Mr. Aspinall holding a commission from the Earl of Essex as chaplain to the garrison of Coventry, and not being used because the governor and committee there disapproved of him.<sup>2</sup> Many chaplains in the provincial forces seem to have had a local connection before becoming chaplains which would suggest that proximity was an important factor in their being appointed. It is possible, however, to over-emphasise this. In cases where there is difficulty identifying a chaplain there is a tendency to assume that the person with the strongest local connection is the chaplain concerned. Mr. Levett, for example, chaplain to Colonel Waite's troop in Rutland, has been identified as the rector of Ashwell, Rutland because he was the only person called Levett who had any conceivable connection with the army chaplain. Undoubtedly a large number of provincial army chaplains were recruited from the local clergy.

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1. J. S. Morrill, Cheshire 1630-1660 (Oxford, 1974) p.167; S.P. 28/30/pt.VII f.122.

2. Reliquiae Baxterianae, ed. M. Sylvester (London, 1696) 1pp. 43-4.

Chaplains, then, were the personal appointees of their colonels. Wholesale changes amongst the colonels (such as took place with the Self Denying Ordinance and in the summer of 1647) resulted in wholesale changes amongst the chaplains. The strength of this personal link varied. In the regiments raised early in the war and in the provincial forces this link was strong. Chaplains were either known opponents of the Laudian innovations or ministers in benefices in the area where the regiment was raised. This personal link was less strong in regiments in the later years of Essex's army and in the New Model army. Generals, however, seem often to have developed a close relationship with their chaplains and to have used them as confidential agents. Those chaplains who served at headquarters seem, consequently, to have served for longer periods than those who served with regiments, whose brief periods of service meant that there was a constant shortage of chaplains.



## CHAPTER III

CHAPLAINS IN THE ARMIES OF ESSEX,  
MANCHESTER AND WALLER

In this chapter chaplains in the armies raised by Parliament under the commands of the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Manchester and Sir William Waller will be examined. The principal army was that commanded by Essex, although by 1643 it was outnumbered by each of the armies of Manchester, Waller and Fairfax (the Northern army).<sup>1</sup> The county militia forces raised by the lieutenancy and, later, by the county committees, and the provincial armies which did not go to make up the New Model army will be discussed in the following chapter.

The Earl of Essex was appointed commander in chief of the armies under the control of Parliament on 12 July 1642. He took over four of the five regiments raised under Philip Lord Wharton and financed by the Adventurers for Irish land which were to have been sent to protect the Protestants in Ireland. It appears that the king did not trust the officers of this force sufficiently to give them commissions to go to Ireland

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1. J.S. Morrill, The Revolt of the Provinces (London, 1976) p.60.

and they were ordered to serve Parliament in England for the time being.<sup>1</sup> Further regiments were raised, consisting of volunteers, mainly from London.<sup>2</sup> By 1643, however, most recruiting was by impressment, since it had become increasingly hard to find volunteers, especially as the growing provincial armies took up more men.<sup>3</sup> This had the effect of reducing the local affiliations of individual regiments in Essex's army.

Many of those who raised regiments under Essex in July and August 1642 had been prominent in the parliamentary opposition to the king (Lord Brooke, the Earl of Essex, Lord St. John, Denzil Holles and John Hampden for example). A number of their regiments were dispersed at Edgehill in October and were not reformed. Several colonels died and some retired. Of those who retired some withdrew from the fighting altogether and others, like the Earls of Bedford and Peterborough, joined the royalists. New regiments were raised incorporating some of the men

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1. Karl S. Bottigheimer, English Money and Irish Land (Oxford, 1971) pp. 80-1;  
Hugh Hazlett, 'A History of the Military Forces operating in Ireland 1641-49' (Queen's University Belfast, Ph.D. thesis, 1938) II pp.200-202.
  2. Brian Manning, The English People and the English Revolution (London, 1978) p.216.
  3. Godfrey Davies, 'The Parliamentary Army under the Earl of Essex', Eng. Hist. Rev. 49 (1934) pp.35, 41.

from the disbanded and dispersed regiments and some new recruits. The new commanders had been less prominent in the pre-war opposition to the king. Some of them had started their army careers as junior officers in other regiments. Few of them were members of either house of Parliament. It would be wrong to see this as the professionalisation of the army, but there is no doubt that the early defeats of the parliamentary forces led to the appointment of a different kind of officer. This was partly the result of the defection of those less committed to the parliamentary cause and, perhaps, a recognition of the fact that high social rank alone was not a sufficient qualification for commanding men in a sustained war.

Many of the chaplains who were appointed to Essex's army in 1642 were well-known London divines. Some had been associated in some other capacity with their colonels (like William Spurstowe and John Hampden).<sup>1</sup> Some were well-known opponents of the ecclesiastical policies of Charles I and Archbishop Laud (like the Smectymnuans, Stephen Marshall and William Spurstowe). Most of these men were in favour of a Presbyterian church polity and were opposed to the independent congregations of the separatists. Few of the chaplains appointed in the first months of the war served after the spring of 1643. The possible reasons for this were the general instability of the composition of the army, the need for many chaplains to return home to their benefices and lectureships,

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1. For a list of these chaplains see Table I, Appendix I.

and the need for a number of them to attend the meetings of the Westminster Assembly. When men like Cornelius Burgess, Calybutte Downing, Stephen Marshall, Obadiah Sedgwick and William Spurstowe had left the army, they were replaced by men less well known for their opposition to Laudian reforms.<sup>1</sup> It became impossible for clergy active in national ecclesiastical affairs to be members of the army because of the need for their presence in London. Some of them must, too, have perceived that the future would be determined by the settlement reached by Parliament and the Westminster Assembly, rather than by a military victory by the army.

The men who served as chaplains in the early months and years of the war were not Independents, nor is this surprising. Nor did any subsequently become Independents or join the sects. This was almost certainly a consequence of the way in which they were selected. Colonels looked for men with conventional ministerial qualifications. It was not until later in the war that people who had previously been disqualified from benefices or lectureships, or had refused to comply with the tests, or who had emigrated to escape those difficulties, began to be appointed to chaplaincies.<sup>2</sup> Robert Baillie noted that no

1. They were also not always replaced for the number of chaplains in Essex's army fell each year from 1642 on. [See Table XIII A, Appendix I]
2. As can be seen from Table XIII A, Appendix I the proportion of Presbyterian chaplains in Essex's army fell from 50% in 1642 to 33% in 1645 and the proportion of Independent chaplains rose from 12% in 1642 to 33% in 1645.

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Independents were 'settled ministers' and it was ordained ministers who became chaplains at the start of the war. The Earl of Essex went to considerable trouble to keep himself and <sup>own</sup> his/regiments supplied with chaplains, and he appointed several relatively little known divines. Stephen Marshall was chaplain to his foot regiment in 1642-3 and Cornelius Burgess and Samuel Wells were both chaplains to his regiment of horse in 1642-3 and 1644 respectively. Robert Balsome was chaplain to Essex's train. This refers not to the train of artillery, which had its own chaplain, Thomas Twisse, but to Essex's entourage which consisted of people whose job it was to service the whole army: the scout-master general, commissary-general, physician-general and so forth. Samuel Kemme is simply described as having put his living into the hands of a curate and joined the army <sup>2</sup> as chaplain to the Earl of Essex. This may just be an imprecise way of saying that he joined Essex's army.

There were some Scottish officers in Essex's army, like Sir William Balfour. They do not seem to have been such a source of tension as those who served in Manchester's army undoubtedly were. This may have been because there were no organised Independents to confront them. Serjeant Major Kirle, who had served in Stamford's regiment and then

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1. Robert Baillie, Letters and Journals, ed. D. Laing, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1841-2) II 192.

2. Anthony Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, ed. P. Bliss (London, 1817) III pp.907-9.

joined the royalists wrote that John Sedgwick had

'moved me to that reflection upon my self , which set me since in the right way; not by his perswasions or conversion ..... but by the spirit ..... of fury and madnesse; he revealed the misery of this warre ..... and shewed us the kernell (Atheisme, Anarchy, arbytrary government and confusion) what was meant else by his sawcy and impertinent talking to God Almighty,whom he seemed rather to command then intreat'.<sup>1</sup>

So even in the earliest months of the war there were people in Essex's army whom some regarded as religious extremists.

Few of the chaplains who joined Essex's army in the early months of the war stayed with it for long. Richard Baxter wrote:

'When the Earl of Essex went out first, each Regiment had an able Preacher, but at Edg-hill Fight almost all of them went home, and as the Sectaries increased, they were the more averse to go into the Army: It is true, that I believe now they had little Invitation'.<sup>2</sup>

This statement is borne out by looking at the subsequent careers of the chaplains named in the list of the army published in August or September 1642.<sup>3</sup> Not all the regiments had chaplains, but of the twelve chaplains named,

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1. A Coppy of a Letter Writ from Serjeant Major Kirle, to a Friend in Windsor (London, 1642) p.2.

2. Reliquiae Baxterianae, ed. M. Sylvester (London, 1696) I 51.

3. 'A List of the Army Raised under the command of his Excellency Robert Earl of Essex', in The Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers, ed. Edward Peacock (London, 1874).

none was still serving with his original regiment by October 1643. Of the twelve regiments in which these chaplains served, only five survived to be incorporated into the New Model army. Of the five, two were Essex's own regiments, and two had had two changes of colonel each between August 1642 and April 1645. This demonstrates how little continuity of personnel at this level there was in Essex's army.<sup>1</sup> All those named as chaplains held benefices at the time of their appointments and had apparently made no provision for prolonged absences. Six of the twelve chaplains were members of the Westminster Assembly whose meetings began in earnest in July 1643.

Clive Holmes, both in his thesis and in his book, gives a full account of the organisation of the Eastern Association which will not be repeated here.<sup>2</sup> It is sufficient to say that the army was formed in February 1642/3 under Lord Grey of Warke. It was then reorganised, after a somewhat unsuccessful campaign, with the Earl of Manchester as Major-General.<sup>3</sup> The army

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1. Godfrey Davies, 'The Parliamentary Army under the Earl of Essex', Eng. Hist. Rev. 49 (1934) pp. 47-8.
  2. Clive Holmes, 'The Eastern Association 1642-6' (Cambridge University Ph.D. thesis, 1969); Clive Holmes, The Eastern Association in the English Civil War (Cambridge, 1974).
  3. Clive Holmes, The Eastern Association in the English Civil War (Cambridge, 1974) pp. 69, 94.

was administered by the committee of the Eastern Association sitting at Cambridge. It was again reorganised in 1644-5 as a result of the decline in the number of troops. Like Essex's army it consisted of a nucleus of volunteers made up with impressed men.<sup>1</sup> But unlike Essex's it had no pretensions to being a national army.

To some extent the generalisations/<sup>made</sup>about the religious character of Essex's army apply to the army of the Eastern Association. However, the religious extremes in Manchester's army were a source of overt tension in a way which they were not in Essex's army. Cromwell's disputes with both Manchester and Crawford were in part based upon their religious differences.<sup>2</sup> There were more Scottish officers in Manchester's army than in Essex's and thus a clearer party in favour of Scottish-type Presbyterianism. On the other hand there was undoubtedly an identifiable Independent party in Manchester's army by the summer of 1644, although it is hard to assess how influential it was because the most detailed descriptions of it were all by hostile critics. On 9 May 1644 Robert Baillie wrote 'their partie is very strong and growing, especiallie in the armies'.<sup>3</sup> Some days later he wrote:

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1. ibid. ch.8.

2. Clive Holmes, The Eastern Association in the English Civil War (Cambridge, 1974) p.147.

3. Robert Baillie, op.cit. II 177.



'We are advertised, that much more than the most part of my Lord Manchester's armie are seduced to Independencie, and very many of them have added 1 either Anabaptisme or Antinomianisme, or both'.

And at the end of the month he wrote

'The Independents ~~has~~ (sic) no considerable power, either in Assemblie or Parliament, or the Generall [Essex's] or Waller's army; but in the city and countrie, and Manchester's army, their strength is great and growing'.<sup>2</sup>

By July 1644 he had definitely identified Cromwell with the Independent party.<sup>3</sup> But it seems to have been the conflict between Manchester and Cromwell which drew attention to an influential group of Independents in Manchester's army. An opponent of Cromwell wrote in December 1644 that

'Coll. Cromwell raysing of his regiment makes choyce of his officers, not such as weare souldiers or men of estate, but such as were common men, pore and of meane parentage, onely he would give them the title of godly pretious men;.....If you looke upon his owne regiment of horse see what a swarme ther is of thos that call themselves the godly; some of them profess 4 they have sene vissions and have had revellations'.

This same commentator mentions that the regiments of Fleetwood, Montague, Pickering, Rainsborough and Russell contained

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1. ibid. II 185.

2. ibid. II 186.

3. ibid. II 203.

4. Documents Relating to the Quarrel between the Earl of Manchester and Oliver Cromwell, ed. John Bruce and David Masson (Camden Society, 1875) p.72.

many Independents.<sup>1</sup> Only two of the chaplains to these regiments at this time can be identified (Mr. Booles and William Reading) neither of whom was conspicuous for his radicalism, although several of these colonels appointed radical chaplains in the New Model army. It can be seen from Table XIII B (Appendix I) that Manchester's army actually contained a smaller proportion of Independent chaplains than Essex's army and, in 1644 and 1645, a higher proportion of Presbyterians. This is partly accounted for by the Scots Presbyterians, but also by the fact that chaplains to Eastern Association regiments continued to be recruited from the beneficed clergy and lecturers of East Anglia. The Eastern Association seems also to have employed local clergy to give occasional sermons to the army for there are a number of payments by the committee at Cambridge to ministers for individual sermons.

The precise opinions of the Independents and sectaries who made up Cromwell's party cannot be identified, but they were seen as being more radical than most people in Essex's army and more so than the consensus of the Westminster Assembly. Previously all that seems to have been observed was an occasional incident involving religious radicals. The quarrel between Manchester and Cromwell pin-pointed a party, and a party which seemed to be trying hard to establish their will over those with more moderate views in the army. Curiously enough, Cromwell's attempt at a reconciliation with Manchester involved one of the chaplains. Sir Samuel Luke wrote:

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1. ibid. pp. 72-3.

'Cromwell makes all the means he can to reconcile himself to the Earl of Manchester and his faction intend this Winter to have their wills of Crawford. I believe his chiefest aim in the reconciliation is to that purpose also, though his wisdom may conceal it. He has sent Mr Dell home and said if the Synod would not think he jeered them, he would send to them for a minister and any should be acceptable so he was learned and pious.' 1

Otherwise the quarrel scarcely involved chaplains at all.

During the period 1643-1645 Sir William Waller commanded two different armies. He began by commanding a regiment under Essex, but in February 1642/3 he was appointed Major-General in the West and led an army raised from the Associated Western counties. This was routed at Roundway Down in July 1643. During the summer of 1643 various attempts were made to give him command of a new force. These were delayed by Essex, apparently afraid of Waller as a rival, and by Waller's refusal to confine his choice of officers to godly men only.<sup>2</sup> He rejoined the field with an army whose nucleus was raised from London, made up with forces from the newly associated South-Eastern counties.<sup>3</sup> This army, like that of the Eastern Association, was to come under Essex's command.<sup>4</sup>

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1. 'The letter books of Sir Samuel Luke', ed. H. Tibbitt, Bedfordshire Historical Record Society 42 (1963) p.89.

2. John Adair, Roundhead General (London, 1969) pp.106-7.

3. ibid. p.113; Gardiner, Civil War, I, 250.

4. J.S. Morrill, The Revolt of the Provinces (London, 1976) p.62.

However, by the winter of 1644 this army had more or less disintegrated, and Waller assumed command of some forces in the West to meet the immediate royalist threat there.<sup>1</sup> Once this threat had been met and the royalists had decided not to pursue their campaign in the West, Waller surrendered his command under the terms of the Self-Denying Ordinance.<sup>2</sup> The regiments in his army were dispersed and were used as a reservoir of soldiers to fill up regiments in the New Model army and in Massey's Western forces.

Waller is normally identified as a Presbyterian, partly because of his later political affiliations, but he was, in the end, more interested in military efficiency than in religious differences. His opposition to the requirement to appoint godly officers seems to have been more an objection to outside interference in his military appointments than a Presbyterian's opposition to the Independents who originally proposed this. There is, therefore, little profit in generalising about the religious character of Waller's army. Waller provided no leadership in this respect. Only one of his own regimental chaplains is known by name, Thomas Jackson, appointed chaplains of his regiment of horse in September 1642. It is not even known whether Jackson actually

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1. John Adair, op.cit. pp. 167-8

2. ibid. p.183.

took up his appointment. None of the other chaplains known to have served in Waller's forces was either controversial or distinguished. None of his armies lasted long enough to have taken on a strong religious character without determined direction from the top, which Waller did not provide. Nor do the officers in them seem to have followed any particular religious line. Waller's army was in this respect more like the other provincial forces than like the armies of Essex or Manchester.

Sixty-eight chaplains who served in the armies of Essex, Manchester and Waller can be identified.<sup>1</sup> Of 16 chaplains nothing further is known. Of the 68, 41 served in Essex's army, 15 in Manchester's and one in Waller's. A further 3 served in both Essex's and Manchester's armies and 2 in Essex's and Waller's. The majority (38) were ordained in the established church before 1642 and all but one of these had been to university. 37 had held benefices or lectureships before their army service. 16 of the chaplains had been in trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities before 1642 of whom 14 were beneficed. Their offences ranged from refusing to read the Book of Sports (Simeon Ashe), to renouncing their episcopal ordination and declaring for separation from the established church (Hanserd Knollys). As the war continued a smaller proportion of chaplains were episcopally ordained because

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1. See Table 1 Appendix I. John and William Vinter/Winter may be the same person.

people were coming into the army who were too young to have been ordained before 1642 or had refused episcopal ordination.

The majority of chaplains (33) were Presbyterian, but Presbyterian in the widest sense.<sup>1</sup> They supported the aims of the Westminster Assembly, of which 11 chaplains were members, but their views spanned a range between those of Cornelius Burgess (who opposed the Covenant because it would mean breaking with the episcopalians) to those of John Bachelor and John Oxenbridge (who were close to Independency). Edward Bowles and Stephen Marshall were, in a broad sense, Presbyterians. They found as much favour with the governments of the 1650s as they had with that of the 1640s. There were also Scottish Presbyterian chaplains like Mr. Crauford and Oliver Calderwood, who served in regiments commanded by Scottish officers. There were 8 Independent chaplains, all but one of whom had been beneficed and had fairly conventional clerical careers before 1642. Indeed there is little to distinguish them from the other chaplains in the early months of the war. Three Independent chaplains became well-known for their radicalism (William Dell, William Erbury and William Sedgwick) but not until after their service in Essex's, Manchester's or Waller's forces was over. Hanserd Knollys was the only Baptist chaplain in any of the three armies, but he left Manchester's army because 'I did perceive the Commanders sought their own things more

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1. See Table 1 Appendix I.

than the Cause of God and his People, breaking their Vows and solemn Engagements'.<sup>1</sup>

A number of the chaplains who served in the armies of Essex and Manchester went on to serve in the New Model army<sup>2</sup> or in the provincial forces.<sup>3</sup> Those who joined the New Model were rarely militant Presbyterians. Those who were Presbyterians usually served under Presbyterian colonels. The more strongly Presbyterian chaplains who served in later armies served either in provincial forces or in Scotland.

This chapter has been more concerned with the armies of Essex and Manchester than with Waller's because there is more surviving material for them and more of their chaplains can be identified. In none of the three armies was there an adequate supply of chaplains, and the shortage became worse as those who had joined in an initial flush

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1. The Life and Death of.....Mr. Hanserd Knollys.....  
Written with his own Hand to the year 1672 and continued  
in General, in an Epistle by Mr. William Kiffin (London,  
1692) p.20.
  2. Edward Bowles (Fairfax's regiment), Burdett (Lilburne's in Scotland), William Cooke (assistant to Baxter in Whalley's regiment), William Dell (Fairfax's), William Erbury (Ingoldsby's), William Goode (Cromwell's in Scotland), Thomas Twisse (forces in Scotland).
  3. John Bachelor (Windsor Castle garrison), Francis Cheynell (Sussex), Robert Fogg (Mitton's regiment), Samuel Kemme (preaching to own regiment and the forces round Newcastle), William Sedgwick (Wisbech and Ely garrisons), Tucker (Dorset).

of enthusiasm returned to their benefices and lectureships and went to the Westminster Assembly and were not replaced. Furthermore with the ejection of royalist ministers from 1643 there were many vacant benefices. Clergy could either improve upon a benefice they already occupied or else like those who, though qualified, had refused the tests imposed by the Laudians, could now acquire them.

The majority of chaplains were Presbyterians, but the prominent ministers who served in the early months of the war spent only a short time in the army. They were replaced by less well-known divines, but not by Independents. Independency, however, was certainly spreading inside and outside the army, most noticeably in Manchester's army. However it is interesting to see that there were actually more Independent chaplains in Essex's army than in Manchester's. The identification of an Independent party in Manchester's army was an omen for the future for it was clearly not just a religious group.

The presence of sectarianism was also a subject for comment although many writers did not distinguish between Independency and sectarianism. Richard Baxter noted in later 1643 or early 1644 that the garrison of Coventry was infected by the opinions of 'one Anabaptist Taylor' and that sectaries 'found not that Success in Coventry,



as they had done in Cromwell's Army'.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that sectarianism was not being spread by the chaplains, although they were obviously encouraging the discussion of religious questions amongst the troops. There seems to have been some lay preaching in the parliamentary forces in 1644 and Mercurius Aulicus reported that

'The Rebels intending a Reformation by the sword, will square their Church according to their Army; And therefore they thrust all Trades into the Pulpit, since their shops were emptied for Colonels and Captaines'.<sup>2</sup>

that  
An anonymous writer wrote in 1644/in the chief churches in Ely one sabbath 'the souldiers have gon up into the pulpit both in the forenoone and the afternoone and preached to the whole parish'.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Reliquiae Baxterianae, ed. M. Sylvester (London, 1696) I 45.

2. Mercurius Aulicus 8<sup>th</sup> week, 18 Feb. 1643/4, p. 839.

3. Quoted in A. Kingston, East Anglia and the Great Civil War (London, 1897) p. 175.

## CHAPTER IV

CHAPLAINS IN THE PARLIAMENTARY PROVINCIAL FORCES

This chapter is devoted to a discussion of the chaplains and religious life in the provincial armies, the county forces and the garrisons. The study of the provincial forces fighting for Parliament is seriously impeded by the lack of published research. There is, for example, no survey of either Massey's Western army or of the forces of the associated Northern counties. Some of the county forces are discussed in county histories for the period, but few counties have been written about in this way.

The religious character of the provincial forces seems to have been similar to that of the armies of Essex and Waller and quite unlike that of either Manchester's army or of the New Model. The intention of this chapter is to show how this was so and to suggest some possible reasons.

There were considerable variations between the different kinds of provincial force and between the forces raised by individual counties. This chapter will consider separately the main provincial armies, the county forces and the garrisons. The two main provincial armies were the Northern army commanded successively by Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, Sydenham Poyntz and John Lambert, and the Western army commanded by Edward Massey. The county forces, originating from the militia and the trained bands, were raised by each county for its own defence by the local

lieutenancy and county committees. Sometimes counties entered into associations for their mutual defence. The Eastern Association has already been discussed, but there were a number of other less formal and less long-lasting associations of counties. The garrisons were of two main kinds: those staffed by county forces, often only for very short periods, and those staffed by national forces because of their importance for national defence.

From the beginning of the war until 1647 the provincial forces were distinguished from the other armies by being responsible to Parliament, through the lieutenancy and the county committees, not to the commander-in-chief. Parliament rarely intervened directly in the provincial forces except in their raising and disbanding. The orders of 1646 for disbanding troops, for example, came directly from Parliament. As the war continued, regional variations between forces increased, often as a result of the character of the local leadership. All the parliamentary forces conscripted soldiers after 1643. In Essex's army and the New Model this reduced the local affiliations of regiments, but conscription for the provincial forces took place in the area where the individual forces were based and from which its soldiers had originally been recruited, so local connections were maintained. Both regiments and individuals moved freely from the provincial forces to Essex's army and the New Model and back, so that the distinction between the personnel of the various armies is not always clear. In July 1647 Sir Thomas Fairfax was given command of all the land forces in the pay of Parliament.<sup>1</sup> This did not mean that the

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1. Commons Journals 19 July 1647.

provincial forces were amalgamated with the New Model. Many local commanders remained more or less autonomous, as the events of the second civil war demonstrate, and some local commanders had powers which cut across those of the local committees.<sup>1</sup>

Chaplains in the provincial forces do not form a very coherent subject of study because of the nature of the provincial forces. It has already been suggested that there were significant variations in the administration of provincial forces between counties. This resulted in the creation of a variety of different types of administrative records only some of which are in the Commonwealth Exchequer Papers, and their survival has been very uneven. Many of the locally raised companies and troops serving in county militias existed for a very short period and had a transient membership. Often there were too few soldiers to make up a regiment, although commanders were often given the title of colonel or major. The small numbers of troops and the transient existence of many of these forces meant that a chaplain was unlikely to be appointed. Since these forces usually served near home they seem often to have relied upon the local clergy. A number of payments to parish clergy for individual sermons are recorded in provincial army accounts, although some parish clergy, like Ralph Josselin and Richard Baxter, seem to have spent short periods in the field with provincial forces.<sup>2</sup>

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1. J.S. Morrill, The Revolt of the Provinces (London, 1976) p.63.

2. The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616-1683, ed. Alan Macfarlane, *British Academy Records of Social and Economic History*, New series III (1976) p.41; Reliquiae Baxterianae, ed M. Sylvester (London, 1696) I 45.

It is not easy to make generalisations about the provincial armies, especially as only seventeen of the chaplains who served with them can be identified. Only five chaplains who served in the Northern army can be named. They were Thomas Crompton, John Matthew, Thomas Smallwood, John Wisdom and Samuel Wright. Crompton served with two different regiments and Smallwood with four. Crompton was a Presbyterian, Smallwood an Independent and nothing is known of the views of the other three. None of them seems to have had a close personal connection with his commanding officer. A further nine chaplains are known to have served in garrisons in the north: Hull, Newcastle and Tynemouth, and Scarborough. Little is known of John Spofford, chaplain at Hull in 1643. Richard Connyers was ordained Overton's chaplain by the fourth London classis, being already lecturer at a village near Hull. Both Spofford and Connyers are, however, overshadowed by the man who served longest as chaplain to Hull garrison, John Canne. Canne was already a well known radical Independent at the time of his appointment sometime in 1650, having previously served as chaplain to Hesilrige's forces in Newcastle. It is probable that Overton made the appointment having presumably come into contact with Canne earlier through his own connections with radical Independents. Overton's preference for radical chaplains continued, for in 1659 he appointed the Baptist Jeremiah Marsden as his chaplain. However nothing is known of the views of another of his appointments, Andrew Arnold, chaplain of Scarborough garrison which came under Overton's command as governor of Hull.

The garrison at Newcastle had a series of distinguished

chaplains under Hesilrige. Little is known of Thomas Trewrent, chaplain to the garrison there under Skippon in 1648. He was probably chosen, in Skippon's absence, from amongst the local ministers. Trewrent, however, was succeeded by Canne, George Downing and Samuel Hammond. All three seem to have gone to Newcastle with Hesilrige, but Canne had probably returned to London by 1649. He was commissioned chaplain in February 1647/8 but no more is known of his connection with the regiment. George Downing was paid as chaplain from August 1648 until April 1650 with the exception of a few short intervals. Hammond probably had only a brief association with the regiment and then transferred his services to the town. Present in the regiment at the same time as these three was Paul Hobson who was lieutenant-colonel of the regiment and deputy governor of Newcastle. He was closely involved with the Baptist congregations in Newcastle and Hexham, between which Hammond was responsible for fomenting trouble. Newcastle is a good illustration of the type of religious pluralism which was allowed to exist during the 1650's. Clearly the most radical religion was in the army, or closely connected with it. The commander patronised a less radical form, and the city something even less radical.

Some of the chaplains who served with the Western army are identifiable. Nothing is known of the views of Methusalah Sharpe, chaplain to Massey's brigade in 1645. Mr. Bacon who preached in Gloucester, and may or may not have been an army chaplain, was accused of preaching Antinomianism and was expelled through the influence of John Corbet. John Corbet was chaplain to Massey during the siege of Gloucester and published his account of the

siege to vindicate Massey's Presbyterianism. He seems to have been a close associate of Massey. Thomas Crompton accompanied Colonel Morgan when he left the Northern army to become governor of Gloucester in 1645. Massey and Corbet, Morgan and Crompton seem all to have been Presbyterians of various types. As with the Northern army it is not really possible to make any useful generalisations about the chaplains and the religious life of the Western army, except to say that there seems to have been little radical political or religious thinking and a prevalence of moderate Presbyterianism.

It has already been suggested that there is a grave shortage of material relating to the individual counties. The forces raised in Cheshire, Wales and Warwickshire are discussed here primarily because some material survives which relates to their military forces and chaplains. It is almost impossible to say how far they are typical of counties held by Parliament. Cheshire was never part of any association of counties although the principal parliamentary commander, Sir William Brereton, had wide powers and cooperated extensively with forces in neighbouring counties. He was one of the county commanders whose powers cut across those of the county committee.<sup>1</sup> The parliamentary forces in Wales were organised into two associations of counties, less for strategic reasons than because no Welsh county alone could support a whole regiment.<sup>2</sup>

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1. J.S. Morrill, Cheshire 1630-1660 (Oxford, 1974) pp. 81-2.

2. J. Roland Phillips, Memoirs of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches 1642-1649 (London, 1874) I 162, II 71.

Warwickshire, like Cheshire, contained garrisons important for strategic reasons, though perhaps none so important as Chester. Unlike Cheshire, however, it was not dominated by one commander. Like other midland counties which were fought over on a number occasions with the passage of major field armies, the smaller garrisons probably remained in arms for longer than they did in those counties at the periphery of the country.

Sir William Brereton, a Presbyterian, dominated the parliamentary party in Cheshire from very early in the war. Most of his military endeavours were devoted to taking Chester, which he finally succeeded in doing in 1646, but only with substantial help from outside the county.<sup>1</sup> His forces in Cheshire consisted of several volunteer regiments of horse and foot acting as a field army and the militia which was used for maintaining garrisons.<sup>2</sup> Ephraim Elcock was chaplain to the army in 1645 and was a Presbyterian. Nathaniel Lancaster was chaplain to Brereton's regiment of horse from 1645 to 1646 and accompanied it in the field. He seems to have been recruited from the local ministry. In 1646, after Chester had been taken, he seems to have been replaced by Samuel Eaton, the Independent, who had established a congregation at Duckenfield and who developed close personal ties with Brereton. It seems probable that it was Eaton's widespread reputation rather than his Independency which secured him his appointment,

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1. J. S. Morrill, Cheshire 1630-1660 (Oxford, 1974) p.76.

2. ibid. pp. 117-8.



for all the other chaplains seem to have been Presbyterians. Nothing is known of Francis Shelmerdine, chaplain to the Cheshire regiment under Sir Henry Bradshaw. William Pairtree and Nathaniel Lancaster were both, at various times, chaplains to the garrison at Nantwich.

Sir Thomas Middleton, a Presbyterian and later a supporter of Sir George Booth, was commissioned Major-General of North Wales in June 1643. He was disqualified from his command by the Self-Denying Ordinance and was replaced by his brother-in-law and second in command, Colonel Mitton, of whom very little is known.<sup>1</sup> The names of two of Middleton's chaplains are known, a Mr. Binne and Thomas Wilson, who served respectively in 1644 and 1645; but nothing is known of the views or actions of either man. Mitton's chaplains are better documented. Richard Baxter served with his forces in 1643, whilst he was campaigning in Shropshire and before he took over the command of all the forces of North Wales. Nathaniel Barton was chaplain to Mitton's brigade for a time. He may, previously, have served as a captain in the army. He was probably a Presbyterian or moderate Independent. Robert Fogg was chaplain to Mitton from the spring of 1645 until some time in 1646 and executed a number of confidential missions for Mitton. He seems to have been a Presbyterian.

The commander of the forces in South Wales was Rowland Laugharne, who in 1648 joined the royalist Colonel Poyer.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Commons Journals 12 May 1645.

2. D.N.B. 'Rowland Laugharne'; J. Roland Phillips, op.cit. II 347.

Laugharne was defeated by Colonel Horton who assumed command of the forces in South Wales. In 1649 he was succeeded by Thomas Harrison who held the command until June 1650.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known of the man confusingly called Thomas Middleton who served as chaplain to Laugharne's brigade. The other two chaplains who served in Wales are, in national terms, much more significant figures. John Warr, probably the legal reformer and agent for the sale of crown lands, an Independent, was chaplain to Colonel Edward Prichard at the garrison of Cardiff. His service was probably during the period 1645-7, but might possibly have been later in the 1640s. Vavasour Powell is supposed to have been both chaplain and captain to Colonel Harrison. Harrison seems to have gone to Wales in the summer of 1649 to supervise the embarkation of troops for Ireland. In February 1649/50 he was named as the first commissioner for better propagating and preaching the gospel in Wales. Amongst the others was Vavasour Powell.<sup>2</sup> It is likely that they made contact through this rather than that Powell was appointed chaplain in 1649. There is no definite evidence of any contact between the two men before 1649, whilst afterwards they were both involved with Feake and the supposed Fifth Monarchy conspiracy of 1653. With the exception of Warr and Powell all the chaplains who served in Wales were Presbyterians. Middleton, Mitton and Laugharne were unlikely people to foster religious radicalism.

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1. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1648-9, p.41; Maurice Ashley, Cromwell's Generals (London, 1954) p.88; C.H. Simpkinson, Thomas Harrison Regicide and Major-General (London, 1905) p.96.
  2. Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, ed. C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait (London, 1911) II pp.343, 345; C.H. Simpkinson, op. cit. pp.96, 97.

Although Warwickshire was not dominated by one man in the way that Cheshire was dominated by Brereton, members of the Purefoy family held a number of important commands.<sup>1</sup> The county forces seem to have consisted of a regiment of horse under Colonel William Purefoy, major garrisons at Coventry and Warwick, and lesser garrisons at Kenilworth, Ashley, Edgbaston, Tamworth, Maxstocke and Compton. Obadiah Grew was probably chaplain of Purefoy's horse, which passed to Colonel Colmore's command in May 1645.<sup>2</sup> Grew was a local minister and a well known Presbyterian. Nothing is known of the Mr. Moore who also served as chaplain to the regiment. A good deal is known about religious life in Coventry from Richard Baxter's account. He described how Mr. Aspinall was commissioned chaplain to the garrison by the Earl of Essex, but being disliked by the governor, Colonel Barker, and the committee, was never used by them. Baxter certainly preached to the garrison and Anthony Burgess, another minister who had sought refuge at Coventry, may have done so. Coventry was a centre for sectarian activity, but it is hard to know how far this was connected with the presence of soldiers there. The Ranters arrested there in 1650 were probably attracted there by other sectaries rather than an indigenous growth. The official ministry of the garrison was moderate Presbyterian until 1645, when Barker was replaced as governor by Willoughby as a result of the Self-Denying Ordinance. Baxter wrote 'Col. Barker was content in his discontent that I should go out with him, that he might be mist the more.'<sup>3</sup> Curiously enough

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1. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Ann Hughes of Manchester University for information on the Purefoy family.

2. Commons Journals 9 May 1645.

3. Reliquiae Baxterianae, ed. M. Sylvester (London, 1696) I 52.

the Council of State in 1650 ordered that Mr. Herring, apparently a Presbyterian preacher, be expelled from Coventry.<sup>1</sup>

The garrison of Warwick had two Presbyterian chaplains, John Bryan and John Trappe. Bryan was discharged over a dispute concerning the misappropriation by Major Bridges, the governor, of goods deposited in the castle after Edgehill. John Grape, of whom nothing much is known, seems to have been minister to the garrison at some time, although it is possible that this is a mistake for John Trappe, who was chaplain from 1644 to 1646. Little is known of the chaplains to the other garrisons in Warwickshire, though two individuals deserve mention. Colonel John Fox, governor of Edgbaston had as his chaplain in 1645 one Edward Macharmees. Nothing is known of Macharmees, but of Fox Mercurius Aulicus reported,

'they [the Parliamentarians] thrust all Trades into the Pulpit ..... Particularly, one Fox a Tinker of Wallshall in Staffordshire.'<sup>2</sup>

Abiezer Coppe, the Ranter, arrested and imprisoned in Coventry in 1650 for his pamphlet A Fiery Flying Roll, was chaplain in 1646 to the garrison at Compton. He was probably then a Baptist. The commander of the garrison was Major George Purefoy, son of Gamaliel Purefoy who was major of Colonel Barker's foot regiment based on Coventry. George Purefoy seems to have been an unscrupulous and unprincipled character of no known religious convictions. Apart from two major garrisons, served by fairly well known Presbyterian chaplains,

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1. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1650, p.247.

2. Mercurius Aulicus 8<sup>th</sup> week, 18 Feb. 1643/4, p.339.

Warwickshire supported a host of minor garrisons, many of which were only temporary, served by a variety of chaplains. It is hard to explain how some of these garrisons managed to support a chaplain, for they were very small, yet there are several which employed chaplains who were not just local ministers. The frequent passage of national field armies and the large number of set-piece battles which took place in Warwickshire may have enhanced the importance of the smaller garrisons.

The information about both the forces and the garrisons in other counties is fragmentary. The little that can be gathered about chaplains in the other county forces is given here. Francis Cheynell, chaplain to Colonel Stapley's Sussex regiment, appears first to have served as Essex's chaplain. It is not possible to tell whether he was appointed rector of Petworth before or after his appointment as Stapley's chaplain, and whether either of these coincided with Stapley's appointment as governor of Chichester. Cheynell was a well known Presbyterian and apparently used his Sussex connections to further his career in the 1650's. Robert Ram, author of The Soldiers Catechisme, seems to have been chaplain to the Presbyterian, Colonel Rossiter, whilst he was commander-in-chief in Lincolnshire. This appointment certainly arose from a local connection, for Ram was minister of Spalding. Ram was probably a Presbyterian. A spoof edition of the catechism was published <sup>in 1645</sup> in which the words 'I fight in the defence and maintenance of the new Directory and Presbyterian Religion, which is now violently opposed' were substituted for 'I fight ..... in the defence and

maintenance of the true Protestant Religion.'<sup>1</sup> Ralph Josselin give a brief glimpse of the sort of experience that a parish minister might have had of the local military. 'I was out with our regiment wee marchd to walden, muster(e)d (,) I sung psalmes, prayd and spake to our souldiers on the Common at Walden and also at Halstead'<sup>2</sup>. 'This day was I ordered by the Committee as Constant Chaplyn to attend upon Coll: Harlakenden regiment at musters and to receive 10s per diem as a salary for the same ....'<sup>3</sup> Josselin seems to have been with the regiment for about four months and to have regarded his service as something of an imposition. Another parish minister, William Beech, was invited to Hampshire by a member of the Hampshire committee and preached to the army before the siege of Basing House.<sup>4</sup>

Amonst the chaplains to garrisons there are a number of fairly well known figures. Christopher Love, John Bachelor and Nicholas Lockyer were successively chaplains to Colonel John Venn and Colonel Whichcott at Windsor Castle. The later details of Love's career are well known. He was committed both to Presbyterianism and to the Scottish alliance. Bachelor

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1. The title pages of the two Catechisms are apparently identical, although the Bodleian has only the reprint of Ram's own work of 1684, not the original of 1644.

2. The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616-1683, ed. Alan Macfarlane, British Academy Records of Social and Economic History, New series III (1976) p. 41.

3. ibid. p.42.

4. William Beech, More Sulphure for Basing..... Shewed in a Sermon at the Siege of Basing (London, 1645) Dedication. I am very grateful to Dr. Judith Richards of La Trobe University for this reference.

was chaplain to the garrison of King's Lynn before going to Windsor and earned Thomas Edwards's censure as licencer of the press. He was one of those members of the clergy who was prominent in both the 1640's and the 1650's. Nicholas Lockyer was an Independent and best known as chaplain at Whitehall. John Davis seems first to have established an Independent congregation at Dover, and then to have been taken on as chaplain to the governor, Colonel Kelsey, an Independent. We know a good deal about the chaplain at Newport Pagnell, Thomas Ford, through his correspondence with the governor, Sir Samuel Luke. At the time that Ford was chaplain, Luke apprehended Paul Hobson for seditious speeches. George Hughes, chaplain to the garrison at Plymouth, had been a minister in Plymouth for several years before his commission. William Sedgwick, best known for prophesying the end of the world, was chaplain at Wisbech garrison in 1644 and at the garrison of Ely in 1646. Like Vavasour Powell's his religious views are difficult to describe. Both were Independent in the sense that they believed that the church consisted of individual voluntary gathered congregations. But both espoused a form of mysticism quite foreign to Independents like the Dissenting Brethren.

Chaplains in garrisons were usually appointed by garrison commanders, unless there were some particular reason for the local committee or corporation to be especially influential, as in Chester after its fall to Parliament. The element of clerical patronage in garrisons and provincial armies was as great as it was in Essex and Manchester's armies, and was not reduced by any centralisation of appointments, as had taken place in the

New Model army. Furthermore, the religious complexion of the provincial armies and garrisons was different from that of the New Model army. The religious views of a garrison were subject to considerable local pressure, especially if it were manned by locally levied troops. If there were an eminent local clergyman who was influential over the surrounding population, efforts would be made to ensure that the opinions of the garrison did not differ too sharply from his. Furthermore, many townsmen were not sympathetic to religious radicals. The mayor and aldermen of Coventry in 1650 took a very firm stand against the Ranters<sup>1</sup> and the disputes in Newcastle between the Presbyterians and Independents left little room for the sectaries to gain a foothold.<sup>2</sup>

There is evidence for the religious views of barely half of the chaplains known to have served in the provincial forces (50 out of 92). Of these, the majority (30) were Presbyterian, 13 were Independent, 5 were somewhere between Presbyterianism and Independency and 2 were Baptists.<sup>3</sup> The proportions of each denomination are very similar to those in Essex's, Manchester's and Waller's armies, except that there is a higher proportion of Independents (26% as compared with 15%).<sup>4</sup> A smaller proportion of the provincial army chaplains than of the <sup>chaplains</sup> who served under Essex, Manchester and Waller had been in trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities before 1642 (9% and 24% respectively).

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1. Clarke MS. 18 unfoliated.

2. Roger Howell, Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution (Oxford, 1967) pp. 232, 248-256.

3. See Table III Appendix I.

4. See Table III Appendix I.



This is accounted for by the fact that in the first months of the war a number of ministers well-known for their opposition to the Laudian innovations were appointed to chaplaincies. In the New Model army 20% of the chaplains had been in trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities before 1642, but of these relatively few had been beneficed.<sup>1</sup> The provincial army chaplains seem to have been recruited from amongst the local clergy and their attitude to the previous regime seems not to have been a factor in their appointment.

One of the most important differences between the provincial forces and the New Model army was the continued presence of Presbyterian officers and chaplains. The Self-Denying Ordinance does not seem to have significantly reduced the number of Presbyterians.<sup>2</sup> For example there seems to have been little difference between the views of Colonel Barker, governor of Coventry, and Sir Thomas Middleton, commander in North Wales, both displaced by the Self-Denying Ordinance, and their successors. There were no wholesale purges of Presbyterians in the provincial forces. Indeed in the summer of 1647 it was to them that Parliament looked for support against the New Model. The rank and file tended to drift away because of the lack of pay and the need to bring in the harvest and the senior officers to leave because of changes in the local balance of power rather than in national politics. The provincial forces were hardly involved in the political agitation of 1647 and few provincial regiments supported the manifestoes of the New

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1. See Table VI Appendix 1.

2. I am grateful to Professor Aylmer for explaining that it did not apply to garrison commanders, though it did to local county commanders.

Model army.<sup>1</sup> Thus there was no generalised antagonism in the provincial forces to Presbyterianism. As the majority of chaplains to the provincial forces were recruited from local clergy there was, too, an added probability that they would be Presbyterian.

There is, however, one respect in which there was a change in the views of the chaplains. The number of Independent chaplains did not exceed the number of Presbyterian chaplains in the provincial forces until 1647.<sup>2</sup> In the New Model the number of Independent chaplains probably exceeded the number of Presbyterians from 1645.<sup>3</sup> However it is interesting to note that in 1646 and 1647, when a large number of provincial forces were disbanded, the number of Independent chaplains remained about the same whilst the number of Presbyterian chaplains declined. Of course the figures are only approximate, since the information which survives is incomplete, but it is likely that they suggest a general trend. This trend probably relates more closely to the changes in the parish clergy than to those amongst the New Model chaplains. However even in the New Model army it is notable how few radical sectaries served as chaplains. There is only one Baptist amongst the provincial army chaplains although Independency spanned a wide range of opinions. Certainly Vavasour Powell, William Sedgwick and John Canne probably had more in common with radical sectaries than with Independents like Calybutte Downing.

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1. J.S. Morrill, 'Mutiny and Discontent in English Provincial Armies 1645-1647', Past and Present 56 (1972) pp. 68-71.

2. See Table XIII E Appendix 1.

3. See Table XIII D Appendix 1.

Nothing is known of the influence of sectaries outside the army upon the provincial forces. Thomas Ford and other chaplains reported odd incidents involving sectaries. However the soldiers' proximity to home makes it probable that they were more likely to become involved in sectarian disputes in their own parishes (like that between Samuel Eaton and John Knowles over the existence of the Trinity) than in the army.

Of the 92 chaplains known to have served in the provincial forces, 57 went to University and 30 had been ordained in the Church of England. Only two of those ordained had not been to university (one of whom was Richard Baxter). Three other chaplains received Presbyterian ordination. 34 had held benefices or lectureships before joining the army, although not all before 1642. Those who first held a benefice after 1642 normally had similar qualifications to those beneficed earlier. 56 chaplains held benefices after leaving the army, 23 of them for the first time. 32 chaplains held benefices both before and after their army service. So, half the people who served as chaplains had the conventional qualifications for the ministry and a third were clearly people who had made the ministry their career. Of the others there were 9 who had neither attended university nor been episcopally ordained but who secured benefices after their army service. There is a further 24 of whom nothing more is known than that they served as chaplains to provincial forces, which is a higher proportion than for any other army.

It is easy to assume that local connections would be particularly important in forming the careers of chaplains who

served in the provincial forces. Of the 34 chaplains beneficed before joining the army, 21 had been beneficed in the locality they served as chaplains and of the 56 beneficed after leaving the army 33 were beneficed in the locality in which they had served. Of these, 14 were beneficed before and after in the area where they did their army service. 15 had no connection with the locality until they served as chaplains and then stayed on in benefices. Army service seems to have been a means of geographical mobility, but not a means of entering a career in the ministry. Parish ministers in the area where a force was raised seem to have been called upon to act as chaplains in addition to their normal parish duties. Frequently provincial forces served very close to home so this did not involve leaving their cures for extended periods.

The religious life of the provincial forces in the civil war seems to have been stable in the way that provincial parish life was. There was little sectarianism amongst the troops and those chaplains who were known as religious radicals, Abiezer Coppe and William Sedgwick for example, became so after leaving the army. There were few expressions of political radicalism either. Discontent about pay was the principal cause of mutiny. Only in the Northern army under Poyntz was there any support for the Levellers, and that seems to have been inspired by agitators from the New Model.<sup>1</sup> The local nature of the provincial forces seems to have been partly responsible for the absence of religious and political radicalism. Soldiers experienced nothing like the social and geographical dislocation of those in the New Model.

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1. Ian Gentles, 'Arrears of Pay and Ideology in the Army Revolt of 1647', War and Society, ed. Brian Bond and Ian Roy, (London, 1975) p.52;  
 J.S. Morrill, 'Mutiny and Discontent in English Provincial Armies 1645-1647', Past and Present 56 (1972) p.70.

They fought alongside their neighbours, near home, officered by the local gentry and with the local clergy as chaplains. They could not escape their traditional social and economic relationships. Any expression of religious or political radicalism was an expression of discontent against the local gentry and clergy. Only when the shortage of pay became really acute were they fired to mutiny and even then there was no question of pressing more general demands. No doubt the soldiers knew that limited demands were most capable of satisfaction.<sup>1</sup> They knew how ineffectual the county gentry were at Westminster and Whitehall, and they received no encouragement to think beyond their immediate circumstances, to visualise a world in which these social and economic relationships were different.

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1. J.S. Morrill, 'Mutiny and Discontent in English Provincial Armies 1645-1647', Past and Present 56 (1972) p.63.

## CHAPTER V

CHAPLAINS IN THE NEW MODEL ARMY1645-1650

The New Model army was formed from the armies of Essex and Manchester and from four regiments of Waller's army. (The rest of Waller's army either served in south coast garrisons or joined Massey's forces.)<sup>1</sup> The ordinance of 17 February 1644/5 created a single army, but it could not give it a single purpose. It welded together, for administrative purposes, three armies of very different characters. Some entire regiments were drafted into the new army but many regiments had fallen to such small numbers that they were reorganised. The only regiments which maintained any local character were some of those from the Eastern Association and this was soon diluted by making up falling numbers with impressed men. The new army rarely acted as a single unit, although it did have a unified command. During the period 1645-6 it was split unto two sections, one each under Fairfax and Cromwell, which united for the attack on Oxford in the summer of 1646. After 1647 it was used mainly to supply garrisons and was fragmented.

The composition of the New Model army has long been a subject for debate. There is no doubt that the Self-Denying Ordinance reduced the number of Presbyterian senior officers. Dr. Mark Kishlansky has suggested that Parliament attempted to

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1. John Adair, Roundhead General (London, 1969) pp. 185-6; Firth and Davies, pp.xvi-xix.

balance the number of Presbyterians and Independents in senior army commands when making appointments to the New Model.<sup>1</sup>

However more Independent colonels than Presbyterians were appointed to commands in 1645 and it was the colonels who were responsible for appointing junior officers, and, almost certainly, chaplains. The proportion of Independent to Presbyterian colonels continued to increase from 1645 for the events of 1647 effectively caused a purge of Presbyterians in the New Model.

Individual chaplains in the New Model army have formed the subject of most of the writing on parliamentary army chaplains, but there has been no attempt to study all the chaplains known to have served in the New Model. As can be seen from the list of New Model chaplains (Table VI Appendix I) the chaplains most written about, and used to typify army chaplains, represent only a small proportion of the total number. Dr. Kishlansky's comment that only nine have been identified is very misleading.<sup>2</sup> He includes amongst the nine, Robert Ram, chaplain to Rossiter's regiment, which did not properly become part of the New Model until 1647.<sup>3</sup> He also follows Professor Solt in assuming that<sup>4</sup> regimental chaplains were the exception rather than the rule.

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1. Mark A. Kishlansky, 'The Case of the Army Truly Stated: The Creation of the New Model Army', Past and Present 81 (1978) pp. 65-8.

2. Mark A. Kishlansky, The Rise of the New Model Army (Cambridge, 1979) p.71.

3. Firth and Davies, pp. 163-4 and see below.

4. Leo F. Solt, Saints in Arms (Stanford, 1959) p.9.

It seems rather that, from the inception of the New Model army, there were two chaplains who served at headquarters and a substantial number of other chaplains serving individual regiments (see Table VII Appendix I). Ostensibly there was one chaplain per regiment, but it is unlikely that every regiment had a chaplain. Certainly there seems to have been no attempt to discourage regiments from having chaplains, rather the reverse. The absence of regimental chaplains is much more likely to have been due to the difficulty of finding suitable people.

As in other parliamentary armies it was uncommon for chaplains to serve for longer than a few months. Dell, Peter and Stapylton are all conspicuous for the exceptional length of their service. The New Model always contained fewer chaplains than Essex's army. The largest number it is known to have had at one time was in 1647, when there were seventeen. These figures are somewhat arbitrary, however, as there was some exchange of chaplains between the provincial forces and the New Model, just as there was of soldiers. Similarly the New Model has been distinguished here from the armies which went to Ireland and Scotland although, technically, it could be argued that they were all the same force. There was a considerable continuity of personnel in the army which went to Scotland in 1650, but a major reorganisation of troops had taken place for the Irish expedition.

As the proportion of Independent chaplains grew and the proportion of Presbyterians declined, there was some increase in the number of sectarian chaplains.<sup>1</sup> These were Baptists (Thomas Collier and Edward Harrison), but there were Independents

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1. See Table XIIID Appendix I.



(like Vavasour Powell and Joseph Salmon) whose beliefs were far more radical than those of an Independent like Philip Nye. These radical Independents are found in the army in greater numbers after 1647. However only Collier and Harrison were known as religious radicals before joining the army. Vavasour Powell, Walter Cradock, John Pendarves, George Cockayne and William Erbury all became known as religious radicals after leaving the army and Laurence Clarkson and Joseph Salmon seem to have left the army before becoming Ranters.

Most of the New Model chaplains were qualified to enter the traditional ministry.<sup>1</sup> Of the 38 chaplains known to have served in the New Model between 1645 and 1650, 28 had attended university and 18 had been ordained in the established church before 1642. Benjamin Bourne had received Presbyterian ordination in 1647 and Laurence Clarkson applied for it, but was refused.

The distribution of the different religious denominations in the New Model army is interesting. The armies of Essex and Manchester at their disbanding contained a higher proportion of Presbyterian chaplains than did the New Model at its formation at the same time. (33% in Essex's army, 43% in Manchester's, and 25% in the New Model).<sup>2</sup> Dr. Kishlansky is right to point out that there was a significant number of Presbyterian chaplains in the New Model, for in 1645 half were Presbyterian or

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1. See Table VI Appendix I.

2. See Table XIII Appendix I.

Presbyterian/Independent.<sup>1</sup> This fell to just over a quarter in 1646 and continued to fall subsequently. There was a significantly higher proportion of Independent chaplains in the New Model army at its formation than there was in the armies of Essex and Manchester at their disbanding, (42% in the New Model, 33% in Essex's army and 28% in Manchester's).<sup>2</sup> The proportion of Independent chaplains in the New Model increased, although after 1647 the actual number of chaplains fell.

There is insufficient evidence to make a detailed study of the views of each colonel and of how they seem to have affected the appointment of chaplains. However there are certain colonels and chaplains whose relationship may be examined. These are the chaplains appointed by Fairfax who served at headquarters and the chaplains appointed by the colonels who left the New Model army in the summer of 1647 and by the colonels who replaced them.

The chaplains who served at the army headquarters all had specific regimental appointments. John Saltmarsh was chaplain to Fairfax's person and train.<sup>3</sup> William Dell was chaplain to

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1. Mark A. Kishlansky, The Rise of the New Model Army (Cambridge, 1979) p.71.

2. This suggests that Robert Baillie's attention was drawn to the presence of Independency in Manchester's forces because of the disagreements between the Independents and the Scottish Presbyterians, rather than because of the number of Independent chaplains, which was actually greater in Essex's army.

3. S.P. 28/48/pt.IV, f.412.

Fairfax's regiment of foot and to his regiment of horse and, from January 1646/7, to Fairfax's person and train.<sup>1</sup> Edward Bowles was chaplain to Fairfax's person and train<sup>2</sup> and Arthur Bramley was chaplain to his regiment of horse.<sup>3</sup> Isaac Knight was chaplain to Fairfax's person and train.<sup>4</sup> Hugh Peter did not apparently receive any money by warrant from Fairfax, but he received arrears as chaplain to Fairfax's train of artillery.<sup>5</sup> Some of these chaplains served concurrently, as, for example Dell and Bowles, others consecutively. Their views covered a considerable range. Bowles was, in most respects, closer to Presbyterianism than to Independency, whilst Dell and Saltmarsh were certainly radical Independents and Bramley was described as 'an ignorant Sectarian Lecturer'.<sup>6</sup>

Although the colonels who left the New Model army in the summer of 1647 are conventionally described as Presbyterians, this probably does not accurately denote their theological views. All but one had expressed themselves willing, in March and April 1647, to go to Ireland, so it is very likely that several of them were Presbyterian insofar as they supported the continuation of negotiations between Parliament and the king without the intervention of the army. However the clear contrasts between the colonels who left and the colonels who

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1. S.P. 28/41/pt.V. f.553; S.P. 28/44/ pt.II, f.150.

2. S.P. 28/29/pt.I, f.49.

3. E.121/5/7.

4. S.P. 28/52/pt.I, f.90.

5. E.121/2/11.

6. Reliquiae Baxterianae, ed.M. Sylvester (London 1696) T56.

replaced them throw an interesting light on the appointments of chaplains.

Colonel Fortescue had as his chaplain James Barron.

Barron seems to have been a moderate Presbyterian or Independent. He left the regiment when Fortescue was replaced by Barkstead. Barkstead's chaplain was Stephen Moore, of whose

views nothing is known. Colonel Harley, a recruiter M.P., supported Parliament's attitude to the army and its plans to disband it.<sup>1</sup> Harley was one of the eleven M.P.s who on 20 July 1647 were given leave of absence 'to follow their own occasions'.<sup>2</sup> His lieutenant-colonel, Thomas Pride, supported the grievances of the soldiers and took over the command of the regiment. Harley's chaplain was Anthony Wainwright whom Thomas Edwards described as a sectary. He may have remained with the regiment after Harley's departure. Joseph Hemmings was Pride's chaplain either during the period 1647-9 or during 1655-7. He was opposed to Presbyterianism and the Scots. Pride's regiment was later known for having many General Baptist members and Samuel Oates was chaplain from 1650 to 1655.

Colonel Herbert's chaplain was a Presbyterian, Alexander Gross, but of what complexion is not known. Herbert was replaced by Overton whose chaplain seems to have been Stephen Lowe, of whom nothing is known. Overton was known as a radical

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1. Firth and Davies, p.360.

2. The others were Denzil Holles, Sir Philip Stapyton, Sir William Lewes, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Major-General Massey, John Glyn, Walter Long and Anthony Nicoll. (Commons Journals 20 July 1647).

Independent and there were many Baptists in his regiment.

Amongst Overton's other chaplains were Richard Connyers, who seems to have been a Presbyterian, and John Canne, who was an Independent and at one stage advocated believers' baptism.

Neither Colonel Sheffield not his successor, Colonel Harrison, seem to have had chaplains in 1647. Harrison's later chaplains included the Baptist Edward Harrison and the radical Independent Vavasour Powell (who later accepted believers' baptism but seems never to have joined a Baptist church).

Colonel Butler's chaplain was Benjamin Bourne who was ordained by the fourth London Classis to this place. He is unlikely to have been a hard line Presbyterian for when he was asked to debate the subject 'Whether infants may have Baptism administered them?' he expressed his scruples about the propriety of paedobaptism. He was finally ordained by the Classis. He seems to have remained chaplain when Horton, major of the regiment, was made colonel in place of Butler. Sir Robert Pye's chaplain was Timothy Batt, probably a Presbyterian. There is no evidence of his having remained with the regiment when Major Thomlinson became its colonel. Nothing is known of the chaplains employed when the regiment under the command of Colonel Graves, known to be strongly Presbyterian, passed to his major, Scroope. Colonel Rossiter's regiment did not actually form part of the New Model army and for much of the period 1645-7 was based in Lincolnshire. Rossiter employed Robert Ram as chaplain. Ram was a Presbyterian and is probably best known as author of The Soldiers Catechism. It is not known for how long he served Rossiter, but Rossiter's successor, Philip Twisleton, major of the regiment, did not keep him on when

he took over the command. Little is known of Twisleton's life or views, but he employed at various times as chaplains both Thomas Collier and Laurence Clarkson. Collier may well have come to the regiment as chaplain shortly after Twisleton took command.

Certain other New Model army colonels are known to have had radical religious views. Colonel Pickering, an Independent, who preached to his troops against the Scots,<sup>1</sup> appointed Henry Pinnell as chaplain. Pinnell stayed with the regiment when it passed to Hewson, also a well-known preacher, on Pickering's death. Colonel Okey was sometime a Baptist and took part in suppressing the Levellers at Burford. His chaplains (Close, George Downing and Gibbs) were apparently Independents. Robert Lilburne, whose regiment contained many Baptists and who was known for his radical views, had, amongst his chaplains, John Canne and Edmund Hickhorngill (at that time a Baptist). Colonel Rainsborough appointed John Pendarves chaplain, probably when the regiment was stationed near Abingdon where Pendarves was then preaching and before he became a Baptist. However there were also a number of colonels who were not conspicuous for their radicalism who had radical chaplains: Colonel Ingoldsby had William Erbury, Commissary-General Ireton had Joseph Salmon, Colonel Philip Twisleton had Thomas Collier and Laurence Clarkson. If Clarkson's description of how he came to be Twisleton's chaplain is to be believed, such appointments owed far more to chance than to design.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Mark A. Kishlansky, The Rise of the New Model Army (Cambridge, 1979) p.72; Mercurius Aulicus 27 April 1645; - 4 May 1645, pp. 1568-1569.

2. Laurence Clarkson, The Lost Sheep Found (London, 1660) p.24.

Sir Thomas Fairfax's chaplains ranged from Edward Bowles to John Saltmarsh.

These examples show that colonels did not necessarily appoint chaplains with views similar to their own. Radical colonels did not necessarily have radical chaplains and radical chaplains are found in the regiments of colonels not noted for their religious radicalism. Similarly regiments in which there was a high degree of religious radicalism did not necessarily support the political radicals. Okey's regiment is a good example of this.<sup>1</sup> Few chaplains became actively involved with the political radicals in the New Model army. That Thomas Collier preached at Putney cannot really be taken as evidence of political radicalism and he later came out in defence of the grandees against William Sedgwick's attack on them.<sup>2</sup> Three chaplains who became politically active to the extent of protesting in late 1647 and early 1648 that the grandees had betrayed in the interests of the soldiers were John Saltmarsh, Henry Pinnell and William Dell. All three left the army at about the time that they made their protests.

Saltmarsh's career demonstrates the disillusion that set in amongst radicals with the failure of the army to act upon the Leveller proposals adopted by the agitators. In June 1647 he wrote justifying the stand of the army against Parliament and replying to Gilbert Gerard's accusation that he had hindered the disbanding of Fairfax's regiment on purpose. He said that the soldiers had acted upon their own principles. Yet he had no

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1. Firth and Davies, p.296.

2. Collier mentioned the grievances of the soldiers in his sermon, but took no initiative in pressing them. Puritanism and Liberty, ed. A.S.P. Woodhouse (London, 1938) pp.390-396.

conscious feeling of being involved in political affairs.

'I never made state-business any Pulpit-work.'<sup>1</sup> In October 1647, however, his doubts about the possible actions of the grandees led him to write this to the Council of War during the Putney Debates:

'ye have not discharged yourselves to the people in such things as they justly expected from ye ..... The wisdom of the flesh hath deceived and enticed, and that glorious principle of Christian liberty which we advanced in at first (I speak as to Christians) hath been managed too much in the flesh.'<sup>2</sup>

This is as much an expression of his fear that the grandees were moving away from the army's real interests, as an indictment of their actions. In December he decided that the grandees had betrayed the soldiers. He spoke to a number of the army officers at the headquarters at Windsor. But his most explicit condemnation was of Cromwell, in early December 1647, whom he told:

'that the Lord was very angry with him, for causing those godly men to be imprisoned, sleighted, and abused, for those Engagements which he had formerly owned, and the persons such as he knew faithfull in the Cause of God: That the Armies falling off from their former principles, it would be their ruine, and destruction: and would raise such fractions among themselves, as would undo them.'<sup>3</sup>

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1. John Saltmarsh, A Letter from the Army Concerning the peaceable temper of the same (London, 1647).
  2. Puritanism and liberty, ed. A.S.P. Woodhouse (London, 1938) pp. 81, 438.
  3. Wonderfull Predictions Declared in a Message ..... by John Saltmarsh (London, 1648) p.5.



Pinnell's dissatisfaction with the army had begun much earlier than Saltmarsh's, at the time of Colonel Pickering's death in November 1645.<sup>1</sup> It seems, however, to have been more a form of spiritual malaise than any objection to the actions of the grandees. Eventually moved by the words of Saltmarsh and Sedgwick he went to Windsor about a week after Saltmarsh had spoken to Cromwell. Pinnell accused Cromwell of following the commands of men not of God, and of neglecting to do what he had promised for the army, to all of which Cromwell admitted.<sup>2</sup> Dell does not appear to have actually attacked the grandees, indeed it is partly on the testimony of Lieutenant-Colonel Jubbes that Dell is known to have left the army in 1648 because of his dissillusion with it.<sup>3</sup> He wrote in 1649 that Fairfax, Cromwell and the Council of War had returned to God's work having neglected it for a time.<sup>4</sup> William Sedgwick, who had previously been a chaplain in the provincial forces but had left some time before, came out against the grandees in December 1648:

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1. Henry Pinnell, A Word of Prophecy, Concerning the Parliament, Generall and the Army (London, 1648) p.2.

2. ibid. pp. 4-9.

3. John Jubbes, An Apology unto The honorable and other the honored and worthy Officers of his Excellencies the Lord Generals Army (n.p., n.d.) p.2.

4. Puritanism and Liberty, ed. A. S. P. Woodhouse (London, 1938) p.302.

'you have a long time trampled upon kindnesse,  
and obstinately refused the word of the Lord;  
You must remember my Sermon to you at Windsor  
upon that Text. Overturne, overture, over-  
turne; tis Scripture still, and that word  
lives in and upon you. Saltmarsh his message  
quickly followed it, Depart from the tents  
of these unrighteous men; he lives still:  
And Mr. Pinnels admonition from the Lord  
following that: These and other testimonies  
against you have been slighted and disobeyed.'<sup>1</sup>

His attack in 1648 was levelled more at the whole army for failing to fulfil its sacred duty, than against the grandees for betraying the interests of the soldiers. He was one of the most articulate exponents of the idea that the army represented the people: 'they are rightly and truly the people, not in a grosse heape or in a heavy, dull body, but in a selected, choice way.'<sup>2</sup> He also saw the army as being God's instrument. 'That Army is a peculiar Ordinance of God wherein he hath a speciall delight',<sup>3</sup> but it did not consist solely of saints.<sup>4</sup> The failure of the saints to give real leadership to the soldiers caused the army to follow its own interests at the expense of the people whom it represented.

Chaplains seem not to have been involved in any way in the mutinies at Ware and Burford or the mutiny of Whalley's regiment in London in April 1649. Henry Denne, who was originally

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1. William Sedgwick, Justice upon the Armie Remonstrance (London, 1649) Epistle to Fairfax and the Generall Council of Warre. This epistle is the same as Mr. William Sedgwicks Letter to his Excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax (London, 1649).
  2. William Sedgwick, A second view of the Army Remonstrance (London, 1649) p. 13.
  3. ibid.
  4. William Sedgwick, Justice upon the Armie Remonstrance (London, 1649) p. 13.

condemned to death as one of the mutineers at Burford and was pardoned on his recantation, was subsequently known by the Levellers as 'Judas' Denne. Although he was well known as a Baptist preacher before he joined the army in about 1646 or 1647, he seems to have served as a cornet and not as a chaplain in Scroope's regiment.<sup>1</sup> Insofar as chaplains can be said to have played any part in influencing soldiers to mutiny, they are most likely to have done so in 1647 by raising the consciousness of soldiers that as an army they were capable of moulding events. Burford was the result of dissatisfaction over the terms on which soldiers were to be disbanded and sent to Ireland. None of the demands went further than the satisfaction of the soldiers' immediate military grievances, hence chaplains were unlikely to have played much part.

As one might expect, chaplains were chosen for their ability to raise the morale of the troops, to preach well and to justify soldiers going to war against their own kind. Chaplains therefore tended to reflect the general religious and political views of the people who appointed them, the colonels of the regiments. When chaplains expressed dissent they seem normally to have done so after leaving the army. A significant number of chaplains became well known as religious radicals after leaving the army. It is, however, difficult to say whether they left the army because their views were changing or for some other reason. The idea of the New Model army as a nursery of religious radicalism

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1. Firth and Davies, pp. 110-114.

has considerable substance. Clearly Saltmarsh, Dell and Pinnell were roused to make political statements by their feelings that an injustice was being done to the soldiers. It is impossible to say how those chaplains who became religious radicals picked up their ideas. The London sectarian congregations seem to have been influential amongst the soldiers and junior officers, whom Thomas Edwards singles out for having committed the worst sectarian excesses. It seems likely, therefore, that the London sectarian congregations influenced chaplains as well.

Another important factor in the New Model army was its self-consciousness. From the very early days there were a significant number of soldiers, of whom Cromwell and Harrison are the best known, who saw themselves as saints working out God's destiny and combatting Antichrist. This sense was enhanced as time went on. In documents like the Heads of the Proposals claims are made that the army is acting on behalf of the freeborn people of England. Only incidentally are religious differences referred to. By 1650 the significance given to civil liberties and religion is reversed:

'we engaged, not knowing the deep policies of worldly Statesmen, and have ever since hazarded our lives in the high places of the field, (where we have seen the wonders of the Lord) against all the opposers of this work of Jesus Christ; whom we have all along seen going with us, and making our way plain before us. And having these things singly in our eye, namely, the destruction of Antichrist, the advancement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, the Deliverance and Reformation of his Church, in the Establishment of his Ordinances amongst them in purity

according to his Word; and the just civil Liberties of Englishmen.' 1

Chaplains clearly took part in developing this self-consciousness by their preaching, but they, too, were influenced by it. The dislocation of soldiers and officers from their old lives, their old social and economic relationships, must have increased their receptivity to new ideas. These ideas were spread by preaching soldiers and by pamphlets and, according to a young man who spoke to Thomas Edwards, were instrumental in the army's success in the field.

'Sir, you speak against the preaching of Souldiers in the Army; but I assure you, if they may not have <sup>leave</sup> to preach, they will not fight: and if they fight not, we must all fly the Land and be gone: both you and I, must not stay here, for these men who are Preachers, both of Commanders and Troopers, are the men whom God hath blessed so within this few months, to rout the enemy twice in the field, and to take in many Garrisons of Castles and Townes, (as I remember we said to the number of 21).....' 2

Contrast this with Edwards's comments on army chaplains.

'I have been told ..... of some Sectarian Chaplaines that have received for pay good summs of money, and never gave the Regiments to which they belonged a Sermon, or even looked after them'. 3

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1. A Declaration of the English Army now in Scotland, in The Fifth Monarchy or Kingdom of Christ In Opposition to the Beasts, Asserted (London, 1659) pp. 14-15.
  2. Thomas Edwards, Gangraena (London, 1646) Rota facsimile edition, 1977, I 111.
  3. ibid. III 191.

It would seem, then, that the most energetic and radical preaching came from the soldiers, and that it was sufficiently powerful to influence not only soldiers, but also chaplains. However those chaplains who were so influenced seem to have felt unable to carry on as chaplains in the army. This suggests that there was considerable restraint over what views chaplains were expected to express amongst the troops.

## CHAPTER VI

PARLIAMENTARY ARMY CHAPLAINS IN IRELAND

The history of the parliamentary army in Ireland is confused because of the complicated political and military circumstances there and the shifting alignments of the various parties. The decisive split between king and Parliament, which in England occurred in July 1642, did not occur in Ireland until 1643. The king and Parliament did not actively co-operate during this period, but both were, until then, enemies of the Roman Catholic Confederation of Kilkenny. The involvement of the Scots further complicated matters, especially as the Scot settlers and ministers in Ulster sometimes opposed the majority in Scotland.

Between 1641 and 1649 Parliament was partly responsible for some of the forces in Ireland, notably the Protestant army in Munster and the Ulster Scots. They sent some supplies and money and occasional reinforcements of troops. But because of the need to fight the war in England, and the nature of the military alignments in Ireland, it was not until 1649 that they raised an army for the Irish service which was solely responsible to them.

The English involvement in Ireland from 1641 until the 1650s was both complicated and fraught with difficulty. Parliament's contribution was made up of the expeditions of

Alexander Lord Forbes of July 1642 and of Lord Lisle of March 1647, the troops sent to Dublin in 1646-7, and the troops sent before and during Cromwell's expedition. There were two abortive expeditions as well. The first, in the spring of 1642, was that of Lord Wharton, whose troops were later incorporated into Essex's army. Five chaplains were appointed to serve the five regiments, but only two (Thomas Freeman and Samuel Wells) seem actually to have taken up their appointments.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Henry Jones, another of these chaplains, was probably already in Ireland, and remained there. The second abortive expedition was that planned in 1647, after the failure of Lisle's, when the war in England seemed to be over and New Model forces were mustered under Colonels Kempson, Grey, O'Connolly and Herbert for an expedition under Skippon. Chaplains appear not to have been appointed for this expedition.

Apart from the forces sent to Ireland there were also Protestant English soldiers there raised from the settlers. It is probable that before 1649 the majority of the English forces in Ireland were episcopalian, members of the Church of Ireland, since the armies made up of settlers outnumbered the forces sent from England. Inchiquin's army, which fought

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1. List of the Army Raised under the command of the Earl of Essex. (London, 1642) in The Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers, ed. Edward Peacock (London, 1874). The ministers were recommended by the Committee of Adventurers. C.S.P. Ireland 1633-47, p. 362.



for Parliament between July 1644 and May 1648, contained many such Protestants. Ormonde's army had a similar composition, although his truce with the Confederates discouraged many Protestants. Little is known of the chaplains or the religious life of these forces. The Catholic armies were probably better equipped with chaplains, because of the clerical interest in the Confederation. In a list of instructions issued from Kilkenny to the Lord General of Leinster in December 1642, the first clause is 'That there be sufficient preachers and confessors in the army as in all Catholic armies, and that the army frequent the Sacraments once a month and before battle'.<sup>1</sup>

Little is known of Alexander Lord Forbes's expedition of 1642 except from the account of Hugh Peter who was apparently chaplain to the army, although he seems to have engaged in the fighting as well:

'Three companies of us being left at Clinokeltey, my Lord gave order that Weldon being the eldest Captaine, I should assist him, with charge to give account of the pillage, till he returne,....<sup>So</sup> I view'd the Towne myselfe, and found three places fit for offence and defence,..... I march't out towards the enemy, my souldiers flung up their caps and gave a shout, and gave fire bravely with a brace of bullets, and made their [the enemy's] foot and two troops of horse retreat without any losse of ours, but some hundred of theirs.' 2

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1. C.S.P. Ireland 1633-47, p.374.

2. Hugh Peter, A True Relation of the Passages of Gods Providence in a Voyage for Ireland (London, 1642) pp.8-9.

Just as little is known about Lord Lisle's expedition, although it is supposed to have been responsible for introducing Independency into Ireland.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Larkham, who was Sir Hardress Waller's chaplain, may have served on this expedition, or possibly during Waller's earlier service in Ireland.<sup>2</sup> His reputation for heterodoxy dated from the 1630s, which he spent in New England. By his own account he was dismissed in 1649 from his place as Waller's chaplain for inciting his soldiers in England to insubordination. Some of the soldiers who went to Ireland with Lisle remained there, joining Inchiquin's Munster army, but it is not known what happened to them when Inchiquin went over to the king in 1648. Paul Sele, Sceley, or Seely and Samuel Whislade both received arrears in 1649 for service in Inchiquin's Munster forces as chaplains.<sup>3</sup> Sir Theophilus Jones raised an expedition for Ireland in 1646. Its fate is not known for Jones was taken prisoner in late 1646. The names of two of his chaplains are known. Mr. Creaton was chaplain-general (the only occasion when this title seems to have been used in the parliamentary forces). He may have

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1. T. C. Barnard, Cromwellian Ireland (Oxford, 1975) p.99.

2. D.N.B. 'Thomas Larkham' and 'Hardress Waller.'

3. Commons Journals 10 May 1649,  
17 August, 7 July.

been chaplain to Ormonde in 1642 and have published an account of the rebellion.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Deane (either Richard or Gilbert) was chaplain to the general staff.<sup>2</sup> Both men were certainly episcopalian.

The troops which went to Ireland in the period 1646-7 came largely from the disbanded provincial forces in England. Sir John Clotworthy reported to Parliament on 4 August 1646 on which counties had forces to send to Ireland.<sup>3</sup> Although many of these troops were mutinous and some were disbanded before embarkation to prevent further disorders, some did arrive in Ireland in 1646 and early 1647. The proposal to send New Model troops to Ireland in 1647 and its consequences are well known. The majority of these troops did not go until two years later, not least because of the second civil war. However it seems probable that Lieutenant Kempson took the regiment which he had raised to Ireland in July 1647<sup>4</sup> and Parliament ordered substantial reinforcements to be sent to Michael Jones in Dublin in September 1647.<sup>5</sup> These were probably made up of disbanded

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1. H.M.C. Ormonde MSS., I 193; R.Bagwell, Ireland under the Stuarts (London, 1909-16) II 31.
  2. H.M.C. Ormonde MSS., I 193; Alumni Dublinenses, ed. G. Burtchaell and T. Sadleir (Dublin, 1935).
  3. Commons Journals 4 August 1646. Oxon., Bucks, Berks., Derbyshire, Eastern Association, Staffs., Warwickshire, Gloucs., Worcs., Wales.
  4. H.M.C. 6th Report Appendix, House of Lords Papers pp. 188, 189.
  5. Commons Journals 16 September 1647; Cal.S.P.Dom. 1645-7, p.599.

provincial soldiers and some New Model troops.

Only two chaplains actually landed in Dublin with Cromwell's army in August 1649, but the presence of the English forces there brought over more ministers from England in the succeeding period, many of whom settled in Munster and Leinster. The two chaplains who accompanied Cromwell were Robert Stapylton and John Owen. Stapylton had been Cromwell's confidant and chaplain since 1648, although he was not commissioned in the army until June 1649. He appears to have gone to Ireland with Cromwell and to have returned to England with him in 1650, later accompanying him to Scotland. Nothing is known of his activities in Ireland. He was designated chaplain to the Lord General and general officers so he presumably spent his time mainly in Dublin or at army head-quarters. John Owen probably went to Ireland not just as an army chaplain, but because of his interest in disseminating the gospel and in educational reform. He returned to England in February 1649/50, when his place was taken by Jenkin Lloyd. Jenkin Lloyd, like Stapylton, had been Cromwell's chaplain for some time and had been in the army since 1648. Hugh Peter also went to Ireland in 1649 as chaplain to Cromwell and was involved in the preparations for the expedition, hiring ships and arranging transport for the army. He sailed for Ireland in September and joined Cromwell on his return from Drogheda. He then set out with Cromwell for Wexford, having been commissioned as a colonel.<sup>1</sup> In October the Council

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1. R. P. Stearns, The Sincere Puritan, Hugh Peter 1598-1660 (Urbana, 1954) pp. 354-6. Letter from John Endecott to John Winthrop Jr. April 18th. 1650 'Mr Peters is Colonell of a foote regiment in Ireland' in The Winthrop Papers, **Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society**, 4th series VI (Boston, 1863) p. 153.

of State referred the question of recruits for his regiment to the Irish Committee.<sup>1</sup> However, he fell ill and returned to England, apparently never to exercise his command, although he spent the rest of the winter at Milford Haven organising shipping and supplies for Ireland.<sup>2</sup> Not much is known of the other chaplains serving with the parliamentary army in 1649. The ministers who served in the regiments commanded by various members of the Coote family were probably local clergy, as the Cootes had settled in Ireland before the outbreak of the rebellion and had raised regiments against the Catholics in the early 1640s.

It is not necessary to discuss the Irish ecclesiastical settlement generally here, but in one particular respect it affected the army chaplains. Because the ministers of congregations were paid by the state in the same way as, though through a different committee from, the army chaplains, duplication could be avoided. There was little distinction between army chaplains and civilian ministers in Ireland and this may have been deliberate. Sharing the same secular superior, and having no ecclesiastical leadership, the two systems could be better integrated than was possible in England or Scotland. So great was the shortage of ministers by 1656, that Henry Cromwell began to pay state salaries to Scottish Presbyterians and to episcopalians. On the other hand, the system that made this possible, that is to say the pooling of tithes in a central

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1. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1649-50, p.349.

2. Stearns, op.cit. pp. 356-7.

fund from which the ministers' salaries were paid, was reversed in 1658.<sup>1</sup> Thus looking at the work done by army chaplains, it is not necessarily appropriate to exclude such civilian ministers as Edward Wale, Samuel Ladyman and Christopher Blackwood simply because they were paid on the civil list, for they undoubtedly combined the functions of minister and garrison chaplain.

Thomas Patient was the only chaplain who received an army salary continuously through the 1650s but his congregations in Wexford and Swift's Alley, Dublin were both civilian congregations. Samuel Ladyman accompanied Fleetwood to Ireland in 1652 and then became preacher at Clonmel. He may never have been on the strength of the army. Edward Whale came at the same time and was minister of an Independent congregation at Waterford from 1652 to 1659. Another minister, Nathaniel Partridge, was invited by Fleetwood to become his chaplain in 1653 and was provided with money to transport himself and his family to Ireland.<sup>2</sup> Here lies a clue to what was expected of chaplains coming to Ireland. It was not just an army of conquest, it was also an army of occupation protecting the English planters from the native Catholics. Nathaniel Partridge received payments in 1654 as minister of St. Catherine's church, Dublin, as preacher at Christ Church and the Phoenix, and as chaplain to Fleetwood's regiment.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Barnard, op.cit. p. 156-9.

2. Cal. S.P.Dom. 1653-4, p.196.

3. 'Commonwealth State Accounts 1650-6', ed. E. Madysaght Analecta Hibernica 15 (1944) p.263.

These preachers were appointed initially to the army. On their arrival in Ireland they were expected to minister to the civilian population and payment of their salaries was transferred from the army to the civil list. Most served in garrisons where the English settlers were concentrated. Increasingly, of course, the civilian English population was made up of disbanded parliamentary soldiers. It was in the garrison towns that Independent and Baptist beliefs were chiefly to be found. Most of the Presbyterians in Ireland were Scots and they had little in common with any of the English Independents. The Independents were not very successful amongst the civilian population outside the garrison towns, although John Rogers's church attracted a considerable congregation. Of the four hundred or so preachers paid on the civil list and listed by Seymour only 17 can be identified as Independents and of them 6 had some connection with the army.<sup>1</sup> The Baptists were also closely identified with the army. Of the 11 paid on the civil list and listed by Seymour, two were connected with the army (Christopher Blackwood and Thomas Patient) and Thomas Lamb (not listed as a Baptist), chaplain to Colonel Huncks, was probably a Baptist.<sup>2</sup>

Both Seymour and Dr. Barnard suggest that the presence of Independents and Baptists in Ireland was the result of the presence of the parliamentary forces. After the Restoration the Quakers seem to have survived more successfully in Ireland than either the Independents or the Baptists. Dr. Barnard also believes that 'The spread of Baptist tenets owed less to the work of

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1. St.J. D. Seymour, The Puritans in Ireland (Oxford, 1912) pp. 206-224.

2. ibid.

official preachers (Baptists paid government salaries numbered no more than a dozen) than to the enthusiasm of lay converts.'<sup>1</sup> However there is little evidence for the spread of Baptist beliefs outside the main garrison towns which were amply served by Baptist and Independent ministers (for Rogers's congregation included members who objected to paedobaptism). The Baptists had very mixed relations with the Dublin government because of their opposition to the Protectorate, although few of their salaried ministers seems to have incurred censure by the authorities.<sup>2</sup>

The religious situation and the position of the army in Ulster were quite different from the rest of Ireland. This was largely because of the predominance of Scottish planters there who had brought with them Scottish Presbyterianism. Thus from some time before the outbreak of the rebellion in Ulster there had been a Protestant alternative to episcopalianism. The war served in some respects to consolidate the Presbyterians' hold on Ulster. The forces which arrived from Scotland in 1641 brought with them a number of chaplains who set up a presbytery at Carrickfergus, the first in Ireland, and kirk sessions within the regiments. This presbytery maintained close links with the Scottish General Assembly which advised them and, occasionally, supplied ministers. At first most of the ministers were responsible only for the soldiers but they soon extended their activities to the civilian population and took on parishes. Throughout the period 1641-1660 Ulster was a source of anxiety for the English administration in

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1. Barnard, op.cit. p.102.

2. ibid. p.108.



Dublin. Ulster Scots were more concerned with Scotland's part in the civil war than with England's and their allegiances were influenced by events in Scotland. Furthermore the cohesion of the presbytery enabled the Scottish ministers to stand up to the Dublin government more effectively than the episcopalians were able to.

There is some debate as to when Independent and Baptist views began to appear in Ulster, but it seems probable that they had appeared before the first large drafts of English soldiers sent by Parliament in 1647.<sup>1</sup> John Reid suggests that John Warr, chaplain to the parliamentary commissioners, served as a minister in Lisburne where Monck was governor in 1647.<sup>2</sup> If this was so he would have been one of the first Independent ministers in Ulster, but there is no corroboration of this. Army chaplains known to have served in Ulster are William Aldrich (possibly an episcopalian), Messrs. Campbell, Blackbourne, Wilkinson, (as chaplains to members of the Coote family and thus unlikely to have been Independents), Thomas Lamb (possibly a Baptist), Stephen Lane and Humphrey Leigh, and John Wallwood.<sup>3</sup>

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1. J. Reid, History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (Belfast 1867) II pp. 36-7, says they had appeared by 1646, Patrick Adair, A True Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (Belfast, 1866) p. 120, says they had appeared by 1644.
  2. J.S. Reid, History of the Presbyterian church in Ireland, (Belfast, 1867) II 58.
  3. Wallwood was Monck's own chaplain in Ulster and was, it seems, a Scottish Presbyterian.

Nothing is known of the careers of these men other than that they served for a short period with English regiments in Ulster between 1649 and 1653.

The army commanders in Ulster after 1649 were expected to take part in the ecclesiastical administration of the province in their capacity as governors of garrisons and as commissioners for revenue (ie. as administrators of the Dublin government). Colonel Venables was the most active of these and cooperated with the principal Independent preacher in Ulster, Timothy Taylor, who was not a member of the army. Venables's chief concern was with the Scots Presbyterians, to whom the English government had an ambivalent attitude. The reason for this lay in the irreconcilability, in their eyes, of the provision of a Protestant ministry in Ulster with the Scottish origins and possible royalism of most of the settlers and their ministers. There was, then, an English military administration of a province whose Protestants were predominantly Scottish Presbyterians, so English army chaplains made little headway there. However the Dublin administration, faced with a grave shortage of Protestant ministers all over Ireland, began to feel that any Protestantism was preferable to none, especially after 1654 when the Ulster Scots had resolved their own division into Remonstrants and Resolutioners. After 1655 they were paid on similar terms to English ministers in the other provinces.

Both army chaplains and state salaried ministers seem to have confined their activities to the English population in the

other provinces. The fact that Samuel Ladyman preached to the Irish population was considered worthy of comment.<sup>1</sup> To some extent this limitation was due to the shortage of ministers. One Commonwealth minister often served several pre-1641 Church of Ireland parishes. Dr. Barnard claims that until 1655 Protestant evangelism was concentrated on the English soldiers and garrison towns and that sectarian controversy diverted attention from attempts to convert the Roman Catholic population.<sup>2</sup> The lack of understanding of Ireland in England may have contributed to the continuation of sectarian controversy amongst newly arrived ministers. On the other hand the fact that English Protestants were in such a small minority may have encouraged Protestant ministers to believe that their task was to strengthen the faith of their congregations against the Catholic majority. Furthermore it was necessary to convert episcopalians. There was a considerable number of episcopalian ministers, and most of the Protestant settlers who had come to Ireland before 1641 were episcopalian. Hence the need for some missionary activity among them.

The chaplains recruited in Ireland to serve the regiments of English settlers were somewhat different from those who came from England. They had been ordained in Ireland and although perhaps not technically episcopalians, were certainly not Independents or sectaries. Most of the chaplains who arrived after 1647 were

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1. St.J. D. Seymour, The Puritans in Ireland (Oxford, 1912) p.160.

2. T.C. Barnard, Cromwellian Ireland (Oxford, 1975) p.91.

Independents, with only 3 Baptists. There seem to have been no English Presbyterian chaplains, but this is probably due to the time and manner in which the forces were recruited, although, as has been shown, there were Presbyterian army chaplains in England in the late 1640s. Almost a third of the chaplains had been ordained in the established church before 1642. Of 35 chaplains, 20 are known to have attended a university, (7 Oxford, 8 Cambridge, including 2 who went to Trinity College, Dublin as well, 2 Trinity College, Dublin, 1 Edinburgh and 1 Harvard). This supports Dr. Barnard's conclusion that the proportion of university graduates amongst the English ministers serving in Ireland was very high,<sup>1</sup> although amongst the chaplains no one university predominates. As has been said few chaplains came from England with a regiment with which they had already served, nevertheless seven chaplains had some previous army experience.

A substantial number of chaplains had some previous connection with Ireland and remained there in civilian posts after leaving the army. This is accounted for by the appointment of people as army chaplains who would be likely to stay. Of the 14 chaplains who secured benefices in Ireland after leaving the army, only 3 had any previous connection with Ireland. For the other 11 their first contact with Ireland was as an army chaplain. This suggests that service as a chaplain in the army in Ireland was more of a career than service in England. It is more likely that chaplains were actually appointed on the understanding that they would take on wider ministerial work than it is that service in Ireland simply attracted a number of opportunists. There is no evidence to suppose that the ministers who went to Ireland were disqualified from holding

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1. Barnard, op. cit. p.137.

benefices in England, with the exception of the Baptist Andrew Wyke. Several of the chaplains who did not stay in Ireland became trustees of Trinity College and remained sufficiently interested to serve on the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales and Ireland. Chaplains and state salaried ministers in Ireland received a good salary by comparison with the local beneficed clergy. None of the 9 ministers in the precinct of Cork received more than £45 per annum and the least valuable benefice was worth only £10 per annum. By comparison chaplains and state salaried ministers all received over £100 a year.<sup>1</sup>

It is perhaps even harder to make any useful generalisations about the chaplains who served in the various forces fighting for Parliament in Ireland than about chaplains in other armies. Chaplains, though appointed to the army, seem to have been expected to minister to the civilian population of English settlers and to remain there once the military forces were disbanded. The circumstances in which the chaplains served were also very different from those of other chaplains. They did not have to justify a civil war. They had to strengthen the resolve of settlers and soldiers (many of whom had not wanted to serve in Ireland) to combat the forces of Catholicism aided by foreign money. To support this they invoked the mythology of the atrocities committed in 1641. Most of the chaplains came to Ireland specially as has been shown a number already had some connection with the country.

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1. Commonwealth State Accounts 1650-6', ed. E. MacLysaght  
Analecta Hibernica 15 (1944) pp. 274-5.

They must have known then that they were not just being offered army chaplaincies. There is little evidence of chaplains having come to Ireland because they were in difficulties in England (though this may have been so for the civilian minister Andrew Wyke). Rather they came to Ireland knowing what it would involve. What is surprising, then, is how little proselytising they did and how much they continued the sectarian disputes that they imported from England.

## CHAPTER VII

PARLIAMENTARY ARMY CHAPLAINS IN SCOTLAND

This chapter is primarily concerned with the parliamentary army chaplains who served in Scotland after 1650. However, there were several chaplains who visited Scotland in various capacities in the period 1639-1650. John Featley and William Watts were chaplains to the Earl of Arundel's force raised against the Scots in 1639. 'My Lord General's chaplain, Dr. Watts, who superintends all the chaplains in the army .....

has been in the wars of Germany.'<sup>1</sup> Both men travelled abroad as chaplains and were royalist after 1642. Watts was later chaplain to Prince Rupert. A list survives of the chaplains who served in the Earl of Northumberland's expedition for the second Bishops' War in 1640.<sup>2</sup> Eighteen are named. These chaplains seem to have been less committed royalists than Featley and Watts, and a number of them held benefices during the 1640s and 1650s. None, however, served as chaplains after 1642 in either the royalist or parliamentarian armies. During the 1640s there was a series of embassies between England and Scotland, mainly concerned with the alliance between the two countries. These embassies seem often to have been accompanied by ministers. Amongst those who visited Edinburgh were Stephen Marshall (1643, 1645, 1648) Philip Nye (1643), Edward Bowles (1644 and 1649) and

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1. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1639, p.51.

2. A List of all the Colonels ..... as also the Names of Ships, Captaines and Lieutenants that are now set forth under..... The Earle of Northumberland (London, 1640).

William Rowe (1649). Thomas Smallwood probably accompanied Lambert to Edinburgh as his chaplain in 1648 after the defeat of the Scots at Preston.

The expedition of 1650 was unlike the earlier expeditions which were primarily defensive. It was intended that the English army should invade Scotland and defeat the Scots who were supporting Charles II. The arrangements to provide the army in Scotland with chaplains described in chapter II seem only to have resulted in the appointment of chaplains to the general. There is some confusion about which regiments went to Scotland and hence about who served as a chaplain there.<sup>1</sup> It is also difficult to discover for how long most people served there, for most were paid arrears for the blanket period 20 May 1650 to 20 October 1651. Cromwell's regiment of foot seems to have had three chaplains for that period and, more mysteriously, so had Hacker's horse.

Some chaplains seem to have travelled north with the parliamentary army in August 1650, but there was clearly a shortage, since further arrangements were made to send more

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1. A List of the Regiments of Horse, Foote and Dragoones belonging to the English Forces in Scotland in the Yeeres 1650 and 1651. /B. M. Harleian MS 6844 f.124\_7 and pay warrants / S.P. 28/94\_7 The list names the following chaplains: Smallwood, Ives, Saunders, Coventry, Clark, Doughty, Ramsbottom, Bell, Eaton, Briscoe, Rootes, Freer, Oates.



chaplains in September.<sup>1</sup> 21 chaplains went to Scotland in 1650 of whom 2 were Presbyterians, 9 Independents, 3 Baptists and 7 were of unknown denomination.<sup>2</sup> There were, then, both more Presbyterians and more Baptists than there were in the New Model army in England at this time.<sup>3</sup> The authorities in London seem to have made no objection to the appointment of Baptist chaplains to the forces in either Scotland (where there were 3 in 1650) or Ireland (where there had been 2 in 1649). Although some chaplains returned to England from Scotland in 1650, they were replaced and there were still 21 chaplains in Scotland in 1651 of whom 1 was Presbyterian, 1 Presbyterian/Independent, 10 Independent, 3 Baptist and 6 were of unknown denomination. All these chaplains left Scotland when Cromwell and his army pursued the Scots to Worcester. Of the 8 chaplains in Scotland in 1652, 3 had served in the period 1650-1651 but none had simply remained in Scotland when the army marched south.

Like the chaplains who served in other parliamentary armies, the majority of those who served in Scotland in the period 1650-1651 had been to university (19 out of 25), and 9 had been ordained in the established church before 1642, most of whom had made the ministry

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1. See Chapter II p.67.

2. See Table XI and Table XII F Appendix 1.

3. See Table XIII D Appendix 1.

their career. What was quite different, however, was the large number of chaplains (10) who had seen service previously in one or other of the parliamentary forces. A minority of these had served some time earlier and had returned to the ministry before joining the English army in Scotland. Thomas Smallwood, for example, had been a chaplain in Fairfax's Northern army and had subsequently become chaplain to Lambert's regiment. The Yorkshire connection would seem to be the reason for this. George Burdett had been a chaplain in Essex's army but it is not known what he did between then and becoming chaplain to Robert Lilburne's regiment in 1650. By contrast John Coventry was commissioned chaplain to Colonel Thomlinson's regiment in 1649 and accompanied the regiment to Scotland in 1650 and back to Worcester in 1651, and Jenkin Lloyd and Robert Stapylton were already chaplains to Cromwell and had probably accompanied him to Ireland. It would seem, then, that the expedition of 1650-1651 was seen far more in terms of continuing service for regiments already in England than was the expedition to Ireland for which several regiments were specially raised or reorganised. However the pamphleteering which accompanied the advance of the invasion force was unusually explicit. It is unusual to find the army stating its attitude so clearly. Furthermore these statements involved a number of chaplains.

Much of the exchange of propaganda was part of the normal preliminaries of war, but the differences between the pamphlets of the various parties demonstrate their differences of interest. The pamphleteering opened with The Letter of the General Council

of the Army to their Brethren in their several Quarters and Garrisons, upon their march into Scotland 1650,<sup>1</sup> sent from Whitehall on 20 May 1650. It was signed by a number of the officers at headquarters and the chaplains Isaac Knight, Nicholas Lockyer, and Jenkin Lloyd. The purpose of the letter was to inform all units of the army of a fast to be held on 30 May. It is possible that it was drafted by Isaac Knight, on behalf of the General Council of the Army, which consisted only of commissioned officers. It is written in terms designed to appeal to popular religious radicalism:

'let both you and us be instant in Prayer, for the uniting of the hearts of all that fear the Lord ..... that there may not be found any of the generation of the Just, joyning Issue with those that support the Beast.' 2

This pamphlet was followed by one by Parliament, justifying the declaration of war on the Scots, and by one by the Council of State accounting for the English breaking the alliance with the Scots.<sup>3</sup> Cromwell and the Council of Officers then produced their own vindication showing that the army was not hostile to the Solemn League and Covenant. They also

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1. Printed in The Fifth Monarchy or Kingdom of Christ In Opposition to the Beast's, Asserted. (London, 1659) pp.9-12.

2. ibid. pp. 9-10.

3. Declaration of the Parliament of England, Upon the marching of the Armie into Scotland (London, 1650); Declaration of the Parliament of England, Concerning Their late Endeavors (London, 1650).

wrote a plea to the people of Scotland not to resist the English.<sup>1</sup> The most interesting of these pamphlets, A Declaration of the English Army now in Scotland, was published on 12 August 1650. It came from the junior officers and soldiers at Musselburgh, and was addressed to 'the People of Scotland, especially those among them that know and fear the Lord'.<sup>2</sup> It is written far more in the language of religious radicalism than any of the declarations of Parliament or Cromwell and the Council of Officers. In phraseology it is the most similar to the Letter of the General Council of the Army of 20 May.

'We were called forth by the Lord, to be instrumental to bring about that, which was our continual prayer to God, (viz). The Destruction of Antichrist and the deliverance of his Church and People.'

They were convinced

'that the Lords purpose was to deal with the late King as a man of blood: And being perswaded in our consciences, That he and his Monarchy was one of the ten horns of the Beast spoken of .....we ..... petitioned our Superior Officers, and the Parliament, to bring him to Justice'.

'Why should not Scotland as well as England rejoyce to see the horns of the Beast cut off ?' 3

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1. Declaration of the Army of England upon their March into Scotland (London, 1650) printed in Cal. S.P.Dom. 1650, pp. 242-7; Declaration of the Army of the Commonwealth of England (London, 1650).
  2. Published in The Fifth Monarchy or Kingdom of Christ In Opposition to the Beasts, Asserted (London, 1659) pp. 13-21, and with A Declaration of the Army of England Upon their March into Scotland (Edinburgh, 1650).
  3. ibid. pp. 14, 16, 19.

This declaration was accompanied by a Letter sent to the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland by Oliver Cromwell, from Musselburgh, 3 August 1650, which is chiefly memorable for containing Cromwell's famous words to the Scottish clergy 'I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken.'<sup>1</sup> The English obviously felt it necessary to explain to the Scots that they were not really reneguing on the Solemn League and Covenant :

'we have already examined our consciences, as before the Lord, and have a clear assurance in our hearts, That he will countenance us in this action, and that we do not break any Covenant which we have sworn before God, Angels and Men;..... Yet we do acknowledge, we have not been the exact Performers, though not the wilful breakers thereof.'<sup>2</sup>

They emphasised that 'Our Quarrel is still against Malignants, the Root whereof is now, through the evil policy of some Statesmen, become the head of Scotland.'<sup>3</sup> In making this statement they were also explaining to the English soldiers why they were invading the country of their Protestant brothers, the Scots. Hitherto their principal enemies had been royalist episcopalians and Irish Catholics, not members of a rightly reformed church. The English tried to imply that Charles II's taking the Covenant in June 1650 was insincere:

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1. A Letter Sent to the Generall Assembly of the Kirke of Scotland: by Oliver Cromwell (London, 1650) p.4.
  2. A Declaration of the English Army now in Scotland in The Fifth Monarchy etc. p. 18.
  3. ibid. p.19.

'When Scotland chose new gods, and would  
have a King out of a Family that God  
had rejected, then was War in the Gates.' <sup>1</sup>

There is another feature of these pamphlets which makes them interesting: they show the limits within which chaplains worked as propagandists. The General Council of the Army informed troops of a general fast and were joined by the three chaplains. It is not known how far the chaplains were responsible for initiating this fast, but they did not take any responsibility for its implementation.<sup>2</sup> They also had nothing to do with the later documents. Nevertheless the language of both the Letter of the General Council and of the Declaration of the English Army now in Scotland has a much clearer religious message than was usual in army documents. Some possible reasons for this have already been suggested. It might also reflect the change of emphasis from political radicalism to religious radicalism which seems to have taken place in the late 1640s and early 1650s with the failure of political radicals to secure any substantial reforms.

There was probably little difference between service in Scotland in the period 1650-1651 and service in the more remote parts of England and Wales. The regiments for which service in Scotland was quite unlike anything they had known previously were those which stayed on after 1651 to defeat the remaining areas of resistance, principally in the Highlands. Middleton and Glencairn's rising in 1654-1655 led to an increase in the

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1. ibid. p.17.

2. The only evidence of chaplains engaging in this kind of activity is so fragmentary that it has been considered only as isolated instances.

number of forces in Scotland but some troops were disbanded in 1655. From then until the Restoration about 7 regiments of horse, 11 of foot, and several troops of dragoons occupied Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

Of the chaplains who served the English regiments after 1651 there is little to be said. They served with the regiments based on major garrisons and there was usually also a chaplain to the general officers, based on Edinburgh. In 1651 Ralph Ward was chaplain to Fenwick's regiment at Leith, in 1651 James Brown, the General Baptist, was chaplain to Charles Fairfax's foot. Edmund Hickhorngill never actually served as chaplain to Robert Lilburne's regiment but rather as minister to the Baptist congregation at Dalkeith. His successor in 1653, Thomas Stackhouse, seems to have had no formal connection with the army. In 1653 Thomas Twisse appears as chaplain to the train of artillery. In 1654, when the Parliamentary forces were enlarged because of Middleton and Glencairn's rising, Richard Goodgroom is found as chaplain to Harrison's regiment, which was to become Monck's, and Samuel Kemme was, at this time, major of the regiment. John Price was chaplain to Reade's regiment. Joseph Hemmings may have been chaplain to Pride's regiment in 1655 and in 1656 John Beverley was chaplain to an unnamed regiment, and Samuel Stable was chaplain to the 'Dundee' regiment. In 1657 however the military establishment included only two chaplains, one at Edinburgh Castle and one at Inverlochy, each paid 6/8d a day. There was no one for the general officers or for the thirteen

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1. F.D. Dow, Cromwellian Scotland (Edinburgh, 1979) p.141.

principal garrisons and citadels.<sup>1</sup> The only other army chaplain who appear are Thomas Gumble and John Price who both served Monck and his regiment in 1658 and 1659.

During the period 1652 to 1657 there were spasmodic attempts by Parliament to send ministers to Scotland with the aim of serving the English there, both soldiers and civilians. Robert Lilburne wrote to Cromwell from Hamilton in 1651 saying

'I wish some able minister were here to speake in publique, and that I had some of Mr. Owen's sermons, and other bookes to disperse amongst them; many tells me they would gladly see and reade them, and confeseth they have been keptt from them, and have not been truely informed concerning our proceedings.'<sup>2</sup>

He got more than he bargained for with Edmund Hickhorngill who was sent to Scotland in 1652 by the Baptist church at Hexham. Hickhorngill refused to accept a post as chaplain or army pay and then fell out with the Baptist congregation at Leith. He finally appeared at Dalkeith, according to Thomas Stackhouse who was sent to replace him,

'in a swaggering garb, full of vain and idle discourses, and in my judgment a desperate atheist.'<sup>3</sup>

In 1652 the Parliamentary commissioners sent for twelve or more

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1. Scotland and the Protectorate, ed. C.H.Firth, Scottish Historical Society 31, (Edinburgh, 1899) pp. 373-81. (21 Dec. 1657).

2. The Original Letters and Papers of State, addressed to Oliver Cromwell . . . . of Mr. John Milton, ed. J. Nickolls (London, 1743) p.48.

3. Records of the Churches of Christ, gathered at Fenstanton, Warboys, and Hexham, ed. E. B. Underhill, Hanserd Knollys Society (London, 1854) p.330.



ministers to reside in the garrisons and other convenient places.<sup>1</sup> As a result of this Messrs. Mather, Bragg and Simpson seem to have gone to Scotland and in 1653 their pay was raised from 6s 8d a day to 8s a day.<sup>2</sup> In 1654 Monck was instructed, when he was appointed commander-in-chief, 'To promote the preaching of the Gospel and true religion', and two ministers were appointed to be paid by the parliamentary commissioners at Leith.<sup>3</sup> Two ministers continued to be paid on the civil list until 1657 although the inhabitants of Leith petitioned in 1656 to be allowed a Scottish minister as well as the English garrison preacher. Monck was reluctant to allow this because of the proximity of the magazine to the garrison.<sup>4</sup> The provision of preachers on the civil list seems to have tailed off in 1658 and 1659 and it is increasingly hard to say whether Thomas Gumble and John Price were military or civilian chaplains.

Of these chaplains two were certainly Baptists (Brown and Hickhorngill) as was Samuel Oates who had arrived in Scotland in 1650. Baptists were purged from the army in Scotland as a result of Overton's plot in 1654-5, in which Oates was implicated, and as a result of Wildman's plots. There seem to have been periodic

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1. The Cromwellian Union, ed. C.S.Terry, Scottish Historical Society 40 (Edinburgh, 1902) p.99.

2. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1651-2, pp. 191, 610; Cal. S.P. Dom. 1652-3, pp.337-8.

3. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1654, pp. 84, 195.

4. Scotland and the Protectorate, ed. C.H.Firth, Scottish Historical Society 31 (Edinburgh, 1899) p.318.

attempts throughout the later 1650s to expel Baptists, Quakers and republicans from the army and Oates was the last Baptist chaplain to serve with the army. There were, as well as these Baptist chaplains and two Independent chaplains (Mather and Simpson), two Presbyterians (Twisse and Gumble ). Monck himself seems to have preferred Presbyterians, although neither of these chaplains seems to have professed any preference for the Scottish type of Presbyterianism. The numbers of chaplains in the later 1650s fell because of the successive disbanding of regiments so that the number of chaplains involved is really too small to make any generalisations.

The chaplains of the Parliamentary army co-existed with the kirk. There was no question of their providing any substitute for Scots ministers. At best they provided an alternative.<sup>1</sup> There were certainly some Scots converts to the sects which arrived with the English: there were both Baptist and Quaker churches with Scots members, although the Quaker communities alone survived the Restoration.<sup>2</sup> In October 1651 Nicoll reported that some elders at a meeting of ministers in Edinburgh believed that anyone moved by the Spirit might preach, that it was not necessary to keep the Sabbath and that children should not be baptised until they could make a confession of their faith.<sup>3</sup> By 1652 Mr.Cornwell,

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1. There were some ejections of ministers who refused to stop praying for the King, which was a constantly disputed issue between the English and the Scots.

The Diary of Mr. John Lamont, ed. G.R. Kinloch, Maitland Club (Edinburgh, 1830) p.37.

2. G. Yuille, History of the Baptists in Scotland (Glasgow, 1926) p.34.

3. J. Nicoll, A Diary of Public Transactions, ed. D. Laing, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1836) pp.61-2.

minister of Linlithgow, and Mr. Thomas Charteris, minister of Stonehouse, both Scots, were reported to be performing respectively bigamous marriages and believers' baptism, although the responsibility for the first cannot be laid upon the English.<sup>1</sup> Both Nicoll and Lamont reported from 1652 occasional conversions of Scots ministers and occasional meetings at which adult Scots were baptised and, from 1655, the appearance of Quakers. From time to time, too, there were reports of Scots ministers taking part in debates with English ministers. However it is sometimes difficult to identify which doctrines were passed on to the Scots by the English. There were many accusations of heresy, immoral behaviour and witchcraft which it was convenient to attribute to the influence of the invader.

Although the Kirk was deeply concerned with its own divisions, it would be wrong to suggest that it ignored the presence of the English. As the diarists show, the English presence was not without any effect on religion. The English army was consistently referred to as the army of sectaries by the Scots. In 1651 there was a report that 'the clergie are much intraged and are exceedingly against both us [the English] and them in ~~their~~ pulpits against them as malignants and us as invaders.'<sup>2</sup> In 1653 the Protestors issued a strongly worded statement against the English and their errors: 'there be horrible blasphemies against the highest and first foundations, not only of the christean religion, but of all Religion (which our soules abhorre to name) vented by some in the Army, which

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1. ibid. p.94.

2. Clarke MS.20. f. 48, 13 November 1651.

we speake not by faithfull report alone, but as having heard some of them ourselves. The Lord's Day is prophaned almost everie where..... Besides intrusions that are made upon the Pulpits and Church of some ministers<sup>by some</sup> who are authorised to preach, there be not a few who are not at all authorized, who doe it in severall parts of the land from day to day.' 1

The other principal objection in this declaration is to religious toleration as contrary to Christ's law and testimony, destructive of God's ordinances, piety and godliness, and an inlet to atheism, profanity and looseness.<sup>2</sup> At the same time the Protesters exhorted the Scots separatists in Aberdeen to mend the error of their ways.<sup>3</sup> The Scots commonly complained about English sectaries and refused to consider the English army and army of saints.<sup>4</sup>

The position of the English army in Scotland makes a marked contrast with that in Ireland. The English in Ireland were there to conquer and then to colonise the country and to maintain English supremacy. The colonialism of both English and Scots was strongly Protestant and evangelical. The English presence

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1. 'Declaration or Testimonie of the Protesters in Reference to the English Actings Amongst us, 17 March 1653' in Register of the Consultations of the Ministers of Edinburgh and some other Brethren of the Ministry vol. I 1652-7, ed. W. Stephen, Scottish Historical Society, 3rd series vol. I (Edinburgh, 1921) pp. 24-5.

2. ibid. p. 25-6.

3. ibid. p. 37, 'Protesters' Declaration or Exhortation to the Separatists in Aberdeen.'

4. Declaration of the Army of England Upon their March into Scotland (Edinburgh, 1650). This edition also includes a vindication of the Declaration answering the criticisms of the General Assembly.

in Scotland after the defeat of the royalists there was simply a military occupation of a country with strong allegiance to the king. No attempt was made to encourage English soldiers or civilians to settle there. The occupying army respected the Scots' religion; they had a rightly reformed church on the Genevan model and reformed education. The English pacification of Scotland did not involve the obliteration of native institutions. The universities were purged but the vacant places were filled by Scotsmen, not Englishmen. There was no Commission for Propagating the Gospel in Scotland. The most marked contrast is perhaps between the civil lists of the two countries. Two English ministers were paid on the Scottish civil list (between 1654 and 1657 this involved three different people). More than three hundred and fifty English ministers were paid on the Irish Civil list between 1654 and 1659.<sup>1</sup> Clearly, then, the only civilian English ministers in Scotland were there to serve the English rulers, not, as in Ireland, a large civilian population as well.

Scotland did not arouse any particular missionary fervour in the occupying English forces. The radical language of the Declaration from Musselburgh is directed against the king, not against the Scots. Chaplains serving in the English army were not called upon to raise the morale of a small population of alien settlers amongst a large native Catholic population. Whilst they might object to aspects of Scottish Presbyterianism, they could not object to its fundamental premises. So, with the exception of the few Baptist and Quaker congregations set up

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1. St. J.D. Seymour, The Puritans in Ireland (Oxford, 1912) p.52.

by members of the army in Scotland, there was little contact between the religious life of the soldiers and of the civilian population in Scotland. Furthermore the Scots were as much concerned with their own Remonstrant/Resolutioner divisions as they were worried by the presence of English sectaries in their midst, although they were not unaware of the possible risks.

The picture presented of the religious life of the Parliamentary army in Scotland is a fragmented one, partly because of the paucity of information, partly because the army did not make much impact upon Scottish religious life. The army was responsible for the presence of radical sectaries in Scotland but it was not responsible for schism in the Kirk.<sup>1</sup> Baptists and Quakers gained adherents amongst both soldiers and Scottish civilians, but the numbers of both were small. The declaration of the army at Musselburgh of 1 August 1650 perhaps marks the last flowering in any sense of the army as a whole combating the forces of Antichrist. Subsequently the army was broken up by successive disbandings, by being settled in widely dispersed garrisons, and by the lack of any justification for a holy war. With the exception of the notorious activities of Edmund Hickhorngill and Samuel Oates, chaplains seem to have made little impact upon Scotland or in the army there.

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1. W. Ivan Høy, 'The Entry of Sects into Scotland' in Reformation and Revolution, ed. Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh, 1967) p. 180; Gordon Donaldson, 'The Emergence of Schism in Seventeenth-Century Scotland' in Studies in Church History 9 (Cambridge, 1972) pp. 286-7.

## CHAPTER VIII

CHAPLAINS AND THE CLERICAL PROFESSION

The major part of this thesis has been devoted to examining the careers of chaplains in the context of the various parliamentary armies with which they served. In this final chapter their careers will be examined in the context of the clerical profession.

As has already been said, chaplains had no ecclesiastical superiors in the army, but the majority of them were professional ministers. An army chaplaincy does not seem to have been seen as a means for those insufficiently qualified of entering the clerical profession by the back door. Most of those whose first clerical appointment was an army chaplaincy were amply qualified to hold a benefice. The lack of any ecclesiastical test and of any clerical supervision did, however, make admission to a chaplaincy easier than to a benefice or lectureship for those disqualified on grounds of conscience before 1642. Hence a high proportion of the clergy serving in the armies of Essex, Manchester and Waller had been in trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities before 1642 for their beliefs or practices. There were also some whose first clerical appointment in England on returning from exile in the Netherlands or America was a parliamentary army chaplaincy.

Chaplains were not unlettered mechanic preachers. This point is important to remember when considering contemporary comment on religion in the parliamentary forces. Of the chaplains in the armies serving in England until 1650, some 67% are known to have

attended university, though commonly they did not take degrees.<sup>1</sup> And of these chaplains 45% were ordained in the established church before 1642. The differences of proportion between the various armies may probably be accounted for by the difficulty of discovering who was ordained rather than by real differences between armies. One would expect the provincial armies to contain a high proportion of chaplains who had been episcopally ordained before 1642. Only 3 chaplains in any of these armies seem to have been episcopally ordained without having attended any university.

There is further evidence that these chaplains were not opportunists using army chaplaincies as a means of entering a clerical career with insufficient qualifications in the numbers of those who conformed in 1660-62. Around 7% of chaplains who served in England between 1642 and 1650 conformed in 1660-62 to the extent of holding a benefice after 1662. About half of the chaplains were actually ejected from benefices or places

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1.	<u>Attended university</u>	<u>Episcopal ordination before 1642</u>
Essex, Manchester and Waller's armies	69%	57%
Provincial forces	63%	34%
New Model army	70%	43%

This discussion, of course, relates only to the chaplains for whom sufficient information survives.



in the universities between 1660 and 1662 or continued to preach to nonconformist congregations after then.<sup>1</sup>

The chaplains who served in Ireland and Scotland have been excluded from these figures because it is not possible to make a clear distinction between English ministers ministering to the army and those ministering to the civilian population. A few served the army alone and, like the chaplains discussed above, probably envisaged returning to a benefice or lectureship in England. Others, however, had posts not unlike those held by the ministers serving communities of English merchants abroad. They did not necessarily intend to hold the post for very long, but were more settled than were army chaplains.

Army chaplaincies seem to have been treated differently from benefices by radical sectaries. They do not seem to have been seen as analagous to parishes by those who believed in gathered congregations. Those sectaries who objected to a salaried ministry do not seem to have objected to taking an army salary. Edmund Hickhorngill is the only known example of someone who refused to take an army salary because he believed that a paid ministry was wrong. There were amongst the army

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1.	<u>Conformed</u> <u>1660-62</u>	<u>Nonconformists</u> <u>1660-62</u>
Essex, Manchester and Waller's armies	6%	46%
Provincial forces	5%	51%
New Model army	8%	50%

8% of all chaplains are known to have died before 1660, but there is no information after 1660 for 37% of all chaplains.

chaplains, many like William Erbury and William Dell, who rejected the traditional role and qualifications of the ministry, but they accepted paid posts as ministers, in the army and after they had left.

Army and navy chaplaincies, college chaplaincies and fellowships all created problems over ordination because none of them constituted either a parish or a gathered congregation in the conventional sense. This was debated in the Westminster Assembly in April 1644 when Philip Nye claimed that the ordinary rules of ordination need not apply because the army and navy were occasional companies, not churches.<sup>1</sup> The other members of the Assembly did not agree and the ordinances for ordaining ministers (4 October 1644, 28 August 1646, 29 August 1648) all contained this or a similar clause :

'Let such as are chosen or appointed for the Service of the Army, or Navy, or Colleges, or other Charge, be Ordained as abovesaid, in such Church as the Minister appointed to Ordaine shall think fit .....' 2

Benjamin Bourne was ordained chaplain to the regiment of Colonel Butler in April 1647 by the fourth London Classis. He was described as a student in divinity and brought with him a testimonial to his having taken the Covenant, his soundness, conversation and title. He was examined by the classis and was given the thesis

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1. Notes of Debates and Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines by George Gillespie, ed. David Meek (Edinburgh, 1846) p. 52.
  2. Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, ed. C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait (London, 1911) Ipp. 524-5, 868, 1202-3.

'Whether infants may have Baptism administered them?' and was to expound a chapter for one of the members of the classis.

Unusually, Bourne actually had scruples about the baptism of infants and was given more time than usual to consider the question. Eventually he satisfied the classis and, after answering publicly the questions which the 1646 ordinance for ordination required to be asked of ordinands, was ordained 'by prayer and imposition of hands.'<sup>1</sup> Richard Connyers, however, who was ordained by the same classis to a lectureship at Lith in Yorkshire, had already served as chaplain to Colonel Robert Overton in Hull. He brought with him testimonies from local ministers.<sup>2</sup>

The position of the army chaplain was a matter for debate. In two respects he was in a position analogous to that of the traditional parish minister. He had a congregation which was not voluntarily gathered and he was appointed by a single layman (colonel or patron). Two very different points of view on this subject were recorded. Richard Baxter wrote that;

'When he [Cromwell] lay at Cambridge long before [1645] with that famous Troop which he began his Army with, his Officers purposed to make their Troop a gathered Church, and they all subscribed an Invitation to me to be their Pastor, and sent it me to Coventry: I sent them a Denial, reprovng their Attempt, and told them wherein my Judgement was against the Lawfulness and Convenience of their way.'<sup>3</sup>

1. The Register-Booke of the Fourth Classis of the Province of London 1646-59, ed. C. Surman, Harleian Society 82 and 83 (London, 1953) pp. 32-4.

2. ibid. pp. 25-6, 34.

3. Reliquiae Baxterianae, ed. M. Sylvester (London, 1696) I 51.

The grounds of Baxter's objection to the troop as a gathered congregation are not clear, unless he was objecting to being invited to minister to a gathered congregation at all.

In 1656 the Midland Association of Particular Baptists discussed the same matter. In answer to the question 'Whether a competent number of baptized believers in a troop or regiment may there walke as a church' they replied

'Wee doe not discerne that a number of disciples in a troop or regiment canne there walke as and act as a perticular church of Christ as seeing no Scripture to warrant it nor discerning them to be in a capacity to keep close to the rule of the worde in receiving<sup>g</sup> members, dealing with them in all cases as the matter shall require, and that they are continually liable to be dissolved.' 1

This reply would account for the diversity of army chaplains. If they could not be called by their troop or regiment and were not required to have any formal qualification, they had only to satisfy their colonel as to their capacity to do the job, which was a minimal recognition of ministerial gifts.

It is therefore, possible to say little of what sort of ordination was required of army chaplains, if any. Many of them had been ordained by the established church before 1642, although some later renounced their episcopal ordination. Some received Presbyterian ordination, either through the temporary mechanisms set up by the acts of 1644 or 1646, or through the classes. Some were ordained in Independent congregations and, despite

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1. Association Records of the Particular Baptists of England, Wales and Ireland to 1660, ed. B. R. White (Baptist Historical Society, 1971) part I, pp. 27-8.

the requirement that the congregation call them, carried their calling into the army. In the end however it is only possible to look at individual cases. There was no formal requirement by the army that a chaplain be ordained, so the decision lay with the person making the appointment. Some colonels must have been concerned about the formal qualification of ordination, others must have looked for evidence of ministerial gifts and to that extent were not concerned with formal qualifications. Even if it were possible to establish which chaplains had received some form of ordination, the answers would not necessarily be very informative, so great was the diversity in practice. In the end ordination only mattered to those who saw it as a formal qualification without which a man could not perform ministerial duties and such an inflexible view was quite unenforceable.

The chaplain's pay at eight shillings a day, a hundred and forty-six pounds a year, was high for clerical pay. Of course, it was rarely paid in full and it was uncommon for chaplains to spend more than two years in the army. But any benefice which paid over a hundred pounds a year was considered a good living and some benefices paid as little as twenty pounds a year. It is difficult to tell whether this high rate of pay in the army was intended to compensate for the lack of alternative sources of income. Many beneficed clergymen took on lectureships as an additional source of income, and, before 1642, cathedral offices commonly supplemented clerical incomes. Furthermore the army chaplain was prevented from seeking advancement in his career

whilst serving with the army. On the other hand, especially at the beginning of the war, the majority of chaplains had benefices or lectureships and did not give them up on joining the army. Of the 33 ministers who joined the army in 1642, 23 had been ordained and 22 held benefices. The majority of these chaplains served for less than a year, as did most people serving in the parliamentary forces in the early part of the war. They returned to their benefices and joined the Westminster Assembly rather than returning to the army.

A number of army chaplains became involved in ecclesiastical administration or ecclesiastical affairs in London, especially after Pride's Purge. Various chaplains were summoned to London during the war to give fast sermons, or came as messengers, but by 1649 several were settled in or around London more permanently, since the army in England was not actually engaged in fighting. Fairfax's chaplain, Isaac Knight, was even granted lodgings in Derby House.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from their becoming Triers or Ejectors, the Council of State and the House of Commons used to refer matters for consideration to such men as Peter, Knight, Lockyer and Owen. They were asked to arbitrate in disputes between ministers and to nominate suitable candidates for vacant benefices in England and Ireland, and for army and navy chaplaincies. As a result of this patronage their support was solicited by candidates for posts, not only

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1. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1649-50, p.166.

ecclesiastical ones. On the whole, however, this type of work was not done by chaplains until the 1650s because as long as a war was being fought they had to travel with the army and were not available for administrative tasks.

Army chaplaincies, then, were quite unlike any other posts open to the clergy. They were of uncertain duration but normally for only a short period. The few people like Hugh Peter or Thomas Gumble who might be termed career chaplains performed a wide range of tasks which derived from their close personal relationship with their commanding officers rather than from their posts as chaplains. Most chaplains seem to have regarded their term of army service as an interlude in a clerical career. There were, however, opportunities for less conventional characters like Abiezer Coppe, Laurence Clarkson and Thomas Collier whose army service formed an interlude in a career as a sectarian preacher. It is notable, however, that few chaplains gave voice to their unconventionality until after leaving the army.

## CONCLUSION

The intention of this thesis has been to look at the careers of the men who became chaplains in the parliamentary armies in the period 1642-1651. This study has been made in the light of the statements made about parliamentary army chaplains by contemporary commentators and by later historians. With this end in view some 280 chaplains were identified and as much biographical material as possible was assembled on each one.

In the light of this material it became clear that many of the assumptions hitherto made about parliamentary army chaplains were somewhat distorted. This distortion was due, in part, to the assessments of contemporary commentators. Chapter I demonstrates that the contemporary commentators most frequently consulted by historians all have considerable limitations. These commentators, Nehemiah Wharton, John Vicars, Robert Baillie, Thomas Edwards and Richard Baxter, were all more sympathetic to Presbyterianism than Independency or sectarianism and supported the 1643 alliance with Scotland. They also confined their comments to the period before 1646 and to the armies of Essex and Manchester and the New Model army. Chapters III-VII demonstrate how different each military force was from the others and, more particularly, how exceptional the New Model army was. The degree of religious and political radicalism and a self-consciousness of the army's role found in the New Model army were not reflected in any of the other forces except, to a small extent, the army which invaded Scotland in 1650 which was to all intents



and purposes the continuation of the New Model.

It is important to emphasise the limitations of these commentators, for their views have been widely adopted by historians. Their descriptions of the spread of sectarianism have been used as if they were equally applicable to all armies. In fact, as is shown in chapters III-VII, they applied only to a very limited extent to the armies of Essex and Manchester and, to a somewhat greater extent, to the New Model army and its successors in Ireland and Scotland. The presence of sectarianism and of political radicalism was certainly not due to the chaplains. Where radical religious and political ideas came from is almost impossible to say, though it seems most likely that they came from members of radical sectarian congregations in London and from civilian Levellers. However the provincial forces which, for a considerable period of the war, outnumbered the New Model army, were not only little touched by sectarianism, but also retained a significant proportion of Presbyterians.

Professor Solt's work is based upon a study of nine chaplains in the New Model army, one of whom (Robert Ram) cannot properly be said to have been in the New Model. As is shown in chapter V and in Table VI Appendix I, 38 chaplains are known to have served with the New Model army in England between 1645 and 1650. Professor Solt does not, however, set out to make an exhaustive study of all the chaplains he could find. Rather he is interested in pursuing the connections between certain religious beliefs and certain political opinions. On the evidence of a much larger number of chaplains than he used it is difficult to make definite

connections between particular political opinions and religious beliefs. It is certainly impossible to infer what someone's political opinions might have been from his religious beliefs, and vice versa. Professor Solt places particular emphasis upon the importance of the chaplains at the army headquarters. It is argued here that they represented a smaller proportion of the total number of army chaplains than Professor Solt would suggest, though it is true that posts at the general's headquarters were amongst the few chaplains' posts that were normally filled. It is also probable that their importance was due less to their roles as chaplains than to their work as confidential agents to the general. These chaplains were also, partly because of their work for the general, much in the public eye and were singled out for comment by newspapers and pamphlets when other chaplains were not.

Professor Solt's work has been misunderstood by Dr. Mark Kishlansky who writes that 'only nine "Saints in Arms" have been identified'.<sup>1</sup> This is to use Professor Solt's book as if it were an exhaustive study of all chaplains in the New Model army. Evidence is also presented in Chapter V to suggest that Dr. Kishlansky's assessment of the balance of appointments in the New Model army in 1645 between Presbyterians and Independents had somewhat different implications from those which he outlines. It would appear that even if there was a balance between Presbyterians and Independents in senior army commands in 1645, there

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1. Mark A. Kishlansky, The Rise of the New Model Army (Cambridge, 1979) p.71.

was a majority of Independent colonels. This is significant because it was largely the colonels who were responsible for making appointments of junior officers and chaplains to regiments. Whilst it is quite clear that colonels did not appoint chaplains to conform to their own religious idiosyncracies, they did appoint men who would conform to the prevailing ethos of the army. Hence the proportion of Independent chaplains appointed to serve in the New Model army in 1645 was considerably higher than the proportion of Independent chaplains in the armies of Essex, Manchester and Waller which were disbanded at the same time. Furthermore the proportion of Independent chaplains in the New Model army increased. The proportion of Presbyterian chaplains in the New Model army did not decline to an insignificant level until 1647. Presbyterian chaplains seem, although the total numbers involved are very small, to have maintained a more significant presence in the provincial forces in the later 1640s.

The three other historians whose work is examined, Brian Manning, Tai Liu and Murray Tolmie, do not make any statements about chaplains but all have something to say about the religious character of the parliamentary forces. Professor Manning's conclusions about the nature of popular puritanism in the parliamentary forces and the importance of service in the New Model for removing men from their homes and subjecting them to new influences would seem to be borne out by this study. Tai Liu takes the view that there were certain religious beliefs held by army chaplains and disseminated by them amongst the soldiers which were distinct from those held by other Puritan divines. As has been demonstrated it was very difficult for

army chaplains to share a single view because their chief contact was with the individual colonels who appointed them and their regiments, not with one another. Chaplains must have seen little of each other, for much of the war was conducted by small detachments of troops, not by large field armies made up of many regiments.

Both Tai Liu and Bernard Capp make statements about the importance of millenarianism in the beliefs of army chaplains. Certainly the circumstances of army service encouraged a belief in the coming millennium, and millenarianism lent itself well to encouraging troops to victory. This is not to underestimate the importance of millenarianism but, rather, to suggest that there may be insufficient evidence to associate millenarian beliefs particularly with army chaplains, any more than military metaphors, commonly used by many Puritan preachers, might be associated with them. Very few sermons actually preached to troops survive and these differ little from the kinds of sermon which these individuals preached before other congregations.<sup>1</sup>

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1. William Bridge, A Sermon Preached unto the Voluntiers of the City of Norwich (London, 1642). (Bridge was not an army chaplain.); William Beech, More Sulphure for Basing... a Sermon at the Siege of Basing (London, 1645); William Dell, The Building and Glory of the truely Christian and Spiritual Church.....Preached to His Excellency Sir Tho. Fairfax and the General Officers of the Army.....at Marston..... June 7, 1646 (London, 1646); Thomas Collier, A Discovery of the New Creation. In a Sermon preached at the headquarters at Putney (London, 1647); Hugh Peter, A Most Pithy Exhortation delivered in an eloquent oration to the watry generation aboard their Admirall at Gravesend by Mr. Hugh Peters (London, 1649).

The evidence of this thesis suggests that Dr. Murray Tolmie is right to see the London sectarian congregations as an important source of sectarianism in the army. However, he also believes that there was a sufficient degree of organisation by religious radicals for them to be able to act in concert in 1648. Certainly the evidence of the documents produced by the army during the invasion of Scotland suggests that there was a heightened religious consciousness in 1650 in the way that there had been a heightened political consciousness in 1647. This must, in part, be explained by the failure of political radicalism to make any substantial gains and also by the particular circumstances of the invasion of Scotland. It does also suggest, however, that religious radicals were influencing not just junior officers and soldiers, but also more senior officers and chaplains. Chaplains with extreme political and religious opinions did not remain in the army to express them but there does, in the later 1640s, seem to have been a greater tolerance for the further extremes of Independency and sectarianism amongst chaplains than there had been earlier. The greater numbers of Baptists amongst the chaplains in Ireland and Scotland by comparison with the number in the New Model earlier support this.

The part which regimental colonels played in appointing chaplains has been discussed. Sometimes they made appointments unaided, sometimes they took the advice of a committee set up by the government or of the Westminster Assembly. It has been shown that they did not necessarily appoint chaplains whose views coincided with their own. Nor do they seem to

have looked for people who were capable of combating religious or political radicalism. They probably chose people capable of sustaining the morale of the troops. In this they were not dissimilar to lay patrons looking for men with suitable qualities to fill benefices. Chaplains had to be able to explain to the soldiers why they were going to war against their own kind; they did not need to raise revolutionary fervour. They were able to say that the war was a righteous war because the enemy had been trying to destroy true religion. They could describe in abstract terms what would follow on a victory for righteousness, but once they talked about practical details they were liable to draw attention to divisions among the parliamentarians. They had, therefore, to follow the lead of the army command. Those who wanted to dissent from it left the army.

Clearly a tremendous range of people, many of whom are much better known in some other context, served as chaplains. They served, too, in a wide variety of forces, often for only short periods. Nevertheless service as an army chaplain was important as an interlude in what was, for most chaplains, a clerical career. It exposed many chaplains, especially those in the New Model army, to a range of political and religious opinions quite unlike any that they might find elsewhere. The influence that this had is not measurable but it is certainly observable. Chaplains in other parliamentary armies might not have been exposed to such a ferment of ideas, but it is important to remember that all of these chaplains had made an important statement about their political opinions and religious beliefs by joining the parliamentary forces at all.



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## APPENDICES

APPENDIX I        -        Lists and Tables

APPENDIX II       -        (in the second volume)  
Biographical Index of Parliamentary  
Army Chaplains

APPENDIX I

Guide to symbols used in tables.

Table I	Chaplains in the armies of Essex, Manchester and Waller.
Table II	Colonels in Essex, Manchester and Waller's armies and their chaplains.
Table III	Chaplains in the provincial armies.
Table IV	Provincial army colonels and their chaplains.
Table V	Provincial army garrisons and their chaplains.
Table VI	Chaplains in the New Model army.
Table VII	New Model army colonels and their chaplains.
Table VIII	Chaplains in Ireland.
Table IX	Colonels of regiments in Ireland and their chaplains.
Table X	The number of chaplains paid by the army in Ireland 1649-59 by year.
Table XI	Chaplains in Scotland.
Table XII	Colonels of regiments in Scotland and their chaplains.
Table XIII	Distribution of Chaplains' religious denomination by army and date.

- A. Essex's army
- B. Manchester's army
- C. Waller's army
- D. New Model army
- E. Provincial forces
- F. Forces in Scotland

## INTRODUCTION TO APPENDIX I

This appendix is intended to be used as an index to chapters III, IV, V and VI. It contains lists of chaplains who served in the various armies and their qualifications and of the colonels in whose regiments these chaplains served. From these lists is drawn the statistical material summarised in each of these four chapters and in Table XIII. The generalisations made about the types of chaplains in each army, their qualifications, and their views are based on the material summarised from the biographies in Appendix II in these tables. The tables have been formulated in this way to make the mass of biographical material in Appendix II a little more manageable and also to indicate clearly which chaplains are being referred to in each chapter.

The tables are a distillation of the longer biographies to Appendix II and detailed references to sources will be found there for individual chaplains. Much of the material comes from standard biographical sources, particularly the Dictionary of National Biography; A.G. Matthews, Calamy Revised (Oxford, 1934); A.G. Matthews, Walker Revised (Oxford, 1948).

### NOTE

Lists of colonels are not intended to be exhaustive lists of colonels in the individual armies. They are lists only of those colonels the identity of whose chaplains is known.

# KEY TO THE TABLES

The following symbols have been used throughout the tables at the end of chapters II - V.

- ✓ affirmative; ie. that the person has done whatever the column indicates.
- X negative; ie. that the person has not done whatever the column indicates.
- ? possibly.
- not known, or not applicable.
- B Baptist
- C Cambridge University
- D Trinity College, Dublin.
- E Edinburgh University.
- Ep Episcopalian.
- H Harvard University.
- I Independent.
- O Oxford University.
- P Presbyterian.
- Q Quaker.

The following categories are used in Tables I, III, V, VIII and XI.

## University

The criterion for entry in this column is whether the chaplain attended university, rather than whether he took a degree. The principal sources used were Alumni Oxonienses, ed. J.Foster, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1891-2); Anthony Wood, Fasti Oxonienses, ed. P. Bliss (London, 1815); Anthony Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, ed. P.Bliss, 4 vols.

(London 1813-20); Alumni Dublinenses, ed. G. Burtchaell & T. Sadleir (Dublin, 1935); Alumni Cantabrigienses, ed. J. and J.A. Venn, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1927-7).

### Ordained

The criterion for entry in this column is whether the chaplain received episcopal ordination before 1642 as a deacon or as a priest. A footnote is occasionally added if the chaplain is known to have received Presbyterian ordination, but the records of ordination in the 1640s and 1650s are very scarce and little is known about the process of ordination then.

### Conformed

The criterion for entry in this column is whether the chaplain conformed to the Restoration settlement to the extent of holding a benefice after 1662. After conformists are classified as having conformed. Those who conformed to the extent of attending services in the established church are not deemed to have conformed. Non-conformists are considered to be those who were ejected from benefices during 1660-62, or continued to preach to nonconformist congregations, or who registered under the terms of the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 and who never conformed.

### Denomination

The classifications in this section are necessarily rather



vague. Where an individual passed through a number of different denominations he is given as whatever he was at the time of his army service. A rough indication has already been given in the Introduction as to what is understood by the terms Presbyterian, Baptist, separatist<sup>at</sup> and sectary. As far as is possible each chaplain's views at the time of his service in the army have been given, but there has been inevitably some reliance placed upon later indicators. Some chaplains signed Attestations or Testimonies in support of the Presbyterian system in 1648, but so did some Independents. Those who signed the Vindication of 1648 were mainly Presbyterian, as were those who refused the Engagement in 1650, but not infallibly so.

Some attention has been paid, in the absence of any other evidence, to the registrations under the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence. These are unreliable for a number of reasons. In the first place they took place twenty five years after the period with which this thesis is concerned. In the second place individuals may well have changed their views. And in the third place individuals did not necessarily decide under what denomination they were to be registered, this was left to the clerk. Baptists did not often register, just as they rarely held benefices in the 1650s and do not appear amongst the ejected clergy in 1660-62. Both implied accepting that the magistrate had some part to play in the direction of religious affairs, which many Baptists were unwilling to countenance.

Dates of Service

These dates are maximum rather than minimum. That is to say that the chaplain is known to have served in the army between the two dates, but not necessarily for the whole time. In a few cases two alternative sets of dates are given.

TABLE I

Army

E	Served in Essex's army
M	Served in Manchester's Eastern Association army
W	Served in one of Waller's armies

Member of the Westminster Assembly

Membership of the Westminster Assembly at any time during its existence.

Beneficed before 1642

Whether a chaplain held a church of England benefice or lectureship before 1642. Although for a period admission to lectureships was easier than admission to benefices for those who had scruples about various matters of doctrine and practice, it became as difficult as a result of the restrictions imposed by Laud.

Trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities before 1642.

Any trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities, the church courts, the High Commission, episcopal visitations, or such acts as refusing to read the Book of Sports, or to use the Prayer Book.

TABLE III

Beneficed before

Beneficed before joining the army, therefore possible after 1642.

Beneficed after

Held a benefice after leaving the army, possibly the same one held before joining the army.

Local connection before

Evidence of some connection with the locality in whose force the chaplain served before joining the army.

Local connection after

Evidence of some connection with the locality in whose force the chaplain served after he left the army.

Trouble with ecclesiastical authorities before 1642.

Any trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities, the church courts, the High Commission, episcopal visitations, or such acts as refusing to read the Book of Sports, or to use the Prayer Book.

TABLE VI

Previous army service

Service with any army, Essex, Manchester, Waller's armies or one of the provincial forces, before joining the New Model army.

Trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities before 1642

Any trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities, the church courts, the High Commission, episcopal visitations, or such acts as refusing to read the Book of Sports, or to use the Prayer Book.

TABLE VIII

Previously in army in England

Service in any force in England before serving in the army in Ireland.

Previously in army in Ireland

Previous service in any force not raised as one of the parliamentary forces in Ireland, Coote's forces in Ulster, for example.

Previously in Ireland

In Ireland for any reason before serving in the parliamentary forces there.

Secured benefices in Ireland

Secured a benefice or some sort of salaried clerical appointment in Ireland after serving in one of the parliamentary forces there.

TABLE XI

In army before Scotland

Service in any parliamentary force before serving with the  
army in Scotland.

TABLE I

CHAPLAINS IN THE ARMIES OF  
ESSEX, MANCHESTER AND WALLER.

University	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	Army	Member of Westminster Assembly	Beneficed before 1642	Trouble with ecclesiastical authorities before 1642		Denomination	Dates of service
C	✓	X	M	X	✓	X	Rice ALLISON	P	1644
C	✓	X	E M	✓	✓	✓	Simeon ASHE	P	1642-3 1643-5
O	-	X	E	X	-	-	Samuel AUSTIN	-	1643
C	-	X	M	X	✓	?	John BACHELOR	I	1643-5
O	✓	-	E	X	✓	-	Robert BALSOME	P	1644
O	✓	X	E	X	✓	-	Timothy BATT	?P	1644-5
C	✓	-	M	X	✓	-	George BECK	-	1643
O	✓	X	E	X	✓	X	William BENN	P/I	1642
-	-	-	M	-	-	X	BOOLES	-	1644
C	✓	X	E	X	✓	-	Edward BOWLES	P/I	1642-4
<sup>c</sup> / <sub>D</sub>	✓	①	E	X	✓	✓	George BURDETT	I	1644-6
O	✓	X	E	✓	✓	✓	Cornelius BURGESS	P	1642-3
C	✓	-	E	✓	✓	-	Adoniram BYFIELD	P	1642-3
-	-	X	E	-	-	-	Oliver CALDERWOOD	?P	1644
-	-	-	E	-	-	-	Richard CARSLEY	-	1642
O	✓	X	E	✓	✓	✓	Thomas CASE	P	1642
O	✓	X	E	✓	✓	✓	Francis CHEYNELL	P	1644

① Held benefice in Ireland after 1660

TABLE I (Contd)

University	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	Army	Member of Westminster Assembly	Beneficed before 1642	Trouble with ecclesiastical authorities before 1642		Denominations	Dates of service
-	-	-	M	-	-	-	—— COOKE	-	1644
?E	-	-	M	X	-	-	—— CRAWFORD	P	1644
O	✓	X	E	X	✓	-	Thomas CROMPTON	P	1642
-	-	-	<sup>E</sup> / <sub>W</sub>	X	-	-	John CROOKSHANK	?P	1644
C	✓	X	M	X	✓	X	William DELL	I	1644-5
C	✓	-	E	✓	✓	✓	Calybute DOWNING	I	1642-3
O	✓	-	E	X	✓	✓	William ERBURY	I	1642-4
-	-	-	E	-	-	-	William FALCONER	-	1642
o/c	X	X	M	X	X	X	Henry FEILD	P/I	1644-5
?C	X	✓	M	X	X	X	—— FITCH	P	1644-5
C	✓	X	<sup>E</sup> / <sub>M</sub>	X	✓	✓	Robert FOGG	P/I	1642-3 1644-5
C	✓	-	M	X	✓	-	Charles FRANK	?P	1644
-	-	-	E	-	-	-	Thomas FREEMAN	-	1642
C	✓	-	M	✓	✓	X	William GOODE	P	1643-4
?C	X	X	E	X	X	X	—— GRIFFITH	-	1644
(-	-	-	E	-	-	-	Humphrey HARDWICK	P	- )
?C	✓	-	E	X	✓	X	Thomas JACKSON	?P	1642

TABLE I (Contd)

University	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	Army	Member of Westminster Assembly	Beneficed before 1642	Trouble with ecclesiastical authorities before 1642		Denomination	Dates of service
C	✓	X	M	X	✓	X	Nathaniel JOCELIN	?P	1644
-	-	-	E	-	-	-	James JUNIS	-	1644-5
O	✓	✓	E	X	✓	X	Samuel KEMME	P	1642-4
C	✓	X	M	X	✓	✓	Hanserd KNOLLYS	B	1643
X	X	-	E	X	X	X	———— LAYTON	-	1642
-	-	-	M	-	-	-	———— LEE	-	-
E	-	-	E/ W	X	-	-	Patrick LEVINGTON	P	1643-4
C	✓	-	E	✓	✓	✓	Stephen MARSHALL	P/I	1642-3
-	-	-	E	-	-	-	James MOORE	?P	1643
-	-	-	E	-	-	-	John MOORE	-	1644
?-	-	-	E	✓	X	✓	William MORTON	P	1642-3
C	✓	X	E	X	✓	✓	James NALTON	P	1642
CO	✓	X	E	X	X	✓	John OXENBRIDGE	I	1642-3
C	✓	X	E	X	-	-	John PAGE	-	1642-3
O	-	X	E	X	-	-	Thomas PALMER	I	1644
?-	-	X	E	X	-	-	William PARKER	P	1642
-	-	-	E	-	-	-	———— PERCROSSE	-	1644
O	✓	X	E	X	✓	X	Edward PERKINS	P	1642-3



TABLE 1 (Contd)

University	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	Army	Member of Westminster Assembly	Beneficed before 1642	Trouble with ecclesiastical authorities before 1642		Denomination	Dates of service
C	✓	✓	M	X	✓	X	William READING	P	1644-5
X	V	X	E	X	✓	X	John SALWAY	-	1644
O	✓	-	E	X	✓	✓	John SEDGWICK	P	1642
O	✓	-	E	✓	✓	✓	Obadiah SEDGWICK	P	1642
O	✓	X	E	X	✓	X	William SEDGWICK	I	1642-3 1644
-	-	-	E	-	-	-	Robert SEMPLE	-	1643
C	✓	X	E	✓	✓	✓	William SPURSTOWE	P	1642
C	✓	✓	E	X	✓	X	John SYMONDS	P	1642-3
O	✓	X	E	X	✓	X	William TREVITHICK	P	1644
-	-	-	E	-	-	-	———— TUCKER	-	1642
?	✓	-	E	X	✓	X	Thomas TWISSE	-	1643-5
-	-	-	E	-	-	-	John VINTER	-	1642
C	-	-	E	X	-	-	William VINTER	-	1642
O	✓	X	E	X	✓	-	Samuel WELLS	P	1642-4
X	-	X	E	X	X	X	William WICKINS	P	1642
0/C	-	X	W	X	X	X	William YEO	P	1644

TABLE II  
COLONELS IN ESSEX, MANCHESTER AND WALLER'S  
ARMIES AND THEIR CHAPLAINS

<u>Colonel</u>	<u>Chaplain</u>
Train of Artillery	Richard Carsley 1642 Thomas Twisse 1643-5
Sir William Balfour	William Morton 1642-3 Oliver Calderwood 1644-5
Colonel William Bamfield	Thomas Freeman 1642
Colonel Harry Barclay	James Moore 1643 James Junis 1644-5
Earl of Bedford	William Benn 1642
Colonel Hans Behre	Patrick Levington 1644
Lord Brooke	William Wickins 1642
Colonel Richard Browne	Mr. Layton 1642
Colonel Henry Bulstrode	Samuel Wells 1642-3
Sir Henry Cholmly	Adoniram Byfield 1642-3
Sir William Constable	William Sedgwick 1642-3
Colonel Lawrence Crawford	Mr. Crauford 1645
Colonel Oliver Cromwell	Mr. Cook 1644 William Dell 1644
Colonel Charles Essex	Samuel Wells 1642
Colonel Thomas Essex	William Vinter 1642
Earl of Essex	(foot) Stephen Marshall 1642-3 (horse) Cornelius Burgess 1642-3 (horse) Samuel Wells 1644 Samuel Kemme 1642 Robert Balsome 1644 Francis Cheynell 1644 ? Humphrey Hardwick
Colonel Richard Fortescue	John Moore 1644
Colonel Arthur Goodwin	Edward Perkins 1642-3
Colonel Thomas Grantham	James Nalton 1642

TABLE II (Contd)

<u>Colonel</u>		<u>Chaplain</u>
Colonel John Hampden		William Spurstowe 1642
Colonel Edmond Harvey		Mr. Griffith 1644 Mr. Percrosse 1644
Sir Miles Hobart		William Dell 1644 Nathaniel Jocelin 1644 Charles Frank 1644 Robert Fogg 1644
Colonel James Holborne		John Crookshank 1644
Colonel Denzil Holles		Obadiah Sedgwick 1642
Colonel Thomas Hoogan		Rice Allison 1644
Colonel James Kerr		Patrick Levington 1643-4
Colonel George Langham		Thomas Palmer 1644
Colonel Leighton		William Yeo 1644
Earl of Manchester	(foot)	Simeon Ashe 1642, 1643-5 George Beck 1643 William Goode 1643-5
	(foot)	Henry Feild 1644-5 ? Robert Semple 1645 - Lee
Sir John Meldrum		Edward Bowles 1643 Robert Semple 1643 Robert Fogg
Colonel Melve		Robert Fogg 1642-3
Sir John Merrick		Mr. Tucker 1642
Colonel John Middleton		John Symonds 1642-3
Colonel Edward Montague		William Reading 1644-5
Earl of Peterborough		William Falconer 1642
Sir Robert Pye		Timothy Batt 1644-6
Sir James Ramsey		John Oxenbridge 1642-3
Lord Roberts		Calybute Downing 1642-3 William Trevithick 1644
Lord Rochford		John Page 1642-3
Colonel Francis Russell		Mr. Booles 1644

TABLE II (Contd)

<u>Colonel</u>	<u>Chaplain</u>
Lord St. John	John Vinter 1642 William Vinter 1642
Colonel Philip Skippon	William Erbury 1643-5 Thomas Palmer 1644
Earl of Stamford	John Sedgwick 1642-3
Colonel Thomas Tyrrell	George Burdett 1643 Samuel Austen 1643
Colonel Vermuyden	Mr. Fitch 1644-5
Sir William Waller	Thomas Jackson 1642
Colonel Valentine Walton	John Bachelor 1643-5
Colonel Ware	John Salway 1644
Lord Willoughby of Perham	William Parker 1642

TABLE III  
CHAPLAINS IN THE PROVINCIAL ARMIES

University	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	Benefice before	Benefice after army	Local connection before	Local connection after	Trouble with ecclesiastical authorities before 1642		Denomination	Dates of service
C	✓	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	Edward ARCHER	P	1646
O	-	X	-	✓	X	✓	-	Andrew ARNOLD	P	1649
?C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	_____ ASPINALL	-	1642
C	-	X	✓	✓	X	✓	?	John BACHELOR	I	1645-50
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	_____ BACON	I	1644
O	-	X	-	✓	X	X	X	Nathaniel BARTON	P/I	1645-7
-	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Richard BAXTER	P	1642-5
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Maurice BEDWELL	-	1645-7
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<sup>a</sup> _____ BINNE	-	1644
C	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	John BRYAN	P	1643-5
(								John BUNYAN		1643 )
C	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	Anthony BURGESS	?P	1642
O	-	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	Benjamin BURGESS	P	1659
C	✓	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	John CANNE	I	1648 1650-7
O	✓	X	✓	✓	X	/	✓	Francis CHEYNELL	P	1643-4
C ①	-	✓	✓	✓	X		-	Richard CONNYERS	I	1647
O	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	-	Abiezer COPPE,	B	1646
O	✓	X	✓	/	/	X	X	John CORBET	P	1643

① Ordained by 4th London classis.

TABLE III (Contd)

University	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	Benefice before	Benefice after army	Local connection before	Local connection after	Trouble with ecclesiastical authorities before 1642		Denomination	Dates of service
-	-	-	X ✓		X X	-		Shem COXE	-	1644
O	✓	X	✓	-	X X	-		Thomas CROMPTON	P	1642-6
-	-	-	-	-	-	-		<del>————</del> CROKSHANK	-	1644-7
C	-	X	-	✓	?	-	-	Edward DAMER	-	-
C	✓	X	✓	✓	-	✓	-	John DAVIS	I	1646-50 1659
H	-	-	X X		X X	X		George DOWNING	-	1648-50
O	-	-	-	-	-	-		Henry DUNCUMB	-	1645
C	-	-	-	-	-	-		John DUPEREROR	-	1659
C	✓	X	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	Samuel EATON	I	1646
O	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	Ephraim ELCOCK	P	1645
?C	-	?X	-	?	-	?	-	Thomas EVANCE	?P	1645-6
C	✓	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	Robert FOGG	P/I	1645-6
O	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	Thomas FORD	P	1644-5
O	✓	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	Thomas GILBERT	P/I	1643
C	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	Paul GLISSON	-	1644
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	John GRAPE	-	-
O	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓	-	Obadiah GREW	P	1645-6
C	✓	X	X	✓	X	✓	X	Samuel HAMMOND	I	1647-50

TABLE III (Contd)

University	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	Beneficed before	Beneficed after army	Local connection	Local connection after	Trouble with ecclesiastical authorities before 1642		Denomination	Dates of service
	X X	X X	✓	-	X	X		John HERRING	P	1650
(	X X	X X	X X	✓	X	X		Paul HOBSON	B	1644-5 )
	O ✓	X ✓	✓ ✓	✓	✓	✓		George HUGHES	P	1647
	O ✓	X ✓	✓ ✓	✓	X			Peter INCE	P/I	1644-6
	- -	X -	✓	-	-	-		Thomas JENKINS	-	1643
(	X X	X X	X X	X	-			John KNOWLES	I	1648 )
	O ✓	- ✓	✓ ✓	✓	X			Nathaniel LANCASTER	P	1645-6
?	O ✓	X ✓	✓ X	✓	X			———LEVETT	-	1644
	O ①	- X	/ X	X	X			Christopher LOVE	P	1642-5
	- -	- -	✓	-	✓	-		Nathaniel MACHAM	P	1644
	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -		Edward MACHARMEES	-	1645
	C X	X X	✓ ✓	✓	X			William MANNING	I	1653
	- -	X -	✓	-	✓	-		John MARRIATT	P	1643
	C X	X ✓	✓ ✓	✓	X			Jeremiah MARSDEN	B	1659
	C -	- -	- -	✓	-			George MARSHALL	-	1646
	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -			William MARTIN	-	1644

① Presbyterian ordination in Scotland, and in England

TABLE III(Contd)

Univarsity	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	Beneficed before	Beneficed after army	Local connection before	Local connection after	Trouble with ecclesiastical authorities before 1642		Denomination	Dates of service
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	John MATHEW	-	1647
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Thomas MIDLETON	-	1646-8
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	—————MOORE	-	1644
? -	-	X	✓	✓	X	X	-	—————MOORE	-	1644-6
O	-	X	-	✓	X	X	-	John OSBORNE	P/I	1644-5
-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	William PAIRTREE	P	1645
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	—————PALMER	-	1644
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Richard PEGG	-	1645
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	John PHILLIPES	-	1649-50
D	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	Robert RAM	P	1645
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	John ROE	?P	1649
C	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	John ROWELL	P	1644
O	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	William SEDGWICK	I	1646
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	—————SHARARD	-	1644-6
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Methusalah SHARPE	-	1645
-	-	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	Francis SHELMERDINE	?P	? 1645
O	✓	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	Thomas SMALLWOOD	I	1643-5 1649-51
C	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	John SPOFFORD	-	1643



TABLE III (Contd)

University	Ordained before 1642	Confirmed after 1660	Beneficed before	Beneficed after army	Local connection before	Local connection after	Trouble with ecclesiastical authorities before 1642		Denomination	Dates of service
O	X	X	-	✓	✓	✓	-	James STRONG	?P	1646
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	———TACH	-	1642
O	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	X	John TRAPPE	P	1644-6
-	-	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	Thomas TREWRENT	I	1648
-	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	John TROTTLER	-	1659
O	-	X	-	✓	X	X	-	William TROUGHTON	P/I	1647
O	-	X	-	✓	✓	✓	-	John TUCKER	?P	1646-7
O	✓	X	-	✓	✓	✓	-	John TURNER	?P	?1644
C	-	X	X	✓	X	X	-	John TUTCHIN	?P	1643-6
C	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	Thomas WALLIS	-	1644
O	-	-	X	X	X	X	-	John WARR	I	1645-7
O	-	-	-	✓	X	X	-	———WATTS	-	1645
O	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	Tristram WELLMAN	-	?1644-6
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	———WELLS	-	1644
O	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	-	Francis WELLS	-	1646
O	-	X	-	✓	-	-	-	John WELLS	I	1646
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	William WHITE	-	1644
O	-	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	Thomas WILLIS	-	1645

TABLE III (Contd)

University	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	Beneficed before	Beneficed after army	Local connection before	Local connection after	Trouble with ecclesiastical authorities before 1642		Denomination	Dates of service
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Thomas WILSON	-	1645
X	①	?	X	✓	X	✓	X	John WINSTON	P	1646
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	John WISDOM	-	1648-9
C	-	-	-	✓	X	X	X	Samuel WRIGHT	-	1647

① Presbyterian ordination 1651

TABLE IV  
PROVINCIAL ARMY COLONELS  
AND THEIR CHAPLAINS

<u>Colonel</u>	<u>Chaplain</u>
Colonel Barker	Richard Baxter 1642-5
Colonel Hugh Bethell	John Wisdom 1648-9
Colonel John Bingham	John Dupereror 1659 John Trottle 1659
Colonel Birch	Maurice Bedwell 1645-7
Colonel Robert Blake	Tristram Wellman 1644-6
Colonel Henry Bradshaw	Francis Shelmerdine 1645
Sir William Brereton	Ephraim Elcock 1645 Nathaniel Lancaster 1645. William Pairtree 1645
Colonel Bridges	John Bryan 1643-5
Colonel Thomas Bulstrode	John Wells 1646 Francis Wells 1646
Colonel Christopher Copley	Thomas Smallwood 1645
Sir Thomas Fairfax	Thomas Smallwood 1643-5
Sir William Fairfax	Thomas Crompton 1642
Colonel George Fenwick	John Roe 1649 John Phillips 1649-50
Colonel Fitzjames	John Turner 1644
Colonel John Fox	Edward Macharmees 1645
Colonel Hammond	William Troughton 1647
Sir Arthur Hesilrige	John Canne 1647 George Downing 1648-50 Samuel Hammond 1648-50
Colonel Houblen	——— Moore 1644
Colonel Humphries	Maurice Bedwell
Colonel Samuel Jones	John Tutchin 1643-4
Colonel Thomas Kelsey	John Davis 1646-50, 1659
Colonel Kendall	Shem Coxe 1644, 1645-7 Thomas Evance 1645, 1646 Richard Pegg 1645
Major-General Lambert	Thomas Smallwood 1649

TABLE IV (Contd)

General Langhorne	Thomas Middleton 1646-8
Colonel Robert Lilburne	John Canne 1647
Sir Samuel Luke	Thomas Ford 1644-5
Colonel Lydcott	Edward Archer 1646
Colonel Maleveraux	John Matthews 1647
Colonel Francis Martin	—— Wells 1644-5
Colonel Henry Martin	Thomas Gilbert 1643
Sir Edward Massey	John Corbet 1643
	Methusalah Sharpe 1645
Sir Thomas Middleton	—— Binn 1644
	Thomas Wilson 1645
Colonel Mitton	Nathaniel Barton 1645-7
	Robert Fogg 1645-6
Colonel Morgan	Thomas Crompton 1644-7
Colonel Morley	John Osborne 1644-5
Colonel John Needham	—— Sherwood 1645
Colonel Robert Overton	Richard Connyers 1647
	John Canne 1648-57
Colonel Payne	Thomas Willis 1645
Colonel Ponsonby	Samuel Wright 1647
Colonel Edward Prichard	John Warr 1645-7
Colonel James Prince	William Whrite 1644
Colonel Purefoy	Nathaniel Macham 1644
	William Martin 1644
	—— Moore 1644-6
	Obadiah Grew 1645-6
	Abiezer Coppe 1646
Colonel Rossiter	Robert Ram 1645-7
Colonel Philip Skippon	Thomas Trewrent 1648
Colonel Stapley	Francis Cheynell 1643-4
Colonel Townsend	John Tucker 1646-7

TABLE IV (Contd)

Captain Robert Turton

Colonel John Venn

Colonel Thomas Waite

Colonel Walton

Colonel Weldon

Colonel Wetham

Colonel Whichcote

Sir John Witttrong

Thomas Jenkins 1643

Christopher Love 1642-5

John Rowell 1643-4  
—— Levett 1644

John Bachelor 1643-5

George Hughes 1647

Thomas Bragg 1659  
Benjamin Burgess 1660Christopher Love 1645  
John Bachelor 1645-7

John Marriat 1643

TABLE V  
PROVINCIAL ARMY GARRISONS  
AND THEIR CHAPLAINS

<u>Garrison</u>	<u>Chaplain</u>
Arundell	John Osborne 1645
Ashley	William Martin 1644
Burley House	— Levett 1644
Cardiff	John Warr 1645
Chester	Nathaniel Lancaster 1645-6 Samuel Eaton 1646 (John Knowles 1648)
Compton	Abiezer Coppe 1646
Coventry	Anthony Burgess 1642 John Herring 1650
Dover	John Davis 1646-50, 1659
Edgbaston	Edward Macharmees 1645
Ely	Paul Glisson 1644
Farnham	John Tutchin 1643-4 Crookshank 1644-7 (Henry Duncumb 1645)
Gloucester	John Corbet 1643
Great Chalfield	— Watts 1645
Guernsey	Edward Damer
Hull	John Spofford 1643 Richard Connyers 1648 John Canne 1650-7
Kenilworth	— Sharard 1644-6
Lyme Regis	John Salway 1644
Maxstock Castle	Thomas Jenkins 1643 Shem Coxo 1644 Richard Pegg 1645 Thomas Evance 1645-6
Nantwich	William Pairtree 1645
Newcastle	Samuel Hammond 1647-50

TABLE V (Contd)

Newcastle	Thomas Trewrent 1648 John Canne 1648-9 George Downing 1648-50 (Paul Hobson 1648-52/3)
Newport Pagnell	Thomas Ford 1644-5 (Paul Hobson 1645)
Northampton	John Winston 1646
Oxford	George Marshall 1646
Plymouth	George Hughes 1647
Portsmouth	———Tach Thomas Bragg 1659-60 Benjamin Burgess 1660
Rockingham	John Rowell 1644
Scarborough	Andrew Arnold 1649
Tamworth	Nathaniel Macham 1644
Tynemouth	John Roe 1649 Richard Pegg 1649-50
Warwick	John Bryan 1643-5 John Trappe 1644-6 John Grape
Weymouth	Peter Ince 1644-6 James Strong 1646 Robert Stapylton 1647
Whittlesey	Thomas Wallis 1644
Windsor	Christopher Love 1642-5
Wisbech	William Sedgwick 1644

TABLE VI  
CHAPLAINS IN THE  
NEW MODEL ARMY

University	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	Previous army service	Trouble with ecclesiastical authorities before 1642		Denomination	Dates of service
O	-	X X	X		James BARRON	P/I	1646
O	✓	X ✓	-		Timothy BATT	?P	1645-6
(-	X	X -	-		Jacob BAUTHUMLEY	R	1650)
X	✓	X ✓	✓		Richard BAXTER	P	1645
-	①	- -	-		Benjamin BOURNE	P/I	1645-7
C	✓	X ✓	-		Edward BOWLES	P/I	1645-6
?C	-	- X	X		Arthur BRAMLEY	I	1645-6 1648-50
C	-	X X	-		Stephen CHARNOCK	P/I	1649
X X	X	✓	✓		Laurence CLARKSON	I	1647
-	-	- -	-		Thomas CLOSE	I	1649-50
C	✓	X X	X		George COCKAYNE	I	1651
X X	X X	✓			Thomas COLLIER	B	1647-8
C	✓	X ?	X		William COOK	P	1645
C	✓	? X	-		John COVENTRY	-	1649-50
C	✓	X ✓	X		William DELL	I	1645-8
(C	✓	X X	✓		Henry DENNE	B	1649 )

① Received Presbyterian ordination 1647.



TABLE VI (Contd)

University	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	Previous army service	Trouble with ecclesiastical authorities before 1642		Denomination	Dates of service
	O ✓	- ✓	✓	✓	William ERBURY	I	1646-7
	% ✓	- X	X	X	Alexander GROSSE	P	1645
	% ✓	X ✓	X	X	Edward HARRISON	B	1647-9
	O X	✓ X	X	X	Joseph HEMMINGS	I	1647-9/ 1655-8
(	X X	X ✓	X	X	Paul HOBSON	B	1646-52/3)
	X X	X X	✓		Isaac KNIGHT	I	1648-50
	C ✓	X X	✓		Thomas LARKHAM	I	1647-9
	O -	✓ X	X	X	Jenkin LLOYD	I	1648-51
	% ✓	X X	X	X	Nicholas LOCKYER	I	1653-5
	-	-	-	-	Stephen LOWE	-	-
?	-	-	-	-	Thomas MATTHEWS	-	? 1646
	-	-	-	-	Stephen MOORE	-	1647
(	X X	- ✓	X		James NAYLER	I/Q	1645-51)
?	C -	✓ X	-		James NICHOLL	-	1645-6
	O ✓	- X	-		John PENDARVES	I	1645-7
	C ✓	- ✓	✓		Hugh PETER	I	1645-49
	O -	- X	-		Henry PINNELL	I	1645-8
	O X	X X	-		Vavasour POWELL	I	? 1649-50
	X X	X X	-		Joseph SALMON	I	1647-50
	C ✓	- X	✓		John SALTMARSH	I	1646-7
	O	X X	-		Nathaniel STANIFORTH	P	1648
	O ✓	- X	X		Robert STAPYLTON	I	1649-53

TABLE VI (Contd)

University	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	Previous army service	Trouble with ecclesiastical authorities before 1642		Denomination	Dates of service
?C	✓	X	X	X	Henry STEEVENS	?I	1647
-	✓	-	-	-	Anthony WAINWRIGHT	I	1646-7
C	-	-	-	-	Edward WAKEFIELD	-	?1648
-	-	-	-	-	WARDELL	-	1650
O	-	X	✓	-	John WELLS	I	1646-7
-	-	X	X	X	Joseph WHISTON	I	1650

## TABLE VII

NEW MODEL ARMY COLONELS  
AND THEIR CHAPLAINS

<u>Colonels</u>	<u>Chaplains</u>
Colonel John Barkstead	Stephen Moore 1647
Colonel John Butler	Benjamin Bourne 1647
Lieutenant General Cromwell	Robert Stapylton 1649-53 Jenkin Lloyd 1648-51 Nicholas Lockyer 1653-5
Colonel John Disbrowe	- Wardell 1650
Colonel Charles Fairfax	Edward Wakefield 1648
Sir Thomas Fairfax	Arthur Bramley 1645-6 Hugh Peter 1645-9 William Dell 1645-8 Edward Bowles 1645-6 John Saltmarsh 1645-7 Isaac Knight 1648-50
Colonel Richard Fortescue	James Barron 1646
Sir Edward Harley	Anthony Wainwright 1646-7
Colonel Thomas Harrison	Edward Harrison 1647-9 Stephen Charnock 1649 Vavasour Powell 1647-50 Joseph Whiston 1650 Richard Goodgroom 1653
Colonel William Herbert	Alexander Grosse 1645
Colonel John Hewson Colonel Thomas Horton Colonel Richard Ingoldsby	Henry Pinnell 1646-8 Benjamin Bourne 1647-8 John Wells 1646-7 William Erbury 1646-7 James Barron
Commissary General Henry Ireton	James Nicholl 1645-6 Joseph Salmon 1647-50
Colonel John Lambert	William Erbury 1647 Arthur Bramley
Colonel Robert Lilburne	John Wells
Colonel John Okey	Thomas Close 1649-50 George Downing 1647
Colonel Robert Overton	Stephen Lowe
Colonel John Pickering	Henry Pinnell 1645
Colonel Thomas Pride	Joseph Hemmings 1647-9/ 1655-8 Samuel Oates 1650-5

TABLE VII (Contd)

Sir Robert Pye	Timothy Batt 1645-6
Colonel Thomas Rainsborough	John Pendarves 1645-7
Colonel Nathaniel Rich	Thomas Matthews 1646
Colonel Russell	- Wainwright
Colonel Thomas Saunders	Nathaniel Staniforth 1648
Colonel Philip Skippon	Thomas Trewrent 1648
Colonel Matthew Thomlinson	John Coventry 1649
Colonel Philip Twisleton	Thomas Collier 1647
	Laurence Clarkson 1649
Sir Hardress Waller	Thomas Larkham 1647-9
Colonel Edward Whalley	Richard Baxter 1645
	William Cook 1645
	Henry Steevens 1647

TABLE VIII

CHAPLAINS IN IRELAND

University	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	Previously in army in England	Previously in army in Ireland	Previously in Ireland	Secured benefice in Ireland	Stayed on in Ireland after 1660		Denomination	Dates of service
C	✓	-	X	X	✓	-	-	William ALDRICH	-	1649-53
? O	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	———— BLACKBOURNE	-	1649-53
C	✓	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	Christopher BLACKWOOD	B	1652-60
D	?	X	✓	X	✓	✓	X	Michael BRISCOE	I	1655-6
-	?	-	X	X	?	X	?	———— CAMPBELL	-	1649-53
C	-	X	✓	X	X	✓	X	Stephen CHARNOCK	P/I	1655-8
-	-	-	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	George CREATON	-	1642 1646
?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	———— DEANE	-	1646
? <sup>C</sup> / <sub>D</sub>	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓	———— GILBERT	P/I	1649
-	①	-	X	X	X	✓	-	George HAMILTON	P	1642
C	✓	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	Thomas HARRISON	I	1655-9
<sup>O</sup> / <sub>D</sub>	X	?	-	-	✓	?	?	Thomas HUGGINS	I	1653
C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Thomas KENNINGTON	-	1649-50
O	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓	Samuel LADYMAN	P	1652
-	-	-	-	-	X	?	?	Thomas LAMB	B	1653

① Possibly ordained in Scotland

TABLE VIII (Contd)

University	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	Previously in army in England	Previously in army in Ireland	Previously in Ireland	Secured benefice in Ireland	Stayed on in Ireland after 1660		Denomination	Dates of service
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Stephen LANE	-	1650
C	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	Thomas LARKHAM	I	1647-9
D	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	Humphrey LEIGH	-	1653
O	-	✓	/	X	X	X	X	Jenkin LLOYD	I	1650, 165 <sup>L</sup>
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	———MAKEREUX	-	1653
-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	———NUGENT	?B	1648-9
O	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	John OWEN	I	1649-50
-	-	X	✓	X	X	✓	X	Nathaniel PARTRIDGE	I	1652-5
-	✓	X	X	X	X	✓	X	Thomas PATIENT	B	1650-60
C	✓	-	X	X	X	X	X	Hugh PETER	I	1642, 1649
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Paul SEELY	-	1646-8
O	✓	-	✓	X	X	X	X	Robert STAPYLTON	I	1649-50
-	①	✓	X	X	X	X	X	Charles SUMPTNER	-	1657
C	✓	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	Edward WALE	I	1652
E	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	John WALLWOOD	-	1649
O	-	-	✓	X	X	X	X	John WARR	I	1647
H	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	Edmund WELD	I	-
-	✓	-	-	-	-	?	?	Thomas WELD	-	1642

① Ordained after Restoration

TABLE VIII (Contd)

Univarsity	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	Previously in army in England	Previously in army in Ireland	Previously in Ireland	Secured benefice in Ireland	Stayed on in Ireland after 1660		Denomination	Dates of service
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Samuel WHISLADE	-	1646-8
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	—— WILKINSON	-	1649-53

TABLE IX

THE NUMBER OF CHAPLAINS PAID BY THE ARMY  
IN IRELAND 1649-59.

1649	1650	1651	1652	1653	1654	1655	1656	1657	1658	1659
8	9	7	7	9	2	1	1	1	1	1



TABLE X

## COLONELS OF REGIMENTS IN IRELAND AND THEIR CHAPLAINS

Sir Charles Coote	——— Blackbourne 1649-53 ——— Makereux 1653
Colonel Chidley Coote	William Aldrich 1649-53
Colonel Richard Coote	——— Wilkinson 1649-53
Colonel Thomas Coote	——— Campbell 1649-53
Cromwell	Jenkin Lloyd 1648-50 John Owen 1649-50 Robert Stapylton 1648-50
Henry Cromwell	Thomas Harrison 1655-9
Colonel Roger Fenwick	Stephen Lane 1650
Colonel Charles Fleetwood	Samuel Ladyman 1652 Thomas Patient 1652-9 Edward Wale 1652
Colonel John Hewson	Thomas Huggins 1653
Colonel Huncks	Thomas Lamb 1652 Humphrey Leigh 1653
Commissary General Ireton	Thomas Patient 1650-1
Colonel Theophilus Jones	George Creaton 1646 ——— Deane 1646
Colonel Lehunt	Thomas Kennington 1649
Colonel Monck	John Wallwood 1649
Earl of Ormonde	George Creaton 1642
Colonel Simon Needham	Paul Seely 1648-9
Colonel Ponsonby	——— Nugent 1648
Colonel Pretty	Charles Sumptner 1657
Colonel Slade	Thomas Kennington 1650
Colonel Hardress Waller	Thomas Larkham 1647-9

TABLE XI

CHAPLAINS IN SCOTLAND

University	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	In army before Scotland		Denomination	Dates of service
-	-	-	X	Nicholas ASHWELL	-	1657-8
X	?	X	X	William BELL	P	1650-1
C	X	X	X	John BEVERLY	-	1657
O	-	X	X	Thomas BRAGG	-	1652-7
D	?	X	X	Michael BRISCOE	I	1650-1
O	X	X	X	James BROWN	B	1652-3
<sup>C</sup> / <sub>D</sub>	✓	①	✓	George BURDETT	I	1650-1
O	✓	X	X	Joseph CARYL	I	1650
C	X	X	X	Matthew CLARK	?I	1651-5
H	X	X	X	John COLLINS	I	1654-9
C	-	?	✓	John COVENTRY	-	1650-1
E	②	✓	X	Robert DALLIEL	P	1655-7
C	-	-	X	Henry DOUGHTY	-	1651
H	-	-	✓	George DOWNING	-	1650-1

① Held benefice in Ireland after 1660

② Presbyterian ordination 1645, Anglican ordination 1661.

TABLE XI (Contd)

University	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	In army before Scotland		Denomination	Dates of service
C	✓	X	✓	Samuel EATON	I	1650-1
O	✓	✓	-	John FAIRCLOUGH	Ep.	1639
C	X	?X	X	George FREER	-	1650-1 1659
C	X	X	X	John GIBBS	B/I	1650-1
C	✓	-	✓	William GOODE	P	1650
-	-	-	✓	Richard GOODGROOM	I/?B	1653-4
C	①✓		X	Thomas GUMBLE	P	1655-60
C	X	-	X	John HALL	-	1650-1
C	✓	X	✓	Samuel HAMMOND	I	1659
(O	X	✓	X	Joseph HEMMINGS	I	1655-8)
C	①✓		X	Edmund HICKHORNGILL	B	1652-3
?O	-	-	-	——HODELEY	-	1659
X	X	X	X	Jeremiah IVES	B	1650-1
-	-	-	-	Daniel JACKSON	-	1659
O	-	✓	✓	Jenkin LLOYD	I	1651
O	✓	X	✓	Nicholas LOCKYER	I	?1651, ?1652
C	✓	-	✓	Stephen MARSHALL	P/I	1643, 1645 1648
H	-	✓	X	Samuel MATHER	I	1653

① Probably ordained after Restoration

TABLE XI (Contd)

University	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	In army before Scotland		Denomination	Dates of service
(X	X	-	✓	James NAYLER	Q	1650-1)
O	✓	X	X	Philip NYE	I	1643
C	✓	✓	X	Samuel OATES	B	1650-55
O	✓	X	✓	John OWEN	I	1650-1
O	①	✓	?	John PRICE	-	1654, 1658-60
-	-	-	-	Abraham RAMSBOTTOM	-	1650-1
C	✓	X	X	Henry ROOTE,	I	1650-1
-	-	-	-	John SANDERS	-	1650-1
C	✓	-	X	Sidrach SIMPSON	I	1652
O	✓	X	✓	Thomas SMALLWOOD	I	1648 1650-1
?	X	?	X	Samuel STABLE	-	1657-8
C	-	✓	X	Thomas STACKHOUSE	B	1652
C	✓	X	X	John STALHAM	I	1654-6
O	✓	-	✓	Robert STAPYLTON	I	1650-51
(C	✓	-	X	STRONG	P	1651)
-	-	-	X	Thomas TAYLOR	?I	1650

① Ordained after Restoration

TABLE XI (Contd)

University	Ordained before 1642	Conformed after 1660	In army before Scotland		Denomination	Dates of service
?	✓	-	✓	Thomas TWISSE	?P	1653
C	(2)	X	X	Ralph WARD	P/I	1651
C	✓	-	-	William WATTS	Ep.	1639

(2) Presbyterian ordination 1653

TABLE XII

## COLONELS OF REGIMENTS IN SCOTLAND AND THEIR CHAPLAINS

Colonel (Ralph ?) Cobbett	Samuel Stable 1657
Cromwell	(foot) Michael Briscoe 1650-1 (foot) Samuel Eaton 1650-1 (foot) Henry Roote 1650-1 Joseph Caryl 1650 William Goode 1650 John Owen 1650-1 Robert Stapylton 1649-53
Major General Deane	Robert Stapylton 1653
Colonel Charles Fairfax	James Brown 1652-3
Colonel George Fenwick	Ralph Ward 1651
Colonel Charles Fleetwood	George Cockayne 1651
Colonel Grosvenor	William Bell 1650-1
Colonel Hacker	Matthew Clark 1651-5 Henry Doughty 1651 Abraham Ramsbottom 1651
Colonel John Lambert	Thomas Smallwood 1649-53 George Freer 1650-1 Arthur Bramley
Colonel Robert Lilburne	George Burdett 1650-2 Edmond Hickhorngill 1653
Colonel George Monck	Thomas Gumble 1655-60 John Price 1654, 1658-60
Colonel Okey	John Gibbs 1650-1
Colonel Pride	Joseph Hemmings 1655-7 Samuel Oates 1650-54
Colonel Reade	John Price 1654
Colonel Sawrey	Daniel Jackson 1659
Colonel Talbot	Nicholas Ashwell 1658
Colonel Thomlinson	John Coventry 1649-51
Colonel Twisleton	John Saunders 1650-3
Colonel Whalley	Jeremiah Ives 1649-53

TABLE XIII  
Distribution of Chaplains' Religious Denomination by Army  
and date.

A.

<u>Essex's Army</u>	<u>1642</u>	<u>1643</u>	<u>1644</u>	<u>1645 (until April)</u>
Presbyterian	17 (50%)	10 (48%)	7 (39%)	1 (33%)
Presbyterian/Independent	4 (12%)	3 (14%)	1 ( 5%)	0
Independent	4 (12%)	4 (19%)	3 (17%)	1 (33%)
Baptist	0	0	0	
Denomination not known	9 (26%)	4 (19%)	7 (39%)	1 (33%)
Number of chaplains in Essex's army	34	21	18	3

B.

<u>Manchester's Army</u>	<u>1643</u>	<u>1644</u>	<u>1645 (until April)</u>
Presbyterian	2 (40%)	8 (53%)	3 (43%)
Presbyterian/Independent	0	2 (13%)	2 (28%)
Independent	1 (20%)	3 (20%)	2 (28%)
Baptist	1 (20%)	0	0
Denomination not known	1 (20%)	2 (13%)	0
Number of chaplains in Manchester's army	5	15	7

C.

Waller's Army

Three Presbyterian chaplains, all of whom served in 1644.

D.	<u>New Model Army</u>	<u>1646</u>	<u>1646</u>	<u>1647</u>	<u>1648</u>	<u>1649</u>	<u>1650</u>	<u>1651</u>
	Presbyterian	3 (25%)	0	0	1 ( 8%)	0	0	0
	Presbyterian/Independent	3 (25%)	4 (27%)	1 ( 6%)	0	1 ( 8%)	0	0
	Independent	5 (42%)	9 (60%)	13 (76%)	8 (67%)	10 (77%)	8 (80%)	3 (100%)
	Baptist	0	0	2 (12%)	2 (17%)	1 ( 8%)	0	0
	Denomination not known	1 ( 8%)	2 (13%)	1 ( 6%)	1 ( 8%)	1 ( 8%)	2 (20%)	
<hr/>								
	Numbers of chaplains in the New Model army	12	15	17	12	13	10	3
<hr/>								

E.	Provincial Forces*										
		<u>1642</u>	<u>1643</u>	<u>1644</u>	<u>1645</u>	<u>1646</u>	<u>1647</u>	<u>1648</u>	<u>1649</u>	<u>1650</u>	<u>1651-1660</u>
	Presbyterian	4	8	11	13	11	2	0	2	1	1
	Presbyterian/Independent	0	1	2	4	3	2	0	0	0	
	Independent	0	1	2	3	6	5	5	4	5	3
	Baptist	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Denomination not known	2	2	14	11	8	5	3	3	2	
<hr/>											
	Totals	6	12	29	31	29	14	8	9	8	7
<hr/>											

\* Numbers of chaplains only are used in this table and not percentages because they were not all part of the same army but served in many different forces.

A table is not given for the forces in Ireland as it is difficult to distinguish between chaplains paid by the army and ministers paid on the civil list.



F.	<u>Forces in Scotland</u>	<u>1650</u>	<u>1651</u>	<u>1652</u>	<u>1653</u>	<u>1654</u>	<u>1655</u>	<u>1656</u>	<u>1657</u>	<u>1658</u>	<u>1659</u>
	Presbyterian	2	1	0	1	0	2	2	2	1	1
	Presbyterian/Independent	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Independent	9	10	3	3	4	3	2	1	1	2
	Baptist	3	3	4	3	1	1	0	0	0	0
	Denomination not known	7	6	1	1	2	1	1	4	3	4
	Totals	21	21	8	8	7	7	5	7	5	7

