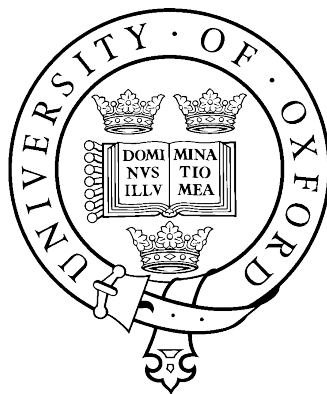


**RELIGION AND THE MAKING OF THE LATER STUART
ARMY, 1660–1714**

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Short Abstract

This study explores the interactions between religion and the making of the later Stuart army. Regarded as the beginning of the modern British army, the later Stuart army was forged in the aftermath of the religious wars which had raged through the Three Kingdoms. As both primary career choices for gentry sons and hierarchical institutions connected to the monarchy, the army and the church were involved in the political and religious turmoil that shaped later Stuart Britain. The army was deployed to maintain the ascendancy of the established churches in a persecuting society, but the distinctive confessional identities within the army itself also raised sensitivity, until the Revolution settled the army as a Protestant institution. The churches attempted to establish their authority in the army through chaplaincy, while many churchmen published religious literature to articulate an ideal army which was characterised by loyalty, discipline and piety. Even though religion to some extent shaped soldiers' identity and their understanding of war and service, the established churches with a strong sense of compulsion and formality failed to provide sufficient pastoral care for soldiers in the difficult military life.

Long Abstract

This thesis examines the interactions between religion and the making of the British army from 1660 to 1714. The later Stuart period witnessed not only the emergence of the first modern standing army in British history but also the dawn of the British nation as a military power in European as well as global theatres. While historians in the last three decades have paid attention to the administrative, fiscal, social and medical aspects of the first British army, its religious aspect remains somehow neglected. However, recent scholarship has begun to emphasise the significance of the politics of religion in post-Restoration Britain, and the confessional backgrounds of the Wars of Louis XIV are also increasingly recognised. Given these contexts, how this new British army was involved in and shaped by religion — as an institution, a set of doctrines and a belief system — during the later Stuart period deserves to be reconsidered.

The later Stuart armies were founded in the aftermath of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, a ‘religious’ war which had raged across the Stuart inheritance. Even though the Restoration brought an end to this internal conflict, it did not lead to a substantial settlement among the established Churches, the English Nonconformists, the Scottish Covenanters and the Catholic Recusants. After crushing the Fifth Monarchists Rising in 1661, soldiers were deployed to suppress conventicles in England and Scotland, and the Irish army attempted to maintain the security of the island from the threats posed by both the native Roman Catholics and the ‘new’ Protestants. With Roman Catholics among its officers, however, the army was inevitably dragged into the political arena during the second half of Charles II’s reign, being suspected as being an instrument to

impose 'Popery and Arbitrary Government' on the 'free and Protestant nation'. James II's scheme to bring liberty of conscience to his co-religionists as well as the Nonconformists caused controversy, and his effort to re-Catholicise the Irish army was even more alarming. Disaffected by James's policies, many prominent army officers deserted to the camp of William of Orange during the Glorious Revolution. Turmoil also occurred in Scotland and Ireland, pitting the Protestant Williamites against the Jacobites who were mostly Roman Catholics and Episcopalians.

As the domestic upheavals subsided, the British army joined the Nine Years' War and the War of the Spanish Succession successively, fighting Catholic France under Louis XIV. The army itself meanwhile grew gradually from the tiny 'guards and garrisons' into one of the strongest in Europe, with its prowess demonstrated by the triumph at Blenheim in 1704. While the now permanent 'standing' army replaced the traditional militia as the most important land force, it remained distrusted by the general public in the British Isles. The standing army as an institution was always suspected as a menace to the constitution and liberty, while soldiers often were depicted as ungodly and morally degraded. But another vision for the army was coming into being. With Protestantism becoming a crucial foundation of British national identity, especially after the Union of England and Scotland in 1707, the British army was regarded as the defender of the Protestant interest in Europe, resisting the 'Universal Monarchy' of Catholic France and restoring the peace of Christendom. The moral reformation after the Revolution also attempted to mould soldiers into new images as loyal subjects, faithful husbands, masculine persons as well as pious believers. This progress towards 'redeeming' the army and integrating soldiers into society was still intertwined with the ingrained hostility towards standing army and was hindered by various maladies of the

established church. However, it provided the foundations for the later developments when soldiers and missionaries became two embodiments of British imperialism.

Indeed, the later Stuart period was, in a sense, the embryo of not only the British army but also the British nation. Hence, the scope of this study does not merely focus on the religious life of British soldiers. Instead, it also tries to identify the religious elements in the development of the British army within the context of nation-building by addressing the following questions. At the national level, how did the function of the British army coordinate with the politics of religion, in both enforcing religious policies at home and fighting Catholic France abroad? At the institutional level, how did the army itself cope with its multi-confessional presence, and how did the established church install its structure of authority, however imperfect, in the army? At the individual level, how did contemporary churchmen attempt to influence the identity, morality and behavioural norms of soldiers, and how was the experience of military life of soldiers themselves shaped by religion in different dimensions? These topics will be covered in six chapters of this thesis.

Chapter 1 sets frameworks of where the army and the church intertwined and of how they interacted with the state in later Stuart Britain. The Church of England and the later Stuart army were (re)established soon after the Restoration of 1660, but both professions of arms and of divinity had been foundational for the realm. The army and the church were two principal career choices for younger sons in gentry families. Through the network of patron-client, army officers and clergymen were ultimately connected to the monarch as the Supreme Commander of the army as well as the Supreme Governor of the church, who still possessed genuine authority over both

institutions during the later Stuart period. Reflecting the complexity of the Three Kingdoms, the army and the church were bound to get involved in the political upheavals. While the army and the church were suspected to be part of the growth of 'Popery and Arbitrary Government', many soldiers and clergymen, disaffected by the policies of James II, contributed to his downfall in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. As a defence of Protestant nationhood from Jacobitism and Catholicism, the army and the church would find themselves uneasy in the partisan politics of the Post-Revolutionary era.

Chapter 2 examines the role of the army in a 'persecuting society' by analysing the actions of the army to suppress sectarians and to police the religious affairs across the Three Kingdoms under the Restoration regime. Though the Peace of Westphalia of 1648 is regarded as the end of religious wars in Europe, using professional armies to enforce religious policies was still a common practice afterwards, with notable examples in France, Piedmont-Savoy and the Habsburg territories where absolutist rulers catholicised their subjects by force, along with other more civilised methods. Likewise, the later Stuart army was dispatched to implement the penal laws by suppressing conventicles and apprehending nonconformist ministers in England and Scotland, after the efforts to achieve 'comprehension' or liberty of conscience failed. Unlike the well-coordinated, centralised persecutions on the Continent, however, the '*dragonnade*' missions in England and Scotland were effectively delegated to local magistrates and army commanders, many of whom lacked the passion for persecuting their fellow Protestants. As a result, the small, relatively weak army failed to wipe out nonconformist activities; moreover, it on occasion provoked violent resistance, especially in Scotland. The army in Ireland and the American colonies also bore the

agenda to promote the established church, but the commanders sometimes had to turn to the powerful nonconformist communities in those places if they wanted to maintain stability. Overall, coercive conformity ceased after the Glorious Revolution granted toleration for the Trinitarian dissenters in England and reinstalled the Presbyterian government in Scotland.

The army itself was also affected by the politics of religion. Chapter 3 investigates the confessional minorities within the later Stuart army. Like many contemporary European armies, the later Stuart army contained soldiers of different religious convictions, and they existed not only as individuals but also as regiments. Roman Catholic soldiers who had been on and off during the reign of Charles II were regarded as Popish menace to the Protestant establishment. While James II actively catholicised the Irish army, he also harboured some French Huguenot refugees in his service after 1685. William III brought more French Protestants into the English army after the Revolution, but the five Huguenot regiments were eventually disbanded in 1697, several years after the Catholic soldiers were purged from the army. Although there were still many Huguenots and even fewer Catholics serving in the army, the similar fate of the Catholic and Huguenot regiments indicated the unspoken bond between the established church and the army which rendered articulated nonconformity or recusancy unacceptable in the service. The Revolution also brought some Scottish regiments with a strong Presbyterian identity into existence, notably the Earl of Angus's Regiment of Foot, but their existence was made possible only because the Revolution abolished Episcopacy and restored the Presbyterian government in the Church of Scotland. The connection to the national church was highlighted, as the General

Assembly extended its jurisdiction to these regiments by providing ordained ministers as chaplains.

Army chaplaincy was also the way for other regiments to demonstrate their affiliation with the established Anglican church. In Chapter 4, the later Stuart army chaplaincy is surveyed through a prosopographical study of about 400 individuals, representing virtually all the men known to have been commissioned as army chaplains. Without a centralised department to supervise chaplains, the later Stuart army chaplaincy remained basically a regimental business. Just like contemporary ordinary clergymen, however, army chaplains were woven into a network of patron-client relationships. Commanders tended to recommend ordained clergymen with curacy or parochial livings to be chaplains, making the army chaplaincy a *de facto* extension of the parish system of the established church. Sharing the maladies of the parochial clergy such as pluralism and absenteeism, the primary purpose of the army chaplaincy was to present a structure of authority of the established church, rather than to provide effective pastoral care for soldiers.

Chapter 5 examines the ideal 'Christian' soldier based on the religious texts for soldiers and/or in military themes. In the forms of sermons, prayers and religious manuals, this kind of literature was written by contemporary churchmen to cultivate piety and morality of soldiers. Though the anti-catholic rhetoric still existed, these texts generally depict warfare and military profession as a divine instrument to restore peace and to punish foreign princes who breached the Christian peace. Thus, even though the war was not primarily about confessional issues, its outcome was still under the care of divine providence. In order to fulfil their calling, soldiers were urged to rely upon

providence of God and then to be loyal to the military, political and ecclesiastical authorities set up by Him. Discipline was an inherent part of this submission, as this religious literature also addressed soldiers' sense of masculinity, teaching soldiers to be disciplined, sober, moral and pious men, in accordance with the reformation of manners, as well as prevailing ideas about soldiering and contemporary warfare. Military death was often presented as an honourable sacrificial service to God and the country, whilst the danger of death was also exploited to exhort soldiers to lead a moral life. In spite of the ingrained hostility towards the army, soldiering was depicted as necessary and even honourable in society, but individual soldiers were expected to live up to the norms and values in the light of religion.

Chapter 6 concentrates on religion in the daily life and military routine of later Stuart soldiers. Even though soldiers were often despised as 'ungodly', religion still shaped different dimensions of their life as members of a public institution and as part of a predominant worldview. Before the era of modern mass media, the idea that soldiers should be in service of God and the country appeared on stages and in ballads. Military service was solemnised by an oath of fidelity, a religious ceremony, as a key stage in recruitment, marking soldiers' entrance to military service under the authority of the army. Religion could be a kind of consolation for soldiers from 'melancholia' triggered by prolonged service far from home or even overseas, but the often formulaic and perfunctory character of the religious establishment did not provide sufficient care for soldiers, leaving the latter to 'vices' such as alcoholism and womanizing. With most soldiers believing that divine providence governed battlefields, religion could also help soldiers to maintain morale and to handle the danger of death in action.

In conclusion, the later Stuart army was not just made by constitutional transformation, financial improvement or professional development, it was also deeply impacted by religion. The identity, norms and experience of soldiers were profoundly shaped by religion as an institution, a set of doctrines as well as a belief system.

Although late Stuart Britain did not conform to the standard model of a 'confessional state', it nonetheless displayed some similarities with the continental European experience in how the established church attempted to foster specific identities and instil discipline amongst soldiers. The established church attempted to administer to soldiers' spiritual needs whilst encouraging desired norms and religious virtues aligned with ideals of loyal and faithful subjects. Of course, this confessional and disciplining agenda was accompanied in practice by anti-standing army sentiment, imperfect administration and the often-lax nature of the established church and clergy. Nonetheless, the bond between army and church grew closer and clearer, laying the foundations for the martial and religious elements of British identity as the country entered its age as a global imperial power.

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List of Abbreviations

ACAD	A Cambridge Alumni Database
BL	British Library
CCED	Clergy of Church of England Database
CSPC	<i>Calendar of State Papers Colonial</i>
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</i>
CSPV	<i>Calendar of State Papers Venice</i>
DCB	<i>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
HJ	<i>Historical Journal</i>
HMC	<i>Reports of Royal Commission of Historical Manuscripts</i>
JBS	<i>Journal of British Studies</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JEMH	<i>Journal of Early Modern History</i>
JRH	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>
JSAHR	<i>Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research</i>
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
RPCS	<i>Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, Third Series</i>
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>

Introduction

On 14 May 1968, 250 soldiers marched by the Douglas Water stream to an open field in Douglasdale, Lanarkshire, where their regiment was first raised in 1689. This was not a re-enactment, but the disbandment of the first and only surviving regular battalion of the Cameronian Scottish Rifles, formerly the Cameronian Regiment. After paying tribute to the monument of their founding colonel, James Douglas, earl of Angus, they attended their last 'conventicle'. This somewhat archaic term comes from the 'unlawful' religious meetings in the fields held by a group of Scottish Covenanters who refused to conform to the Episcopal Church established in 1660. Named after their leader Richard Cameron who was killed in a skirmish in 1680, those radicals were constantly engaged in armed resistance against the government, and in a twist of events, they gave their name to the well-decorated regiment.

At the 'conventicle' venue stood a lectern and a communion table, upon which was the sword of their first commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel William Cleland, who had fought government forces at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge in 1679. When William of Orange invaded Britain and was proclaimed King of the Scots in 1689, Cleland and many Cameronians entered his service, forming their regiment on 14 May 1689. Cleland was killed in action defending Dunkeld from the fierce assault by the opposing Jacobite forces later in August, but the Cameronians achieved a heroic victory in this, their first, battle, which led to the 279-year history of well-decorated service for the British Empire. However, the regiment's origin as a persecuted religious sect was not forgotten: in the disbanding ceremony in 1968, two armed piquets were standing behind the communion table, watching the surrounding hills; this was a precaution the Scottish conventiclors had taken during the 'Killing Time' of the late

seventeenth century, in case they were assaulted by government forces during the ceremony. After brief addresses from their Anglican sovereign, Queen Elizabeth II, and their Lutheran Colonel-in-Chief, the Swedish King Gustaf VI Adolf, the Presbyterian ‘conventicle’ began with a lieutenant reporting to Dr Donald MacDonald, their former chaplain, ‘Reverend Sir, the piquets are posted, there is no enemy in sight, the service may proceed’. Dr MacDonald started his sonorous sermon as follows:

‘Cameronians! This is a grievous day for you and all of us here. We may well say it is a grievous day for Scotland, seeing that *your roots have been so closely intertwined with the troubled history of the Church and State in this land.*’¹

It is intriguing to find that Dr MacDonald made such a remark to a band of ‘Tommyes’ while many would regard ‘Jacks’ pivotal to the history of Britain as a ‘maritime nation’. Indeed, being an island nation, whose fortune was brought by fishing boats, merchantmen, and cargo ships, Britain, or to be more accurate sometimes, England, would supposedly trust her security to the ‘wooden walls’ and her power projection to the fleets of oak and steel. Moreover, focus on ‘navy’, together with ‘liberty’ and ‘common laws’, could contribute to a whiggish version of British history, which in turn fosters a sense of identity and exceptionalism, contrasting Continental Europe of ‘militarism’, ‘absolutism’ and ‘civil laws’.

¹ T. Royle, *The Cameronians: A Concise History* (Edinburgh, 2009), pp. 1, 205–6; ‘Speeches from the Disbandment Parade, Delivered by the Rev. Donald McDonald’, <http://www.cameronians.org/brief-history/disbandment.html> (14 Mar. 2017); Cameronians Disband, YouTube (recorded 14 May 1968, uploaded 24 Jan. 2016) <https://youtu.be/Oa-4Z9DglWs> (14 Mar. 2017).

However, the Royal Navy as the ‘Senior Service’ is not necessarily superior to its military counterpart in every aspect. During the later Stuart period, for example, the monarchy had closer ties to the army, as army officers had their commissions signed by the monarch and were required to swear allegiance to him/her. The army had a stronger presence in parliament, where there were about eight times more military men than naval officers as MPs throughout this period, while an army chaplain had a higher chance of becoming bishop later than the naval one, with 10 future bishops among over 400 army chaplains compared to only 2 out of nearly 1000 naval chaplains.² Beside these anecdotes, there are other more substantial reasons why the army deserves a historical survey on its own right, at least during the later Stuart period. As Cromwell and Louis XIV demonstrated how to use troops to subjugate the population or to implement harsh policies, and soldiers undoubtedly became a target of national resentment, the experience of the ‘Great Rebellion’ and the threat of Jacobitism also made a permanent standing army indispensable to the later Stuarts. Such a ‘love-hate’ relationship put the army at the heart of many crucial episodes in this era, from the restoration of the Monarchy to the reign of James II and from the Glorious Revolution to the victory at Blenheim.

The campaigns on the continent also signified the army’s status as a ‘European’ institution. Though the notion that the British Isles were on the periphery of the ‘Military Revolution’ has been challenged, there is little doubt that the early modern English, Scottish, and Irish soldiers were learning intensively from the many developments initiated by the Italians, Dutch,

² R. E. Scouller, *The Armies of Queen Anne* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 6, 67–8; ‘The Composition of the House’, <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/survey/i-composition-house> (3 Sept 2018); G. Taylor, *The Sea Chaplains: A History of the Chaplains of the Royal Navy* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 487–500, 556.

Spaniards, and Swedes in the art of war, by translating works, importing weapons, hiring experts, or just ‘apprenticing’ themselves in the Continental troops.³ The Duke of Marlborough, the hero of Blenheim, was himself a pupil under the French Marshall Turenne.⁴ While the High Tories pursued a ‘blue-water’ policy during the War of Spanish Succession, urging to send the navy to attack the colonies and fleets of France and Spain, Marlborough and his allies insisted on deploying a large army to fight the Bourbons in Flanders, Iberia, and Germany.⁵ The association between the Royal Navy, maritime interest, and global empire would foster an insular identity of ‘Britishness/Englishness’, but the Britons from then on had often found it imperative to engage, or be ready to engage, in land campaigns in Europe, as it became obvious in the subsequent conflicts from the War of Austrian Succession to the Cold War.⁶ This line of Continental commitment still persists, as more British troops were announced to be deployed

³ B. T. Gericke, ‘Civil Wars in Britain, 1640–1646: Military Revolution on Campaign’ (Master of Military Art and Science dissertation, U. S. Army Command and General Staff College, 2001), pp. 3–13; D. R. Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603–1645* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 19–71; J. Raymond, *Henry VIII’s Military Revolution: The Armies of Sixteenth-Century Britain and Europe* (London, 2007), *passim*; R. B. Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The Origins of the British Army, 1585–1702* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 41–61, 314–41. For the professional contacts between British and Continental soldiers in a later period, see S. Conway, *Britain, Ireland & Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Similarities, Connections, Identities* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 27–91.

⁴ J. R. Jones, *Marlborough* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 16–17.

⁵ J. Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783* (London, 1989), p. 138; J. B. Hattendorf, ‘England in the War of Spanish Succession: A Study of the English View and Conduct of Grand Strategy, 1707–1713’ (D. Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1979), pp. 294–309.

⁶ Conway, *Britain, Ireland & Continental Europe*, pp. 267–70; D. French, *British Way in Warfare, 1688–2000* (London, 1990), xi–xviii.

to join their European allies in Eastern Europe in June 2016, the very same month when the British voters decided to leave the European Union in a referendum.

The army underlines not only a connection between Britain and its Continental neighbours but also a bonding within 'Britain'. Despite the recent increased interest in the Old Scots Navy and maritime Scotland in general, the contribution of 'Northern Britain' to the Royal Navy remained small: in the eighteenth century, Scots constituted only 13% of the naval officers, while 17% of the officers came from Cornwall and Devonshire alone.⁷ A very different picture was offered by the army. The proportion of Scots among the regimental officers was as high as one-quarter during the same period.⁸ Furthermore, as the number of Scottish seats dropped in Parliament and the government after the Union, joining the army became one of few ways for Scots to participate in the newly united 'British' state.⁹ A Scottish identity in the British Army was embodied not only by a large number of Scottish soldiers and officers but also by several traditional 'Scottish' regiments, although their men were not entirely ethnic Scots. As 12 of those regiments, including the Cameronians, were disbanded after 1957, the tie between Scotland and the 'British' nation had been regarded loosened.¹⁰

⁷ B. Lavery, *Shield of Empire: The Royal Navy and Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 148–9; C. Helling, 'The Royal Navy and Scotland 1603–1714: Naval and State Development in a Regal Union' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Aberdeen, 2016), pp. 221–2; E. Wilson, *A Social History of British Naval Officers, 1775–1815* (Woodbridge, 2017), pp. 15–16.

⁸ J. Hayes, 'Scottish Officers in the British Army, 1714–63', *Scottish Historical Review*, 37/123 (1958), p. 25.

⁹ L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, CT, 1992), pp. 126–7; V. Henshaw, *Scotland and the British Army, 1700–1750* (London, 2014), p. 9.

¹⁰ C. M. Glen, 'Nationalism, Identity and Scotland's Referendum', *Contemporary European Studies*, 1 (2015), p. 13.

Nevertheless, this study is not meant to undermine the significance of the Royal Navy in favour of the British Army. After all, the Royal Navy was the most formidable naval force for much of the modern period, and its process of professionalisation was more rapid than that of the army during the period of this study. Therefore, it will remain an important point of comparison throughout this examination of the relationship between religion, army, and state under the later Stuarts.

Religion and Warfare before and after 1648/60

Our starting point must be the wider European context. What Dr MacDonald referred to as ‘troubled history of Church and State’ in his sermon was the history of the 1660s, if not the 1680s, and onwards. However, the same could also be said to the 100 years following the mid-16th century. The standard view interprets this as an ‘Age of Religious Wars’ after the Reformation permanently divided Western Christendom into rival Roman Catholicism and various Protestant denominations. The principle of ‘*cuius regio, eius religio*’ forged by the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, which concluded the Schmalkaldic Wars, had not settled the religious animosities within the Holy Roman Empire and did nothing beyond the Empire: both the French Wars of Religion and the Eighty Years’ War rumbled on into the seventeenth century. Another religious war broke out in the Empire in 1618, involving countries from Stuart Britain to the Ottoman Empire, from Habsburg Spain to the Moscovite Tsardom, including Lutherans, Calvinists, and Catholics. The Peace of Westphalia in 1648, which concluded the so-called ‘Thirty Years’ War’, is conventionally regarded as the ushering in of an age of sovereign states, where politics and warfare revolved around *raison d’État* or *Realpolitik*; religious agendas were replaced by secular ones. A similar story is told about politics on the

other side of the English Channel: rivalry among Anglicans, Puritans, Covenanters, and Roman Catholics in the three Stuart kingdoms fuelled bloody civil wars from 1639 to 1651, followed by Puritan experiments and military rule for about a decade. The Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660 supposedly launched an age of the ‘Merrie Monarch’ and Royal Society, characterised by commercial revolution, Enlightenment, and religious tolerance.¹¹

This is the conventional narrative of early modern Europe in which certain events are portrayed as decisive and historical timelines are clear: on the Continent, the new era of political thought began in 1648, and in Britain, 1660. This narrative assumes that the so-called ‘religious wars’ were fought by confessional partisans and factions for doctrinal truths rather than political divisions. After the mid-seventeenth century, these wars were followed by conflicts waged by sovereign states in order to achieve dynastic, territorial, or strategical goals. This oversimplified narrative, however, has been challenged. The term ‘religious war’ is very ambiguous — as are other historical concepts like ‘empire’ and ‘revolution’, which are seemingly easy to recognise emotionally but nearly impossible to define logically. In his effort to conceptualise ‘religious war’, Konrad Repgen suggests that ‘religious war’ as a typological term should be used as a ‘legitimation type’ rather than a ‘motivation type’: religious justification of wars can easily be acquired from declarations or propagandistic texts, whereas the actual motives of the belligerents are usually beyond reach in the available sources.¹²

¹¹ M. Konnert, *Early Modern Europe: The Age of Religious War, 1559–1715* (Peterborough, ON, 2006), pp. 99–160.

¹² K. Repgen, ‘What Is a “Religious War”?’ in E. I. Kouri and T. Scott (eds), *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe: Essays for Sir Geoffrey Elton on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Basingstoke, 1987), pp. 311–23. However, Repgen’s definition might appear arbitrary and too convenient. For example, his differentiates

The ‘legitimation type’ sounds like a sanitised version of ‘the cloak of the realities’, a term used by Marxist historians who also believe that war is the continuation of policy by other means. To these historians, the essence of ‘religious war’ is no different than that of any other form of war: to serve practical and material interests. In other words, the wars before and after 1648 show no difference in type.¹³ Applying class analysis to the early modern wars from 1550 to 1650, Victor Kiernan concluded that monarchs, landed strata, lower nobility, and commoners were driven to war for varied economic concerns, leaving no room for religious issues.¹⁴ Historians of the Whig tradition reached similar conclusions. Whig historians such as David Hume, Thomas Babington Macaulay, and Samuel R. Gardiner defined the English Revolution of the 1640s in terms of the development of political liberty, describing a teleological ‘historical process’ that led to constitutional governments, personal freedom, and intellectual enlightenment. Even though these historians did not ignore the ‘genius fanaticism’ or enthusiasm of the Puritans and the Covenanters, they believed that the ‘religious parties’ served only as a vehicle for a more secular agenda in the long term.¹⁵ Likewise, James Westfall

Medieval Crusades from ‘religious war’, however, early modern contemporaries might use ‘religious war’ to describe, say, the Albigensian Crusade. See ‘Albigenses’, in *Dictionarium Sacrum Seu Religiosum: A Dictionary of All Religions, Ancient and Modern, Whether Jewish, Pagan, Christian or Mahometan* (London, 1704).

¹³ K. Marx, ‘On the Jewish Question’, in *Karl Marx: Early Writings*, trans. R. Livingstone and G. Benton (Harmondsworth, 1975), p. 225; V. Lenin, ‘War and Revolution: A Lecture Delivered May 14 (27) 1917’, in B. Isaacs (ed), *Lenin: Collected Works* (Moscow, 1964), xxiv, p. 399.

¹⁴ V. G. Kiernan, *State and Society in Europe, 1550–1650* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 12–13.

¹⁵ H. Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (London, 1931), pp. 34–63; D. Hume, *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688* (London, 1824), iii, pp. 186–92; T. B. Macaulay, *The History of England from the Ascension of James II* (6 vols, Philadelphia, 1856), i, pp. 25–32; S.

Thompson asserted that the Huguenot movement in the French Wars of Religion was as much, if not more, motivated by political and economic concerns as religious ones.¹⁶

These approaches challenge the ‘watershed’ narrative of 1648 at the expense of religion itself, discounting religious motivations as unimportant, if not irrelevant. It somehow coincides with the *laïcité* presupposition of modern society, which sought to shatter the premodern ‘dark alliance’ between religion and politics.¹⁷ But this progressive assumption was (western) Europe-centred and inevitably shaken in the second half of the twentieth century during the Cold War when the less secular United States confronted the Soviet Union in which Marxism functioned as a quasi-religious ideology. Recently, some scholars highlighted the so-called ‘clash of civilisations’ in the Balkans, the Middle East and elsewhere across the globe.¹⁸ The last two decades have witnessed a resurgence of academic interest in religion, including its

R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil Wars, 1642–1649* (London, 1893), i, pp. 9–11; G. Burgess, ‘Religion and the Historiography of the English Civil Wars’, in C. W. A. Prior and G. Burgess (eds), *England’s Wars of Religion Revisited* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 1–8.

¹⁶ J. W. Thompson, ‘The Domination of Political Motives’, in J. H. M. Salmon (eds), *The French Wars of Religion: How Important Were Religious Factors?* (Boston, 1967), pp. 1–5.

¹⁷ E. g., Robert von Friedeburg attempts to integrate the ‘post-Westphalian’ foreign policy into a wider chronological context, ranging from the sixteenth century. See R. von Friedeburg, ‘Response to Introduction: “Ideology”, Factions and Foreign Politics in Early Modern Europe’, in D. Onnekink and G. Rommelse (eds), *Ideology and Foreign Policy in Early Modern Europe (1650–1750)* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 11–28.

¹⁸ S. P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations?: The Debate* (New York, 1996); D. Kirby, ‘Religion and the Cold War: An Introduction’, in *idem* (ed), *Religion and the Cold War* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 1–21; T. A. Brady, Jr., ‘Limits of Religious Violence in Early Modern Europe’, in K. von Greyerz and K. Siebebüner (eds), *Religion und Gewalt: Konflikte, Rituale, Deutungen (1500–1800)* (Göttingen, 2006), pp. 125–7.

relation to war and violence.¹⁹ This was foreshadowed by several revisionist historians of early modern ‘wars of religion’, whose studies were in turn built on earlier research on post-Reformation religion.²⁰ John Morrill claims that ‘[t]he English civil war was not the first European revolution: it was the last of the Wars of Religion’, and Mack P. Holt also praises the effort to ‘put religion ... back into the foreground as a principal motivating force’ of the French Wars of Religion.²¹

However, this shift did not mean that the pendulum swung back from politics to religion in scholarly literature. As Peter H. Wilson argues, the outbreak and duration of the Thirty Years’ War hardly fit into any existing definition of ‘religious war’: the dynastic and constitutional issues within the Empire played much bigger roles in this conflict. But the ‘confessional lens’ magnified and somehow distorted those issues, causing significant consequences.²² Mack P. Holt adds that ‘religion’ in this circumstance means ‘culture’, ‘something social’ rather than ‘something intellectual’, understood by contemporaries as a body of believers instead of a body of beliefs. John Morrill later clarified that his seminal claim underlines that religion ‘made

¹⁹ E. g., G. Palmer-Fernandez (ed), *Encyclopedia of Religion and War* (New York, 2004); M. Jerryson, M. Juergensmeyer and M. Kitts (eds), *Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence* (Oxford, 2013).

²⁰ E. g., K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1971); N. Z. Davies, ‘The Rites of Violence’, in idem, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford, CA, 1975), pp. 152–87.

²¹ J. Morrill, ‘The Religious Context of the English Civil War’, *TRHS*, 34 (1984), p. 178; M. P. Holt, ‘Putting Religion Back into the Wars of Religion’, *French Historical Studies*, 18/2 (1993), p. 534.

²² P. H. Wilson, ‘Dynasty, Constitution, and Confession: The Role of Religion in the Thirty Years War’, *International History Review*, 30/3 (2008), pp. 473–514.

possible the particular Civil War and the particular kind of Civil War that England had in particular circumstances'.²³

This more nuanced approach liberates historians from oversimplified narratives that depict 'religious wars' as either purely religious or predominantly secular, enabling scholars to look at 'war *and* religion' beyond 1648, rather than just 'wars *of* religion'. Furthermore, this 'cultural turn' in the literature on history of religion also inspires examinations on religion not only as doctrinal beliefs but also as identities, norms, and discourses. Of course, the period immediately after 1648 should be the first period scholars need to look at having already dismantled the 'watershed' mind-set of earlier scholarship. It is not difficult find the connection between warfare and religion from 1660 to 1714, as three great 'international' wars occurred during this period: The Franco-Dutch War (1672–9)²⁴, the Nine Years' War (1688–97), and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–13), which pitted the Catholic France of Louis XIV against the Protestant Netherlands and Britain.

The conference on 'Foreign Policy, Religious Conflict and Public Discourse in Post-Westphalian Europe (1648–1713)', held in Het Loo Palace, the Netherlands, January 2005 was at the forefront of the effort to understand war and religion from 1648 to 1713.²⁵ This showed

²³ Holt, 'Putting Religion Back', p. 534; J. Morrill, 'Renaming England's Wars of Religion', in Prior and Burgess (eds), *England's Wars of Religion*, p. 315.

²⁴ It should be noted that Charles II initially joined France in fighting against the Dutch until the Treaty of Westminster in 1674, but he later joined the Dutch side against France in 1678.

²⁵ The conference programme, see 'Foreign Policy, Religious Conflict and Public Discourse in Post-Westphalian Europe (1648–1713)', <http://www.thewilliamiteuniverse.eu/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/WU->

the role of religion in the making and practising of national foreign policy. It is now clear that the Peace of Westphalia of 1648 was not a ‘secular’ peace and nor did it secularise the international order in Europe, at least not until the mid-eighteenth century.²⁶ The ‘balance of power’ was regarded as a bulwark to protect the liberty of Protestants, and religious issues were undoubtedly taken into account alongside other practical factors by monarchs, politicians, and diplomats. Religion is considered to be a fading but relevant element in this period, which influenced foreign policies in post-Westphalian Europe together with economic and partisan ideologies.²⁷ In the increasing public sphere of late seventeenth-century Europe, war and religion was a topic in newspapers, pamphlets, sermons, and coffee houses, where contemporary writers engaged with it very differently from modern scholars. Hence,

[foreign.pdf](#) (6 Apr. 2017). Some papers presented were later published in D. Onnekink (ed), *War and Religion after Westphalia, 1648–1713* (Farnham, 2009).

²⁶ J. Black, *European International Relations, 1648–1815* (Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 18–21; P. H. Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy: A History of the Thirty Years War* (London, 2009), p. 758; D. Croxton, *Westphalia: The Last Christian Peace* (New York, 2013), pp. 3–4.

²⁷ S. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650–1668* (Cambridge, 1996); P. Sonnino, ‘*Plus Royaliste que le Pape*: Louis XIV’s Religious Policy and His *Guerre de Hollande*’, in Onnekink (ed), *War and Religion*, pp. 17–24; C. Storrs, ‘The Role of Religion in Spanish Foreign Policy in the Reign of Carlos II (1665–1700)’, in Onnekink (ed), *op. cit.*, pp. 25–46; A. C. Thompson, ‘After Westphalia: Remodelling a Religious Foreign Policy’, in Onnekink (ed), *op. cit.*, pp. 47–68; D. Onnekink, ‘The Last War of Religion?: The Dutch and the Nine Years War’, in Onnekink (ed), *op. cit.*, pp. 69–88; Stéphane Jettot, ‘Diplomacy, Religion and Political Stability: The Views of Three English Diplomats’, in Onnekink (ed), *op. cit.*, pp. 89–102; B. Wagner-Rundell, ‘Holy War and Republican Pacifism in the Early-Eighteenth-Century Commonwealth of Poland–Lithuania’, in Onnekink and Rommelse (eds), *Ideology and Foreign Policy*, pp. 163–80.

confessional differences would be woven into growing national identities during the wars, reinforcing the distinction of selves, allies, and enemies.²⁸

Locating religion in the context of these international wars has broadened our understanding of ‘war and religion’, but there are several issues that have not been discussed in current scholarship. The ‘international’ perspective dominates the study of war and warfare at the expense of other factors, which have become increasingly important as most conflicts in the twenty-first century are no longer between nation-states. Jeremy Black encourages military historians to pay attention to the domestic use of military forces, which is no less important than international conflicts.²⁹ His suggestion is apt for post-Westphalian Europe. The second half of the seventeenth century witnessed the construction of professional standing armies

²⁸ D. Haks, ‘The States General on Religion and War: Manifestos, Policy Documents and Prayer Days in the Dutch Republic, 1672–1713’, in Onnekink (ed), *op. cit.*, pp. 155–76; S. Taylor, ‘An English Dissenter and the Crisis of European Politics in the 1680s’, in Onnekink (ed), *op. cit.*, pp. 177–96; J. Stern, ‘A Righteous War and a Papist Peace: War, Peace and Religion in the Political Rhetoric of the United Provinces, 1648–1672’, in Onnekink (ed), *op. cit.*, pp. 197–216; E. Bergin, ‘Defending the True Faith: Religious Themes in Dutch Pamphlets on England, 1688–1689’, in Onnekink (ed), *op. cit.*, pp. 217–50; S. Rameix, ‘Justifying War: Churchmen and War in France and England during Nine Years War (1688–1697)’, in Onnekink and Rommelse (eds), *Ideology and Foreign Policy*, pp. 181–95. For some cases in a wider context, see L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, 1992); T. Claydon and I. McBride (eds), *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650–c. 1850* (Cambridge, 1998); P. Ihalainen, ‘Patriotism in Mid-Eighteenth-Century English and Prussian War Sermons’, in G. Teulié and L. Lux-Sterritt (eds), *War Sermons* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2009), pp. 107–27; M. Persson, ‘Mediating the Enemy: Prussian Representations of Austria, France and Sweden during the Seven Years War’, *German History*, 32/2 (2014), pp. 181–200.

²⁹ Strategy and War in the Modern Age, podcast, Changing Character of War (May 2016).
<https://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/strategy-and-war-modern-age-ccw-annual-lecture-2016> (7 Apr. 2017).

across Europe, employed by monarchs against each other, but also against their own subjects. Religious issues were frequently central to disputes between monarchs and subjects because long-standing disagreements over Christian doctrine and church structure remained unresolved after 1648.

The religious settlement in the Empire agreed in the Peace of Westphalia was unique in Europe in securing religious freedom, in a very limited manner, to three major confessions that were equally represented in the Imperial constitution. While the Peace largely defused confessional tension in the Empire, religious tolerance or ‘liberty of conscience’ in the rest of Europe was a rather different matter. Outside the Empire, tolerance was granted or promised to the religious minorities by monarchs — through the French Edict of Nantes and the English Declaration of Breda, for example — who remained the ‘protectors’ or ‘defenders’ of the established churches only to prevent greater evil such as civil wars. Confessional status was far from equal; hence religious tolerance was unstable: some monarchs failed to achieve it (such as in England), and other monarchs just well revoked it (such as in France and Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth). When these fragile settlements collapsed, the newly established standing armies would be sent to suppress religious minorities. The most famous examples are the *Dragonnades* sent against Huguenots in France, but military forces were also sent against the Covenanters in Scotland during the ‘Killing Time’, and the Habsburg lands saw brutal re-Catholicisation.³⁰ The cruel practices of soldiers also caused rebellions, such as the ‘Glorious Return’ of Waldensians in

³⁰ This perspective has received some separated, national attention, e. g. R. L. McCullough, *Coercion, Conversion and Counterinsurgency in Louis XIV’s France* (Leiden, 2007); G. Symcox, ‘The Waldensians in the Absolutist State of Victor Amadeus II’, in A. de Lange (ed), *Dall’Europa alle Valli Valdesi: Atti del Convegno ‘Il Glorioso Rimpatrio’* (Turin, 1990), pp. 237–42. An attempt to draw comparison upon this phenomenon will be included in Chapter 2.

Piedmont–Savoy in 1689, the War of the Camisards in the Cévennes, France in 1702–4 and the Rákóczi’s Rebellion in Hungary in 1703–11. Interestingly, these events coincided with or were peripheral theatres of the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession, making them more than ‘domestic’ matters but rather a ‘transnational’ phenomenon of using professional armies against domestic religious minorities.

Religion and the British Army

Another factor that current scholarship has neglected is the soldier himself. Modern scholars have inherited the assumption that religion played little role in the early modern military.³¹ Even though soldiers fought in the ‘wars of religion’, it is assumed that their ‘mercenary’ character made their religiosity irrelevant. Some groups of soldiers with distinct confessional identities received scholarly attention, including the French Huguenots and the Irish Catholics fighting for various foreign princes.³² Although they had been active internationally since as early as the late sixteenth century, Huguenot and Irish Catholic soldiers were practically prevented from serving their own countries due to the political and religious transactions in

³¹ This is challenged by a recent survey on religion and the military in the Holy Roman Empire by the mid-seventeenth century. N. M. Funke, ‘Religion and the Military in the Holy Roman Empire, c. 1500–1650’ (D.Phil. thesis, University of Sussex, 2011), pp. 5–7.

³² E. g., M. Glozier, *The Huguenot Soldiers of William of Orange and the ‘Glorious Revolution’ of 1688: The Lions of Judah* (Brighton, 2002); M. Glozier and D. Onnekink (eds), *War, Religion and Service: Huguenot Soldiering, 1685–1713* (Aldershot, 2007); R. A. Stradling, *The Spanish Monarchy and Irish Mercenaries: The Wild Geese in Spain, 1618–68* (Dublin, 1994); G. B. Clark, *Irish Soldiers in Europe, 17th–19th Century* (Cork, 2010).

1685 and in 1690 respectively, forcing them to be exclusively ‘foreign mercenaries’. Despite the profound impact that confessional conflicts had on these soldiers, the religious aspect of the soldiers themselves seems to be deemphasised by modern scholarship.³³

The religiosity of British soldiers during the Civil Wars is presented very differently. Whig historians might understate the religious significance of the Civil Wars, but they nonetheless recognised the religious zeal of the Parliamentary soldiers. The image of hymn-singing and God-fearing Puritan soldiers of the New Model Army is still compelling. Sir Charles Harding Firth dedicated one chapter in his classic book on the Cromwellian army to its religious dynamic, and the precedence of this chapter over that on politics reveals his estimation of their relative importance. In this, he covered different aspects of religious life in the Parliamentary armies, including chaplaincy, religious literature, preaching, and the conflict between the Presbyterians and the Independents.³⁴ The army chaplains attracted particular interest, as many of them were notable divines of the time. The less-acclaimed work by Leo Solt assessed the relationship between democracy and Puritanism by examining nine pairs of ‘politico-religious polarities’ in the thought of those chaplains.³⁵ Anne Laurence goes deeper into their profiles. Through a biographical study of about 250 commissioned chaplains, she concluded that most Parliamentary chaplains were there to help their commanders maintain order in the regiments; their function resembled that of parish ministers rather than ‘the ecclesiastical version of a

³³ M. Glozier, ‘Schomberg, Miremont and Huguenot Invasions of France’, in Glozier and Onnekink (eds), *op. cit.*, pp. 121–54.

³⁴ C. H. Firth, *Cromwell’s Army: A History of the English Soldier during the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate* (London, 1905), pp. 313–48.

³⁵ L. F. Solt, *Saints in Arms: Puritanism and Democracy in Cromwell’s Army* (London, 1959).

commissar in the Red Army'.³⁶ Ian Gentles presents religion as more broadly influential in the New Model Army, stating that religion had both negative and positive impacts on the coherence of the Army as well as on its morale and engagement with civil communities.³⁷

Attention has also been paid to the religious aspects of the defeated parties. Margaret Griffin touches upon the neglected topic of religiosity in the Royalist army by examining the religious clauses in the articles of war, military orders, and injunctions by Charles I and his generals. Her research reveals that 'Royalist Protestantism' was the official religious identity of the King's army, but she admits that it was not a tangible reality.³⁸ A more comprehensive study was conducted by Edward M. Furgol on the Scottish Covenanting armies, establishing a close connection between the Scots army and the contemporary Kirk (as well as Scottish society), even though the former did not fully embody the ideas held by the latter.³⁹ Their defeat in 1650 was followed by occupation and rule of the Cromwellian army who inevitably influenced religious life in both England and Scotland as enlightened by more recent works.⁴⁰

Current studies on religion in the British armies during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms are based on the conventional image of pious Puritan soldiers, which is itself problematic and has

³⁶ A. Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains, 1642–1651* (Woodbridge, 1990), p. 5.

³⁷ I. Gentles, *The New Model Army in England, Ireland and Scotland, 1645–1653* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 87–119.

³⁸ M. Griffin, *Regulating Religion and Morality in the King's Armies* (Leiden, 2004).

³⁹ E. M. Furgol, 'The Religious Aspects of the Scottish Covenanting Armies' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1982).

⁴⁰ H. Reece, *The Army in Cromwellian England, 1649–1660* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 117–37; C. R. Langley, *Worship, Civil War and Community, 1638–1660* (Abingdon, 2016).

no equivalents in other European armies during the wars of religion. This may explain the scarcity of research on religion in the Continental armies – at least in Anglophone scholarship.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the religious portrayal of the British army after 1660 remains vastly different; the Redcoats of the later Stuart era were conventionally stereotyped as ungodly creatures, who drank, cursed, and womanised.⁴² Indeed, the ‘Merrie Monarch’ stood for a very different moral value from the Puritan regime, and ex-Cromwellian soldiers were gradually purged from the army, especially after the death of George Monck in 1670. The perception of an ‘ungodly’ army has led to the selective neglect of soldier’s religion, save for references in a few pages of general works, most of which tend to dismiss the significance of faith together with the religiosity of the soldiers.⁴³ Given the fact that Cromwell and Marlborough lived just fifty years apart, and that modern scholarship tends to recognise more continuities before and after 1660, the contrasting portrayals of ‘godly’ Cromwellians and profane Redcoats need further investigation.⁴⁴ Paul Kopperman has written a short paper on this topic, emphasising the failure of both military and ecclesiastical authorities in using religion as a ‘potentially important source of motivation and discipline’ in the British army during the eighteenth century.

⁴¹ A few exceptions, e. g., Funkel, ‘Religion and the Military’; H. Berg, *Military Occupation under the Eyes of the Lord: Studies in Erfurt during the Thirty Years War* (Göttingen, 2010).

⁴² The situation was changed during the Victorian period, see O. Anderson, ‘The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain’, *EHR*, 86/338 (1971), pp. 46–72; K. E. Hendrickson III, *Making Saints: Religion and the Public Image of the British Army, 1809–1885* (London, 1998).

⁴³ E. g., J. Childs, *The Army of Charles II* (London, 1976), p. 43; Scouller, *Armies of Queen Anne*, pp. 290–91; E. M. Spiers, *The Army and Society, 1815–1914* (London, 1980), pp. 27–9, 66–7; S. Brumwell, *Redcoats: The British Soldier and War in the Americas* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 117–18.

⁴⁴ Some regicides were even able to witness the Glorious Revolution, such as Edmund Ludlow. For the continuities before and after 1660, see pp. S. Kelsey, ‘Unkingship, 1649–1660’, in B. Coward (ed), *A Companion to Stuart Britain* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 338–9.

He criticises the religious establishment of the eighteenth-century Redcoats in light of the criteria of the New Model Army, which had a very different religious dynamic.⁴⁵ As Michael Snape points out, religiously inspired soldiers bore the image of ‘fanatick’ Parliamentarians, who contributed to the memory of havoc during the Civil Wars and were not appreciated by the eighteenth-century society.⁴⁶ So this ‘failure’ or ‘neglect’ was actually an ‘avoidance’ in a sense. Snape seeks to rescue the religious history of the British army from the overshadowing of ‘Puritan soldiering’ through his two volumes covering the early eighteenth century to the Second World War, giving a detailed account of the Royal Army Chaplains’ Department and addressing the topic in a more ‘Anglican’ context in a gradually urbanising, industrialising, and secularising society.⁴⁷

To some extent, religion in the armies during the Civil Wars demonstrated a specific kind of ‘dynamic’ – the overthrow of the monarchy, the dethronement of Episcopacy, and the experiment of ‘well-affected’ ministers. Religion in the British army after 1700, however, demonstrated a kind of ‘static’, as seen in the long timeframes in which Michael Snape discusses the army in a gradually ‘secularising’ society. Interestingly, the Restoration and Revolution periods create a noticeable gap between them. It was an era of transitions for the army, the church, and British society, which dealt with the aftermath of the Civil Wars while

⁴⁵ P. E. Kopperman, ‘Religion and Religious Policy in the British Army, c. 1700–96’, *JRH*, 14/4 (1987), pp. 390–405.

⁴⁶ M. Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion: The Forgotten History of the British Soldier from the Age of Marlborough to the Eve of the First World War* (Abingdon, 2005), pp. 18–19.

⁴⁷ Idem, *Redcoat and Religion*; idem, *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (Abingdon, 2005); idem, *The Royal Army Chaplains’ Department, 1796–1953: Clergy under Fire* (Woodbridge, 2008).

ushering in the ‘Long Eighteenth Century’. Many scholars paid attention to the interaction between Catholicism and the army during this period, as fear of popery was a characteristic of this era. It was widely believed by contemporaries and Whig historians that Charles II and especially James II had a sinister plan to promote Roman Catholicism by force, following the example of Louis XIV. This assumption has been debunked by revisionist historians John Miller and John Childs who re-estimated the number of Catholic officers serving in the army and thereby asserted the Protestant identity of the military.⁴⁸ However, Catholicism was not irrelevant to the later Stuart army. Catholics used military service in the colonial empire to advance their interests; the uneasy co-existence of Protestants and Roman Catholics amplified the rivalries among brother officers. Even though the increased presence of Catholic soldiers during the reign of James II did not bring about a popish tyranny, it contributed to the paralysis and defection of 1688.⁴⁹

However, Roman Catholics were not the only problematic group in the later Stuart army: French Huguenot soldiers serving the Stuarts also found themselves being subjected to hostility in British society.⁵⁰ Apart from confessional politics, other topics relating to religion and the

⁴⁸ J. Miller, ‘Catholic Officers in the Later Stuart Army’, *EHR*, 88/346 (1973), pp. 35–53; J. Childs, *The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution* (Manchester, 1980), pp. 18–50.

⁴⁹ G. Glickman, ‘Catholic Interests and the Politics of English Overseas Expansion, 1660–1689’, *JBS*, 55/4 (2016), pp. 680–708; D. Appleby, “‘God Forbid It Should Come to That’: The Feud between Colonel Molesworth and Major-General O’Brien in Portugal, 1663’, *Seventeenth Century*, 26/2 (2011), pp. 346–67; S. S. Webb, *Lord Churchill’s Coup: The Anglo–American Empire and the Glorious Revolution Reconsidered* (New York, 1995).

⁵⁰ D. Onnekink, “‘Janisaries, and Spahees and Pretorian Band’: Perceptions of Huguenot Soldiers in Williamite England’, in Glozier and Onnekink (eds), *Huguenot Soldiering*, pp. 79–94.

army can be observed during the later Stuart period. For example, how did the soldiers interact with the church, and how were civil-military relations connected to religious issues?

Later Stuart Britain as a ‘Confessional State’

In addition to these debates on religion, army, and state in Britain before 1660 and after 1714, this study is informed by the ‘confessionalisation’ thesis developed by research on Reformation and Counter-Reformation in early modern Europe.⁵¹ Based on Ernst Walter Zeeden’s idea of ‘confession-building’, German historians Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard introduced the concept of ‘confessionalisation’ (*Konfessionalisierung*) as an interpretive model for both the Protestant and Catholic Reformation in Germany after the 1550s.⁵² This approach was

⁵¹ For introductions of this thesis and its critiques, see T. A. Brady, Jr., ‘Confessionalization — The Career of a Concept’, in J. M. Headley, H. J. Hillerbrand and A. J. Papalas (eds), *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700: Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 1–20; U. Lotz-Heumann, ‘The Concept of “Confessionalization”: A Historiographical Paradigm in Dispute’, *Memoria y Civilización*, 4 (2001), pp. 93–114; idem, ‘Confessionalization’, in D. M. Whitford (ed), *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research* (Kirkville, MO, 2008), pp. 136–51; U. Lotz-Heumann, ‘Confessionalization’, in A. Bamji, G. H. Janssen and M. Laven (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 33–42.

⁵² For the works in English by both authors on this topic, see H. Schilling, ‘Confessionalization in the Empire: Religious and Societal Change in Germany between 1555 and 1620’, in idem, *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History* (Leiden, 1992), pp. 205–45; idem, ‘Confessional Europe’, trans. T. A. Brady, Jr., in T. A. Brady, Jr., H. A. Oberman and J. D. Tracy (eds), *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation* (2 vols, Leiden, 1995), ii, pp. 641–70; H. Schilling, ‘Confessionalization: Historical and Scholarly Perspectives of a Comparative and Interdisciplinary Paradigm’, in Headley, Hillerbrand and Papalas (eds), *Confessionalization in Europe*, pp. 21–35; W. Reinhard, ‘Pressures towards Confessionalization? Prolegomena to a Theory of the

developed to synthesize the studies of Protestant and Catholic churches and to reconcile intellectual and social histories. Though its two creators had some minor differences in their respective definitions, the term ‘confessionalization’ refers to the alliance between territorial rulers in the Holy Roman Empire and specific churches – Lutheran, Reformed, or Roman Catholic – which usually articulated their doctrines through a series of written ‘confessions’. Secular princes, whose leadership was usually sacralised by theologians, attempted to integrate their realms and to discipline their subjects by nurturing confessional identities and religious policies. In order to achieve this, pastors and priests were professionalised in colleges and seminaries and regulated by certain supervisory mechanisms. These clergymen then perpetuated religious doctrine through propaganda, catechism, education, sacred music, and drama.

‘Confessionalisation’ is regarded as an early phase of state formation, as the sovereign was sanctified and endorsed by confessional doctrines, and the confessional church provided an instrument with which ‘social discipline’ could be imposed upon the subjects.⁵³ The ‘confessionalisation’ of both church and state consequently led to bureaucratisation and rationalisation – crucial moves toward modernity. However, despite its popularity, this theory was met with criticism. Though Schilling and Reinhard claim that ‘confessionalisation’ reconciles the intellectual/religious history with the political/social history, its ‘religious’

Confessional Age’, in C. S. Dixon (ed), *The German Reformation: The Essential Readings* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 169–92; W. Reinhard, ‘Reformation, Counter-Reformation and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment’, in D. M. Luebke (ed), *The Counter-Reformation: The Essential Readings* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 105–28.

⁵³ G. Oestreich, ‘The Structure of the Absolutist State’, in B. Oestreich and H. G. Koenigsberger (eds), *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, trans. D. McLintock (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 258–72; R. P.-C. Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe, 1550–1750* (London, 1989).

character is subject to and overshadowed by its ‘political’ nature, as if only the socio-political ‘function’ of religion mattered. This tendency is also reflected in its ‘top-down’ perspective and its overemphasis on the role of state, which is criticised by some scholars.⁵⁴

Despite the critique, this thesis still inspires research, especially on other European countries outside Germany, and prompts historians to refine or revise it.⁵⁵ But did later Stuart Britain or the British Isles experience anything close to what we might call ‘confessionalisation’? Roman Catholicism in Ireland and Presbyterianism in Scotland would fit well into this paradigm, with variations of course, as they were closely connected to the broader ‘Apostolic Catholic Church’ and ‘Calvinist International’ church, respectively, both being major subjects of the theory of ‘confessionalisation’. But what about the Church of England, which could only stand alongside the Lutheran, Reformed, and Roman Catholic churches due to its peculiar combination of doctrine, liturgy, and government? This problem is especially prominent as the Restoration era was the only period during which the Three Kingdoms were under the established church, with the same Anglican liturgy and episcopal polity. Both Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard

⁵⁴ Criticism by some church historians, see J. W. O’Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA, 2000), pp. 136–40.

⁵⁵ For example, the case studies in Swiss cantons the Dutch Republic, Poland and Ireland suggest a ‘bottom-up’ process of ‘confessionalisation’ without the presence or commitment of state, while French historians modify the ‘strong theory of confessionalisation’ into a ‘weak theory of confessionalisation’ for French history, concluding that ‘confessionalisation’ drove France to the very brink of dissolution. See Lotz-Heumann, ‘Confessionalization’, pp. 40–41.

suggest their thesis can also be applied to the Anglican church with reservation, though neither unpacks it in detail.⁵⁶

Perhaps, British historians have not engaged with this theory as fully as their Continental peers because of their preference for empirical methodology.⁵⁷ Many British historians rejected its applicability to England.⁵⁸ First of all, the *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion*, the most ‘confession-like’ document of the English Reformation, could hardly be equated with its Lutheran, Reformed, or Catholic counterparts in terms of distinctiveness and exclusiveness; in fact, some articles, especially those concerning sacraments, are studiously ambiguous, leaving spaces to be interpreted in Lutheran, Reformed, and even Catholic ways.⁵⁹ The initial development of the Church of England also differed from that of its Continental counterparts.

⁵⁶ Schilling, ‘Confessional Europe’, p. 641; Reinhard, ‘Reformation, Counter-Reformation and the Early Modern State’, p. 114.

⁵⁷ For a few exceptions, e. g. A. Pettegree, ‘Confessionalization in North Western Europe’, in J. Bahlcke and A. Strohmeyer (eds), *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa: Wirkungen des Religiösen Wandels im 16. Und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur* (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 105–20; P. I. Kaufman, ‘Reconstructing the Context for Confessionalization in Late Tudor England: Perceptions of Reception, Then and Now’, in Headley, Hillerbrand and Papalas (eds), *Confessionalization in Europe*, pp. 275–87; P. Marshall, ‘Confessionalization, Confessionalism and Confusion in the English Reformation’, in T. F. Mayer (ed), *Reforming Reformation* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 43–64.

⁵⁸ P. Marshall, ‘(Re)defining the English Reformation’, *JBS*, 48/3 (2009), pp. 575–6; M. Morrissey, ‘Confessionalism and Conversion in the Reformation’, in J. Simpson (ed), *Oxford Handbooks Online* (Oxford, 2015), <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935338-e-73> (21 Apr. 2017).

⁵⁹ ‘Thirty-nine Articles’, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Thirty-nine-Articles> (19 March. 2019).

Though its Reformation was similar to the Continental ‘Magisterial Reformations’, the Church was disestablished during the Civil Wars in the mid-seventeenth century. While John Spurr argued that an ‘Anglican’ church remained alive during these displaced years and was finally re-established in 1662, the Church of England found it difficult to maintain national conformity against significant groups of Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters, the latter of which were granted legal tolerance eventually in 1689. Its own integrity was superficial and fragile, as its Convocation was soon divided by the High and Low Church parties after the Revolution, rendering it known for controversies rather than communion.⁶⁰ In short, post-Reformation England seems very different to the Continental ‘confessional states’, such that, at first sight, the theory of ‘confessionalisation’ appears to have little to offer to British history.

But just after Schilling and Reinhard coined the term ‘confessionalization’, British historian Jonathan C. D. Clark introduced the idea of ‘confessional state’ to describe Britain in the long eighteenth century, and Michael Braddick later expanded the scope to the long seventeenth century.⁶¹ Generally speaking, applying the term ‘confessional state’ tends to focus on how religion, especially in the form of established churches, affected general population, pointing ‘to the dominance of certain ideas of what society’s problems were and how they should be addressed’ and how political authority was ‘legitimated with reference to a particular set of

⁶⁰ J. Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646–1689* (New Haven, CT, 1991); idem, ‘Religion in Restoration England’, in L. K. J. Glassey (ed), *The Reigns of Charles II and James II & VII* (Basingstoke, 1997), pp. 90–124.

⁶¹ J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1660–1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge, 2000), esp., pp. 26–34. For his attempt to clarify this concept, see idem, ‘England’s Ancien Regime as a Confessional State’, *Albion*, 21/3 (1989), pp. 450–74. M. J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550–1700* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 291–336.

doctrinal beliefs and liturgical practices'.⁶² Though Clark and his critics have not reached a consensus on the exact definition of a 'confessional state', the concept is founded on intellectual and ideological culture rather than institutions, unlike the more political 'confessional state' of the Holy Roman Empire. Clark does not date the beginning of his 'confessional state' to the post-Reformation Tudor period but does so much later – 1688 in the first edition of his book and 1660 in the second edition. Thus, the 'confessional state' would miss the 'confessional age' completely, which as per Heinz Schilling ended around 1650. Some other scholars, such as Wolfgang Reinhard and Marc Forster, extend the age of confessionalism into the eighteenth century, however, making Clarke's 'confessional state' still relevant chronologically. Unlike the 'confessional state' which emphasises uniformity, confessional culture in eighteenth-century Central Europe was found mostly among the general public, while the elites embraced the influence of the Enlightenment.⁶³ In a broader sense, Clark's 'confessional state' basically represents a traditional *status quo*, in contrast to the nineteenth century of radical changes, while the Continental 'confessional state' was a package of dynamic transitions, ushering in modernity.

Despite all these differences and the fact that Jonathan Clark never refers to 'confessionalisation' explicitly, it is tempting to ponder the connections between it and his 'confessional state'. Clark associated 'confessional state' with another Continental historical term 'ancien regime', discussing whether they could be applied to England as well as to the

⁶² *Ibid*, p. 289.

⁶³ M. Forster, 'With and Without Confessionalization: Varieties of Early Modern German Catholicism', *JEMH*, 1/4 (1997), pp. 329–43; idem, *Catholic Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 184–7

Continent, and he does once refer to Britain as a ‘near-confessional state’, implying that he has a ‘typical confessional state’ in mind.⁶⁴ As Andrew C. Thompson points out, Clark could have found greater support if he had used the term ‘confessionalisation’, as it demonstrates how the established church approached and tried to shape the general population in a systematic way, connecting ‘what people thought’ and ‘what people did’.⁶⁵ In fact, William Gibson attempted to encourage Clark in this direction with detailed evidence on the Church of England’s involvement in politics and the professionalisation of its ministry.⁶⁶

Both the ‘confessional state’ and ‘confessionalisation’ have obvious weaknesses. The former emphasises the central position of Christianity in society, especially in the intellectual sphere, but fails to explain how such a position was established and maintained. The latter elaborates the processes of how the church spoke to the population in literal, verbal, visual, and even corporal ways, but it risks reducing religion to a mere instrument of the authorities, especially as proposed by Schilling and Reinhard, and it neglects the vibrancy of the confessional culture.

⁶⁴ Clark, ‘England’s Ancien Regime’, pp. 464; idem, *Revolution and Rebellion: State and Society in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 89. Jeremy Black also helpfully pins England as a ‘confessional state’ in a wider European sphere, see J. Black, ‘Confessional State or Elect Nation?: Religion and Identity in Eighteenth-Century England’, in T. Claydon and I. McBride (eds), *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650–c. 1850*, pp. 64–72.

⁶⁵ A. C. Thompson, ‘Early Eighteenth-Century England as a Confessional State’, in H. Scott and B. Simms (eds), *Cultures of Power in Europe during the Long Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 93–5.

⁶⁶ W. Gibson, *The Achievement of the Anglican Church, 1689–1800: The Confessional State in Eighteenth-Century England* (Lampeter, 1995).

Though British historians seemed reluctant to embrace the Continental thesis of ‘confessionalisation’ or ‘confessional state’, they do not hold themselves back from exploring the complicated relations between religion and politics after 1660. Whereas conventional scholarship on the Stuarts before the 1990s reduced religion to a minor theme for Restoration and Revolution history, the last three decades have emphasised the ‘politics of religion’ in the later Stuart period.⁶⁷ For example, Tim Harris rightly suggests that the Restoration simply tried to pull the clock back to 1641, without successfully settling the religious contentions contributing to the Civil Wars. These religious contentions among others kept generating political divisions, not just between the dissenters and the establishment but also within the establishment itself, providing roots for partisan politics.⁶⁸ Mark Goldie investigated the political thoughts of the Tories, which focused around the predominance of the Church of England, and set them at odds with the Whigs and later with James II.⁶⁹ Tony Claydon identified confessional rhetoric in the propagandist efforts to underpin the Revolutionary regime.⁷⁰ Even though scholars like Steven Pincus downplay the significance of religion in

⁶⁷ T. Harris, ‘Introduction: Revising the Restoration’, in T. Harris, P. Seaward, and M. Goldie (eds), *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 1–24.

⁶⁸ T. Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660–1715* (London, 1993), pp. 40–6, 65–73, 93–4, 123–32, 152–7; idem, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685* (London, 2005), pp. 52–5, 112–16, 300–9, 347–56; idem, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685–1720* (London, 2006), pp. 57–61, 114–25, 165–79, 195–229, 242–69, 409–21.

⁶⁹ M. Goldie, ‘John Locke and Anglican Royalism’, *Political Studies*, 21 (1983), pp. 61–85; idem, ‘The Political Thought of the Anglican Revolution’, in R. Beddard (ed), *The Revolution of 1688: The Andrew Browning Lectures, 1988* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 102–36.

⁷⁰ T. Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge, 2008).

favour of the alleged ‘modernity’ in this period, it is obvious that religious factors remain central in understanding later Stuart history.⁷¹

Despite its shortcomings, the theory of ‘confessionalisation’ offers a framework to combine these individual studies and to inform the analysis of church, army, and state between 1660 and 1714. Robert I. Frost pioneered this integrated approach by applying ‘confessionalisation’ to the army of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and the ‘*Militär und Religiosität in der Frühen Neuzeit*’ workshop at the Max Planck Institute for History in 2002 which explored the prospect of researching religion and military in the ‘confessional age’.⁷² Several additional studies have used this approach for other Continental countries.⁷³ As a British case study, this thesis will emphasise the centrality of religion by forging links between the army and the church, describing these connections in terms of professionalism, confessional politics, pastoral care, and propaganda. This thesis will particularly focus on how religious politics shaped the army, but attention will also be paid to the rank and file.

⁷¹ S. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650–1668* (Cambridge, 1996); idem, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven, CT, 2009).

⁷² R. I. Frost, ‘Confessionalization and the Army in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, 1550–1667’, in Bahlcke and Strohmeyer (eds), *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa*, pp. 139–60; M. Kaiser and S. Kroll, ‘Militär und Religiosität in der Frühen Neuzeit: Ergebnisse, Probleme und Perspektiven’, in M. Kaiser and S. Kroll (eds), *Militär und Religiosität in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Münster, 2004), pp. 11–19.

⁷³ E. g., B. Marschke, *Absolutely Pietist: Patronage, Factionalism, and State-Building in the Early Eighteenth-Century Prussian Army Chaplaincy* (Tübingen, 2005); Funke, ‘Religion and the Military’; D. Gudmundsson, *Konfessionell Krigsmakt: Predikan och Bön i den Svenska Armén, 1611–1721* (Lund, 2014). An abstract in English of Gudmundsson’s thesis, see ‘Konfessionell Krigsmakt: Predikan och Bön i den Svenska Armén, 1611–1721’, <https://lup.lub.lu.se/search/publication/edb61afc-bd47-42ff-a681-8ef706b5f811> (24 April 2017).

Later Stuart Britain as a 'Fiscal-Military State'

The 'Fiscal-military state' is another concept with which this thesis will engage. This paradigm originated from a seminal case study on British war-making in the eighteenth century.⁷⁴ Building upon existing studies on 'financial revolution' and military professionalisation of Britain, Brewer argued that the Glorious Revolution of 1688 drew Britain into a prolonged military and diplomatic conflict. Consequently, Britain was compelled to develop an efficient financial system to maintain its large army and navy. This, in turn, transformed the administration of the country, creating a so-called 'fiscal-military state'. Brewer dates the emergence of the 'fiscal-military state' to after 1688, but James Scott Wheeler and N. A. M. Rodger trace the rise of British military power and its correlating financial and administrative changes, back to the 1640s, describing Britain as a 'fiscal-military state' throughout the later Stuart eras.⁷⁵

Brewer intended to debunk the liberal-absolutist dichotomy in Whig historiography, and he speaks from the English experience, for example, arguing that the role of Parliamentary politics was to diminish the friction and overburden of taxation and public finance (interestingly

⁷⁴ Brewer, *Sinews of Power*. For introductions of this concept and its critiques, see C. Storrs, 'Introduction: The Fiscal-Military State in the "Long" Eighteenth Century', in idem (ed), *The Fiscal-Military State in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Essays in Honour of P. G. M. Dickson* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 1–9; A. Graham and P. Walsh, 'Introduction', in idem (eds), *The British Fiscal-Military States, 1660–c. 1783* (Abingdon, 2016), pp. 1–25.

⁷⁵ J. S. Wheeler, *The Making of a World Power: War and the Military Revolution in Seventeenth-Century England* (Stroud, 1999); N. A. M. Rodger, 'From the "Military Revolution" to the "Fiscal-Naval State"', *Journal for Maritime Research*, 13/2 (2011), pp. 119–28.

returning to the Whiggish narrative he wants to debunk). His thesis has been applied to Continental countries, as making wars and seeking revenue to fund them was the primary concern of almost every early modern European power.⁷⁶

However, Brewer's concept has some drawbacks. While he discusses state taxation, income, and revenue for war-making in detail, he does not elucidate how the state spent all these resources. There is a big difference between treasure in the coffer and victory on the ground; coins had to be turned into food, supplies, clothes, weapons, manpower, intelligence, etc. Therefore, a government of tax-collectors, no matter how efficient, was not sufficient to wage war: collaborations had to be made with many other non-state actors, domestic and foreign. In this way, Peter H. Wilson tries to supplement the state-centred bias of the 'fiscal-military state', a 'fiscal-military system' as he terms it.⁷⁷

This does widen the scope of the 'fiscal-military state' from mere state formation, and religion might have a place to play. It is worth pointing out that the notion of 'government' in the 'fiscal-military state' is predominantly a social-scientific entity: a civic, professional, and bureaucratic body. However, the church in early modern Britain was the other pillar of society. As the 'confessional state' or 'confessionalisation' concept suggests, the church should be regarded as part of the state, just as in the subtitle of Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*, 'a Common Wealth

⁷⁶ J. Brewer, 'Revisiting *The Sinews of Power*', in Graham and Walsh (eds), *British Fiscal-Military States*, pp. 29–30; Rodger, 'Fiscal-Naval State', p. 121.

⁷⁷ 'Competition through Cooperation: The European Fiscal-Military System — The Inaugural Lecture of Chichele Professor of the History of War, 30 Jan. 2017', <http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/article/peter-h-wilson-inaugural-lecture> (25 Apr. 2017).

Ecclesiasticall and Civil’. The Church was entitled to control a basic element of the economy of the country, i. e. the population – or the population in the books, to be precise, through its registers of baptisms, marriages, and funerals. On the ‘fiscal’ side, civil and ecclesiastical governments were closely entwined on the local level, as parish officials helped to raise taxes and to enlist recruits. On the ‘military’ side, the church contributed more than conventional spiritual care for soldiers; it also served as the ‘public relations section’ of the army by holding thanksgivings for victories overseas, enshrining notable officers through memorials, publishing reports by army chaplains, and engaging in party politics to defend the ministry of their generals.

Structure of the Thesis

Indeed, there are many ways to think about the connection between religion and the army during the later Stuart period. This thesis will consider the subject in six chapters. The first chapter will establish a framework to study the parallels and interactions between the army and the church, allowing us to revisit the neglected similarities between these two professions and institutions. After comparing later Stuart army officers and clergymen in terms of social origins, career structures, and professional developments, this chapter will contextualise both institutions in later Stuart royal and parliamentary politics, and it will summarise the political upheavals from 1660 to 1714 that involved and impacted the church and army.

The following chapters will cover different aspects of how later Stuart religious politics shaped the foundation of the army. The second chapter will examine the involvement of the later Stuart army in religious politics at the local level, especially before the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Religious persecution and intolerance in Restoration England and Scotland have been

investigated by British historians, especially in terms of policies and political thought, but current scholarship generally fails to analyse how the penal laws were actually implemented in local communities. As the primary means by which to maintain security and order, contingents of soldiers were dispatched to put down conventicles and to arrest nonconformist ministers. In order to evaluate the effects and consequences of using soldiers to enforce religious conformity in England and Scotland, this chapter will compare cases in Britain with similar cases in France, Piedmont–Savoy, and the Habsburg lands. Additionally, this chapter will investigate the dynamics between the army and different religious communities in Ireland, the colonies and outposts in America, and the Mediterranean.

The third chapter surveys religious politics within the later Stuart army. The later Stuart army was an institution of multiple confessions at the not only individual but also regimental levels and included Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and French Huguenots. Historians have paid attention to the presence of Roman Catholic officers in the army, considering them in the context of religious politics, but the Presbyterians and French Huguenots should be similarly considered. This chapter focuses on these three minority religious groups in the army, examining how ever-changing religious politics affected them. On the Continent, the religious affiliation of soldiers was not of great importance,⁷⁸ but in the later Stuart army, this was not necessarily the case.

⁷⁸ E. g., G. Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567–1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' War* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 36–7; Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, p. 830.

The fourth chapter concerns the army chaplains. There was no clear guideline to structure the regimental chaplaincy for the later Stuart army, and current scholarship on the subject is piecemeal. I have built a prosopographical database of about over 400 chaplains serving in the later Stuart army by cross-referencing their army commissions as well as their ecclesiastical and university records in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the origins of the modern British army chaplaincy. With the profiles provided by this database, including age, length of service, qualifications, and career prospects, this chapter will demonstrate that most later Stuart army chaplains were ordained ministers and attached to specific regiments, especially when the latter were deployed overseas. This indicates that their purpose was not ‘to teach and to instruct’ soldiers as their formal commissions claimed but to duplicate the parochial system of civilian society, thereby maintaining the structure of the established church. This being the case, it is not surprising that the problems of the established church similarly affected army chaplaincy.

The fifth chapter will examine the religious idea of warfare and soldiering from ‘military religious literature’. There was more than a score of religious titles published for specifically military use or in military contexts during the later Stuart period, including sermons, exemplars, prayer books, and religious manuals. These works covered four main themes relevant to military life: the just war, divine providence, masculinity, and military death. In an attempt to cultivate the notion of the ideal ‘Christian soldier’, this literature served the development of professional soldiering, which included a series of behavioural norms. This could be considered part of the reformation of manners, a scheme in Revolutionary Britain that aimed to regulate the morality of a range of social groups, reflecting the processes of both military professionalism and social disciplining in early modern Europe. By depicting soldiers as honourable and redeemable professionals, these materials, in fact, provided an antidote to the

pervasive anti-army sentiment in British society into which soldiers had to be integrated as acceptable participants rather than as burdens or menaces.

The last chapter will address the roles that religion played in military life. Instead of simply surveying personal beliefs or religiosity of the later Stuart soldiers, this chapter will look at religion as a social institution as well as an individual conviction. It will investigate how religion affected different parts of soldiers' 'life cycles', including recruitment, peacetime life, combat, and death. Soldiers, no matter how 'ungodly', were considered, by contemporary writers, to be engaged with religion from the moment they took their religious oaths of enlistment to when they faced a 'Christian death' in battle. Such a 'religious' life should be located in the contexts of interactions between soldiers themselves and the religious establishment in particular, as well as between the military and the civilian society in general. This comprehensive approach will deepen our understanding of religion in the military, asserting the crucial role of religion as an institution as well as a body of worldviews in early modern society.

The rise of Britain as a military power in the long eighteenth century is an academic enigma that historians are still trying to understand. The later Stuart period was a significant transitional period as Britain was a secondary power at the beginning of it but secured a place among the greatest by the end. The army of Redcoats, an important instrument of international rivalry and global expansion, was forged by the constitution, the diplomatic policies and the fiscal system of Britain. However, religion – as a foundational part of contemporary British society – was a crucial factor in the development of the military. This thesis will examine how religion was involved in the foundation and growth of the British army.

Primary Sources

This research requires a variety of materials as there is no single major collection of records covering this topic. Manuscripts from the National Archives and the Lambeth Palace Library are a crucial part of the study, especially when concerning administrative and ecclesiastical authorities, so are the correspondences from the Blenheim Papers in the British Library. When dealing with the army and religious persecution in Chapter 2, published government papers, as well as some ‘martyrologies’ by nonconformists, are employed.⁷⁹ The former was mainly about instructions, giving little information on what happened on the ground, and the latter was more about details but inherently biased. However, these nonconformist accounts are still useful as soldiers’ conduct was not their primary focus, so it is unlikely that those dissenting authors would fabricate the stories of soldier atrocities.

In order to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the later Stuart army chaplains, Chapter 4 extracts names of around four hundred chaplains from the valuable records edited by Charles Dalton and cross-references them with records of the churches and universities. It must be said that about one-quarter of them are completely unidentified. There are some conjectures to

⁷⁹ J. Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* (2 vols, London, 1753); E. Calamy, *The Nonconformist’s Memorial: Being an Account of the Ministers, Who were Rejected or Silenced after the Restoration* (2 vols, London, 1775); R. Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restauration to the Revolution* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1721). For the credibility of some of these materials, see A. M. Starkey, ‘Robert Wodrow and *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*’, *Church History*, 43/4 (1974), pp. 488–98; D. Morton, ‘Covenanters and Conventicles in South West Scotland’ (M.Phil. thesis, University of Glasgow, 2013), pp. 8–14.

explain these missing pieces: the University of St Andrews does not have alumni records for this period, the records of the Church of Ireland were rather brief, and some of the unidentified chaplains were of recusant or nonconformist background. Nevertheless, the rest are sufficient to build a database for analysis, containing their years of service, education qualifications, and ordinations.

Personal accounts such as diaries, journals, and memoirs by soldiers are useful for qualitative surveys on the experiences and beliefs within the later Stuart army. Due to the relatively high literacy of the British soldiers and the booming publishing market in Britain, this kind of material is abundant. However, its limitations and problems should not be unnoticed. While some accounts published from the nineteenth century onwards have been scrutinised by antiquarians and historians,⁸⁰ there are many popular works published in the eighteenth century, targeting the contemporary public audience rather than intending to be credible historical evidence.⁸¹ The authenticity of these popular works often comes under question; for example,

⁸⁰ E. g., J. Blackader, *The Life and Diary of Lieut. Col. J. Blackader*, ed. A. Crichton (Edinburgh, 1824); W. Maxwell, *One of King William's Men: Being Leaves from the Diary of Col. William Maxwell of Cardoness, 1685 to 1697*, ed. H. M. Reid (Edinburgh, 1898); J. Stevens, *The Journal of John Stevens: Containing a Brief Account of the War in Ireland, 1689–1691*, ed. R. H. Murray (Oxford, 1912). These works tend to have extensive introductory sections and footnotes.

⁸¹ E. g., M. Bishop, *The Life and Adventures of Matthew Bishop of Deddington, Oxfordshire* (London, 1744); J. Millner, *A Compendious Journal of All the Marches, Famous Battles, Sieges, and Other Most Note-worthy, Heroical, and Ever Memorable Actions of the Triumphant Armies* (London, 1733); *The Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies* (London, 1741); G. Carleton, *Memoirs of Captain Carleton*, ed. C. H. Hartmann (London, 1929). For the discussions of the authenticity of some of these sources, see R. M. Baine, 'Daniel Defoe and Captain Carleton's *Memoirs of an English Officer*', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 13/4 (1972), pp. 613–27; D. Dugaw, 'Davies [née Cavenaugh], Christian [Catherine] [alias Christopher or Richard

the memoirs of Captain George Carleton and Mother Ross had long been thought to be pseudonymous works by Daniel Defoe. Even though some later studies tend to confirm their authenticity *in part*, and they could indeed provide some insights into military life, it might be dangerous to build arguments upon them alone.

Welsh; called Mother Ross] (1667–1739), female soldier’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7228> (31 Jan. 2019); B. Carter, *Matthew Bishop of Deddington in Oxfordshire: A Forgotten Voice from the 18th Century* (Witney, 2008), pp. 17–35.

Chapter 1

‘Le Rouge et le Noir’: Army, Church and State in Later Stuart Britain

Henry Compton was born to a prominent aristocratic family as the sixth and youngest son of Spencer Compton, second earl of Northampton. He attended the Royalist camp during the Civil War as an 11-year-old child when Spencer and his elder sons served King Charles I, in accordance with the long-standing military traditions of noble families. However, they were fighting for a failing cause: Spencer was killed in action later in 1643, his country house was pillaged by the Parliamentary soldiers, and the Comptons had to retire into obscurity during the Interregnum. Henry led an unsettled life as he bounced between England and overseas until the return of the monarchy restored his family fortunes. Thereafter, Henry, together with his brother Sir Francis, joined the troop of another brother, Sir Charles, in the Royal Regiment of Horse. Henry became a cornet in 1661 and was soon promoted to lieutenant after the death of Sir Charles. He was sent to the Tangier garrison in 1662 after its transfer from Portugal and was stationed there for six months. Perhaps, disaffected by the slow prospect of preferment, Henry left the army without formally resigning his commission and went on a grand tour to the Continent. A few years later, he gained a master's degree from Christ Church, Oxford in 1666 and began his ordained ministry in the Church of England, culminating in his rule over the prestige episcopal see of London in 1676.¹

¹ E. Carpenter, *The Protestant Bishop: Being the Life of Henry Compton, 1632–1713, Bishop of London* (London, 1956), pp. 8–24; *English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661–1714*, ed. C. Dalton (6 vols, London, 1892–1904), i, p. 4; *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714*, ed. J. Foster (4 vols, Oxford, 1891), i, p. 314.

Despite his brief military career, he was still remarked by some contemporaries for speaking ‘more like a colonel than a bishop’. In terms of preferment, it was rather wise for Henry Compton to change his Tangerine red coat for a black gown, as his brother Francis was still only a major in the same regiment in 1684.² But he was far more important than just a seventeenth-century Julian Sorel, the ambitious highflyer in Stendhal’s novel *Le Rouge et le Noir*, who dreamt of integrating into the upper-class society through careers in the army (the red) and then in the church (the black) in Restoration France. During his years at Fulham, Henry appeared to be an excellent ecclesiastical leader through his efforts to promote national conformity and to improve the pastoral performance of the clergymen in his diocese. More importantly, he was highly involved in the complicated religious politics which ushered in the Glorious Revolution. He was a leading figure in opposition to the pro-Catholic policy of James II and was among the ‘Immortal Seven’ who signed the letter to invite Prince William of Orange to invade the country in 1688. He even escorted Princess Anne to Nottingham on the eve of the Revolution ‘in a buff coat and jackboots, with a sword at his side and pistols in his holsters’, and under his influence, two Comptons in arms, Francis and another kinsman Hatton, joined John Churchill to defect to William on Salisbury Plain.³

² J. Granger, *A Biographical History of England: From Egbert the Great to the Revolution* (6 vols, London, 1824), vi, p. 87; *English Army Lists*, i, p. 313.

³ G. Tapsell, ‘Pastors, Preachers and Politicians: The Clergy of the Later Stuart Church’, in *idem* (ed), *The Later Stuart Church, 1660–1714* (Manchester, 2012), pp. 73–4; H. Compton, *Episcopalia: Letters of the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London to the Clergy of His Diocess* (London, 1686); Carpenter, *Protestant Bishop*, pp. 78–103, 131; T. B. Macaulay, *The History of England from the Ascension of James II* (6 vols, Philadelphia, 1856), ii, p. 405.

The personal story of Henry Compton embodies an entwined history among the army, the church, and the state during the later Stuart period, involving people of those two professions and the institutions they were in as well as a series of issues that shaped not only the army and the church but also the course of the history of the British Isles. This chapter will investigate the intersection between those two professions and the respective institutions in Britain as a multiple-kingdom inheritance and their engagements with the politics of religion, which characterised the later Stuart period.

Professions

The two professions of the church and the army do not usually speak to each other in modern scholarship, which instead treats them through the separate sub-disciplines of ‘religious’ and ‘military’ history. Divinity is often compared with the other two ‘learned’ professions, law and medicine, while army officers are invariably regarded in tandem with their naval counterparts.⁴ The early modern clergy and military professions had been subject to drastic changes wrought by the Reformation and concurrent military transformations relating to new weaponry and practice. Protestant clergymen and army officers might still be proud of their long heritage

⁴ E. g., R. O’Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450–1800: Servants of the Commonweal* (Harlow, 2000); G. Holmes, *Augustan England: Professions, State and Society, 1680–1730* (London, 1982), pp. 262–87. For exceptions, revisionist historian Stephen Saunders Webb emphasises the coalition between ‘blackcoats and redcoats’ in the Glorious Revolution, though it is about the people in those two professions during a political transaction rather than those two professions in nature, while Marxist historian Neil Davidson regards ‘officers, lawyers and ministers’ in Revolutionary Scotland as ‘bourgeois’ who had grievances against the ‘feudal society’. See S. S. Webb, *Lord Churchill’s Coup: The Anglo–American Empire and the Glorious Revolution Reconsidered* (New York, 1995), pp. 112–13; N. Davidson, *Discovering the Scottish Revolution, 1692–1746* (London, 2003), pp. 45–52.

since Christian and pagan antiquity, including the medieval period when the clergy and nobility constituted the first two of three vertical estates of the realm as ‘those who pray’ and ‘those who fight’ in social thought.⁵ Some authors have recognised the medieval roots of early modern clergy and soldiery. For example, Rosemary O’Day compares the Jacobean clergy to the butterfly which metamorphosed from the caterpillar of the medieval clergy. Though the early modern military owed a lot to the Graeco-Roman military writers, its professionalism, its skills, ethos, and code of conduct were largely inherited from medieval chivalry.⁶ However, the later Stuart clergy and army officers had more in common than their long historical roots as prominent social estates.

As the Compton family’s experience suggests, the church and the army were among the preferred career choices of the younger sons of gentry families during the early modern period. Economic primogeniture was rigidly practised in England, so the younger sons of English gentry families who were not able to inherit the estates would easily slide out of their social ranks if they could not obtain some form of security such as money, education, marriage, or profession.⁷ The professions that were highly regarded were those of the church, the law, the army, and the navy.⁸ Moreover, the army was also an option for the eldest sons of those families which suffered badly during the Civil Wars and the Interregnum for their loyalty to the King. John Childs identifies such ‘courtier-military families’, including the Kirkes, Churchills,

⁵ G. Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Chicago, 1980), pp. 76–80.

⁶ O’Day, *Professions*, pp. 50–51; M. Bennet, ‘Why Chivalry? Military ‘Professionalism’ in the Twelfth Century: The Origins and Expressions of a Socio-military Ethos’, in D. J. B. Trim (ed), *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism* (Brill, 2003), pp. 41–62.

⁷ L. Stone and J. C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England, 1540–1880* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 5–6.

⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 228–31; J. Childs, *The Army of Charles II* (London, 1976), p. 29.

Trelawneys, Darcys, Oglethorpes, Maynes, Littletons, Middletons, and Sackvilles, who all sent their eldest sons to the army after 1660 in order to seek compensation for the sacrifices of their earlier loyalty.⁹

While the church had long been one of the professional choices for gentry sons, the army underwent important changes during the early modern period.¹⁰ Before the establishment of modern standing armies, the gentry's martial experience was either in the form of private duelling or in temporary wartime service for the King. Opportunities for longer and more 'professional' service became more available with the onset of the newly perpetual warfare on the Continent, especially after the English involvement in the Eighty Years' War that had begun in 1585 when a large number of English, Scottish, and Irish gentlemen apprenticed themselves to foreign armies, such as those of the Dutch and the Swedish, as non-commissioned, unpaid volunteers in order to get commissions as experienced soldiers.¹¹ Many such gentlemen returned after 1638 to the Three Kingdoms to fight in the civil wars at a higher rank than their inexperienced counterparts who had remained at home. The foundation of the first standing army after the Restoration of 1660 offered a more permanent alternative to volunteering in Continental wars. The attraction of the Dutch or French service for British gentlemen remained strong, but now, one could take office in the 'guards and garrisons' in Britain and enjoy a less adventurous life at home, just like their clerical counterparts.¹²

⁹ J. Childs, *General Percy Kirke and the Later Stuart Army* (London, 2014), pp. 6–7.

¹⁰ J. H. Overton, *Life in the English Church (1660–1714)* (London, 1885), p. 297.

¹¹ R. B. Manning, *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford, 2003), *passim*.

¹² *Idem*, *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The Origins of the British Army, 1585–1702* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 159–79, 314–41; Childs, *Army of Charles II*, pp. 29–42.

Given the similarities between the army and the church in terms of social origins, it is therefore not surprising to find some cases of familial overlaps in both professions where siblings or relatives of one family held positions simultaneously as both officers and clergymen. A soldier-turned clergyman like Henry Compton might be unique, but his brother Francis and his kinsman Hatton stayed after Henry quitted the army. Nicholas Monck owed his elevation to the bishopric of Hereford to George Monck, his elder brother; and Theobald Churchill, the youngest brother of another great Captain-General, also entered the holy orders – in 1683 as a deacon and in 1684 as a priest – but his premature death in 1685 ended his career abruptly.¹³ Jonathan Trelawney, a member of the Trelawney ‘courtier-military’ family and the elder brother of Major-General Charles Trelawney was consecrated as bishop of Bristol in 1685. He was among the seven bishops who were tried in the Tower of London for rejecting the Declaration of Indulgence by James II to grant tolerance to Roman Catholics in 1688, and he was translated to Winchester, one of the most senior episcopal sees in the Church of England, in 1703. Because of his military connection, he was lampooned viciously as ‘fighting Joshua the son of Nun’ and ‘a spiritual dragoon’.¹⁴ Distinguished soldier, Major-General Cornelius Wood, one of Marlborough’s general staff, was the son of Seth Wood, a Staffordshire

¹³ R. Paley and P. Seaward (eds), *Honour, Interest & Power: An Illustrated History of the House of Lords, 1660–1715* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 140–1; *Alumni Oxonienses*, i, p. 267; *English Army Lists*, i, 314.

¹⁴ J. Childs, ‘Trelawney, Charles (1653–1731)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27685> (26 June 2017); A. M. Coleby, ‘Trelawny, Sir Jonathan, third baronet (1650–1721)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27689> (26 June 2017); *Poems on Affairs of State from the Reign of K. James the First to This Present Year 1703* (2 vols, London, 1703), ii, p. 177; M. G. Smith, ‘Fighting Joshua’: *A Study of the Career of Sir Jonathan Trelawney, bart., 1650–1721, Bishop of Bristol, Exeter and Winchester* (Redruth, 1985), pp. 8–10.

clergyman.¹⁵ George Burton began his military career as a pikeman in the Royal Regiment of Ireland in 1677, bounced among different units during the unsettled years, and ended up as a lieutenant-colonel of Colonel Jacob Borr's Regiment of Marines in the War of the Spanish Succession. His father was a clergyman of the Church of Ireland, while his brother Daniel was dean of Waterford Cathedral.¹⁶ Among the kinsmen of Charles Talbot, duke of Shrewsbury, were Sir John Talbot, colonel of the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Horse, and William Talbot, bishop of Oxford, Salisbury and Durham.¹⁷

Choosing the professions of arms and divinity could help such individuals to lead an independent life rather than committing themselves to manual labour. However, these professions were hardly well compensated. According to the estimation of Geoffrey Holmes, an annual income of £80 was regarded as sufficient for a gentleman to maintain a basic life with minimal gentry status in most counties in England during the late seventeenth century.¹⁸ Excluding horse or servant allowances, low-ranking officers, such as cornets with 5s per day in non-life guards regiments of horse, or 3s in dragoons and ensigns with 3s per day in non-guard regiments of foot, just about reached this gentry standard. Those who only received half-pay whilst not on active service during peacetime fell considerably below this and struggled to make ends meet.¹⁹ Financial conditions were better for colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and

¹⁵ G. Lipcomb, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham* (4 vols, London, 1847), ii, p. 95.

¹⁶ *English Army Lists*, iii, pp. 13–16.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 125; Margot Johnson, 'Talbot, William (1659–1730)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26945> (26 June 2017).

¹⁸ Holmes, *Augustan England*, p. 95.

¹⁹ Rates of pay for the army scarcely altered during the later Stuart period. See Childs, *Army of Charles II*, pp. 257–9; John Childs, *The British Army of William III, 1689–1702* (Manchester, 1987), pp. 265–7.

majors who could enjoy extra pay in the capacity of captains of companies (though the actual duties were performed by junior officers such as lieutenants), and generals were entitled to a daily allowance ranging from 10s to £10 on active service as well as various allowances and perquisites during peacetime.²⁰ Nonetheless, these senior positions were relatively few, and most officers' incomes remained modest.

The financial prospects of clergymen were also unpromising. Though post-Reformation clergymen were permitted and even encouraged to have a family, their income system remained roughly unchanged since the medieval era when clergymen were celibate.²¹ Their earnings were less monetary and more diverse than those of army officers. Clergymen had their income from cultivating or letting glebe land and receiving tithes and other fees and offerings from their parishioners.²² Parishes in the north were generally poorer than those in the south, but the annual income of parochial living could range from £6 to £400 per year even in the same county. According to a case study on the parish clergy in later Stuart Leicestershire, two-thirds of them had incomes less than £100 per year and one-third had incomes less than £50 per year.²³ However, incumbents tended to be pluralists who held mostly two livings at the same time, just as senior regimental officers holding company commissions. Thus, most clergymen could still roughly reach the gentry 'standard' of £80 per year.²⁴

²⁰ Holmes, *Augustan England*, pp. 266–7.

²¹ W. M. Jacob, *The Clerical Profession in the Long Eighteenth Century, 1680–1840* (Oxford, 2007), p. 114.

²² J. H. Pruett, *The Parish Clergy under the Later Stuarts: The Leicestershire Experience* (Urbana, 1978), pp. 82–95.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

²⁴ Jacob, *Clerical Profession*, pp. 118–20.

Nevertheless, simply being an army officer or a clergyman made the incumbent a member of the gentry or prominent class. Despite the relatively dismal financial prospects, the contemporary political economist Gregory King listed 'Eminent Clergy-men', 'Lesser Clergy-men', and 'Military Officers' among the families 'increasing the wealth of the Kingdom' in his famous 'Scheme of the income and expense of the several families of England' in the 1690s.²⁵ Peter Laslett also allocated 'Army Officer' and 'Clergyman' to the *Nobilitas Minor*, the lesser rank in the gentry.²⁶ Therefore, it was the status rather than the fortune that was attractive to the younger sons of gentry families if they wished to remain in the same social ranks as their fathers and elder brothers. But they were not the only people who were attracted. Unlike on the Continent, English gentry had no legal claim or monopoly to any office in the church or the army.²⁷ This meant there were still opportunities for upward mobility for people from lower ranks in the church and in the army to a lesser extent. Based on some approximate statistics, John H. Pruetz estimates that roughly 40 to 60 per cent of the later Stuart clergymen were from landed upper classes or professional families, while the rest were from plebeian families. Norman Ravitch concludes that English and Irish bishops during the Ancien Regime were recruited from a much wider social spectrum than their French counterparts.²⁸ The calculation of John Childs suggested that there were 18 officers from humble origins among 170 from families of peers, baronets, and gentlemen in the 6 highly politicised and less professional standing regiments of the English establishment under Charles II, and the proportion of low-

²⁵ G. S. Holmes, 'Gregory King and the Social Structure of Pre-Industrial England', *TRHS*, 27 (1977), pp. 41–68.

²⁶ P. Laslett, *The World We Have Lost: Further Explored* (London, 1983), p. 38.

²⁷ Stone and Stone, *An Open Elite*, pp. 229–30.

²⁸ Pruetz, *Parish Clergy*, p. 35; N. Ravitch, *Sword and Mitre: Government and Episcopate in France and England in the Age of Aristocracy* (The Hague, 1966), pp. 118–32, 144–53.

born officers on foreign service, the Irish establishment, and the Tangier garrison might be even higher.²⁹

Gentry sons could still stand out above people of obscure family names in the church and the army. For example, these well-connected curates and junior officers might be quite successful in climbing the ladders of preferment ahead of their humbler colleagues. Geoffrey Holmes lists three main criteria of a 'profession' in early modern Britain, the first one being a vocation for the whole working life, usually with a recognised hierarchy of promotion.³⁰ Such ladders of preferment characterise the professional careers in the army and the church, even today. A cornet in a troop of horse or an ensign in a company of foot, the lowest-ranking commissioned officer, might get through the ranks of lieutenant, captain, major, lieutenant-colonel, brigadier-general, major-general, lieutenant-general to the top of military command. Likewise, a curate in 'apprenticeship' might progressively reach a vicarage or rectory, a senior priesthood, such as canonry, deanery, archdeaconry, or diocesan chancellery, and then arrive in a bishopric. Interestingly, contemporaries explicitly related these two 'ladders'. Political writer Joseph Addison, whose father Lancelot Addison used to be the chaplain to the Tangier garrison, commented in 1711 that '[w]e may divide the clergy into generals, field officers, and subalterns. Among the first we may reckon bishops, deans and archdeacons. Among the second are doctors

²⁹ Childs, *Army of Charles II*, p. 37.

³⁰ The other two were the requirement of substantial vocational training and being primarily 'brain' services. Holmes, *Augustan England*, p. 7.

of divinity, prebendaries, and all that wear scarfs. The rest are comprehended under the subalterns'.³¹

Promotions, in the church and the army as well as in the naval, judicial, and civil services, mainly rested upon the system of patronage.³² Based on the interpersonal, asymmetric, and reciprocal patron-client relationship, this system formed an extensive network in early modern society, reflecting a significant way through which influence and power were exerted.³³ In terms of military or ecclesiastical careers, a powerful patron – a person or a body – might have been entitled to select the candidate he or she deemed fit to fill a vacancy of entry or advancement. The patronage system revealed itself in the army from the very beginning when a number of ex-Cromwellian officers held commissions in the Coldstream Guards through the patronage of George Monck, even though they were regarded as politically untrustworthy in the eyes of Charles II. After Monck's death in 1670, James, duke of York, became a significant patron for many officers, including the Churchill brothers.³⁴ Though Charles II initially controlled all commissions in the six standing regiments, this changed as the size of the army augmented, with the patronage system working more loosely and spawning divergent networks. After an individual secured a colonelcy through a powerful patron, he was able to appoint those who were connected to him through kinship, friendship, or countrymanship to be subalterns.

³¹ '24 March', *The Spectator* (24 Mar. 1711), p. 1; N. Sykes, *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1934), p. 147.

³² Jacob, *Clerical Profession*, pp. 74, 310.

³³ For a general historical analysis of patronage in early modern England, see Victor Morgan, 'Some Types of Patronage, Mainly in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England', in Antoni Maczak (ed), *Klientelsysteme im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit* (München, 1988), pp. 90–115.

³⁴ Childs, *Army of Charles II*, p. 40.

An influential patron could make the path of promotion smoother. For example, under the patronage of James, John Churchill was promoted successively from ensign to major-general within 20 years. In contrast, people from humbler origins might have to wait far longer for even modest promotion: Archibald Hamilton, the eighth son of an Irish squire, took more than 20 years to be promoted from cornet to lieutenant-colonel in 1711, and he was made brigadier-general after almost another 30 years.³⁵ Even though the practice of promoting by seniority existed, it still favoured the well-connected candidates with good patrons, especially because the British army was reduced substantially in size after each war, leaving numerous applicants chasing a dwindling number of commissions. After some officers fell sick, rumours about their potential death or resignation led to letters of patronage flooding to the desk of William Blathwayt, the Secretary at War, whose job was to sign new commissions and endorse promotions.³⁶

Moreover, the business of commissioning and promoting in the army was often accompanied by monetary exchange. The purchase system, which began with the royalist army in the pre-Restoration years, effectively regarded a military commission as a piece of private-owned property available for purchase and sale.³⁷ Anyone seeking a commission or promotion had to apply for an approval in the first place from the king who had the final choice of commission, but more importantly had to negotiate with the current holder of that position, as it was a possession of the latter. A colonel or a captain was the commander as well as the proprietor of

³⁵ Webb, *Churchill's Coup*, pp. 15–16; Holmes, *Augustan England*, p. 270.

³⁶ Childs, *Army of William III*, pp. 60–61.

³⁷ For the origin of purchase system in the English army, see A. Bruce, *The Purchase System in the British Army, 1660–1871* (London, 1980), pp. 10–14.

a regiment or a company.³⁸ It was common for him to sell subaltern commissions or even his colonelcy or captaincy to the applicant for the right price. An army commission was practically an investment; one purchased it with a certain amount of money and wished to be paid back in monetary forms, including pay, selling licenses to sutlers, false muster, trading subaltern positions, and other corruption, and in social forms, to get the privilege to be in touch with people of certain social status and to hold a place in the patron-client network. Ideally, it also represented a retirement plan, especially during the period when the pension system was still in its infancy, where a commission would be sold to another ambitious candidate for a handsome price when its holder left the army. The purchase system resembled a market as the price of commissions was highly subject to supply-demand relations. The raising of temporary regiments during wartime placed a lot of commissions of different ranks in the market, but the prospect of those commissions was reduced as the new regiments were likely to be disbanded when the wars ended. But the establishment of new regiments in wartime added many new commissions, reducing their average price. On the other hand, the commissions in the standing regiments provided higher prestige and full-pay instead of half-pay during peacetime, but their 'supply' was limited, and their price soared considerably. The cost of an infantry ensigncy dropped from £400–600 under the relative peace of Charles II to £150–200 during the War of the Spanish Succession.³⁹ The Duke of Buckingham paid £1,500 in 1672 for the colonelcy of a regiment of foot which was disbanded two years later, while Sir Philip Darcy spent £2,000 in 1680 just to carry the guidon of the Life Guards as a cornet: at his daily pay of 14s, it would take nearly eight years to recover his expenditure eventually.⁴⁰ Such a practice demonstrated

³⁸ A. J. Guy, *Oeconomy and Discipline: Officership and Administration in the British Army, 1714–63* (Manchester, 1985), pp. 1–3.

³⁹ Childs, *General Percy Kirke*, p. 12; Holmes, *Augustan England*, p. 268.

⁴⁰ Childs, *Army of Charles II*, p. 45.

the less professional culture in the army than in the navy and was not without criticism.⁴¹ Theoretically, it might compromise military efficiency by barring the suitable and putting the inexperienced in position and encourage corruption as a newly commissioned officer would try to reimburse himself or his creditors after his appointment. Ironically, after the regiment that cost him £1,500 was disbanded, the Duke of Buckingham began to condemn the sale of commissions as ‘illegal’ in a parliamentary speech in 1674.⁴² The monarch had to turn a blind eye and to play along sometimes. Charles II actually made the largest recorded purchase when he paid Colonel John Russell £5,100 in 1681 to buy the colonelcy of the Grenadier Guards for the Duke of Grafton, his illegitimate son, and he also extracted a 5% levy on the amounts from both paid and received for army commission to finance the Royal Hospital Chelsea.⁴³ The attempts of James II and William III to stamp out the purchase system and to replace it with a system based on political loyalty or military merit failed as the British officers opposed it. After some reforms, such as prioritising seniority in selling commissions, the purchase system remained throughout the long eighteenth century and was finally abolished in 1871.⁴⁴

The patronage system in the churches had a longer history and thus was more developed than that in the military. Basically, it granted a patron the right to choose someone he preferred to fill a benefice whenever it was vacant. A patron was supposed to present his nominee before the diocesan bishop for examination or obtain a license for ministry. If the vacancy was not

⁴¹ E. Wilson, *A Social History of British Naval Officers, 1775–1815* (Woodbridge, 2017), pp. 161–2.

⁴² Bruce, *Purchase System*, pp. 14–15.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 16; Childs, *Army of Charles II*, p. 45.

⁴⁴ Childs, *British Army of William III*, pp. 57–8; A. J. Guy, ‘The Army of the Georges, 1714–1783’, in D. Chandler and I. Beckett (eds), *The Oxford History of the British Army* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 104–5; Bruce, *Purchase System*, pp. 119–43;

filled within six months, the duty would successively lapse to the bishop, the metropolitan bishop, and lastly to the Crown.⁴⁵ A patron could be the Crown, the dean and chapter of a cathedral or a college but was usually a private layperson. According to a survey undertaken in the mid-eighteenth century, over 50 per cent of advowsons in the Church of England were in the gifts of nearly 3000 individuals.⁴⁶ Despite some attempts by the later Stuart kings to control and screen the ordination and the preferment of church offices, the ingrained patronage system largely confined the Crown to certain high-profile posts such as Westminster Abbey, St Paul's Cathedral, and Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, just like the commissions in some standing regiments.⁴⁷ It is also worth noting that the patronage networks of the army and the church intersected to some extent, for instance, Marlborough used to patronise several clergymen for a range of bishoprics.⁴⁸ But unlike the army, the 'golden key' did not work in the ecclesiastical advancement, since canon laws and statutes had prohibited simony.⁴⁹

At first glance, the patronage system in both the army and the church seems unrefined from a modern, meritocratic perspective. However, in a relatively small-scale society where personal

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75; L. A. B. Whitley, *A Great Grievance: Ecclesiastical Lay Patronage in Scotland until 1750* (Eugene, OR, 2013), xix.

⁴⁶ D. R. Hirschberg, 'The Government and Church Patronage in England, 1660–1760', *JBS*, 20 (1980), pp. 111–14.

⁴⁷ Sykes, *Church and State*, p. 149.

⁴⁸ 'Marlborough to Godolphin, 9/20 Sept. 1701', in *The Marlborough–Godolphin Correspondence*, ed. H. L. Snyder (3 vols, Oxford, 1975), i, p. 34; 'Godolphin to Marlborough, 28 June 1706', *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 606; 'Godolphin to the Duchess, 9 Nov. 1706', *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 734–5.

⁴⁹ R. Burn, *Ecclesiastical Laws*, 5th edn (4 vols, London, 1788), iii, pp. 328–52; Jacob, *Clerical Profession*, p. 91.

knowledge, connection, and trust played a significant role in the exercise of power, patrons normally tended to make sure they recommended competent candidates to posts, lest their reputation and credit be stained.⁵⁰ It is true that the later Stuart army and church were afflicted by some maladies, such as pluralism and absenteeism. But more importantly, efforts were made to improve the performance of clergymen and officers. Led by Henry Compton, a group of Anglican clergymen tried to learn lessons from their recusant and nonconformist opponents to reform their own ministry in the 1670s. Since the 1680s, the clergy of the Church of England was dominated by graduates from Oxford and Cambridge, and many of them played active roles in the campaign to improve the morality of society after the 1690s. By the end of this period, Edmund Gibson, archdeacon of Surrey, published *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*, a two-volume work concerning the government of the church, in order to ‘preserve the Church in a peaceable, orderly and flourishing State’.⁵¹

The professionalism in the army was in a similar state. A ‘Royal Academy for Military Exercises’ in London was proposed by Solomon de Fobert, a French Huguenot, in the 1680s, but it took another 40 years to build the first technical military academy in Woolwich and even longer for the first infantry and cavalry college in Sandhurst.⁵² However, English and Scottish officers could still study the art of war through practice: many British soldiers graduated from two ‘schools’ on the Continent, i.e. the Dutch army and the French army. For example, John

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁵¹ Tapsell, ‘Clergy of Later Stuart Church’, 73–4; Holmes, *Augustan England*, p. 83; Edmund Gibson, *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani, or the Statutes, Constitutions, Canons, Rubricks and Articles of Church of England* (2 vols, London, 1713), i, dedication page.

⁵² ‘Order in Council, on Reading the Proposals of Solomon de Fobert Concerning a Royal Academy for Military Exercises to be Erected in London’, 14 May 1679, TNA, SP 29/411, fo. 417.

Churchill was trained under the command of Marshal Turenne during the Franco–Dutch War.⁵³ The textual tradition of military arts since the Elizabethan era also continued. Roger Boyle, earl of Orrery, published his *Treatise of the Art of War* in 1677, while a more official *An Abridgement of the English Military Discipline* was released with the permission of the King one year before.⁵⁴ These developments assisted the British victories over Louis XIV in the War of the Spanish Succession.

Institutions

Indeed, the dutiful performance of both the army and the church was crucial for the preservation of Britain as a Protestant nation against fanatic sectarianism, popery, and other menaces to the constitution and liberty.⁵⁵ Therefore, the army and the church exhibited not only many similarities in their professional personnel but also several parallels in their institutional sizes, structures, and development. As pillars of society, the army and the church were both very large institutions. Gregory King estimated that England had a large ‘army’ of 10,000 clergymen in 1688, while at the same time the English army had about 40,000 officers and soldiers, and after a few augmentations, the British army reached its peak of 69,095 in 1709.⁵⁶

⁵³ Webb, *Lord Churchill's Coup*, pp. 31–6.

⁵⁴ R. Boyle, *A Treatise of the Art of War Dedicated to the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* (London, 1676); *An Abridgement of the English Military Discipline* (London, 1676).

⁵⁵ Jacob, *Clerical Profession*, p. 75.

⁵⁶ Laslett, *The World We Have Lost*, p. 32; J. Childs, *The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution* (Manchester, 1980), p. 4; R. E. Scouller, *The Armies of Queen Anne* (Oxford, 1966), Appendix C.

At the summit of both huge institutions sat the sovereign of the three kingdoms. The religious and military function of the British monarchy still displayed some medieval remnants. The sacred nature of English kingship was manifested by the enthusiastic performance of royal touch, one of few medieval ceremonies which survived the Reformation. Such a practice reached its peak during the later Stuart period when Charles II touched some 96,000 patients – more than any other reign in English history – to heal their ‘King’s Evil’.⁵⁷ The later Stuart kings also drew their swords and led their men into battlefields, just as the Middle Age ‘warrior-kings’: Charles II joined the fray on foot at Worcester in 1651 after he was crowned in Scotland, and he fought so gallantly that ‘[c]ertainly a braver Prince never lived’.⁵⁸ William of Orange might not have been a great commander, but his bravery in battle was unquestionable, while James doomed his throne by his indecision on Salisbury Plain in 1688 and incompetence at the Battle of the Boyne two years later.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, such ‘medieval’ aspects were fading away: Queen Anne was the last British monarch to perform royal touch, and apart from George II at Dettingen in 1743, no subsequent monarch led the army to battle again. Alongside these medieval elements were important, more recent influences shaping the religious and military roles of the later Stuart monarchs. The Stuarts inherited the title of ‘Supreme Governor of the Church’ from the Tudors.⁶⁰ Every clergyman had to swear an Oath of Allegiance to the sovereign when entering his office and renew this oath after a new monarch was enthroned.

⁵⁷ S. Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 1, 99–104, 115–19, 191–200.

⁵⁸ A. Fraser, *King Charles II* (London, 1979), pp. 210–212.

⁵⁹ P. Lenihan, ‘King Billy: A Military Assessment’, *History Ireland*, 12 (2004), pp. 19–20; J. Miller, *James II* (New Haven, 2000), pp. 201–2, 231–3.

⁶⁰ J. Rose, *Godly Kingship in Restoration England: The Politics of the Royal Supremacy, 1660–1688* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 1–2.

While such a practice remains today even though the monarch has become more or less a figurehead, it is a mistake to assume that the ecclesiastical functions of the later Stuart monarchs were merely ceremonial. Though the extent of royal supremacy was subject to contemporary debates, the later Stuart monarchs could, and actually did, exercise some key powers over ecclesiastical affairs: issuing proclamations to shape worship, appointing ecclesiastical commissions, appointing and depriving bishops, and summoning convocations.⁶¹

Likewise, every soldier or officer had to take an Oath of Fidelity to the monarch when he was enlisted or commissioned. However, the army's connection to the crown ran deeper still. For fear of going on his 'travels' again, Charles II attempted to keep at least a small army as royal bodyguards. Originally, these few 'guards and garrisons' were not a typically national 'marching army' suitable for large campaigns, and the later Stuart monarchs assumed the role of 'Supreme Commander' of their troops by incorporating them into the royal household.⁶² As the army grew in terms of size and professionalism, its bond to the monarchy remained: while there were always professional soldiers to command 'His/Her Majesty's (or Their Majesties') Land Forces', the monarchs might still appoint a royal next-of-kin as 'Generalissimo' outranking the Captain-Generals, as in the case of both James, duke of York in the 1670s and

⁶¹ Eadem, 'By Law Established: The Church of England and the Royal Supremacy', in Tapsell (ed), *The Later Stuart Church*, p. 22.

⁶² Childs, *Army of Charles II*, pp. 13–14; *idem*, *General Percy Kirke*, p. 9; *idem*, 'The Restoration Army, 1660–1702', in D. Chandler and I. Beckett (eds), *The Oxford History of the British Army* (Oxford, 1994), p. 52; Scouller, *Armies of Queen*, p. 54.

Prince George of Denmark in 1702.⁶³ Through key officials such as the Secretary at War and Paymaster, the monarch was ultimately in charge of the administration of the army: every commission was conventionally signed by the monarch, and in contrast to the navy, the language of the army commissions show ‘especial confidence’ in the sovereign in the officeholders.⁶⁴ This power was not without significance during the later Stuart period. Queen Anne’s increasing frictions with John Churchill later on in her reign led them to a conflict over the colonelcy of the command of the Earl of Essex’s Regiment of Dragoons in 1710, as the Queen favoured Jack Hill while the Captain-General nominated Thomas Meredith.⁶⁵

Indeed, Anne and her sister Mary should be mentioned, especially for their ties to the church and the army, as the roles played by the two Stuart queens in the two institutions should not be underestimated. Unlike her sister who ruled alone, Mary deferred to her husband William in most military matters, but she was still presented commissions of some senior officers to sign.⁶⁶ In contrast to the three later Stuart kings – a debauched Anglican, a Catholic convert, and a lukewarm Calvinist – the Stuart sisters were devoted to the Church of England. Many churchmen showed affection towards them, who in turn were zealous in governing the Church. As a regnant queen who had predominant influence over the Church, Mary remained serious about the (mal)practice of clergymen and helped to move the Church from its ritualistic and

⁶³ ‘Warrant to the Lord Keeper’, 31 Aug. 1672, *CSPD*, 1672, p. 549; ‘Commission to the Duke of York’, 26 Apr. 1673, *CSPD*, 1673, p. 175; ‘Letters from Scotland’, 13 Apr. 1682, *CSPD*, 1682, p. 165; ‘Memorial by the Prince Consort to the Queen in Council’, 29 May 1702, *CSPD*, 1702–3, p. 94.

⁶⁴ Scouller, *Armies of Queen*, pp. 6, 67–8.

⁶⁵ E. Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London, 1980), pp. 300–4.

⁶⁶ R. Price, ‘An Incomparable Lady: Queen Mary II’s Share in the Government of England’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 75/3 (2012), pp. 309–10.

coercive tendency to latitudinarianism. Her role in ecclesiastical affairs was so crucial that William struggled to handle it after her untimely death.⁶⁷ Pious like her sister, Anne declared that ‘nobody can have a more true and real concern’ for the Church of England than herself. Though her effort to heal the nonjuring schism by restoring two nonjuring bishops failed, she marked her own ecclesiastical legacy through ‘Queen Anne’s Bounty’, a programme introduced on her 39th birthday to subsidise clergymen in the poorest parishes.⁶⁸

However, the later Stuart monarchs did not enjoy absolute control over either the church or the army. Despite the royal supremacy, the church and, to a lesser extent, the army were ‘by Law established’ – by legislation passed by Parliament, not through royal decrees or proclamations. Against Charles II’s intention to build a tolerant and comprehensive church, the Cavalier Parliament established a narrowly Laudian Church of England by passing the Act of Uniformity in 1662.⁶⁹ The very same Parliament also ordered the disbandment of ‘the present army’ of the royalist as well as Cromwellian remnants soon after the monarchy was restored. However, the rising of the Fifth Monarchists in 1661 prevented some regiments from actually being disbanded, while the Militia Act passed thereafter provided another legal basis for the army of Charles II in a general way, namely by confirming that the King had ‘command and disposition of the militia, and of *all forces by sea and land*’. As a consequence, the later Stuart

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 310–11, 321–3; M. Zook, ‘The Shocking Death of Mary II: Gender and Political Crisis in Late Stuart England’, *British Scholar*, 1/1 (2008), pp. 22, 26–9; *eadem*, ‘A Latitudinarian Queen: Mary II and Her Churchmen’, in S. Apetrei and H. Smith (eds), *Religion and Women in Britain, c. 1660–1760* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 105–15.

⁶⁸ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp. 144–5, 179; G. Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, revised edn (London, 1987), p. 213.

⁶⁹ J. Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646–1689* (New Haven, 1991), pp. 29–42.

army was officially referred to as 'His/Her Majesty's Forces by Land' in, for example, military regulations.⁷⁰ This ambiguity was clarified in the Mutiny Act of 1689, which stated that raising or keeping a standing army without Parliamentary consent was against the law.⁷¹

In fact, the Crown and Parliament's 'dual control' over the army, so applauded by Whig historians, had already existed in rudimentary form since the reign of Charles II. True, the King was entitled to commission any person he saw fit to the army, but he was forbidden to raise any revenue without the consent of the English Parliament, which arranged the financial budget for the army. Hence, Charles II had to supply his soldiers from his own coffers, the annual grant of which was in turn fixed by Parliament to £140,000 and was diminished due to several factors. These limitations effectively prevented any significant increase in the army.⁷² The Parliament's power of the purse also enabled it to influence how the army was administered. For example, the Cavalier Parliament managed to force Charles II to accept the Test Act of 1673, which in turn removed all Roman Catholic officers from the army, by threatening to withhold the supply to his grant.⁷³ Financial constraints also compelled the king to disband the new regiments raised in 1678 soon after their formation.

⁷⁰ E. g., *Articles and Rules for the Better Government of His Majesties Forces by Land during the Present War* (London, 1673).

⁷¹ 'An Act for punishing Officers or Soldiers Who Shall Mutiny or Desert Their Majestyes Service', *Statutes of the Realm*, vi, pp. 55.

⁷² H. Strachan, *The Politics of the British Army* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 44–6; Childs, *General Percy Kirk*, p. 9; Childs, *Army of Charles II*, pp. 47–8.

⁷³ D. L. Smith, *The Stuart Parliament, 1603–1689* (London, 1999), pp. 60.

A similar situation prevailed in the Church of England, which was governed by monarchs and shaped by parliamentary statutes simultaneously. Given the persistent lack of trust in the king, many churchmen turned to Parliament for support, lobbying members of both Houses. However, reliance on Parliament could compromise the Church's divine nature, by subjecting it to a human-created legislative assembly.⁷⁴ Moreover, the 'interference' ran both ways: two archbishops and 24 bishops were entitled to sit in the House of Lords, the more prominent one of the two chambers, as *ex officio* Lords Spiritual.⁷⁵ Due to their more regular attendance, these bishops could exert disproportionately greater influence on legislation than their temporal peers.⁷⁶

Likewise, there were soldiers sitting in both Houses of Parliament. Although the Long Parliament had passed the Self-denying Ordinance to prevent army officers from holding seats in Parliament during the Civil Wars, military personnel returned to the Palace of Westminster with the Restoration. The Stuart brothers managed to build a loyal voting bloc by having a substantial number of officers and professional soldiers as MPs – for example, Charles II had 41 MPs with army commissions in 1678 and James II would have had 60 to 70 if he could

⁷⁴ G. Tapsell, 'The Church of England, 1662–1714', in J. Gregory (ed), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II: Establishment and Empire, 1662–1829* (Oxford, 2017), p. 30–1; *idem*, 'Clergy of Later Stuart Church', pp. 71–2.

⁷⁵ A. Swatland, *The House of Lords in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 275–7. Similar arrangements can be found in the Parliament of Ireland and, until 1690 when Episcopacy was abolished in the Church of Scotland, the Parliament of Scotland, see G. H. MacIntosh, *The Scottish Parliament under Charles II, 1660–1685* (Edinburgh, 2007), p. 213.

⁷⁶ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 147.

summon a Parliament in 1689 – in the House of Commons.⁷⁷ Throughout the Restoration period, the average proportion of military officers among MPs was 10%, fluctuating between 5% to 17%, rising as the army was gradually expanded.⁷⁸ The army might have influenced parliamentary politics from outside in favour of the monarchy. During the Oxford Parliament in 1681, Charles II deployed two-thirds of his army in Oxford and London, where the Whigs enjoyed strong support, as a means of deterrence.⁷⁹ Things began to change after the Revolution, however. During the election for the Convention of 1689, William ordered that no soldier should appear in the towns where elections were held, to ensure the events could proceed as freely as possible.⁸⁰ Despite the prolonged and substantial conflicts on the Continent, the share of active officers in the House of Commons remained constant at 10.2% during 1690–1715.⁸¹ There were perennial attempts to exclude or reduce the so-called ‘placemen’, including army and navy officers, who received payment or pension from the crown in the House of Commons during the 1690s and 1700s. Standing out among these officeholders, army officers holding parliamentary seats would be regarded by the public as having no stake in their

⁷⁷ Childs, *Army of Charles II*, p. 38; *idem*, *Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution*, pp. 107–8.

⁷⁸ Please note that these figures include officers in both the army and the navy, but the very same source also suggests that the overall number of ‘army’ MPs (181) was ten times of that of ‘naval’ MPs (18). ‘The Composition of the House’, <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/survey/i-composition-house> (3 Sept 2018).

⁷⁹ J. Childs, ‘The Army and the Oxford Parliament of 1681’, *EHR*, 94/372 (1979), pp. 580–7.

⁸⁰ J. S. Omond, *Parliament and the Army, 1642–1904* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 37–8.

⁸¹ This figure would be higher if including former military personnel. Again, it includes officers from both branches of armed forces, but predominately army officers: among 203 ‘military’ MPs there were only 22 naval officers (excluding marine ones). ‘The Members’, <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/survey/members> (3 Sept 2018).

respective constituencies.⁸² But the attempt to exclude military personnel from the lower house did not succeed: the union with Scotland in 1707 introduced Scottish MPs, of whom the proportion of military (again, primarily army) men was more than twice that of English MPs, to St Stephen's Chapel.⁸³

The later Stuart monarchy was a multiple-kingdom inheritance that possessed a wider empire, giving significant opportunities for the Restoration monarchs to manoeuvre against Parliament. Alongside the self-styled title of 'King of France', the later Stuart kings wore three crowns, one each for England, Scotland, and Ireland. This broader British perspective was also reflected in the structure of the church and the army, both of which had separate establishments in each of those kingdoms. As the church was re-established in Scotland in 1661 and in England and Ireland in 1662, six archbishoprics were re-installed for the three nations: Canterbury and York for England, St Andrews and Glasgow for Scotland, Dublin and Armagh for Ireland. The three nations were under a single Protestant episcopal established church prior to the disestablishment of Episcopacy in the Church of Scotland in 1690. Likewise, the army was divided into three establishments, each under its own commander-in-chief, with each force containing at least one regiment of foot guards and one regiment of life guards. Those ecclesiastical and military establishments were legally independent, as the Scots army received its payment from the Inland Revenue of Scotland, while the powerless Irish Treasury plunged the Irish units into constant arrears, and the rates of pay of these two establishments differed

⁸² H. Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy and Politics in the Reign of William III* (Manchester, 1977), p. 314; Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, pp. 126–9.

⁸³ The figure is 30.6% (33 out of 108 Scottish MPs) against 14% (263 out of 1874 English MPs). See 'The Members', <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/survey/members> (3 Sept 2018).

from the English one.⁸⁴ Despite their formally separate establishments, the church and the army of the three kingdoms were interdependent in practice: there were Scottish and Irish soldiers serving in the English regiments, while most of the Irish bishops were from England, Wales, and Scotland, where the same Book of Common Prayer was in use.⁸⁵ But the perceived distinctions among these institutions, especially between those of England and Scotland, remained significant, and the ‘English forces’ in Scotland, regarded with ‘jealousie betuixt our kingdoms’, were recalled south in 1661, and Charles II’s further attempt to dress the Scots army in English red coats was met with resistance from the Royal Regiment of Scots Dragoons.⁸⁶ Even though James Sharp, archbishop of St Andrew, was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1661, the relationship between two episcopal churches was quite mixed, and the restoration of presbytery in the Church of Scotland in 1690 further reversed the attempt to unify the churches of the three kingdoms under the same episcopal polity.⁸⁷ The distinction between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland persisted beyond the Act of Union, and even though the independent Scottish military establishment no longer existed, there was still a position of ‘Commander-in-Chief in Scotland/North Britain’ after 1707.

⁸⁴ Childs, *Army of Charles II*, pp. 197, 204–6.

⁸⁵ C. Jackson, ‘The Later Stuart Church as “National Church” in Scotland and Ireland’, in Tapsell (ed), *Later Stuart Church*, p. 129.

⁸⁶ *RPCS*, i, p. 94; ‘Early Scots Military Uniforms’, *The Scottish Antiquary, or, Northern Notes and Queries*, 15/57 (1900), pp. 27–30.

⁸⁷ A. Raffé, ‘Scotland’, in J. Gregory (ed), *Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II: Establishment and Empire, 1662–1829* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 151–2.

The later Stuart period was also an era of imperial expansion. Charles II inherited Jamaica from the Commonwealth and acquired Tangier from Portugal as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza in 1662. His endeavour to tighten control over the North American colonies after 1676 was followed by his brother's short-lived Dominion of New England. Gibraltar and Minorca were added to the realm of Queen Anne at the expense of Spain in the course of the British advance in the Mediterranean in the 1700s. The church and the army advanced hand-in-hand to establish their presence in these overseas territories: colonial civil administration was delegated to the military governors of the garrisons there who sought opportunities to promote the established church in their jurisdictions. With their assistance, the Church of England tried to establish and promote itself in Tangier, the West Indies, and the American colonies, especially after the foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1698) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701). Though their achievements varied from colony to colony, they did bring the Church of England to a wider stage of global mission.⁸⁸

In addition to laying the foundations for Britain's future as a global power, these developments made a more immediate impact on the later Stuart monarchy. Charles II was obliged to accept the National Covenant he loathed in Scotland in order to secure his throne. Likewise, James II was the first 'King of Ireland' to actually go to Ireland, in his effort to defend his crown. As Parliament in London was confined to the Kingdom of England, it was inevitable for Charles

⁸⁸ J. Gregory, 'The Later Stuart Church and North America', in Tapsell (ed), *op. cit.*, pp. 150–66; J. Walsh and S. Taylor, 'Introduction: The Church and Anglicanism in the "Long" Eighteenth Century', in J. Walsh, C. Haydon and S. Taylor (eds), *The Church of England, c. 1689–c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 15–16.

and James to juggle three kingdoms and colonies in their struggles with the English political nation. As we shall see in Chapter 3, English soldiers, especially Roman Catholics, were sent to Tangier to avoid the scrutiny of Parliament after the Test Act, as Westminster had no authority over 'His Majesty's Forces in the Kingdoms of Suz, Fez, and Morocco'. Charles II used Scotland as a training ground for the oppressive use of the army, and James II put his pro-Catholic policies into practice in Ireland.⁸⁹ Such a complicated situation would definitely stoke troubles involving both the army and the church.

Troubles

Those troubles rose to their zenith during the reign of James II, one of whose perpetual opponents was the same Henry Compton we met at the start of this chapter. In May 1686, John Sharp, then rector of St Giles-in-the-Fields and later archbishop of York, touched a forbidden subject from his pulpit by preaching against some Roman Catholic propaganda spreading among his parishioners. As bishop of London, Compton was ordered by James to suspend Sharp for seditious and controversial preaching, but his refusal prompted James to establish an ecclesiastical commission to secure the suspension of the both.⁹⁰ As the religious tutor of Princess Mary and Anne, Compton often defied their father's Catholic faith. Consequently, he was deprived of his offices as Dean of the Chapels Royal, Clerk of the Closet, and Privy

⁸⁹ A. I. Macinnes, 'The Multiple Kingdoms of Britain and Ireland: The 'British Problem'', in B. Coward (ed), *A Companion to Stuart Britain* (Oxford, 2003), p. 17. The Catholics in the later Stuart army will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

⁹⁰ D. Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III* (Oxford, 1984), p. 175.

Councillor.⁹¹ In a confrontation between the two, James told Compton that he ‘talked more like a colonel than a bishop’ while Compton replied that the King did him honour in mentioning him ‘having formerly drawn his sword in defence of the constitution’, and he would do it again if it was necessary.⁹²

Henry Compton’s response was very brave, and he put his words into action by escorting Princess Anne out of London. Behind the drama, this personal confrontation reveals just how closely the church and the army were entwined as pillars of the British state. Obviously, Compton’s claim of ‘having formerly drawn his sword’ referred to his brief experience in Tangier. By saying so, Compton bracketed military service and ecclesiastical ministry, enshrining both as defenders of the constitution and liberty. On the other hand, both the army and the church became associated with oppression under the later Stuart period, for the army was regarded as an instrument to impose and uphold ‘Popery and Arbitrary Government’, while the Church of England was blamed for ‘popish’ practices and religious tyranny.⁹³ These paradoxes and contradictions of the army and the church would run throughout the later Stuart era.

The Restoration Settlement of 1660 was far from solid, but its problems did not surface until the next decade. Compared to the 1670s, the army and the church had a relatively peaceful

⁹¹ J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1660–1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 73.

⁹² Granger, *Biographical History*, vi, p. 87.

⁹³ M. Beloff, *Public Order and Popular Disturbances, 1660–1714* (Oxford, 1938), p. 108; T. Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuart: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660–1715* (Harlow, 1993), p. 66.

time. Sending a British contingent to Portugal to fight the Spaniards from 1662 to 1668 had little consequences at home, except for getting rid of some Cromwellian veterans.⁹⁴ The Second Anglo–Dutch War (1664–7), especially the Raid on the Medway in 1667, was a humiliating defeat, but it was essentially a maritime war in which the army was not involved, except for the new Royal Marines holding Landguard Fort. The army was certainly criticised, but the anti-military controversy was generally quiet in the 1660s.⁹⁵ The army and the church contributed relief during some disasters. In the Great Fire of London of 1666, for example, George Monck commanded the army to support the efforts to combat the conflagration, and the Duke of York's order to remove the gunpowder in the White Tower prevented a catastrophic explosion. After the fire, the Church of England raised more than £16,000 through parishes across the country to reconstruct the city and to relieve Londoners.⁹⁶

The situation changed with the Third Anglo–Dutch War (1672–4) and the publication of both the conversion to Catholicism of the Duke of York and the secret Treaty of Dover in the early 1670s, fuelling the fear of 'Popery and Arbitrary Government' that engulfed the 'Court' and the 'Country' and encouraging the development of what would become the later Tory–Whig party system.⁹⁷ The army and the church became two arenas of the new partisan strife. The

⁹⁴ J. Childs, 'The English Brigade in Portugal, 1662–68', *JSAHR*, 53/215 (1975), pp. 135–47; J. Riley, *The Last Ironsides: The English Expedition to Portugal, 1662–1668* (Solihull, 2014).

⁹⁵ L. G. Schworer, *'No Standing Armies!': The Antiarmy Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Baltimore, 1974), pp. 91–4.

⁹⁶ N. Hanson, *The Great Fire of London in That Apocalyptic Year, 1666* (Hoboken, NJ, 2002), pp. 138–9, 188–9; J. F. Field, 'Reactions and Responses to the Great Fire: London and England in the Later Seventeenth Century' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 2008), pp. 185–90.

⁹⁷ Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts*, pp. 54–65.

‘Country’ party sympathised Protestant dissenters under the penal laws but opposed the despatch of English troops to assist Catholic France against the Protestant Dutch Republic. They also suspected that the ‘Court’ party, which was associated with intolerant Anglican bishops, would promote Catholicism and absolutism in the French fashion, including the use of a strong standing army to subjugate the people.⁹⁸ These conflicts culminated in the Exclusion Crisis from 1679 to 1681 when the ‘Country’ party, or the Whigs, attempted to exclude the Duke of York from succession and replace him with the Protestant Duke of Monmouth.

The Duke of York survived to ascend the throne in 1685, and the army and the church continued to support him as James II during the rebellions of Monmouth in England and of Argyll in Scotland. Contrary to Monmouth’s expectation, the English army did not defect *en masse*, and Anglican churchmen still preached loyalty towards their Catholic monarch.⁹⁹ But James II’s pro-Catholic policies inevitably offended many churchmen and army officers. Led by William Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, seven bishops rejected the reading of the Declaration of Indulgence, which granted indulgence to Roman Catholics as well as Protestant dissenters in their dioceses. Furious, James II put them in the Tower of London for trial in 1688. Roughly at the same time, six captains in the Portsmouth garrison refused to accept the Irish Catholic soldiers assigned to their companies. They were court-martialled in Windsor Castle and were eventually discharged from the army.¹⁰⁰ Both cases received wide attention, if not

⁹⁸ A. Marvell, *An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government* (Amsterdam, 1677), pp. 50, 55; Schwoerer, ‘No Standing Armies!’, pp. 98–115.

⁹⁹ T. Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685–1702* (London, 2006), pp. 57–61.

¹⁰⁰ W. Gibson, *James II and the Trial of the Seven Bishops* (Basingstoke, 2009); E. J. Priestley, ‘The Portsmouth Captains’, *JSAHR*, 55/223 (1977), pp. 153–60. For the details of this episode, see Chapter 3.

sympathy, and the Seven Bishops walked free in the end. Besides the public confrontation of ‘Seven Bishops’ and six ‘Portsmouth Captains’, there had been conspiracies in both the army and the church. Three conspiracy cells in the army, involving a number of high-ranking officers, ‘the Treason Club’, ‘the Tangerines’, and ‘the Association of Protestant Officers’, all plotted together against James.¹⁰¹ Henry Compton, joined by the other six of the ‘Immortal Seven’, sent an invitation to William of Orange to invade England in 1688, and the latter was welcomed by a flood of defectors from James’s military camp on the Salisbury Plain.¹⁰²

The Glorious Revolution did not bring a complete settlement for the church or the army. The former opponents of James II did not necessarily become wholehearted advocates of William III. William Sancroft, five bishops and about 400 Anglican clergymen refused to recognise the statement that James had already abdicated the throne. For them, taking another oath of allegiance to William and Mary was an act of perjury because they had taken one to James, who was still regarded as the lawful king.¹⁰³ While William deprived the nonjuring clergymen of their livings, he was met with opposition from English generals. William’s favour towards his Dutch, German, and French Huguenot officers irritated those native generals, some of whom such as Charles Trelawney resigned in protest, and many began to correspond, if not conspire, with the Jacobite court-in-exile in Saint-Germain. One of the most prominent cases was the Duke of Marlborough who was put in the Tower for treason in 1692. As a former protégé of James and the uncle of James’s military bastard, the Duke of Berwick, Marlborough disclosed the intelligence of the English expedition to Brest to the French in 1694. While

¹⁰¹ Childs, *Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution*, pp. 155–64.

¹⁰² D. Hosford, ‘Bishop Compton and the Revolution of 1688’, *JEH*, 23/3 (1972), pp. 209–18.

¹⁰³ C. Rose, *England in the 1690s: Revolution, Religion and War* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 152–60.

Marlborough never cut off his connection to Jacobitism throughout the rest of his life, his successor as the Commander-in-Chief in 1712, the Duke of Ormonde, went a step further and joined the Jacobite rebellion of 1715.¹⁰⁴

The army and the church were also not immune to the partisan politics in the first decade of the eighteenth century. The Whigs received allegiance from many Low Church clergymen and backed the continued engagement on the Continent, in the form of Marlborough's campaigns in the War of the Spanish Succession. Once the Tories, who favoured the High Church, won the 1710 parliamentary election, they passed a new bill on occasional conformity to enhance the penal laws and to prevent nonconformists taking any public offices.¹⁰⁵ In line with the new Tory administration's more isolationist policy, the army's command was also reshuffled: Marlborough was dismissed, together with a number of officers with Whig connections, and they were soon replaced by Tory officers, led by Ormonde.¹⁰⁶

Conclusion

The Tory administration of 1710–1714 not only concluded the Peace of Utrecht which ended the War of the Spanish Succession but also marked the final years of the later Stuart period. Henry Compton died in 1713, just one year before the death of Queen Anne, his religious pupil. His life indicated an unspoken link between the army and the church. As primary career choices for gentry sons, these two professions paralleled each other in various ways. Thousands of

¹⁰⁴ Childs, *Army of William III*, pp. 64–5, 225–6; M. G. H. Pittock, *Jacobitism* (Basingstoke, 1998), p. 83.

¹⁰⁵ J. R. Jones, *Country and Court: England, 1658–1714* (London, 1978), pp. 350–51.

¹⁰⁶ Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, pp. 27–8.

young lads like Henry Compton tried to climb up the hierarchical ladders in the army or the church. In order to do so, they had to improve their professional performances and, more importantly, find themselves good places in the patron–client networks.

On their way up, they would find their fortunes much affected by general political situations. The army and the church both reflected the later Stuart Britain as a multiple-kingdom inheritance with a growing Transatlantic empire, in that both were composed of autonomous establishments, each with distinct personnel, finances, and legal arrangements. The presence of these multiple structures complicated the later Stuart politics by giving the monarchs too many balls to juggle. While the later Stuart kings might have attempted to play the three kingdoms against each other, these ‘British’ problems, usually concerning both the army and the church, sometimes brought them to domestic predicaments, straining their relationship with Parliament.¹⁰⁷ As a result, the army and the church were present in all the political upheavals from the Restoration to the Exclusion Crisis and then to the Revolution. An important and controversial element of this involvement was the direct and sometimes violent deployment of the army to support the established church, as explored in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁷ C. Jackson, ‘Restoration to Revolution, 1660–1690’, in G. Burgess (ed), *The New British History: Founding a Modern State, 1603–1715* (London, 1999), pp. 92–111.

Chapter 2

British ‘*Dragonnades*’?: Religious Persecution and the Later Stuart Army

A group of Quakers was gathering in a private meeting house in Leicester on Sunday 17 October 1686. Their party was outlawed by the Conventicle Act of 1664, and Quakers were among the most persecuted dissenting sects for their refusal to take an oath in any form. This meeting was a little unusual, as they were joined by a kettle drummer whose company quartered in the town. The meeting was proceeding normally until a lieutenant and three or four soldiers stepped in and sat down to drink ale and smoke tobacco in front of the congregation. The lieutenant proposed drinking to the King’s health, but a Quaker refused to toast, claiming he was ‘not thirsty’. The furious soldiers stood up and drew their swords, shut the gate, and then sexually abused the Quakers’ wives.¹

This incident is not registered in Joseph Besse’s *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quaker*,² but it does indicate the role of soldiers in persecuting and harassing religious sectarians during the later Stuart era, especially prior to the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Religious persecution and toleration have been major themes in the history of Restoration Britain. As Tim Harris states, religion was ‘the most contentious issue at the time’ and it remained critical throughout the period.³ Surprisingly, most scholars tend to focus on the ideological, legislative, and judicial aspects of this issue, rather than examining how

¹ R. Morrice, *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice*, ed. M. Goldie (7 vols, Woodbridge, 2007), iii, p. 275.

² J. Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* (2 vols, London, 1753).

³ T. Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660–1715* (Harlow, 1993), pp. 3–4, 40, 93–4.

persecution actually took place.⁴ Obviously, it is unlikely that those officials and bishops, however intolerant and militant, would harass nonconformists or break up their conventicles by themselves; they must have relied upon certain forces, and this is where the army came into the picture. Although briefly mentioned by military historians, a detailed analysis of the role of the army in religious persecution within the later Stuart three kingdoms and overseas colonies is yet to be done.⁵ This requires an explanation of the wider historical context of both contemporary attitudes to religious dissent and the use of soldiers to enforce religious policies elsewhere in early modern Europe.

Soldiers versus Sectarians in Post-Westphalian Europe

When early Christian communities were still minor sects, they generally appreciated the virtues of perseverance, resilience, and even martyrdom in the face of communal and imperial persecution. The Apostle Paul urged Christians to ‘recompense to no man evil for evil’, while the Gospel writers record that Jesus refused to call for ‘more than twelve *legions of angels*’ when he was being arrested.⁶ However, *legions of mortals* began to be deployed to suppress pagan temples and heretical cults in the fourth century, not long after Christianity was consolidated as the official religion of the Roman Empire, which was known for its warlike

⁴ E. g., G. J. Schochet, ‘From Persecution to “Toleration”’, in J. R. Jones (ed), *Liberty Secured?: Britain before and after 1688* (Stanford, CA, 1992), pp. 122–57; A. Fletcher, ‘The Enforcement of the Conventicle Acts, 1664–1679’, in W. J. Sheils (ed), *Persecution and Toleration* (Oxford, 1984), 235–46.

⁵ E.g., J. Childs, *The Army of Charles II* (London, 1976), pp. 70; McLay, ‘Restoration and Glorious Revolution’, pp. 303–4. For a deeper study of the garrisons and religious persecution in England, see S. Tsujimoto, ‘Restoration Garrisons, 1660–1688’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2009), pp. 84–9; 94–107.

⁶ Romans 12: 17; Matt. 26: 53.

ethos.⁷ Violence and coercion became an inherent element of the Roman Catholic church in order to maintain orthodoxy. The notorious exegesis by Augustine of Hippo on ‘*compelle eos intra*’ (compel them to come in) in Luke approved the persecution of the Donatist sectarians, providing an endorsement for the later crusades against heretical groups such as Cathars and Hussites during the medieval period, besides the mainstream crusades against the Saracens and the Baltic pagans.⁸

The Reformations in the sixteenth century split Western Christendom into rival confessions, including Lutheranism, Roman Catholicism, Calvinism and, partially, Anglicanism. But the Reformations did not push European countries into confessional pluralism, as a singular religious truth was still considered necessary for the welfare of individual societies.⁹ The fact that every confession claimed to possess the sole true access to the Way and the correct interpretation of the Word entitled the nascent royal or territorial authorities to assume the power to arbitrate among the competing versions of religious truth, and in turn made religion arguably an important element of the so-called ‘religious wars’ in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁰

⁷ J. F. Shean, *Soldiering for God: Christianity and the Roman Army* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 369–99.

⁸ R. H. Bainton, *Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace: A Historical Survey and Critical Re-evaluation* (New York, 1960), p. 115; K. P. Luria, ‘Conversion and Coercion: Personal Conscience and Political Conformity in Early Modern France’, *Medieval History Journal*, 12/2 (2009), pp. 229–31.

⁹ A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1550–1700* (Manchester, 2006), pp. 42–9.

¹⁰ See H. Schilling, ‘Confessional Europe’, in T. A. Brady, Jr., H. A. Oberman and J. D. Tracy (eds), *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation* (2 vols, Leiden, 1995), ii, pp. 641–70, esp. 647–8, 655–66.

In conventional historiography, the age of ‘religious wars’ ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. In fact, this did not abruptly or immediately secularise international or domestic politics. The Peace did revise the earlier Peace of Augsburg of 1555, but this applied only to the Holy Roman Empire and was exceptional in Europe in the extent to which it incorporated religious pluralism. Even this, though, was some distance from modern ideals of religious freedom or toleration. It was based on corporate rather than individual equal rights, and it was confined to granting Calvinists the same legal status accorded to Catholics and Lutherans in the Empire since 1555.¹¹ Both the 1555 and 1648 settlements also differed from those elsewhere in Western Europe in that they were treaties negotiated by the parties to which they applied, rather than ‘concessions’ or ‘indulgences’ granted by the monarch to religious minorities who did not possess equal status with the established churches. In all cases, such tolerance was regarded as a ‘necessary evil’ to prevent worse things. For example, the Austrian Habsburg rulers appeased the Protestant estates to rally support against the Turkish invasions, buying their agreement to war taxes by granting limited freedom of worship. In France, the 1598 Edict of Nantes granted freedom to Huguenot Protestants in order to end the prolonged and devastating civil wars since 1562. Therefore, such limited ‘freedom’ was fragile and open to revocation, as indeed observed in much of the Habsburg monarchy in the 1620s and in France in 1685.

Religious intolerance in later Stuart Britain falls analytically into the second category and is thus broadly typical of the Western European experience outside the Holy Roman Empire.

¹¹ P. H. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A New History of the Thirty Years War* (London, 2009), pp. 758–62.

Complete tolerance was regarded as a menace to the commonwealth and the monarchy.¹² Given the fact that the penal laws were legislated by Parliament, any attempt at religious tolerance was presented in the form of royal prerogative or proclamation, such as the Declarations of Indulgence by Charles II, serving primarily to assert the royal supremacy over ecclesiastical affairs.¹³ Similar efforts by James II were rooted in his ambition for a Gallican state following the French example, so his Declaration of Indulgence would make better sense if compared with the French Edict of Nantes: maybe a British ‘Louis XIV’ would have revoked it decades later if James had succeeded in 1687.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the attempt at limited ‘toleration’ was overshadowed by the countertrend of campaigns of religious persecution during the Restoration. Modern historians emphasise the theoretical and legal dimensions of religious intolerance in Britain, making it appear exceptional in contrast to the notorious persecutions in Continental Europe.¹⁵ In fact, intolerance and persecution practised by the later Stuart brothers had much in common with this phenomenon on the Continent. In both Britain and Europe, a monarch together with lay and clerical establishments confronted dissenting minorities who possessed few constitutional or legal rights. Likewise, behind all the theoretical polemics and quarter sessions, there was also an element of coercion; the newly established later Stuart army was supposed to be a crucial part of it, with its soldiers being sent to break conventicles and to arrest dissenting ministers.

¹² Schochet, ‘From Persecution to “Toleration”’, pp. 122–38.

¹³ T. Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdom, 1660–1685* (London, 2005), p. 63.

¹⁴ S. Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven, 2009), pp. 133–4.

¹⁵ E. g., G. Desbrisay, ‘Catholics, Quakers and Religious Persecution in Restoration Aberdeen’, *Innes Review*, 47/2 (1996), pp. 136–68; E. Davies, ‘The Enforcement of Religious Uniformity in England, 1668–1700, with Special Reference to the Dioceses of Chichester and Worcester’ (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1983); Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, etc.

In this light, a comparison should be drawn between religious persecution in Britain and that on the Continent through the common use of standing armies as tools of enforcement. Standing armies, which were staffed by professional officers paid through national fiscal systems, were constructed across Europe in the seventeenth century, especially after the Thirty Years War. These professional armed forces were used in religious persecution in many Continental countries. The infamous French *dragonnades* against the Huguenots might be the best-known case.¹⁶ Despite the Edict of Nantes in 1598, granting freedom of worship and other privileges to the Huguenots, Bourbon monarchs still regarded this Protestant community as a source of insecurity. Huguenot rights were progressively curtailed, but they retained freedom of worship in many parts of France after 1629. Concerned for his reputation as ‘Most Christian King’, Louis XIV wanted to reduce the number of ‘*religionnaires*’. His sinister intention was first put into practice by René de Marillac, the *intendant* of Poitou, who instructed cavalry troops to lodge in Protestant households in 1681 and offered conversion as the way to escape the financial burden and potential physical damage of such lodging. To keep the Edict of Nantes uncompromised, Marillac targeted the wealthy Protestant households only and made sure a handful of Catholic households shared such liability as well, but he managed to get 38,000 converts in a few weeks. Such a promising practice proceeded in a harsher manner in Béarn, Montauban, Poitou, Bordeaux, Saintonge, Rouen, Dieppe, and Languedoc on the eve of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Dragoons, known as ‘the booted missionaries’, as well as infantrymen and cavalrymen, were dispatched to gain further converts in other Protestant households.

¹⁶ For a detailed account on French *dragonnades*, see R. L. McCullough, *Coercion, Conversion and Counterinsurgency in Louis XIV's France* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 125–80.

The *Dragonnades* involved more than violence and cruelty against Huguenots, which featured in contemporary Protestant propaganda; they also required provincial bureaucracy, Catholic clergy, local militias as well as international diplomacy.¹⁷ Still more, it served Louis XIV's underlying objective to consolidate his realm thoroughly. Other European rulers who wished to push forward similar agendas also deployed their soldiers to suppress religious minorities. The medieval Waldensian community in the western Alpine valleys gradually adopted Protestantism in the mid-sixteenth century, and they soon clashed with the expanding territorial authority of Piedmont–Savoy.¹⁸ Successive Dukes of Savoy launched a series of persecutions on Waldensians who were eventually left with the freedom to worship in an area delineated by the Treaty of Cavour in 1561. After confining Protestant households to certain communes, the Marquis de Pianezza, commander of Duke Charles Emmanuel II, quartered three regiments in the Waldensian area in 1655 and eventually ordered an attack on the ill-defended Waldensian villages. The operation soon turned into a ruthless massacre, and some survivors were tortured to make them abjure their faith.¹⁹ Under pressure from Louis XIV, as well as the inspiration of his *dragonnades*, Duke Victor Amadeus II annihilated the Waldensian community with his own army and French auxiliaries in 1686 – 6,700 out of 14,000 Protestants were killed or died

¹⁷ McCullough, *Coercion, Conversion and Counterinsurgency*, pp. 177–9; Luria, 'Conversion and Coercion', pp. 225–6.

¹⁸ G. Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II: Absolutism in Savoyard State, 1675–1730* (London, 1983), pp. 93–4; M. Battistoni, 'Reshaping Local Public Space: Religion and Politics in the Marquisate of Saluzzo between the Reformation and Counter-Reformation', in M. Vester (ed), *Saubadian Studies: Political Culture, Dynasty and Territory* (Kirkville, 2013), pp. 242–50.

¹⁹ A. Muston, *The Israel of the Alps: A History of the Persecutions of the Waldenses*, trans. W. Hazlitt, 2nd edn (London, 1853), pp. 131–43.

in prison and 1,100 converted, while the rest managed to flee to the neighbouring Swiss cantons.²⁰

Recent Anglophone scholarship generally focuses on the persuasive or ‘civil’ dimension of the ‘Counter-Reformation’ in the Habsburg lands, including the introduction of new religious orders and seminary colleges, Tridentine reforms, and proliferation of Baroque arts. This choice of focus probably resulted from a backlash against the traditional Protestant propaganda, which focused on the backwardness and brutality of Catholic ‘tyranny’.²¹ However, coerced conversion, increasingly by professional armies, was never absent in Habsburg Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary, and Po-Chia Hsia characterises the Habsburg model of Counter-Reformation as ‘delicately balanced between the dynamism of Jesuit pedagogy, Capuchin missions, and outright political-military coercion’.²² The Habsburg coercive recatholisation was initiated by the devout Archduke Ferdinand of Inner Austria, the later Emperor Ferdinand II, who sent a reformation commission including a Catholic prelate and a few hundred soldiers from parish to parish around 1600. Soldiers arrested Protestant pastors, seized their churches and even desecrated Protestant cemeteries so that Catholic clergymen could be installed and

²⁰ G. Symcox, ‘The Waldensians in the Absolutist State of Victor Amadeus II’, in A. de Lange (ed), *Dall’Europa alle Valli Valdesi: Atti del Convegno ‘Il Glorioso Rimpatrio’* (Turin, 1990), pp. 237–42.

²¹ E. g., R. P.-C. Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation Central Europe, 1550–1750* (London, 1989), pp. 39–52; R. Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Basingstoke, 1999); R. P.-C. Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 10–59; A. Bamji, G. H. Janssen and M. Laven (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham, 2013), *passim*.

²² R. P.-C. Hsia, ‘Reformation on the Continent: Approaches Old and New’, *JRH*, 28/2 (2004), p. 165.

control village schools.²³ Similar practices were undertaken beyond the hereditary lands when Bohemia was recovered from the rebellious Protestant estates in 1620 and Hungary from the Turks during the 1680s. The Habsburg rulers developed a standing army under imperial control, and military pressure on Protestants remained even in the eighteenth century.²⁴

Use of force in the French, Savoyard and Habsburg cases was not without serious ramifications and setbacks. The French *dragonnades* provoked controversy within the Catholic church itself about the legitimacy of coerced conversion, while this practice compromised the confessionalisation of the Catholic church in Habsburg lands.²⁵ Moreover, these harsh measures also caused domestic turmoil and foreign intervention. French *dragonnades* triggered Huguenot revolts, which reached their peak in the War of the Camisards from 1702 to 1704 in

²³ R. Bireley, *Ferdinand II: Counter-Reformation Emperor, 1578–1637* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 39–40.

²⁴ *Idem*, ‘Confessional Absolutism in the Habsburg Lands in the Seventeenth Century’, in Charles W. Ingrao (ed), *State and Society in Early Modern Austria* (West Lafayette, 1994), pp. 45–6; J.-M. Thiriet, ‘Militaires et Contre-Reforme: Le Cas de L’Europe Centrale’, *Dix-Septieme Siecle*, 50/2 (1998), pp. 233–46; J. H. Merle D’Aubigné, *History of the Protestant Church in Hungary from the Beginning of the Reformation to 1850*, trans. J. Craig (London, 1854), p. 250; R. Pörtner, ‘Policing the Subject: Confessional Absolutism and Communal Autonomy in Eighteenth-Century Austria’, *Austrian History Yearbook*, 40 (2009), p. 75. For a case of military occupation to suppress Protestant churches in Prekmurje in 1732, see F. Sebianic, ‘Protireformacijska Vojaska Intervencija v Prekmurju Leta 1732’, *Casopis za Zgodovino in Narodopisje*, 14/1 (1978), pp. 75–81 (abstract in English available).

²⁵ Luria, ‘Conversion and Coercion’, pp. 239–44; A. Schindling, ‘Delayed Confessionalization: Retarding Factors and Religious Minorities in the Territories of the Holy Roman Empire, 1555–1648’, in Ingrao (ed), *State and Society*, pp. 54–62.

the Cévennes.²⁶ The policy of recatholisation by force in the Habsburg lands also put Hungary in an agitated state. Ninety per cent of the rebels in the Kuruc Uprising of 1672 were Protestants from different social classes and ethnic groups, and anti-Catholic sentiment also fuelled the revolts of Imre Thököly in the 1680s and of Francis Rákóczi in the 1700s, which received support from France and the Ottoman Empire.²⁷ A few hundred Waldensian refugees managed to fight their way back into their homeland in 1689. This ‘Glorious Return’ was aided by the diplomatic intervention of some Protestant powers, such as Britain and the Dutch Republic, which forced Victor Amadeus II to restore the *status quo ante*.²⁸ Although the Huguenot agenda to return to their homes failed to gain equivalent diplomatic support in the peace settlements of 1697 and 1713, French persecution nonetheless pushed thousands of Huguenot soldiers, including one Marshal of France, into the service of her enemies.

Besides the direct violence against domestic populations, short-term foreign occupation also affected local religious affairs. During the Swedish occupation in the Thirty Years’ War, the Protestant majority in the Thuringian city Erfurt benefited from the army presence, as some

²⁶ For Huguenot responses, see McCullough, *Coercion, Conversion and Counterinsurgency*, pp. 133–40, 182–242; W. G. Monahan, *Let God Arise: The War and Rebellion of the Camisards* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 65–88.

²⁷ G. B. Michels, ‘The 1672 Kuruc Uprising: A National or Religious Revolt?’, *Hungarian Studies Review*, 39/1–2 (2012), pp. 1–11; For other rebellions provoked by religious persecutions, see G. Murdock, ‘Responses to Habsburg Persecution of Protestants in Seventeenth-Century Hungary’, *Austrian History Yearbook*, 40 (2009), pp. 37–52; E. Kalivodová, ‘The Opocno Religious Rebellion and its Consequences in the Context of the Carolinian Counter-Reformation’, in L. Klusáková and M. Moll (eds), *Crossing Frontiers, Resisting Identities* (Pisa, 2010), pp. 157–69.

²⁸ Symcox, ‘Waldensians in the Absolutist State’, pp. 242–3; C. Storrs, *War, Diplomacy and the Rise of Savoy, 1690–1720* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 293–311.

confiscated territory was granted to them and the ongoing reform of churches and religious practices was intensified.²⁹ After Utrecht was occupied by the French army in the ‘Disaster Year’ of 1672, its Catholic community restored a few chapels and enjoyed the freedom of worship, which had been previously limited to private houses. They even re-consecrated the Dom, the former cathedral. But when they attempted to seize St Jacob’s Church, a landmark church in the city, French cavalrymen surrounded the church and thwarted their plan in order to respect the conditions of the capitulation, by which France was bound to preserve the public exercise of the Reformed Church.³⁰ Louis XIV occupied Savoy, where Tridentine Catholicism prevailed, twice from 1690 to 1696 and from 1703 to 1713. But the French occupiers also made the Savoyard bishops organise public prayers and *Te Deum* services for Louis XIV and French victories, which characterised Gallican Catholicism.³¹ An even more alarming occupation by Louis’ army happened during the Nine Year’s War, as the French not only devastated the territory of Protestant Electoral Palatinate but also helped install a Catholic elector, which breached the balance maintained by the Peace of Westphalia.³²

²⁹ H. Berg, *Military Occupation under the Eyes of the Lord: Studies in Erfurt during the Thirty Years War* (Göttingen, 2010), pp. 143, 199–200.

³⁰ B. Forclaz, “‘Rather French than Subject to the Prince of Orange’: The Conflicting Loyalties of the Utrecht Catholics during the French Occupation (1672–73)”, *Church History and Religious Culture*, 87/4 (2007), pp. 509–33; G. Yasuhira, ‘The Interconfessional Relationship and the Function of Toleration: The Struggle for the Public Practice of Faith in Utrecht, 1670s’, *Proceeding of Japanese–Korean Joint Conference on Western History in Kyoto* (Kyoto, 2014), pp. 49–52.

³¹ P. McCluskey, *Absolute Monarchy on the Frontiers: Louis XIV’s Military Occupations of Lorraine and Savoy* (Manchester, 2013), pp. 174–5.

³² A. C. Thompson, ‘After Westphalia: Remodelling a Religious Foreign Policy’, in D. Onnekink (ed), *War and Religion after Westphalia, 1648–1713* (Farnham, 2009), p. 64.

English people were concerned about all these hardships in Continental Europe,³³ but they were by no means unfamiliar with the use of military forces in religious affairs on their side of the Channel. Before the Restoration, soldiers had been deployed for religious campaigns within all the three kingdoms. Besides the random iconoclasm, interruption of religious meetings and abuse of ministers by soldiers during the mid-1640s, some commanders began to use their soldiers to promote the Engagement: an oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth. They also arrested ministers who preached against them after the execution of Charles I. Garrison governors had a great influence over local religious affairs.³⁴ Moreover, the religious agenda of the military rule of major-generals in England and Wales from 1655 to 1657 was explicitly expressed by John Lambert in 1655. According to Lambert, the aim of his rule was to ‘encourage and promote godliness and discourage and discountenance all prophaneness and ungodliness’. Major-generals and their commissioners used soldiers and militiamen to break up leisure activity on Sabbath and to eject scandalous or incompetent ministers and schoolmasters.³⁵

Likewise, the Cromwellian army intervened in the religious affairs of Scotland and Ireland after their respective conquests. The Scots had extended Presbyterianism to occupied northern England and Ireland during the Second Bishops’ War and the Irish Confederate War, but when

³³ E. g., *A Collection of the Several Papers Sent to His Highness the Lord Protector of the Common-Wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, etc., Concerning the Bloody and Barbarous Massacres, Murthers, and Other Cruelties, Committed on Many Thousands of Reformed, or Protestants dwelling in the Vallies of Piedmont, by the Duke of Savoy’s Forces* (London, 1655).

³⁴ H. Reese, *The Army in Cromwellian England, 1649–1660* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 116–37.

³⁵ C. Durston, *Cromwell’s Major-Generals: Godly Government during the English Revolution* (Manchester, 2001), pp. 154–66.

the English army marched northwards in 1651, some kirk sessions and presbyteries were disrupted by soldiers.³⁶ Apart from the harsh and brutal campaigns, Cromwellian soldiers sometimes harassed Catholic households in Ireland by demanding food and clothes by force.³⁷ But Cromwell promised leniency to the Irish Catholic population in 1650, and the Irish enjoyed relaxation after 1655 when the Greater Peace was secured.³⁸ Army officers generally concentrated their interventions among the Protestants, including introducing English sectarians such as Independents, Quakers, and Baptists and controlling Protestant ministers.³⁹

The Restoration of 1660 started a new episode for the church as well as the army in all the three kingdoms. Concentrating on the army as an instrument for internal order and security, the rest of this chapter will investigate soldiers' involvement in religious affairs and persecution in England, Scotland, Ireland and beyond during the later Stuart period. This use of the army remained broadly consistent from 1660 onwards, but the army approached religious affairs differently in each realm: the authorities in England and in Scotland attempted – and failed – to use soldiers to enforce religious conformity prior to the Glorious Revolution, while the

³⁶ E. M. Furgol, 'The Military and Minister as Agents of Presbyterian Imperialism in England and Ireland', in J. D., R. A. Mason and A. Murdoch (eds), *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 95–115; C. R. Langley, *Worship, Civil War and Community, 1638–1660* (London, 2016), pp. 55–60.

³⁷ T. D. M'Gee, *A History of the Attempts to Establish the Protestant Reformation in Ireland* (Boston, 1853), pp. 132–3.

³⁸ T. C. Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland: English Government and Reform in Ireland, 1649–1660* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 11–13; J. Cunningham, 'Lay Catholicism and Religious Policy in Cromwellian Ireland', *JEH*, 64/4 (2013), pp. 769–71.

³⁹ Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, pp. 99–107, 145.

military governors in Ireland and in the overseas colonies at best maintained stability in the complicated religious landscape.

England: *Dragonnades* Limited

The restoration of King Charles in 1660 was almost universally popular in England, but there were some people who did not share such enthusiasm. Among them were the so-called Fifth Monarchists, who were determined to overthrow both the monarchy and Parliament in order to bring about the ‘rule of saints’ in preparation for Christ’s alleged second coming after 1666. But they could not afford to wait until then. At the beginning of January 1661, Thomas Venner, one of their leaders and a veteran of the New Model Army, raised about 50 men in London. After preaching and fasting in their meeting-house, they marched out under arms on Sunday evening, shouting ‘Live King Jesus!’ and setting up sentries. The London Trained Bands were dispatched at once by the Lord Mayor to suppress them, while General Monck and the Duke of York led hundreds of cavalymen from Westminster after they received the alarm.⁴⁰

The uprising was put down, and Venner was captured, tried, and hanged, but this small incident had significant consequences for the Restoration regime. According to the Disbanding Act of 1660, the remnants of the Civil War armies were supposed to be disbanded, and this was already in progress when the uprising took place. The units led by Monck and the Duke of York were only available because they were the last in the schedule to be disbanded. Venner’s uprising appeared ‘in a manner designed by providence to convince the king and his ministers

⁴⁰ W. Dicconson, *The Life of James the Second, King of England*, ed. J. S. Clarke (2 vols, London, 1816), i, pp. 388–91; ‘Sir John Finch to Lord Conway’, 11 Jan. 1661, TNA, SP 29/28, ff. 78–80.

of the necessity of providing better for the safety of his person and the security of the government'.⁴¹ Hence, the disbandment was halted, and a few new regiments were raised in case of potential conspiracies by religious 'phanaticks' across the country. All these units soon swore allegiance to the King in February 1661, laying the foundation for the modern British Army.⁴²

However, it did not mean that Charles II was about to wage war against all 'phanaticks' with this force. On one hand, this army was not strong enough. Moreover, there was no parliamentary legislation in place yet to support the establishment or the recognition of a standing army which became an issue of debate as well as a financial burden during the entire Restoration period. Immediately after Venner's uprising, therefore, what Charles maintained within the country were 'guards and garrisons': a *de facto* but tiny standing army used to supplement the local militia, which was also under 'the sole supreme government, command and disposition' of the King, according to the Militia Act in 1661.⁴³ In the same month of Venner's uprising, Charles also demolished fortifications in some inland towns and reduced some garrisons in others, even to the extent of inadequacy. Only a few garrisons in strategic ports such as Hull, Portsmouth, and Plymouth were strengthened.⁴⁴ On the other hand, despite

⁴¹ 'William Dicconson's account, based on James II's papers, of the origin of the army, 1661', in *English Historical Documents, 1660–1714*, ed. A. Browning (London, 1953), p. 805.

⁴² Childs, *Army of Charles II*, pp. 15–17.

⁴³ J. Childs, 'The Restoration Army, 1660–1702', in D. G. Chandler and I. Beckett (eds), *The Oxford History of the British Army* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 46–7; 'An Act Declaring the Sole Right of the Militia to be in King and for the Present Ordering and Disposing the Same', in *Statutes of the Realm*, v, p. 308.

⁴⁴ J. Miller, *Cities Divided: Politics and Religion in English Provincial Towns, 1660–1722* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 114–15.

arresting over 4000 sectarians as an immediate response to Venner's uprising, Charles still tried to fulfil his promise of 'liberty to tender consciences' made in the Declaration of Breda. Of course, not all religious groups were as violent and rebellious as the Fifth Monarchists, and some even cooperated with the King in working towards a 'comprehensive' church, inclusive of both Anglican and Presbyterian elements.⁴⁵

Unfortunately, such a programme was too rosy to be true. The new Parliament, dominated by the old Cavaliers, re-established an intolerant Church of England with several Laudians in prominent positions, while Presbyterians and other religious groups were excluded as nonconformists, and of course, Roman Catholics remained recusants. The Corporation Act of 1661 forbade nonconformists to hold any municipal office; the Act of Uniformity of 1662 ejected all ministers without episcopal ordination; the Five Miles Act of 1665 forbade them to live within a five-mile radius of their former residences; and the Conventicle Act of 1664 prohibited any non-family gathering without auspices of the Church of England.⁴⁶

The scope of this legislation meant that there were nearly 1,000 ministers to eject and many conventicles to suppress. But no part of this legislation could enforce itself nor was any centralised mechanism available to implement it. Theoretically, the responsibility to implement these penal laws lay entirely upon the 'justices or chief magistrate' in provincial and local

⁴⁵ I. M. Green, *The Re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660–1663* (Oxford, 1978), p. 20; G. S. De Krey, *Restoration and Revolution in Britain: A Political History of the Era of Charles II and the Glorious Revolution* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 29–30.

⁴⁶ J. Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558–1689* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 166–9.

entities.⁴⁷ Practically, not every civil magistrate actively pushed the penal laws forward. Many sympathised with the dissenters, while some were even involved in such ‘unlawful meetings’.⁴⁸ Therefore, the penal laws were never enforced systematically or thoroughly. As Anthony Fletcher puts it, the religious persecutions were ‘local battles between particular groups of dissenting congregations and either individual JPs or a few strongly motivated justices’, unlike those Continental cases explored above.⁴⁹

The ‘Great Persecution’ nonetheless went forward to some extent, enforced by ‘constables, headboroughs and tithing-men by warrant’, but with the assistance of ‘any commissioned officer of militia or other of his Majesty’s forces with such troops or companies of horse and foot’ where considered necessary.⁵⁰ Since the Restoration militia had shown its incapability and, more importantly, its growing distaste as a tool of repression, it could not be trusted to enforce religious conformity.⁵¹ Here is where the so-called ‘other of his Majesty’s forces’, i.e. the army came into play.

⁴⁷ ‘An Act to Prevent and Suppresse Seditious Conventicles’, in *Statutes of the Realm*, v, pp. 648–51.

⁴⁸ Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration*, pp. 170–71. E. g., The wife of George Speke, the deputy lieutenant of Somerset, was found hosting a Presbyterian conventicle in Taunton, and her husband tried to protect her by threatening constables and churchwardens who indicted her. See ‘Sir John Warre to Sec. Bennet’, 20 Apr. 1663, *CSPD*, 1663–4, p. 116.

⁴⁹ Fletcher, ‘Enforcement of the Conventicle Acts’, p. 245.

⁵⁰ ‘Conventicle Act’, pp. 648–51.

⁵¹ J. R. Western, *The English Militia in the Eighteenth Century: The Story of a Political Issue* (London, 1965), pp. 52–74; J. Miller, ‘The Militia and the Army in the Reign of James II’, *HJ*, 16/4 (1973), pp. 659–79; R. B. Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The Origins of the British Army, 1585–1702* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 290–313; Tsujimoto, ‘Restoration Garrisons’, p. 83.

However, it is not easy to assess the conduct of the soldiers in religious persecution. Government papers, such as warrants and correspondences, provide few details apart from the dates, the targets, and the strength of the troops. On the other hand, materials by nonconformists provide vivid descriptions of such events, such as the one at the opening of this chapter. Though these sources are inherently biased, it is unlikely that such atrocities were entirely fabricated, for they were unpublished until recently (in Roger Morrice's case) or published in the eighteenth century when the standing army became less contentious (compared to the late seventeenth century). The extent to which the conduct of the soldiers is exaggerated or distorted is yet to be established, but this is done sparingly throughout nonconformists' accounts rather than serving as central to these works. When reading with caution, these accounts can serve as useful complements to terse government records.

Nearly 1,000 ministers across the country found themselves unable to conform to the Church of England, and then they were due to be ejected on 24 August 1662, notoriously known as the 'Black Bartholomew's Day'. As many had feared that this Great Ejection would provoke another rebellion, military preparations were conducted throughout July and August.⁵² Soldiers were involved in the ejection, and nonconformist historian Edmund Calamy recorded a violent incident. A company of soldiers intruded into the parish church of St Alphage London Wall during the Sunday service to eject its nonconforming rector, Thomas Doolittle, who had already escaped. Then the officer 'cried aloud' to the substitute preacher 'I command you, in the King's name, to come down'. After the latter replied, 'I command you, in the name of the

⁵² D. Appleby, *Black Bartholomew's Day: Preaching, Polemic and Restoration Nonconformity* (Manchester, 2007), p. 3.

King of kings, not to disturb his worship, but let me go on', the officer ordered the soldiers to fire. The congregation was in an uproar, protecting the preacher, who eventually went away.⁵³

Though there is not sufficient evidence to establish the exact level of violence by soldiers across the country on that day, the Great Ejection generally went ahead with little trouble.⁵⁴ Regardless, Restoration nonconformity continued to exist in the form of conventicles, and soldiers continued to play an active part in arresting Nonconformist ministers and suppressing conventicles. Colonel John Freschville, with two troops of horses and a company of foot, and Sir Edward Brett, with certain companies, were sent to York in 1663 and 1664 to 'rescue the country from the dangerous attempts of seditious conventicles, &c'.⁵⁵ A 'Company of Soldiers' was posted around a church in Shifnal, Shropshire to prevent Presbyterian divine Richard Baxter from preaching and to protect a licensed minister.⁵⁶ Soldiers broke into a nonconformist prayer meeting in London on 2 September 1684 and arrested the dissenting minister William Jenkin, who was later imprisoned at Newgate prison and died one year later.⁵⁷ Such practices were later extended to the French Huguenots. James II ordered the lieutenant of Dover Castle

⁵³ E. Calamy, *The Nonconformist's Memorial: Being an Account of the Ministers, Who were Rejected or Silenced after the Restoration* (2 vols, London, 1775), i, p. 81.

⁵⁴ Appleby, *Black Bartholomew's Day*, p. 3.

⁵⁵ 'Commission to Col. John Freschville', 3 Aug. 1663, *CSPD*, 1663–4, p. 226; 'Commission to Sir Edw. Brett', 30 July 1664, *CSPD*, 1663–4, p. 654. John Freschville was sent to York to 'prevent the dangerous attempts of seditious conventicles' again in 1665, and he later became the *de facto* governor of York. See 'Commission to John Lord Freschville', 21 Aug. 1665, *CSPD*, 1664–5, p. 527; Tsujimoto, 'Restoration Garrisons', p. 150.

⁵⁶ R. Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae, or, Mr Richard Baxter's Narrative of the Most Memorable Passages of His Life and Times*, ed. M. Sylvester (London, 1696), p. 374.

⁵⁷ Calamy, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, i, pp. 99–100.

to 'shut up the church doors and suffer them to meet no more' if the Huguenot church in Dover failed to follow the Anglican liturgy.⁵⁸

It is tempting to view these anti-dissenting actions as mere tyranny.⁵⁹ But one should be reminded that the many Restoration dissenting activities were closely related to civil unrest and even insurgencies. Richard Greaves studied the long-surviving radicalism in Restoration nonconformist communities. Although they were only a minority of nonconformists, these radicals, many of whom were ex-Cromwellian veterans, actively plotted or rebelled against the government and the church, especially during the 1660s and the early 1680s when they felt insecure. Besides the Fifth Monarchist rising in London in 1661, radical dissenters staged several insurgencies in the northern counties in 1663 and supported the Rye House Plot and Monmouth's Rebellion in the early 1680s. In addition to these events of national significance, there were also numerous local conspiracies and tumults. Radical activities were often associated with conventicles, as some conventiclers attended in arms, and speeches against the royal government could be heard from nonconformist pulpits.⁶⁰ In some meeting houses, gunpowder and weapons were discovered; an official in York suggested in a letter to Joseph

⁵⁸ J. Childs, *The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution* (Manchester, 1980), pp. 100–101.

⁵⁹ For example, Satoshi Tsujimoto regards 'suppression of disturbance' and 'regulation of religious dissent' as separate functions of the military garrisons. See Tsujimoto, 'Restoration Garrisons', pp. 84–9, 94–107.

⁶⁰ R. L. Greaves, *Deliver Us from Evil: The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660–1663* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 49–85, 159–206; *idem*, *Secrets of the Kingdom: British Radicals from the Popish Plot to the Revolution of 1688–89* (Stanford, CA, 1992), pp. 133–60, 284–89.

Williamson, Secretary to the Earl of Arlington, in 1669 that the ‘unlawful assemblies’ held in that city every Sunday ‘look like the forerunner of the late sad rebellion’.⁶¹

Garrisons were among the places where arrested ministers were imprisoned. Several dissenting ministers were delivered to the custody of the commanding officer of Windsor Castle in 1663–4.⁶² Francis Bampfield was arrested by soldiers in 1662 for conducting a family service with neighbours attending. He and 26 dissenters were imprisoned in ‘the house of the provost-marshal’ with only one bed for five days.⁶³ Thomas Martyn, a minister of St Andrew’s Church, Plymouth, was apprehended and sent to the Island of St Nicholas (Drake’s Island) for imprisonment in 1665. Due to ‘the very hard circumstances,’ including plague which broke out in the garrison, Martyn pleaded for removal after being locked up for ten months. The governor, the Earl of Bath, ordered him to be held instead under house arrest 20 miles outside Plymouth, for £1000.⁶⁴ Interestingly, the most famous churchmen incarcerated in garrisons were the Seven Bishops who were sent to the Tower of London in 1688 for refusing to read the Declaration of Indulgence. When they arrived in the Tower, the officers and soldiers knelt and

⁶¹ ‘Information about seditious conventicles held in Durham’, 22 March 1661/2, *CSPD*, 1663–4, p. 83; ‘J. Roote to [Sec. Bennet]’, 22 Sept. 1662, *CSPD*, 1663–4; ‘T. Aslaby to Williamson’, 4 Oct. 1669, *CSPD*, 1668–9, p. 516.

⁶² W. Page and D. H. Ditchfield (eds), *The Victoria History of the County of Berkshire* (4 vols, London, 1906–27), iii, pp. 5–29; ‘Warrant to Lord Lovelace, Lord Lieutenant of Berkshire’, 1 Apr. 1664, *CSPD*, 1663–4, p. 542; ‘Sir Thos. Doleman, Justice of Peace, to Lord Lovelace’, 12 Apr. 1664, *CSPD*, 1663–4, pp. 553–4; ‘Names of Fras. Bampfield and Four Others Fined and Committed to Dorsetshire Gaol’, 13 June 1664, *CSPD*, 1663–4, p. 612.

⁶³ Calamy, *Nonconformist’s Memorial*, i, pp. 469–70.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, i, p. 395.

begged for their blessing. During their imprisonment, the soldiers attended services conducted by the bishops enthusiastically and toasted their health, to the extent that Sir Edward Hales, the Catholic lieutenant of the Tower, could not control them.⁶⁵

However, the army also acted as a protector instead of a persecutor of the Roman Catholic community, which was also outlawed by the penal laws, especially during the reign of James II. Soldiers were called out to disperse the ‘mob’ attacking the local Catholic congregation in Bristol in 1686.⁶⁶ When a riot broke out on the eve of the Glorious Revolution, those involved stormed a ‘Masshouse’ where a Jesuit priest dwelt at St John Street, London. This led to a conflict between the mob and ‘severall companies of Soldiers’, causing four to be killed and nine wounded.⁶⁷ It was no surprise that James II would send troops to protect his co-religionists, but the continual harassment of the Protestant dissenters suggested his ‘toleration’ of the non-conformists was tactical rather than principled.

But it would be wrong to regard the soldiers as mere instruments of royal will. Sometimes, they interfered in the religious affairs of local communities according to their own agendas. Even before the Act of Uniformity, some officers and soldiers in the Hull garrison were angered by the ministry of Presbyterian John Shawe at Holy Trinity Church and complained about him to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the King; they forced him from his office ‘under the command and power of officers, soldiers, and guns’ in June 1661. After finding that Shawe had continued his ministry in the Charterhouse, soldiers surrounded the place every Sunday

⁶⁵ W. Gibson, *James II and the Trial of the Seven Bishops* (Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 109–12.

⁶⁶ J. Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century* (Bristol, 1900), p. 439.

⁶⁷ Morrice, *Entring Book*, iv, pp. 337–8; Childs, *Army, James II and Glorious Revolution*, p. 101.

morning to prevent the congregation from attending.⁶⁸ A similar incident occurred in Berwick-upon-Tweed, where Lord William Widdrington, the Governor, was annoyed with the Puritan minister Luke Ogle's vocal anti-Catholicism and sent a guard of soldiers to lock his church in 1661.⁶⁹ In 1686, a minister preached against Popery in a church in Strafford-upon-Avon where some soldiers were quartering. They 'bade the minister preach against the Popery no more', and the Chief Magistrate had to address the soldiers for pardon humbly. Another similar case happened in Worcestershire, but the anti-Catholic minister was backed by the Earl of Plymouth, the Lord Lieutenant.⁷⁰ But when the mayor of Scarborough, a Roman Catholic, ordered the ministers in the town to read the Declaration of Indulgence and threatened to arrest anyone who refused in 1688, a captain with several soldiers refused to comply and affronted the mayor by tossing a blanket on him.⁷¹

Anti-dissenter operations might appear excessively brutal. During the apprehension of dissenting minister William Haworth in St Albans, Hertfordshire, soldiers shot one of the congregation dead yet escaped prosecution.⁷² Soldiers beat some Quakers with clubs (some enhanced with iron spikes) and carbines in Essex in 1663, 'till the Flesh of some of them was become like a Jelly, their Blood for the present stagnated, and their Limbs deprived of Use'. Soldiers arresting a Quaker, Henry Foster, threatened his pregnant wife with pistols and swords,

⁶⁸ J. Shawe, *Memoirs of Master John Shawe*, ed. J. R. Boyle (Hull, 1882), pp. 65–9.

⁶⁹ Calamy, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, ii, p. 244; H. A. Ogle, *Ogle and Bothal: A History of the Baronies of Ogle, Bothal and Hepple* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1902), p. 210.

⁷⁰ Morrice, *Entring Book*, iii, p. 272.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, iv, p. 307.

⁷² Calamy, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, ii, p. 40.

causing premature birth and the death of both.⁷³ Soldiers also took these opportunities to plunder. A company of soldiers raided Quaker meeting-houses in London in 1670: they removed ‘the boards, windows, benches, and forms’, carried off ‘twelve cartloads of doors and other plunder’, and sold ‘the rest on the spot for money or drink’, leaving a pile of ruins for the Friends.⁷⁴ The soldiers’ lack of discipline may have led to the situation escalating out of control. In the violent case examined at the opening of this chapter, the Quaker meeting had a legal licence from the king and thus permission to meet, but they were still harassed by the soldiers. An Anglican church in Portsmouth was even fired upon during divine service by Irish soldiers quartering in town in 1688.⁷⁵

Nevertheless, anti-dissenting actions were usually carried out in accordance with orders from royal authority. In 1669, Charles II launched a coordinated suppression of conventicles, with the Earl of Arlington sending letters to the governors of Carlisle, Berwick, Hull, Plymouth, and Portsmouth to instruct them to ‘prevent or disperse’ the ‘unlawful meeting, on pretence of religion’.⁷⁶ And the soldiers were supposed to work with civil magistrates and other officials in suppressing conventicles. Summoned by magistrates, soldiers broke into ‘unlawful meetings’ under the guidance of local informers or constables. Apprehended dissenters were sent before justices of the peace or deputy lieutenants and were tried at the quarter sessions.⁷⁷ It is obvious that some magistrates were enthusiastic in sending forces against the dissenters; even some

⁷³ Besse, *A Collection of Sufferings*, i, p. 92, 200.

⁷⁴ W. C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (London, 1919), pp. 75–6.

⁷⁵ Childs, *Army, James II and Glorious Revolution*, p. 99.

⁷⁶ ‘[Lord Arlington] to governors of Carlisle, Berwick, Hull, Plymouth, Portsmouth & etc.’, 1669, *CSPD*, 1668–9, p. 655. For the following actions, see Tsujimoto, ‘Restoration Garrisons’, p. 99.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 104–5.

churchmen welcomed such use of soldiers. In 1669, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry suggested ‘the quartering of a troop of horse’ to inhibit the conventicles in Coventry, but the mayor seemed unwilling to proceed.⁷⁸

The mayor was not alone. Indeed, many civil officials failed or were reluctant to cooperate with the soldiers. Two aldermen of the City of London, Sir James Edwards and Sir William Turner, disagreed with each other about whether ‘two Companyes of the red coats of the Guards’ should be sent to disturb the conventicles in London.⁷⁹ When Sir Charles Holt, a local magistrate of Birmingham learnt about the plan to quarter two troops of dragoons in Oldburg nearby to suppress conventicles in 1684, he soon wrote a letter to the Earl of Sunderland to ‘prevent the dragoons coming down’, claiming the conventicles had been under control.⁸⁰ Such reluctance could be shared by lower officials. Nonconformists’ accounts made much of such refusals, reporting for example how a former informer in Essex refused to ‘meddle with Quakers’ again after getting ill in 1672, while a constable in Desborough, Northamptonshire, warned soldiers not to break up a meeting in 1682, alleging many former prosecutors had suddenly died when they were executing the commands, while the constable himself fell from his horse during the previous operation.⁸¹ Some constables led a file of soldiers to disturb several conventicles in London in 1682, and according to Roger Morrice, ‘the business was done with great indifferency. Some continued till the Exercise was done without any

⁷⁸ ‘Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield to the Archbishop of Canterbury’, 1669, *CSPD*, 1668–9, p. 655.

⁷⁹ Morrice, *Entring Book*, ii, p. 360.

⁸⁰ ‘The Earl of Sunderland to Sir Charles Holt’, 6 Dec. 1684, *CSPD*, 1684–5, p. 237; ‘Sir Charles Holt to the Earl of Sunderland’, 8 Dec. 1684, *CSPD*, 1684–5, p. 238.

⁸¹ Besse, *A Collection of Sufferings*, i, p. 205; Calamy, *Nonconformist’s Memorial*, ii, pp. 220–21.

interruption, and some sunge a Psalme and so the Officers went away ... very few were apprehended or carried before any Magistrates'.⁸²

More generally, the army's activities were complicated by the fact that there was no clear mechanism or systematic approach, unlike the coordinated recatholisation in the French and the Habsburg cases, where the armies worked closely with civil authorities and Catholic priests. The 'Great Persecution' in Restoration England distinguished itself from Europe-wide religious persecution for being largely a 'Protestant versus Protestant' persecution. Due to the problem of 'occasional conformity' and 'occasional nonconformity', the boundary between Anglicans and nonconformists was much less clear than that between Roman Catholics and Protestants in the Continental cases. Because of the fear of 'Popery and Arbitrary Government', it was not difficult to find sympathisers with the dissenters among the rest of society. Furthermore, although English soldiers were meant to enforce the laws simply and make no converts, the public associated them with Catholic forces suppressing Protestants in France.⁸³ This contributed to anti-army sentiment as well as the suspicion of James imposing 'Popery and Arbitrary Government' in England after 1685.

Granted the small-scale civil unrest, anti-dissenter operations in England failed to trigger larger rebellions in contrast to the situation in Continental Europe. Most victims of the army responded with persistent, peaceful disobedience, especially Quakers, who were the most persecuted of all the groups. The only exception is the West Country, where the nonconformist

⁸² Morrice, *Entring Book*, ii, p. 322.

⁸³ E. g., 'Several Reasons for the Establishment of a Standing Army, and Dissolving the Militia', in *A Fifth Collection of Papers, Relating to the Present Juncture of Affairs in England* (London, 1688), pp. 13–14.

presence was stronger than anywhere else in England: many dissenters there actively joined Monmouth, the Protestant Duke, in 1685.⁸⁴ According to the survey on the support for Monmouth in different towns of the West Country by Peter Jackson, the level of support coincided with the level of persecution, rather than the level of nonconformity.⁸⁵ And soldiers definitely participated in the persecution, as Plymouth was one of the few important garrisons during the Restoration and it was used to lock up nonconformist ministers.⁸⁶

Though exceptional for its scale, this ‘last popular rising in English history’ was soon put down. Restoration England, therefore, witnessed only a limited version of *dragonnades*, as its army, despite several attempts to expand it, remained relatively small throughout the period, and the decentralised, unsystematic nature of the execution of religious policies prevented a full-scale confrontation between the army and dissenters. Nonetheless, when James II substantially expanded the army to include many Catholic officers and caused tensions with local communities by dispersing this enlarged army widely across the country, while his cousin Louis XIV actually deployed dragoons to eliminate the Protestants in France and Savoy, many English Protestants, conformists and dissenters alike, would have feared that the Protestant nation might be subjugated by a Popish army.⁸⁷ Such sentiments in both court and country contributed to the revolution of 1688–89. On the other hand, as the conspiratorial activities of

⁸⁴ R. Clifton, *The Last Popular Rebellion: The Western Rising of 1685* (London, 1984), pp. 48–56; *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, ed. G. L. Turner (3 vols, London, 1914), iii, pp. 613–15.

⁸⁵ P. Jackson, ‘The Last Godly Army in English History?: The Monmouth Rebellion and Nonconformity’, *Southern History*, 25 (2003), pp. 39–56.

⁸⁶ Miller, *Cities Divided*, p. 115; Calamy, *Nonconformist’s Memorial*, i, p. 395.

⁸⁷ Childs, *Army, James II and Glorious Revolution*, 83–113.

radical dissenters declined and eventually disappeared, nonconformity was no longer considered a threat to security, especially if they were allowed to worship freely.⁸⁸ The Toleration Act of 1689 conceded liberty of worship to Protestant dissenters under certain conditions; it was contingent and limited, and far from genuine religious freedom, but it nevertheless ended the period when soldiers were sent to break conventicles and arrest those who attended. The ecclesiastical courts continued to enforce religious discipline at the parochial level after the Revolution, but the lack of legal endorsement at the national level and the fact that soldiers were dispatched to fight overseas eventually reduced religious persecution to a marginal level in the eighteenth century.⁸⁹

Scotland: *Dragonnades* Escalated

Captain John Graham of Claverhouse, later known as ‘Bonnie Dundee’, was leading a troop of horse across the boggy moorland towards Loudon Hill, southwestern Scotland, on 1 June 1679. The Scots army had tripled in size in the previous year by raising two regiments of foot and several troops of dragoon and horse. Claverhouse, who just returned as a decorated veteran from the Dutch service in 1677, was leading one of the troops and was assigned to Major-General George Livingston, earl of Linlithgow. This augmentation and deployment was not for any foreign invasion or engagement, but instead an entirely domestic operation. A great rebellion was said to be in a ferment with exceptionally large field conventicles assembling in this disaffected region of Scotland, and Claverhouse was ordered to suppress one that he had received some information about. His troop and a company of dragoons under Captain John

⁸⁸ R. L. Greaves, ‘Conventicles, Sedition, and the Toleration Act of 1689’, *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 12/3 (1988), p. 12.

⁸⁹ Davies, ‘Enforcement of Religious Uniformity’, pp. 310, 356.

Inglis encountered some 250 conventiclers who had just finished an assembly near the Drumclog farm. Those Covenanter rebels were poorly armed, as only half of them held firearms, while the rest were equipped with pole weapons, but they outnumbered the government detachment five to three and were in well-defended positions under the disciplined command of William Cleland. Claverhouse initiated the battle by ordering a charge of the dragoons but was defeated by the Covenanters and was forced to retreat to Glasgow to join with reinforcements.⁹⁰

Compared with the policing tasks in England, the campaign against conventicles in southwestern Scotland in 1678–9 was on a greater military scale. Religious persecution in Scotland was initially no worse than in England under the Restoration. However, the Scottish Covenanters had previously revolted against Charles I and forced him to agree to the National Covenant. Charles II was at first conciliatory, but relations soon broke down and the Act of Rescissory of 1661 ‘rescind[ed] and annul[ed]’ all acts and deeds passed by the ‘pretended parliament’ in the 1640s. Episcopal government, which was deemed unacceptable to the Presbyterians, was soon re-established for the Church of Scotland, giving the King absolute power over ecclesiastical affairs through those royal appointees.⁹¹

⁹⁰ *Memorials and Letters Illustrative of the Life and Times of John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee*, ed. M. Napier (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1862), ii, pp. 186–7; *The Scots Army, 1661–1688, with Memoirs of the Commanders-in-Chief*, ed. C. Dalton (London, 1989), pp. 44–7; M. Linklater and C. Hesketh, *For King and Conscience: John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee* (London, 1989), pp. 42–7.

⁹¹ Harris, *Restoration*, pp. 107–8; I. B. Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters, 1660–1688* (London, 1976), pp. 48–9.

Unsurprisingly, the new settlement encountered heavy resistance from ministers as well as their congregations. Many parishes rejected the replacement ‘curates’ installed by the government, who were escorted by parties of soldiers to settle them by ‘the secular Arm, Compulsion and Violence’.⁹² Then, many congregations, especially in the southwest, deserted their parish churches to join the conventicles led by their nonconforming ministers in private houses, barns, and fields. An act passed by the Parliament of Scotland on 24 June 1662 forbade all these ‘unlawfull meitings and conventicles’ and prohibited preaching ‘without the licence of the ordinary of the diocesse’ under any circumstance.⁹³

Although the Scottish Conventicle Act was not explicit in jurisdiction, procedure, or punishment, it was still natural for the Scottish authorities to deploy the Kingdom’s tiny army to enforce the religious settlement.⁹⁴ However, unlike the decentralised arrangement in England that relied upon local magistrates, orders to repress the conventicles in Scotland usually came directly from the central authority in Edinburgh. Therefore, the Scottish *dragonnades* were well documented in *The Records of the Privy Council of Scotland* of this period. The instructions and correspondences of the government officials provide little about how the soldiers acted on the scene, but Presbyterian historian Robert Wodrow’s classic yet problematic *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restauration to the Revolution*, using materials from both sides, contains several detailed stories of

⁹² R. Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restauration to the Revolution* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1721), i, pp. 159, 177.

⁹³ J. H. S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (London, 1960), pp. 237, 246; ‘Act Concerning Masters of Universities, Ministers etc.’, 24 June 1662, NAS, PA 2/28, fo.11.

⁹⁴ K. A. J. McLay, ‘The Restoration and the Glorious Revolution, 1660–1702’, in E. M. Spiers, J. A. Crang and M. J. Strickland (eds), *A Military History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2012), pp. 301–2.

confrontations between soldiers and conventiclers. Witnessing soldiers ransacking his house in childhood, Wodrow was undoubtedly biased against the soldiers; however, his masterpiece was written in the context of the post-Union crisis in Scotland when the Tory-dominating Parliament passed the Toleration Act, the Patronage Act and the Yule Vacance Act which favoured the Episcopalians, so the ‘antagonist’ of his narrative was Episcopacy rather than the army, and falsifying accounts of military violence was not necessarily in his interest.⁹⁵

The Privy Council of Scotland was the high command for the military actions against conventicles. It initiated the southwestern campaign in 1678–9, while it was also responsible for some operations on a much smaller scale. For example, when nonconforming minister Alexander Robertson preached in a church in Kirkcudbright in 1663, the Privy Council sent Sir James Turner, a veteran of the Thirty Years’ War, with 60 soldiers to be stationed in that area for about one year.⁹⁶ The Earl of Lauderdale, the Secretary of State for Scotland, and the King ordered the notorious Highland Host, which involved billeting 6000 Highlanders in the southwestern towns in 1678.⁹⁷ And bishops and parochial curates also occasionally helped soldiers enforce religious policies upon their parishioners at the local level. According to Robert Wodrow, most curates kept a register for their parishes to instruct soldiers to punish those who were absent from the services.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ A. M. Starkey, ‘Robert Wodrow and *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*’, *Church History*, 43/4 (1974), pp. 488–98; D. Morton, ‘Covenanters and Conventicles in South West Scotland’ (M.Phil. thesis, University of Glasgow, 2013), pp. 8–14.

⁹⁶ J. Turner, *Memoirs of His Own Life and Times*, ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1829), pp. 139–40.

⁹⁷ J. R. Elder, *The Highland Host of 1678* (Aberdeen, 1914), p. 37.

⁹⁸ Wodrow, *History of Sufferings*, i, pp., 185–6, 206; G. Burnet, *Bishop Burnet’s History of His Own Time* (London, 1857), p. 144.

Scottish soldiers apprehended ministers and broke up conventicles in a manner similar to the arrest of dissenters in England by small detachments of troops.⁹⁹ However, the Scots army also performed two more tasks which were not common in England. An act passed in 1663 imposed penalties upon anyone who ‘withdr[e]w and absent[ed] themselfs from the ordinary meitings of divine worship in their oune paroche church on the Lord’s day’.¹⁰⁰ Penalties were usually administered before civil magistrates or courts of law, while Scottish soldiers were entitled to exact fines known as the ‘Bishops’ Drag Net’ directly from offenders, and when the offenders could not afford it, soldiers could take their Bibles, clothes, or other valuables instead.¹⁰¹ In some convenient places such as towns near garrisons, the army could even take precautions against conventicles. For example, the Privy Council in 1673 mandated the Earl of Linlithgow to send a company of foot from the Canongate to Edinburgh every Sunday and to keep guards there from 6 a.m. to 8 p.m. The soldiers were ordered to search for suspected conventicles, with a reward of £50 for each conventicle they discovered, but they could not break any door without orders from magistrates or commanding officers.¹⁰²

Free quartering was another coercive measure particular to Scotland. In England, the billeting of soldiers in private houses was merely a pragmatic method for the army to cut costs and did

⁹⁹ E. g., *ibid*, p. 319.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Act against Separation and Disobedience to Ecclesiasticall Authority’, 10 July 1663, NAS, PA 2/28, ff. 85–6.

¹⁰¹ Cowan, ‘Repression and Religious Dissent’, pp. 9–10; Wodrow, *History of Sufferings*, i, pp. 186, 269.

¹⁰² *RPCS*, iv, p. 93.

not target nonconformists.¹⁰³ Scottish soldiers, on the other hand, were strategically lodged in the places of those who attended conventicles or rejected ordained prelates. When James Turner arrived in Kirkcudbright, some soldiers had already taken quarter in the houses of ‘the most obstinate opposers of the conforme ministers, in the parishes of Corsphairne and Balmacillellan’. Then, he promised the local folks ‘upon bonds for future obedience, the sojors were a removeing’.¹⁰⁴ This practice predated the French *dragonnades* against Huguenots in the late 1670s, and Robert Wodrow himself highlighted the connections and similarities between the French and Scottish events.¹⁰⁵

Where there was no substantial participation of local magistrates, soldiers exerted almost arbitrary power over religious dissenters. Robert Wodrow described the nature of the persecution in Scotland as ‘[t]he Soldier is Judge, no Witnesses are led, no Probation is sought, the Sentence is summarly pronounced, and the Soldier executes his own Sentence’. Though it appeared to be simply a matter of law enforcement, Sir James Turner confessed to Gilbert Burnet that he ‘had no regard to any law, but acted, as he was commanded, in a military way’, while the latter remarked that the procedure ‘looked liker the proceedings of an inquisition, than of legal courts’.¹⁰⁶ Besides the insolent violence during the operations, such an unaccountable power was prone to abuse and corruption. After four months of imprisonment in 1661, minister James Kirk had to pay a fine of 600 merks, while some soldiers added another 300 which went directly into their own pockets.¹⁰⁷ Turner was not to have exacted any fines

¹⁰³ Miller, *Cities Divided*, p. 116.

¹⁰⁴ Turner, *Memoirs*, p. 140.

¹⁰⁵ Wodrow, *History of Sufferings*, i, p. 214.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 185; Burnet, *History*, p. 144.

¹⁰⁷ Wodrow, *History of Sufferings*, i, p. 76.

from the nonconformists in 1663, but he could not guarantee the same for the lieutenants under him.¹⁰⁸

The brutal conduct of James Turner backfired in 1666. Turner's men arrested a farmer, Grier, confiscating his corn and threatening to torture him. Some fiery Presbyterian ministers and lairds fought back and plotted a surprise attack on Dumfries where Turner was stationed. The Pentland Rising erupted on 14 November 1666, and Turner was captured by 200 armed men under a veteran named Wallace. The rebels then marched to the outskirts of Edinburgh over the next two weeks with their strength growing to over one thousand. Having heard the rumour that the rebels numbered 3,000, General Thomas Dalrymple, Commander-in-Chief of Scotland and an experienced veteran from the Russian service, ordered over 2,600 men to confront them. Ill-equipped and outnumbered, the rebels formed a defensive position at Rullion Green on 28 November, and it took Dalrymple three attempted assaults to finally rout the rebels, leaving about 100 men dead as a result of the conflict – most of the rebels managed to flee.¹⁰⁹

The news of the Pentland Rising shocked the entire country. The small Scots army tried to enhance its capacity to confront future insurrections across such a vast area, by 'mount[ing] the foot immediatly with countrey horses' purchased or rented from the civilians, virtually turning foot soldiers into dragoons to increase mobility.¹¹⁰ Apart from the precaution, Lauderdale and Robert Leighton, bishop of Dunblane and an advocate of milder policies, made

¹⁰⁸ Turner, *Memoirs*, p. 140.

¹⁰⁹ J. Buckroyd, *Church and State in Scotland, 1660–1681* (Edinburgh, 1980), pp. 65–7; McLay, 'Restoration and Glorious Revolution', pp. 304–6.

¹¹⁰ 'His Majesty to the Privy Council of Scotland', 21 Nov. 1667, *RPCS*, ii, p. 367.

some attempts towards conciliation.¹¹¹ Turner was made a scapegoat for the repressive policy and discharged from his commission by the Privy Council in 1668, having been accused by the Stewarty of Kirkcudbright of 21 misdemeanours and abuses during his southwestern mission. Two ‘indulgences’, declared in 1669 and 1672, allowed those ‘outed’ ministers who had lived peacefully and orderly opportunities to fill vacant parishes. However, the conciliatory policy soon failed because of the opposition from the Episcopalian party, and the authorities resumed the coercive measures.¹¹²

Another Scottish Conventicle Act in 1670 proved ineffective in dealing with the growing conventicle activities, especially in the southwest during the 1670s. The repression and harassment tended to drive indoor conventicles to the open fields, where they would grow significantly in size and were protected by armed guards against the soldiers who were hunting them. Because the Scottish army was the smallest among those of the three kingdoms, Lauderdale had to introduce supplementary measures to enforce repression in 1677. Tenants were required to present bonds to their laird landowners as surety for their religious conformity. When the latter claimed that they could not control the situation, Lauderdale ordered 6,000 Highlanders to quarter in the western shires to force people into submission. Though they had complete indemnity for ‘killing, wounding, apprehending, or imprisoning’ from the King, the Highland army only stayed in the Lowlands for a few weeks in 1678, without causing much damage. Their short stay might be attributed to the fear of revenge from some Lowland lairds

¹¹¹ C. Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660–1690: Royalist Politics, Religion and Ideas* (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 34; Burleigh, *Church History of Scotland*, p. 247; Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, pp. 73–81.

¹¹² Wodrow, *History of Sufferings*, i, pp. 283–4; Cowan, ‘Repression and Religious Dissent’, pp. 12–14; G. M. Yould, ‘The Duke of Lauderdale’s Religious Policy in Scotland, 1668–79: The Failure of Conciliation and the Return to Coercion’, *JRH*, 11/2 (1980), pp. 248–68.

who had complicated connections to Highland politics.¹¹³ Eventually, the Privy Council resorted to the army again, doubling its size to over 2,700-strong and expanding the policing tasks into a full-scale military campaign against the massive assemblies now congregating on the southwestern moorland. The armed rebels were strong enough to defeat Claverhouse at Drumclog, but they were eventually crushed by Monmouth at Bothwell Bridge in 1679.¹¹⁴ There were English contingents (eight companies of Sir Lionel Walden's Regiment of Foot) in the campaign, despite the law that forbade English troops marching to Scotland. Given the martial pride of the Scottish people, such a desperate need for assistance from their southern neighbours could be seen as another humiliation after the Battle of Dunbar.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, the harsh measures against the conventicles reached their peak in the 'Killing Time' during the 1680s, when the Duke of Queensberry, High Commissioner of Scotland, had the Scottish Parliament pass an act ordering the death penalty for those who preached in conventicles.¹¹⁶ But the increasing military efforts might have also harmed the established church, as ill-

¹¹³ Elder, *Highland Host*, p. 37; R. Stewart, 'The Savage as Peacemaker: The Highland Host of 1678', *Scottish Tradition*, 20 (1995), pp. 38–41.

¹¹⁴ McLay, 'Restoration and Glorious Revolution', pp. 309–11.

¹¹⁵ 'The Missive to Lieutenant-Colonel Conisby', 1678, *RPCS*, v, p. 476; 'Robert Yard to Sir J. Williamson', 14 June 1679, *CSPD*, 1679–80, p. 175. This was not the first time that Scotland called for assistance from the other two kingdoms, some Irish and English troops were asked to be ready in Ulster and Berwick 'if a present rebellion were to be expected in Scotland' in 1674. See 'His Majesty to the Privy Council of Scotland', 23 June 1674, *RPCS*, iv, p. 212.

¹¹⁶ 'Instructions to the Duke of Queensberry as Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland', 28 Mar. 1685, in HMC, *Buccleuch and Queensberry Manuscripts*, i, p. 93; 'Act against Preachers at Conventicles and Hearers at Field Conventicles', 8 May 1685, NAS, PA 2/32, fo. 153.

disciplined soldiers quartered on the land of the Archbishop of Glasgow in 1681 and occupied Kirkwall Cathedral, Orkney, as a guardhouse in 1684.¹¹⁷

Another difference between England and Scotland was that soldiers were deployed against a wider range of religious dissenters in England, while Quakers – arguably the most persecuted group in England – and Roman Catholics were less harassed in Scotland.¹¹⁸ The crosshairs were solely laid upon Presbyterian Covenanters, who did not hesitate to pick up weapons against authority and the newly imposed episcopate. In spite of some commanders, such as James Turner, Thomas Dalyell, Linlithgow, and Claverhouse, who diligently enforced the religious policy, there were others like Thomas Buchan in the Scottish army who showed laziness in implementing the religious persecution.¹¹⁹ In contrast, their Presbyterian enemies were much more determined to resort to violence in religious issues. Militant rioters, often including women, frequently assaulted Episcopalian ministers, and ‘scuffle[s]’ could easily happen ‘betwixt the soldiers and some countrie men att a conventickle’ where soldiers were

¹¹⁷ ‘Petition by the Archbishop of Glasgow’, 1681, *RPCS*, vii, pp. 34–5; ‘Supplication by Murdoch, Bishop of Orkney’, 1684, *RPCS*, ix, p. 76.

¹¹⁸ I. B. Cowan, ‘Repression and Religious Dissent in Scotland, 1660–1689’, *International Review of Scottish Studies*, 8 (1978), pp. 5–8. In 1688, some soldiers were dispatched to protect Catholic chapels in Edinburgh by Dumbarton, see Childs, *Army, James II and Glorious Revolution*, p. 100. The Scots army acted against Recusants to some extent after the Revolution, Lieutenant Robert Young of the Brigadier Maitland’s Regiment of Foot was rewarded £ 27 15s. 1d. for arresting a Jesuit priest in Fort William in 1702, see *English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661–1714*, ed. C. Dalton (6 vols, London, 1892–1904), v, pp. 222–3.

¹¹⁹ P. Hopkins, ‘Buchan, Thomas (c. 1641–1724)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3827> (26 June 2017).

outnumbered and beaten by the conventiclers.¹²⁰ A band of Covenanters brutally murdered James Sharp, archbishop of St Andrews, not far from a garrisoned village near Edinburgh in 1679, and their comrades in the southwest soon launched another rebellion in response to the military activity of the government, following their forerunners in the 1630s to renew a covenant.¹²¹ Unlike the spontaneous rising in 1666, this rebellion was well prepared. A radical minister, Richard Cameron, even promised ‘arms and officers from Holland’ for the rebels.¹²² Even though Monmouth crushed the rebellion quickly with forces from the Three Kingdoms, violent resistance did not cease during the period of the so-called ‘Killing Time’ in the 1680s. A party of Covenanters ambushed a group of dragoons on the Enterkin Pass in 1684, two clergymen were kidnapped by rebels in 1685, and local people near Galloway rescued an arrested field minister from soldiers and killed six of them on 18 June 1688.¹²³

In general, the Scottish *dragonnades* was equally ineffectual as those in England.¹²⁴ With tiny forces, diehard radical dissents, and vacillating government approaches, it had never fully consolidated Episcopacy in Scotland. Like the Waldensians in Savoy, the suffering and

¹²⁰ A. Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy: Religious Arguments in Scotland, 1660–1714* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 212–19; ‘The Earl of Hamilton to the Earl of Queensberry’, 6 Oct. 1677, in HMC, *Buccleuch and Queensberry Manuscripts*, i, p. 226.

¹²¹ Linklater and Hesketh, *Viscount Dundee*, pp. 1–9.

¹²² ‘For Colonel Legg’, 28 Nov. 1679, in HMC, *Dartmouth Manuscripts*, i, p. 38.

¹²³ *RPCS*, ix, xii–xiv; ‘Supplication by Mr William McLauchlan and Mr Archibald Campble’, 1685, *RPCS*, xi, p. 134; N. Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* (6 vols, Oxford, 1857), i, p. 445.

¹²⁴ R. L. Greaves, ‘Conformity and Security in Scotland and Ireland, 1660–1685’, in E. Boran and C. Gribben (eds), *Enforcing Reformation in Scotland and Ireland, 1550–1700* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 242–4.

resistance of Presbyterians in Scotland were also ended by foreign intervention. When the Convention of Estates in Edinburgh offered William of Orange, a Dutch Calvinist prince, the crown of Scotland in 1689, the Claim of Right, which they sent to William for his acceptance, outlawed ‘the employing of the officers of the army as judges through the kingdom’ and ‘the sending of an army in a hostile manner upon any part of the kingdom’. This effectively ended the use of soldiers in religious persecution.¹²⁵ The events that followed led to the overthrow of Episcopacy of the Church of Scotland and the restoration of the Presbyterian government in 1690. In the meantime, radical parishioners in the Southwestern Lowlands began to apply ‘a Military way of Reformation’, by dragging Episcopalian clergymen out of doors, cutting their gowns into shreds, and even assaulting their families. But this ‘rabbling of the curates’ was soon stopped by the Presbyterian ministers.¹²⁶ From then on, even though the Episcopalian church was still under pressure from the Presbyterian government, they no longer suffered at the hands of soldiers as the Covenanters had done. Overall, the period of 1660–88 proved the limits to the use of force. Despite increasing the Scottish army and using repressive measures, both Charles II and James II had failed to stamp out the Covenanters or securely establish Episcopalianism.

Ireland and Beyond

Born in a Protestant gentry family in Ireland soon after the Restoration, Richard O’Cahan anglicised his last name into ‘Kane’ during his youth. When the Irish army was re-Catholicised

¹²⁵ ‘The Declaration of the Estates Containing the Claim of Right and the Offer of the Crown to the King and Queen of England’, 11 Apr. 1689, NAS, PA 2/33, ff. 36–40.

¹²⁶ Raffé, *Culture of Controversy*, pp. 219–26; A. Shukman, *Bishops and Covenanters: The Church in Scotland, 1688–1691* (Edinburgh, 2013), pp. 52–4.

under Tyrconnell, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, soldiers began to confiscate the arms of Protestant communities in 1688 and rumours spread that the Irish Catholics were conspiring to repeat the massacre of 1641. Protestants decided to defend themselves. Kane joined the Protestant cause under these auspices and fought at several battles in the Williamite War from 1690 to 1691. He later distinguished himself as ‘Marlborough’s drillmaster’ on the Continent and in America, and was appointed lieutenant-governor of Minorca, the newly seized territory from Spain, in 1712. Not long after Kane arrived, some Spanish diplomats and clergymen petitioned against him to the British Crown, for his alleged interference with local Catholic ecclesiastical affairs.¹²⁷

Richard Kane had served across the ‘imperial’ sphere of later Stuart Britain. Of course, these places were different from each other in nature: Ireland was a kingdom, while the American and the Mediterranean territories were just colonies; New England had been an English possession for nearly a century, while British sovereignty over Minorca and Gibraltar was yet to be recognised until 1713.¹²⁸ Nonetheless, these places exhibited certain similarities. The perspective of ‘Three Kingdoms,’ which regards Ireland as a kingdom, implies that Ireland is equivalent to Scotland and England. However, this was not the case in practice, and Ireland’s status was in fact closer to those of the colonies in America and elsewhere. The Stuart

¹²⁷ B. Laurie, *The Life of Richard Kane: Britain’s First Lieutenant-Governor of Minorca* (London, 1994), pp. 148–54; J. Sloss, *Richard Kane, Governor of Minorca* (Tetbury, 1995), pp. 11–26; *A Vindication of Colonel Kane, Lieutenant-Governor of Minorca* (London, 1720); S. S. Webb, *Marlborough’s America* (New Haven, 2013), p. 61.

¹²⁸ English Tangier will be excluded in this chapter, for it was a garrison town without significant civil inhabitants. Its religious issue, quite intriguing still, remained basically within the garrison itself and will be covered in the next chapter.

monarchy came from Scotland and ruled from England, while Ireland remained a dependent kingdom. Though using the title ‘King of Ireland’, none of the Stuart Kings of Ireland ever set foot on the Emerald Isle until James II went there only after he lost the thrones of his other two kingdoms.¹²⁹ Meanwhile, the crown also tightened control over the colonies in the new world during the Restoration period. Even the colonial communities in New England lost their earlier autonomy when their charters were revoked in the 1680s.¹³⁰ Ireland’s subordinate parliament was filled solely with Protestants who constituted a minority of the population and were mostly newly arrived planters from England and Scotland, and they were surrounded by the discontented Gaelic-speaking Catholic majority whom they regarded as savage and uncivilised, echoing the similar antagonistic atmosphere between the colonists and the natives in America.¹³¹ Finally, the established Anglican church only made up a minority in the religious landscape of these places, which means that the authorities had to deal with the uneasy relationships among the local religious communities.

In this sense, Ireland was actually an English ‘colony’ where the dynamics between the army and religious affairs were similar to those of other colonial possessions of England. Governance

¹²⁹ For discussions on Ireland as a ‘colony’, see T. C. Barnard, *The Kingdom of Ireland, 1641–1760* (Basingstoke, 2004), p. 9; W. J. Smyth, ‘Ireland a Colony: Settlement Implications of the Revolution in Military-Administrative, Urban and Ecclesiastical Structures, c. 1550 to c. 1730’, in T. Berry (ed), *A History of Settlement in Ireland* (London, 2000), pp. 158–82.

¹³⁰ S. S. Webb, *1676: The End of American Independence* (New York, 1984), pp. 409–11; J. A. Confronti, *Saints and Strangers: New England in British North America* (Baltimore, 2006), pp. 98–130.

¹³¹ Irish government official James Bonnell remarked that ‘I look upon the Protestants here, to be the same as if they lived in New England among the natives, of whom they are always in danger’. See S. J. Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760* (Oxford, 1992), p. 250.

in those places was militarised to varying degrees. Most colonial governors were professional soldiers. They possessed executive authority in the West Indies and, increasingly, in the North American colonies.¹³² The Irish army was slightly smaller than the one in England, where the population was four times larger than that of Ireland.¹³³ While both were ‘satraps’ of the remote kingdoms, Lauderdale held civil offices only in Scotland, while Ormonde was also appointed Colonel of a regiment of foot guards in Ireland.¹³⁴

However, the situation in Ireland and in the colonies was not conducive to religious persecution by the army to the extent experienced in England and Scotland. Nonconformists made up a substantial proportion in Ireland, especially Ulster, and in America, especially the New England settlements.¹³⁵ Protestant dissenters were not the only source of trouble for the established Anglican church, which was relatively weak in Ireland and the New England colonies. In those places there were also a large number of Catholics who were disaffected by loss of properties and political prestige in Ireland, while the American colonies were under threat from pagan native tribes as well as Catholic French influence. Given that the small

¹³² For example, Stephen Saunders Webb studies the garrison governments in Restoration Jamaica and Virginia, see S. S. Webb, *The Governors-General: The English Army and the Definition of the Empire, 1569–1681* (Chapel Hill, 1979), pp. 211–435, 467–513

¹³³ The Irish army was the largest establishment in 1661 and was about 7,500 strong in 1685, while the English army reached 8,865 in the same year; In contrast, the population in England and Wales was over five million but the population in Ireland was just above one million. Childs, *Army, James II and Glorious Revolution*, pp. 1–2; G. Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Later Stuart and Early Georgian Britain, 1660–1722* (Harlow, 1993), p. 403; J. H. Andrews, ‘Land and People, c. 1685’, in T. W. Moddy, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland, Volume III: Early Modern Ireland, 1534–1691* (Oxford, 1976), p. 454.

¹³⁴ *Irish Army Lists of King Charles II, 1661–1685*, ed. C. Dalton (Dublin, 2000), p. 20.

¹³⁵ Webb, 1676, pp. 192–3.

colonial armed forces were in poor condition, while the large Irish establishment was ill-paid, dispersed, and politically insecure, the commanders could not afford a military campaign to force the dissenters into conformity. Instead, they pursued a cautious and balanced policy.¹³⁶

Nevertheless, soldiers in Ireland and the colonies were involved in local and provincial religious troubles. The memory of the 1641 rebellion still haunted the Protestants,¹³⁷ so the first and most obvious function of the Irish army was to guard against any aggressive move by the discontented Catholic majority and to maintain the ascendancy of the Protestant minority. Papists had already been disarmed since the Cromwellian conquest, and the Irish army was closely associated with the Protestant ascendancy – the reduction of the Cromwellian veterans in the 1660s was regarded as undermining the Protestant interest.¹³⁸ But the authorities dealt discretely with the Catholic community. The Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, reported to the Earl of Arlington in 1672 that there was great mass every Sunday for ‘those of

¹³⁶ Childs, *Army of Charles II*, p. 161; C. A. Dennehy, ‘The Restoration Irish Parliament, 1661–6’, in *Idem* (ed), *Restoration Ireland: Always Settling and Never Settled* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 62–3, 65; D. McCormack, *The Stuart Restoration and the English in Ireland* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 32, 44.

¹³⁷ For the fear, imagination and memory of the Irish Rebellion of 1641 among the Protestant communities in Ireland, see J. Gibney, ‘The Memory of 1641 and Protestant Identity in Restoration and Jacobite Ireland’, in M. Busted, F. Neal and J. Tonge (eds), *Irish Protestant Identities* (Manchester, 2008), pp. 13–24; J. Cope, *England and the 1641 Rebellion* (Woodbridge, 2009); A. Clarke, ‘The “1641” Massacre’, in M. Ó Siochrú and J. Ohlmeyer (eds), *Ireland, 1641: Contexts and Reactions* (Manchester, 2013), pp. 37–49.

¹³⁸ J. Gibney, *Ireland and the Popish Plot* (Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 122, 134; J. C. Beckett, ‘The Irish Armed Forces, 1660–1685’, in J. Bossy and P. Jupp (eds), *Essays Presented to Michael Roberts* (Belfast, 1976), p. 41; ‘Francis Godolphin to the Earl of Essex’, 18 Mar. 1672, in *Essex Papers*, ed. Osmund Airy (2 vols, Westminster, 1890), i, pp. 61–2; ‘The Earl of Orrery to the Earl of Essex’, 25 Mar. 1673, in *Essex Papers*, i, pp. 64–6; ‘The Earl of Essex to William Harbord’, 25 Jan. 1674, in *Essex Papers*, i, p. 166.

the Roman persuasion' in Galway, but he did not recommend using force to prevent it because its number was larger than the whole garrison of the town. Moreover, he recorded that, '[t]hey meet very peaceably, and no way disorderly either in words or otherwise'.¹³⁹

Such prudence towards the Catholic community was also shown by Richard Kane in Minorca, which was captured from Spain in 1708 and ceded to Britain in 1713. He appreciated 'a good Correspondence' between the local Catholic clergy and the army, so he prohibited soldiers from going 'into Churches in Time of Service' or showing 'any Disrespect to their Clergy'. He also tried to answer and explain 28 complaints made by the Spanish ambassador about his soldiers offending Catholic churches and nunneries when he was in London. However, he gave orders to Catholic clergymen which forbade foreign missionaries from preaching in Minorca and also prevented local priests from evangelising, baptising, or marrying British subjects. This was in order to protect his governorship from the interference of the Catholic Bishop of Majorca whose diocese included Minorca. Kane even attempted to create a separated jurisdiction by appointing a native vicar-general who answered to the Pope directly.¹⁴⁰

The Protestant 'fanaticks' were also zealous opponents of the Crown and the Church in Ireland. Some of them plotted to seize Dublin Castle and stage uprisings in Munster and Ulster in 1663. Essex expressed his concerns about the Londonderry garrison being inadequate to handle the large conventicles there in 1672. Ezekiel Hopkins, bishop of Derry, wrote to Ormonde in 1682 that nonconformists collected money through their conventicles to purchase arms in London

¹³⁹ 'The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington', 26 Oct. 1672, in *Essex Papers*, i, pp. 35–7.

¹⁴⁰ *Vindication*, pp. 5–23.

and plotted with their like-minded brethren in England and Scotland.¹⁴¹ But this precaution hardly led to anything like the ‘Great Persecution’ experienced in England or the ‘Killing Time’ in Scotland. Essex admitted Presbyterians were ‘a great body of People, and able men to bear Arms such as probably at some time or other may give trouble to the Government’, but he downplayed their menace by adding ‘they have no man of eminent popularitie to head them’, and the Bishop of Downe had even invited several nonconforming ministers to meet with him, leaving ‘the issue to God and tyme’.¹⁴² Ormonde seemed to continue such a prudent policy. In a letter to the Archbishop of Armagh in 1682, he wrote that ‘Our Lawyers in Ireland’ did not agree that the religious laws of England ‘can be made used of against any dissenters’, only ‘the Law against riots’ ‘may possibly be interpreted to reach’ the conventicles, but he did not like ‘the stretching of penal laws beyond their original intention’.¹⁴³ It appears that as long as the nonconformists would not pose any threat, Ormonde was unwilling to launch any severe persecution.

Military governors were also inclined to promote the Anglican church within their colonial territories. Several governors in America and the West Indies received instructions to ‘give the best encouragement to Ministers that Christianity and the Protestant religion, according to the profession of the Church of England, may have due reverence and exercise amongst them’ after

¹⁴¹ Connolly, *Making of Protestant Ireland*, pp. 24–5; ‘The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington’, 20 Aug. 1672, in *Essex Papers*, i, p. 15; ‘Ezekiel Hopkins, Bishop of Derry to Ormonde’, 12 Dec. 1682, in HMC, *Ormonde Manuscripts*, i, p. 56.

¹⁴² ‘The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington’, 26 Oct. 1672, in *Essex Papers*, i, p. 37; ‘The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Arlington’, 17 Apr. 1672, in *Essex Papers*, i, p. 77.

¹⁴³ ‘Ormonde to Archbishop of Armagh’, 11 July 1682, Oxford, Bodleian MS Carte 50, fo. 288.

the Restoration.¹⁴⁴ After he was appointed councillor of the short-lived Dominion of New England in 1686, Sir Francis Nicholson called for Anglican clergymen to be sent from England ‘both for the schools, Colledge, and Ministry’ in Puritan-dominated New England. Richard Kane proposed to the Archbishop of Canterbury an Anglican church to be built in Mahon, the capital of Catholic Minorca, in 1718.¹⁴⁵ However, none of them launched a military campaign against the dissenters. Sir Edmund Andros, an ‘Imperialist’ and pro-Anglican governor of the Dominion of New England, requested assistance from Puritan leaders to borrow a Congregationalist meetinghouse in Boston for Anglican service in 1686, and he withdrew after they refused.¹⁴⁶ When the Glorious Revolution spread to New England in 1688, Andros invited four Congregationalist divines, including Cotton Mather, to help him deal with the Puritan tumult, but was himself arrested by the Puritan mob in Boston in 1689.¹⁴⁷ This humiliating episode indicated that the later Stuart colonial governments, despite the military forces at hand, failed to bring into effect any substantial religious change in local society. Appeasement and collaboration were what they could achieve at best.

Conclusion

It is easy for contemporary Britons to compare the religious mission of the later Stuart army in the British Isles and the colonial periphery with the French *dragonnades* imposed on

¹⁴⁴ ‘Instructions to Edward D’Oyley, Governor of Jamaica’, Feb. 1661, in *CSPC*, 1661–8, p. 6; ‘Minutes of the Council for Foreign Plantations’, 11 Feb. 1661, in *CSPC*, 1661–8, p. 7; ‘Instructions for Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia’, 12 Sept. 1662, in *CSPC*, 1661–8, p. 110; ‘Instructions to Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, Governor of the Caribbee Islands’, 16 June 1663, in *CSPC*, 1661–8, p. 142.

¹⁴⁵ S. S. Webb, ‘The Strange Career of Francis Nicholson’, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 23/3 (1966), p. 520; Sloss, *Richard Kane*, pp. 220–22.

¹⁴⁶ M. L. Lustig, *The Imperial Executive in America: Sir Edmund Andros, 1637–1714* (London, 2002), p. 141.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 192–4.

Huguenots and the Savoyard massacre of Waldensians. Britain was not unique in terms of using professional armies to enforce religious policies, but it was the only state to fail in its mission. In Europe, Bourbon France and Habsburg Austria used their armies, together with ambitious Catholic priests, to change the religious landscape of their realms permanently: the minor Protestant communities were significantly reduced, if not completely wiped out. Piedmont-Savoy had been successful in expelling its Waldensian population, but this was reversed only by external diplomatic pressure. In contrast, the confessional demography remained almost intact in all the three kingdoms of Stuart Britain, despite the fact that the later Stuart army had few other distractions, while the French and Austrian armies were preoccupied with the Dutch along the Rhine and the Turks along the Danube throughout the second half of the seventeenth century. Just as Savoy had to restore the *status quo ante* under the pressure of Protestant powers, so Restoration Britain lost its regime and, in Scotland, its established church thanks to the intervention of foreign Protestant powers. The ‘British *dragonnades*’, however brutal they might appear to have been, proved fruitless in the end, compared to the Continental cases.

There were different reasons for the unsuccessful military campaigns in the different Stuart realms. First of all, although James had brutally persecuted the Covenanters during his administration in Scotland from 1680 to 1685, generally speaking, neither he nor his brother demonstrated the ambition or determination to impose religious uniformity that we find in Louis XIV, Victor Amadeus II, and the Habsburg monarchs. This is to say nothing of their attempts to declare liberty of conscience. With the lack of centralised, sophisticated policies which would involve bureaucrats, churchmen as well soldiers, the implementation of religious policies was delegated to the civil magistrates across England and to some army commanders in Scotland, many of whom were not enthusiastic about persecuting dissenters. Such reluctance

was amplified by the uncommon nature of ‘Protestant versus Protestant’ persecution and the fear of Popery in Britain, so in the governments there were always sympathisers who did not want to persecute fellow Protestants. Therefore, even though the Restoration period has been characterised as ‘the Great Persecution’, the level of violent persecution was not so ‘great’ when compared with the Continental cases. Moreover, it did not last long, as the Revolutionary settlements ended the persecution by granting freedom for all Trinitarian Protestants.

Even for those officials and commanders who did support religious persecution, the army was not a handy weapon. Unlike its Continental counterparts, the later Stuart army occupied an awkward place in the constitution and was even regarded as a political liability itself. This prevented a resolute and wholesale use of the army to implement religious conformity. Moreover, the army was relatively small, weak, and broken into separate establishments, facing the determined Presbyterians who had a longstanding tradition of rebelling against authority; the tiny Scottish army failed to call for English reinforcements until it was defeated at Drumclog, while the substantial Irish army could not be deployed to ease the situations in England or in Scotland until the last struggle of James II. Last but not least, the fact that the later Stuart army was a multi-confessional institution also complicated the situation.

Chapter 3

Papists, Presbyterians, and French Protestants: Confessional Identities in the Later Stuart Army

During the later Stuart era, several garrisons were posted across the country to maintain national security and provincial stability. However, one of them became a source of trouble on 6 September 1688 when six officers publicly demonstrated their disobedience to their superior. Two days before, the colonel of Princess Anne of Denmark's Regiment of Foot, James Fitzjames, duke of Berwick and an illegitimate son of King James, ordered 40 Irish Catholics from Colonel McElligott's Regiment of Foot to be incorporated into his own regiment which was stationed in the Portsmouth garrison. But six officers, including Lieutenant-Colonel John Beaumont, confronted Berwick politely but resolutely with their refusal to accept these 'Foreigners' into their units.¹ Given the fact that some French Huguenots had just been assigned to that regiment, their real concern was likely directed to the draftees' Roman Catholic faith rather than their nationality.

The disgruntled officers presented their rejection to the Lieutenant-Governor of Portsmouth as well, and a speech of John Beaumont soon appeared in some printed broadsheets. Berwick had them disarmed and arrested, and they were sent to Windsor Castle on 8 September. Two days later, they received a court-martial, of which the Earl of Feversham, the Commander-in-Chief, was president, while 14 generals and colonels were the members. During the week of the trial,

¹ The other five were company captains Simon Packe, Thomas Paston, Thomas Orme, William Cocke and John Port.

each of the captains was offered pardon if he obeyed the order, but none of them accepted, so they were all cashiered. Meanwhile, six more junior officers and a number of rank-and-file were dismissed from that regiment for the same reason. Through their court-martial, the six ‘Portsmouth Captains’ became as famous as the preceding ‘Seven Bishops’ who had been thrown into the Tower of London for refusing to read James’s Declaration of Indulgence in their dioceses. Even though this trial could not be found among the court-martial records in the National Archives, details of it were soon disseminated by national newspapers, personal diaries, and correspondence, including reports by European diplomats to their home countries.²

These diplomats had a good reason to be interested in this English case as exceptional from a European perspective. During the ‘religious wars’ of the seventeenth century, soldiers sometimes fought along the confessional boundaries, but it was common for soldiers of different confessions to serve alongside each other. The Catholic zeal of Spain did not prevent the Army of Flanders from recruiting Lutheran and even Calvinist troops. Roman Catholic soldiers and generals could also be found in the armies of some great Protestant powers such as Sweden and the Dutch Republic. The most extreme example would be the Imperial army under Wallenstein during the Thirty Years’ War, which, as the main force of the Catholic Habsburgs, contained a high percentage of Protestant soldiers. In such an army, as Friedrich

² E. J. Priestly, ‘The Portsmouth Captains’, *JSAHR*, 55/223 (1977), pp. 153–60; J. Childs, *The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution* (Manchester, 1980), pp. 151–4; J. Reresby, *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby: The Complete Text and a Selection from His Letters*, eds. A. Browning, M. K. Geiter and W. A. Speck (London, 1991), pp. 509–10.

Schiller put it in his famous historical drama, '[n]one asks to what religion you have vow'd. In fact, two kinds of thing we've only got. And on the Army claims — the other not.'³

It is not appropriate to say no one cared about soldiers' confessions at all during the wars of religion in Continental Europe in the seventeenth century, but the apparent indifference to religious allegiance was shaped by the desperate need for human resources in the prolonged and consuming warfare. But the later Stuart army was significantly reduced to merely a nucleus of national defence or 'guards and garrisons' after the Restoration. So the small size of the British forces, compared to their Continental equivalents, certainly made manpower a less pressing issue and suggests it might have been easier to make confessional uniformity a recruiting requirement. As Lieutenant-Colonel John Beaumont declared, it was not difficult to 'fill up with our Companies with such men of our Nation', so there was no point enlisting Irish Catholics.⁴ Thus, confession within the army became an issue that could be tackled without risking its military efficiency.

Unlike the outcome of the Thirty Years' War in the Holy Roman Empire, the Wars of Three Kingdoms and the Restoration did not result in a satisfactory settlement for all confessions in Britain. Scholars may disagree about the significance of religion after the Restoration, but religion was still a trigger, if not the dynamite itself, of a political crisis. Soldiers sometimes

³ G. Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567–1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' War* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 36–7; H. Langer, *The Thirty Years War*, trans. C. S. V. Salt (Dorset, 1978), pp. 89–90; F. von Schiller, *Wallenstein's Camp*, trans. T. Wirgman (London, 1871), pp. 33–5.

⁴ Priestly, 'Portsmouth Captains', p. 156.

found themselves trapped in some of those dramas, and their situations were highlighted as their confessional identities were often intertwined with ethnicity or nationality. There were three conspicuous confessional groups in the later Stuart army – Roman Catholics (mainly Irish), Presbyterians (Scots), and Huguenots (French) – as they not only appeared as individuals but also formed into regiments, at least for a period. This chapter will investigate how these three confessional/ethnic groups found their places within the later Stuart army, trying to identify the links between religious politics and the army itself. However, it is worth noting that it was Anglicans (mainly English and ‘New English’ in Ireland) that made up most of the later Stuart army, but they did not demonstrate a very clear confessional identity, as ‘Anglicans’ would just simply identify themselves as ‘Protestants’ or ‘English Protestants’ (the jargon ‘Anglican’ or ‘Anglicanism’ was not widely used until the nineteenth century).⁵

Roman Catholics

The year of 1678 was a time of disturbance for Protestants in England. English reinforcements sent to help the Dutch against France were too late, and the Treaty of Nijmegen, which marked the rise of the Catholic Sun King in Continental Europe, was agreed in July. Consequently, many Englishmen not only mourned for the Protestant United Provinces under the aggressive expansionism of Louis XIV but also worried about a potential French invasion of Protestant England. Titus Oates, a discredited scoundrel, ignited the public feeling in August by

⁵ What defined an ‘Anglican’ was attending services, administrated by ordained clergymen of the established Church of England according to the Book of Common Prayer, weekly as the law required, rather than subscribing a body of particular doctrines, a ‘confession’. Thus, the identity or self-awareness of an Anglican was closely related to the presence of the established church, or to the army chaplaincy in the military context; the latter will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

‘disclosing’ an appalling conspiracy to destroy Protestantism and to restore Roman Catholicism in the British Isles; after stirring up a Presbyterian rebellion in Scotland and a Papist rising in Ireland, London would be burnt to the ground again, and Charles II would be assassinated.⁶ Fuelled by some subsequent events such as the mysterious death of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, a magistrate in Middlesex in October, this fabricated ‘Popish Plot’ soon blew up politics nationwide and led to an episode known as the Exclusion Crisis.

On 23 November of this troublesome year, Matthew Momford, a soldier of the company of Captain John Drew, went for a drink in a public house in London. Presumably drunken, he began to tell people that he had been a ‘Papist’ for seven years. These words provoked a ‘discourse’ between him and two others, Thomas Topping and James Saunders. One of them said to Momford, ‘You are not fit to stand Sentinel where the King passeth, for you may kill him as he goes by you’. According to these two witnesses, Momford replied in a ‘fume’, ‘I hope to see you burned, and be at the Burning of you’. Intriguingly, this ‘discourse’ covered the two elements of the Popish Plot in London, featuring ‘assassination’ and ‘burning’. Momford was later indicted ‘for his contempt and misdemeanour, in speaking the Words’ at Old Bailey. The Court overrode Momford’s claim that his drunkenness excused his transgression, and the jury found him guilty. He was sentenced a fine of £100, which was more than his pay for six years. Even though it is not clear whether Momford was actually a Roman Catholic, it is likely that the Court wanted to make an example out of him. The verdict reads

⁶ J. Pollock, *The Popish Plot: A Study in the History of the Reign of Charles II* (London, 1903), p. 11.

‘[a]nd all the Priests and Jesuits they have shall never blow up any man to that heighth of Impudence, as to dare do any thing in contempt of the Government, or affront to our Religion’.⁷

Matthew Momford might have just said the wrong words at the wrong time, and his position as an ordinary foot soldier was far from sufficient to bear any alleged ‘Jesuit’ or ‘Popish’ scheme which was usually attributed to James, duke of York and some peers of the realm. However, Momford’s fate does reflect a long-standing popular opinion in Britain that a Roman Catholic was not fit to serve a Protestant country. Compared to the rest of seventeenth-century Europe where, in spite of some difficulties, Protestants and Roman Catholics managed to serve together even in the middle of ‘religious wars’, it is a little peculiar that Britain regarded Roman Catholicism as a big issue in the army.⁸ The idea that bound the maintenance of a standing army with the restoration of Popery and the imposition of an arbitrary government was carried over from contemporary Whig propaganda to later Whig historiography. The introduction of Roman Catholic officers to the army by James II was regarded as a part of the project to promote Roman Catholicism and absolute monarchy.⁹ Revisionist historians in recent decades challenged this conventional view, by depicting James as an Enlightened monarch who sought

⁷ ‘Trial of Matthew Momford, December 1678’, *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t16781211e-38-defend101&div=t16781211e-38#highlight> (26 June 2017).

⁸ Multi-confessional coexistence could be found in armies all over Europe. E. g., J. A. Lynn, *Giant of the Grand Siècle: The French Army, 1610–1715* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 435–6.

⁹ E. g., A. Marvell, *An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England* (Amsterdam, 1677), p. 45; G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts* (London, 1947), p. 328.

to advance liberty of conscience through parliamentary legislation.¹⁰ In particular, the introduction of Roman Catholic officers is considered a product of military logic which was never on a scale sufficient to shake the army as an overwhelmingly Protestant institution based on estimates of the number of officers who professed the doctrines of Rome.¹¹ In other words, Whig historians tended to regard the Roman Catholics in the army as part of the agenda of James to recatholicise Britain, while revisionists may downplay such a Catholic menace by pointing out there were far more soldiers allegiant to Canterbury than to Rome. However, Roman Catholic identity in the army sometimes went beyond either of these focuses. In order to understand why Roman Catholic soldiers were so vexing for their contemporaries, we must consider multiple dynamics beyond as well as within the army.

Queen Elizabeth I did not simply reverse her predecessor's policy of persecuting Protestants by targeting Catholics instead. Rather she also changed the methods employed to encourage conformity by no longer burning 'heretics' but instead fining Catholics for Recusancy and occasionally executing the more dangerous among them for 'treason'. Hence, 'Popery' was a political as well as a religious issue. The implementation of penal laws was often quite lax. Masses and missions continued under the safeguard of some Roman Catholic manor owners who could obtain tokens of holy communion from Anglican parsons. Nevertheless, Roman Catholics in England were suspected of being loyal to a supreme authority outside the realm, so they were not treated as politically trustworthy. Recruiting Roman Catholic soldiers was as

¹⁰ E. g., P. Walker, *James II and the Three Questions: Religious Toleration and the Landed Classes, 1687–1688* (Oxford, 2010); S. Sowerby, *Making Toleration: The Repealers and the Glorious Revolution* (London, 2013).

¹¹ J. Miller, 'Catholic Officers in the Later Stuart Army', *EHR*, 88/346 (1973), pp. 35–53; Childs, *Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution*, pp. 18–50.

much a wartime measure during the Civil Wars as the Royalist army itself, and the two Charles had to work with militarily capable gentlemen of all religious opinions, ranging from Scottish Covenanters to Roman Catholics. A number of Catholic officers appeared in the Royalist army against Scots in the Bishops' Wars. Peter R. Newman identified 117 Roman Catholics out of 603 Royalist colonels during the First Civil War, while Jonathan Riley estimated that Irishmen accounted for 5% of the officer corps after the alliance was forged between Charles I and the Irish Confederates in 1648.¹²

If the Roman Catholic presence in the Royalist army was expedient for the Wars of Three Kingdoms, the Roman Catholic officers after 1660 might be the remnant of it. Many Roman Catholics went into exile, and some of them finally returned with Charles II who had a lot of favours to repay.¹³ Alongside titles, pensions, grants, and public offices, military commissions were rewarded to the newly pledged Cromwellians as well as Royalists, Protestants, and Roman Catholics, despite the size of the army being significantly reduced.¹⁴ For instance, Irish Catholic William O'Brien, earl of Inchiquin, was appointed as the commander of three regiments consisting of, ironically, remnants of New Model Army fighting in Portugal. Scottish Catholic Andrew Rutherford, earl of Teviot, became the governor of the garrisons in Dunkirk and Tangier successively, and English Catholic Lord John Belasyse was appointed the governor of the Hull garrison. John Miller identifies 27 commissions issued to Catholic officers

¹² P. R. Newman, *The Old Service: Royalist Regimental Colonels and the Civil War, 1642–46* (Manchester, 1993), p. 218; J. Riley, *Catholicism and the Late Stuart Army: The Tangier Episode* (Huntingdon, 1993), p. 3.

¹³ J. Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (London, 1972), p. 9.

¹⁴ G. Smith, *The Cavaliers in Exile, 1640–1660* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 177–96, esp. 185–7.

in the army during 1661–7.¹⁵ Such arrangements did not raise many concerns about ‘Popery’ in the very beginning, as the Protestant ‘Phanaticks’ such as the Fifth Monarchy Men, were the more immediate threat. Only some foreigners from Catholic countries speculated that these appointments were part of a wider policy. In a report to the Doge and the Senate in 1661, Venetian ambassadors Angelo Correr and Michel Morosini wrote blissfully that ‘it seems that when the present government is perfectly settled, the Catholic religion will enjoy great advantages, and already many of the king’s own guards are Catholics’.¹⁶

This apparently wishful thinking soon turned into a panic. The catastrophic Great Fire of London of 1666 reheated the anti-Catholicism in English society. Papists, foreign as well as national, soon became the most suspicious targets, and some accounts alleged that ‘surely Papists on the Guards’ sabotaged the rescue work by blocking crossing passages.¹⁷ This episode, together with the disaster at Medway in the next year, was followed by the first wave of purging of Catholic officers. In order to calm public fury, Parliament and the Privy Council resolved that every officer and soldier should take the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance within 20 days and receive ‘the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper according to the Laws and

¹⁵ J. Childs, *The Army of Charles II* (London, 1976), p. 163; D. Parrott, ‘Rutherford, Andrew, earl of Teviot (d. 1664)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24360> (26 June 2017); *English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661–1714*, ed. C. Dalton (6 vols, London, 1892–1904), i, p. 13; Miller, ‘Catholic Officers’, p. 43.

¹⁶ ‘Angelo Correr and Michiel Morosini, Venetian Ambassadors extraordinary in England, to the Doge and Senate’, 29 July 1661, in *CSPV*, xxxiii, p. 18.

¹⁷ J. Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1660–1688* (Cambridge, 1973), 103; Catholick-Christian, *Pyrotechnica Loyolana: Ignatian Fire-works, or, The Fiery Jesuits Temper and Behaviour* (London, 1667), p. 130.

usage of the Church of England' in 1666.¹⁸ This measure was not an explicit witch-hunt for Roman Catholics, and it left room for 'church papists' who attended the Anglican services to fulfil the requirements without denouncing the Bishop of Rome. According to the lists of the reformed or disbanded officers in 1667 by Sir Stephen Fox, the Paymaster, only 125 or so Roman Catholics were cashiered.¹⁹ In 1668, when the Portuguese Restoration War ended, 11 Roman Catholic officers returning from the British contingent were labelled as 'incapable of service' because of their religion, while 24 Protestant officers were soon received into the Earl of Oxford's Regiment of Horse.²⁰ These disbanded Roman Catholic officers could still have their commissions back through a petition for relief or continue to serve in Tangier or on foreign service, and generally, most Catholic officers returned to the army quietly after a short absence.²¹

Further persecution came along with 'a new Test again Popery' in 1673 which required every military or civil officeholder to not only take the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance and Anglican sacraments but also publicly renounce the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation.²² As a countermeasure against the alleged Papist influence on high levels and response to

¹⁸ *Journal of the House of Commons*, viii, p. 642; *Journal of the House of Lords*, xii, p. 21; 'None to receive pay until they have taken the Oath and the Sacrament', 9 Nov. 1666, TNA, PC 2/59, p. 206.

¹⁹ 'A List of Such Officers as Were Reformed in 1666 and Disbanded in Sept. 1667, Extracted out of the Several List Signed by the Chief Officers, Qualified According to His Majesty's Order in Council of the 13th of November 1668', 13 Nov. 1668, TNA, SP 44/29, pp. 21–9.

²⁰ 'List of 11 Roman Catholic Officers', Dec. 1668, *CSPD*, 1668–9, p. 90; 'Lord Arlington to Lord-General the Duke of Albemarle', 4 Dec. 1668, *CSPD*, 1668–9, p. 90.

²¹ Childs, *Army of Charles II*, p. 26.

²² D. Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II* (Oxford, 1963), p. 368.

Charles's Declaration of Indulgence, this new Test Act mainly targeted prominent figures such as Clifford and the Duke of York, but it also affected all commissioned officers and left very little space for evasion. In the very same year, the Scottish Privy Council also ordered three commanding officers to 'to enquire and take tryeall what officers and sojourns of the standing forces are papists, and to report'; only the Scots Foot Guards under the Earl of Linlithgow turned up with one Papist, Lieutenant 'Whytfoord', who was then 'recommendit ... not to serve any longer in the regiment'.²³ The only thing Charles II could manipulate was interpreting the scope of the legislation not 'extend[ing] to the foreign forces now in my service'.²⁴ Venetians reported that 'the king has sent eighty companies to the fleet to exempt them from the examination', and many Catholic officers could still be reserved in the English regiments in the French service during the Franco–Dutch War.²⁵

As the perceived 'Increase and Danger of Popery' became still more urgent in 1678, Parliament reinforced the Test Act by adding renouncement against more Romish tenets and extending the test to members of both Houses and sworn royal servants.²⁶ The timing was bad, not just for Matthew Momford but also for the English brigade just recalled from France which had a number of Catholic officers, including Colonel George Douglas, earl of Dumbarton. These

²³ *RPCS*, iv, pp. 123, 124. If he was John Whyteford, then he would have re-entered the service later as his name appears in a list of the Regiment of Scots Dragoons in 1681. See *The Scots Army, 1661–1688*, ed. C. Dalton (London, 1989), p. 122.

²⁴ *Debates of the House of Commons from the Year 1667 to the Year 1694*, ed. A. Grey (10 vols, London, 1763), ii, p. 91

²⁵ 'Girolamo Alberti, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate', 21 Apr. 1673, *CSPV*, xxxviii, p. 37; Childs, *Army of Charles II*, pp. 172–3.

²⁶ Ogg, *Charles II*, pp. 516–17.

‘Popish officers used to French government’ were suspected of being an agency to bring Popery into England by force, and so under pressure from Parliament, 16 officers and 91 soldiers from Monmouth’s Regiment of Foot were dismissed or ‘obliged to retire’.²⁷ Besides some Catholic officers re-joining the French service, the only asylum left for Catholics to avoid parliamentary reach were the ‘Kingdoms of Suz, Fez and Morocco’, i.e. the English garrison in Tangier.²⁸

Ceded to England as part of Queen Catherine of Braganza’s dowry, Tangier was perhaps the only place under British sovereignty where Roman Catholics could practice their faith freely. After the handover, Charles II instructed the Earl of Teviot, the governor who was also a Roman Catholic, to respect ‘all the Priviledges and Immunityes promised’ to the Portuguese, while nonetheless being alert to their ‘dangerous correspondences’. Under these principles, despite some troubles, the Roman Catholic community managed to maintain their cathedral, churches, and chapels, and toleration was also extended to Muslims and Jews.²⁹ As it was not under the jurisdiction of penal laws, despite the harsh environment and tough warfare, Tangier was an ideal place for Roman Catholic soldiers to keep their careers and to show their loyalty. Several governors like Teviot, Belasyse and John Fitzgerald were Roman Catholics, and

²⁷ *Debates of the Commons*, vi, p. 231; Childs, *Army of Charles II*, p. 28; ‘Certificate by the Duke of Monmouth’, 7 Nov. 1678, *CSPD*, 1678, p. 508; ‘Certificate by the Duke of Monmouth’, 9 Nov. 1678, *CSPD*, 1678, p. 511.

²⁸ Miller, ‘Catholic Officers’, pp. 43–4; pp. 238–40; G. Glickman, ‘Empire, “Popery,” and the Fall of English Tangier, 1662–1684’, *Journal of Modern History*, 87/2 (2015), pp. 264–5.

²⁹ E. M. G. Routh, *Tangier: England’s Lost Atlantic Outpost, 1661–1684* (London, 1912), pp. 55–6, 275, 295.

around half of the garrison soldiers turned to Rome for spiritual guidance.³⁰ Therefore, it is not surprising that some contemporary commentators would accuse Tangier of being ‘a seminary for Popery’, while modern historians would hint at it as being a place of religious tolerance.³¹ A recent study by William Bulman suggests, however, the *de facto* toleration there was actually subject to the position of Tangier as a matrix of military, commerce, and diplomacy, and Charles II had a project of Anglican uniformity for the garrison from the very beginning. He instructed Teviot to ‘incline all your garrison to conform’, and that the governor as a Roman Catholic should attend Anglican services ‘by your own good example’.³² In a list with a ‘breakdown of the officers of the garrison regiments in Tangier according to religion’ in 1667, well-known Catholic John Belasyse was presented in the category ‘Of the Protestant Faith’ instead of ‘Of the Romish Persuasion’, seemingly an implication that Governor Belasyse took Anglican sacraments rather than simply an error entry.³³ Such ‘conformity’ might be ‘enforced for a political, not religious object’, as David Ogg put it, but it demonstrates that Charles II’s policy towards Roman Catholic officers was not total toleration.³⁴

The employment of Roman Catholics in the army by Charles II was mainly because of his personal debts to them for their prior service as well as their military capacity. But the politics

³⁰ W. J. Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment: Orientalism, Religion and Politics in England and Its Empire, 1648–1715* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 213.

³¹ *Debates of the Commons*, viii, p. 8; Routh, *Tangier*, p. 239; T. Stein, ‘Tangier in the Restoration Empire’, *HJ*, 54/4 (2011), p. 999.

³² Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment*, pp. 212–16.

³³ W. Drenth and J. Riley, *The First Colonial Soldiers: A Survey of British Oversea Territories and Their Garrisons, 1650–1714* (2 vols, Eindhoven, 2014), i, pp. 126–7.

³⁴ Ogg, *Charles II*, p. 517.

of religion at home was able to force him to purge Roman Catholic officers three times in 1666, 1673, and 1678. Unlike his brother, who was willing to compromise, James acted differently when it came to his co-religionists in the army. When he ascended the throne in 1685, the Tangier garrison had been evacuated for one year, so probably the only place for Roman Catholic soldiers to evade the Test Act was Hungary, where they volunteered in the Habsburg forces against the Turks.³⁵ However, as James inherited sufficient funds from his brother to act more independently, he did not need to play along with Parliament, nor would he do so; he would grant military and civil offices to his co-religionists regardless of penal laws or any other opposition.

The ill-fated rebellions of Monmouth and Argyll in 1685 and the looming Dutch invasion in 1688 provided James with a sound excuse to expand his army significantly to an unprecedented level of 40,000 strong.³⁶ In order to fill the newly raised regiments, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant officers were introduced. John Miller reported that about 27 per cent of the ranks above major were held by Catholics at the end of James's reign, while some key fortresses were under Catholic governorship.³⁷ James managed to Catholicise the Irish establishment through Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnell and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who purged 'disaffected' Protestants and replaced them with Roman Catholics.³⁸ Roman Catholicism was no longer a confession hiding in the Protestant army, as James appointed English priest Edward Cary to be 'Chaplain-General to his Majesty's Catholic forces' in 1687, and according to a

³⁵ J. Childs, *The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution* (Manchester, 1980), p. 19.

³⁶ Childs, *Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution*, pp. 2–5.

³⁷ Miller, 'Catholic Officers', p. 49.

³⁸ J. Miller, 'The Earl of Tyrconnell and James II's Irish Policy, 1685–1688', *HJ*, 20/4 (1977), pp. 803–23; Childs, *Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution*, pp. 57–79.

letter from James in 1688, ‘priests, Benedictines, or others to be chaplains of the forces’ seemed to be supported by part of ‘the retention money by reduction of the [Scots] troops’; such a funding of £375 per year could be able to pay three regimental chaplains.³⁹ Similarly, after Catholic Karl Alexander inherited the Protestant Duchy of Württemberg in 1733, Catholic *Feldpater* began to serve alongside with Lutheran *Feldprediger* in the army. But the difference was that a certain level of religious tolerance was settled in the Empire after 1648, while the penal laws were not yet repealed in the Stuart realms.⁴⁰

It might be true that James wished his Catholic soldiers live on good terms with wider Protestant society. In late November of 1688, he wrote to Lord Molineux, a Catholic, about presumably Catholic officers of his regiment having ‘divers reproachfull and insolent wards’ against the Protestants, showing the royal intentions that ‘his subjects of all persuasions should live peacefully and friendly together’.⁴¹ However, as James was forging a Roman Catholic branch of the army, a Catholic military identity became increasingly visible to the mostly Protestant population. Thomas Ward, a former trooper in the Horse Guards and a Roman Catholic, returned from serving in Hungary in 1685 and published several works under the name of ‘A Roman Catholick Souldier’, challenging the doctrines, ecclesiastical

³⁹ J. Gillow, *A Literary and Biographical History, or Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics* (5 vols, London, 1885), i, p. 418; *RPCS*, xiii, xlv. A regimental chaplain’s pay was £121 13s 4d *per annum*, see Chapter 4.

⁴⁰ P. H. Wilson, ‘Militär und Religiosität in Württemberg, 1677–1797’, in M. Kaiser and S. Kroll (eds), *Militär und Religiosität in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Münster, 2004), pp. 85–7.

⁴¹ ‘Letter to Major-General Cunningham’, 29 Nov. 1688, TNA, WO 4/1, p. 115.

historiography, and biblical translation of the Anglican church.⁴² Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, a Scottish Catholic and a general of the Russian army, made a public visit to England in 1686 and was interviewed by James who tried to persuade him to join the English service – this job offer only failed because the Tsar refused to grant Gordon a discharge.⁴³ An even bigger event happened in Windsor Castle where James had a troop review to welcome the first papal nuncio to England since Mary Tudor in 1687.⁴⁴ During the reign of James, a ‘Popish’ army was no longer hearsay, even though James did not intend to impose ‘Popery’ with it.

Besides the troubles with the political nation, Roman Catholicism was also an element undermining the army by escalating, justifying, or amplifying internal rivalry between soldiers of different confessions. A number of Protestant officers took the places left by Roman Catholics excluded from the army in 1678, and the opposite happened in Ireland after 1685.⁴⁵ Charles Fitzcharles, an illegitimate son of Charles II, challenged his half-brother Monmouth’s

⁴² D. G. Scott, ‘Thomas Ward (1652–1708) and Hexhamshire: Catholic Apologetics in the Tyne Valley,’ *Northern Catholic History*, 41 (2000), pp. 32–7. T. Ward, *Monomachia, or, A Duel between Dr. Tho. Tenison, Pastor of St. Martins, and a Roman Catholick Souldier* (London, 1687); *idem*, *Some Queries to the Protestants Concerning the English Reformation* (London, 1687); *idem*, *Speculum Ecclesiasticum, or, an Ecclesiastical Prospective-glass* (London, 1687); *idem*, *The Errata to the Protestant Bible* (London, 1688).

⁴³ P. Gordon, *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, ed. J. Robertson (Aberdeen, 1859), pp. 129–37.

⁴⁴ W. Page and P. H. Ditchfield (eds), *The Victoria History of the County of Berkshire* (4 vols, London, 1906–27), iii, pp. 5–29.

⁴⁵ ‘The Duke of Monmouth to the Commissaries General of the Musters’, 9 Nov. 1678, *CSPD*, 1678, p. 511; Childs, *Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution*, p. 151.

military credentials for the latter served in the army of Catholic France.⁴⁶ Despite James's intention for conciliation between his subjects of different persuasions, peaceful co-existence might have been hard to achieve even in his army. A gentleman described the religious diversity among the army encamped in Hounslow Heath that '[i]n one tent is masse, in another common prayer; in one tent preaching, in another praying to the saints; here the beads, there the bible', and arguments between two sides were so fierce that 'as if no ennemy but the Devil were near them' and 'men, thus provided with arms and arguments, may, for aught I know, conquer the Turks and all the world, when they please'.⁴⁷ And during the Glorious Revolution, Danby successfully encouraged many Protestant officers to capture their Catholic superiors and to surrender their garrisons.⁴⁸

Roman Catholic officers were purged from the English, Scottish, and Irish armies after the Glorious Revolution, as most of James's Catholic soldiery was either shipped to France, sent to the Imperial service, or disbanded after the Williamite War in Ireland.⁴⁹ However, this did not end the Catholic soldiering in the British army. In fact, the army brought by William of Orange consisted of a number of Roman Catholic soldiers, and despite being officially banned,

⁴⁶ J. Callow, 'Fitzcharles, Charles, earl of Plymouth (c. 1657–1680)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9540> (26 June 2017); For another case, see D. Appleby, "'God Forbid It Should Come to That": The Feud between Colonel Molesworth and Major-General O'Brien in Portugal, 1663', *Seventeenth Century*, 26/2 (2011), pp. 346–67.

⁴⁷ *A Young Squire of the Seventeenth Century: From the Papers (A. D. 1676–1686) of Christopher Jeaffreson of Dullingham, Cambridgeshire*, ed. J. C. Jeaffreson (London, 1878), ii, pp. 297–8.

⁴⁸ W. A. Speck, 'The Revolution of 1688 in the North of England', *Northern History*, 25/1 (1989), pp. 188–204.

⁴⁹ J. Childs, *The British Army of William II, 1698–1702* (Manchester, 1987), pp. 12–13; Miller, 'Catholic Officers', pp. 52–3.

Catholic recruitment still took place in Ireland.⁵⁰ Converts from Catholicism were always welcome; Queen Anne appointed Lord Fredrick Howard, from the famous Catholic Howard family, ‘who is lately turn’d Protestant’, captain of a company under Lieutenant-General Mordaunt in 1709.⁵¹ But those who fervently wanted to serve Britannia did not have to choose between Catholic faith and army commission. The British General in Portugal even issued a proclamation in 1711 for the ‘Irish Roman Catholick Officers quitted the Enemys Service’ that their crimes would be pardoned and they ‘should be qualified to serve in Her Majestys Forces’ under the same quality. As many Catholics would find it hard to take an oath to a Protestant monarch, the proclamation also suggested that those who ‘by reason of their Religion could not serve in Her Majestys Forces’ could be transferred to the service of Catholic allies.⁵² There was already precedent for them. John Richards was a Londoner who converted to Roman Catholicism for unknown reasons. Being an artillery officer who used to serve in the Venetian, Spanish and Polish armies, Richards as a Catholic could not be commissioned officially into the service of Queen Anne. However, he was able to receive a position of lieutenant-general of ordnance in the Portuguese service on English pay in 1703, after Portugal joined the Alliance. Later, he demonstrated his expertise as well as his patriotism: he played a crucial role in Peterborough’s siege of Barcelona in 1705; he was recalled twice to London to report the situations in the Peninsula to the Privy Council; finally, he heroically led a few hundred Protestant soldiers in Alicante to tie up the Bourbon besiegers of over 10,000 strong for three

⁵⁰ T. Denman, “‘Hibernia Officina Militum’: Irish Recruitment to the British Regular Army, 1660–1815’, *Irish Sword*, 20/80 (1996), pp. 148–66.

⁵¹ ‘Walpole to Lieutenant-General Mordaunt’, 22 June 1709, TNA, WO 4/9, p. 55.

⁵² ‘Granville to the Earl of Dartmouth’, 12 Nov. 1711, TNA, WO 4/12, pp. 334–5.

months in 1708 and was killed by the largest ever mine set by his French and Spanish co-religionists.⁵³

Scots: Episcopalians and Presbyterians

Leading his army of less than 2,000 strong, John Graham of Claverhouse left Blair Castle in the Highlands in the mid-afternoon of 27 July 1689. He had raised the royal standard of the House of Stuart on Dundee Law three months before proclaiming his support for James VII, who made Claverhouse Viscount Dundee and Commander-in-Chief of the Scottish army just before his flight to France during the Glorious Revolution. Not before long, the Convention in Edinburgh voted to accept William and Mary as the monarchs of Scots. After leaving a small detachment as a decoy on the main road from Blair Castle, Claverhouse circled along the hill of Lude, in order to outflank the northward-marching force of his enemy, Major-General Hugh MacKay of Scourie who was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Scotland by William. MacKay was commanding a Scottish army of 3,500 strong, including some new Scots recruits in lieu of the Dutch soldiers who had recently been removed. He encountered Claverhouse outside the village of Killiecrankie, outnumbering the Highland clansmen and some Irish horsemen of the latter. Claverhouse personally led a 'Highland charge' from the higher ground and eventually routed the Williamites after one hour. MacKay retreated south-westward across the River Garry, but Claverhouse was not able to see his victory – he was lying on the ground, shot dead.

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⁵³ F. J. Herbert, 'Major-General John Richards (1667–1709)', *JSAHR*, 81 (2003), pp. 8–25.

⁵⁴ J. L. Roberts, *Clan, King and Covenant: History of the Highland Clans from the Civil War to the Glencoe Massacre* (Edinburgh, 2000), pp. 174–94.

The battle of Killiecrankie between two Scottish commanders-in-chief was a crucial moment for the Glorious Revolution in Scotland. With their military leader dead, the Jacobite cause in Scotland collapsed completely at the battle of Dunkeld one month later. Generally, this episode fits uneasily in a singular, monolithic ‘Scottish military identity’ which is usually associated with military encounters of Scotsmen with their neighbours to the south, foreign mercenary employers, or indigenous warriors in overseas colonies.⁵⁵ The Jacobite Rising of 1689 pitted Scotsmen against Scotsmen instead; Viscount Dundee and General MacKay shared very similar backgrounds and experiences as typical Scottish soldiers: both of them were born in families of humble lairds, both began their military careers in their twenties, and both served in the Anglo–Scots Brigade in the French service in the early 1670s. But they were different in confession – Dundee was an Episcopalian while Mackay a Presbyterian – and the battle between them also embodied the upheaval of the government of the Church of Scotland during the Glorious Revolution.⁵⁶

Episcopacy, or ‘Prelacy’ in the contemporary usage, which had been restored together with the Stuart monarchy in the early 1660s, was now abolished in favour of Presbyterianism, which was rooted in the Scottish Reformation of the 1560s. The struggles over issues of sovereignty,

⁵⁵ See D. Horsbroch, ‘Tae See Ourselves as Ithers See Us: Scottish Military Identity from the Covenant to Victoria, 1637–1837’, in S. Murdoch and A. Mackillop (eds), *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience, c. 1550–1900* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 105–29; H. Strachan, ‘Scotland’s Military Identity’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 85/220 (2006), pp. 315–32.

⁵⁶ M. Linklater and C. Hesketh, *For King and Conscience: John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee* (London, 1989), pp. 23–5, 167.

liturgy, and ecclesiastical government were in essence not usual in Post-Reformation Europe but were fought out at the expense of the political and social stability of Scotland across most of the seventeenth century. This factor should be considered for Scottish soldiering in general and the Scots army after 1660 in particular. Victoria Henshaw remarks that a large number of Scotsmen served abroad as mercenaries, but they did not have to be ‘mercenary’, but instead, they ‘demonstrated an acute and active interest in the religious and constitutional issues of their home’; many of them had connections to and frequent involvement with developments in Scotland.⁵⁷

Some of Claverhouse’s biographers did not fail to mention his own religious belief. Claverhouse imitated his distant kinsman James Graham, marquis of Montrose and the commander of Scottish royalists, consciously or unconsciously: they studied at the same university, had the same interest in classic literature, launched military careers, and gathered Highland clans for Stuart causes.⁵⁸ However, Montrose was among the first to sign the National Covenant to protest Charles I imposing Episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayers on Scotland. Whatever his reason for joining the royalist cause subsequently was, he had never been a staunch supporter of an Episcopal government. But Claverhouse was different. He believed in a divine rather than a covenanted monarchy, and therefore in Episcopacy, characterising royal authority over ecclesiastical affairs. Most biographies highlight his connection to James Sharp, Professor of Divinity at St Andrews, where he studied. Sharp soon to become the Archbishop of St Andrews and Primate of All Scotland and was eventually

⁵⁷ V. Henshaw, *Scotland and the British Army, 1700–1750* (London, 2014), p. 27.

⁵⁸ D. Stevenson, ‘Montrose and Dundee’, in L. MacLean (ed), *The Seventeenth Century in the Highlands* (Inverness, 1986), pp. 136–49.

assassinated by radical Covenanters.⁵⁹ Claverhouse was also recorded shouting ‘Let this be your word, King James and the Church of Scotland, whom God long preserve!’ at Killicrankie.⁶⁰

Claverhouse might appear a champion of the Episcopal church, but the pre-Revolutionary Scots army did not particularly favour this form of Protestantism. Even though one of the major functions of the Scots army after the Restoration was enforcing the legislation against Covenanters in favour of the established Episcopal church,⁶¹ Episcopal representation in the army was rather weak. From 1661 to 1688, there were only two commissioned chaplains to be found in the Scottish regiments: John Campbell in Lord James Douglas’s New-raised Regiment of Foot in 1678 and a certain Mr Maxwell in the ‘New Raysed Scots Regiment under Colonel Wachop’ in 1688. The first regiment was actually part of the English establishment for its one-year existence, while the latter was largely officered by Roman Catholics in French pay, meaning this ‘Mr. Maxwell’ was probably a Roman Catholic priest.⁶² Thus, it is very likely that the Episcopal church did not provide any chaplain to the regiments and troops in Scotland for nearly 30 years.

⁵⁹ M. Barrington, *Grahame of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee* (London, 1911), p. 17; C. S. Terry, *John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee, 1648–1689* (London, 1905), p. 12;

⁶⁰ Linklater and Hesketh, *Viscount Dundee*, p. 214; Barrington, *Viscount Dundee*, p. 349.

⁶¹ K. A. J. MacLay, ‘The Restoration and the Glorious Revolution, 1660–1702’, in E. M. Spiers, J. A. Crang and M. J. Strickland (eds), *A Military History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2012), pp. 301–7.

⁶² *Scots Army*, pp. 102, 159. There seemed to be also a Gilbert Simpson being ‘minister to the garrison of Edinburgh Castle’ in 1677. See ‘Warrant for Gilbert Simpson’, 23 March 1677, *CSPD*, 1677–8, p. 52.

Rev Alexander Dow had noticed this situation and suggested that the reason was that Scottish units were so small and scattered that chaplains were not appointed and that soldiers could attend the parish churches.⁶³ However, this plausible explanation does not make full sense, for the Restoration English and Irish establishments were in a similar condition – relatively small in number and dispatched for tedious tasks across the country – but chaplains were nonetheless assigned to most regiments and troops.⁶⁴ The other differentiating factor was the Church. The Episcopal Church of Scotland was not simply a counterpart to the Church of England, which had been established since the Elizabethan Settlement despite the Interregnum of about one decade, nor did it match its rival, the Presbyterian Kirk, quintessentially characterised by the Scottish Reformation. Based on royal prerogative, instead, Episcopacy was an Erastian imposition upon the Church of Scotland. The Episcopalians tried to defend their ecclesiology as merely being ‘most suitable to monarchical government’ rather than a divine, apostolic institution.⁶⁵ Thus, Episcopalianism in Scotland was built ‘upon the sand’, and its confessional culture was not developed until the 1680s, not long before the Glorious Revolution, which brought about its disestablishment.⁶⁶ Thus, it is entirely understandable that the weak Episcopalian church neglected to appoint chaplains to the Scottish army.

⁶³ A. C. Dow, *Ministers to the Soldiers of Scotland: A History of the Military Chaplains of Scotland prior to the War in the Crimea* (Edinburgh, 1962), p. 156.

⁶⁴ Childs, *Army of Charles II*, pp. 66–72. The army chaplaincy in the English and Irish regiments is covered in the next chapter.

⁶⁵ See J. H. S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 233–57; J. Buckroyd, *Church and State in Scotland, 1660–1681* (Edinburgh, 1980); C. Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660–1690: Royalist Politics, Religion and Ideas* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 110–20; S. Mechie, ‘Episcopacy in Post-Reformation Scotland’, *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 8/1 (1955), pp. 20–22, 30–35.

⁶⁶ A. Raffae, ‘Presbyterians and Episcopalians: The Formation of Confessional Cultures in Scotland, 1660–1715’, *EHR*, 125/514 (2010), pp. 570–98.

The feebleness of the Episcopal Church was also reflected in the army itself. Even though the Scots army was the agent of ‘the Killing Time’, the army itself was not characteristically Episcopalian. Indeed, Episcopalianism was later in line with the Jacobite cause for a time after the Revolution; besides Claverhouse, Charles Erskine, 21st earl of Mar and the Jacobite leader in the 1715 Rising, had expressed his conviction frequently that the Episcopal Church deserved a dominant place in Scotland.⁶⁷ However, many commanders were indifferent about religious issues. For example, John Erskine, 20th earl of Mar who served subsequently as a captain of the Scots Guards and the Governor of Stirling Castle during the Restoration, said he ‘could subject to Presbitry as well as Episcopacy, if the Government saw fitt to establish it’.⁶⁸ John Erskine did not survive the Revolution, but many officers did convert to Presbyterianism after 1690, such as John Murray, first duke of Atholl and George Livingston, fourth earl of Linlithgow.⁶⁹

Though the Glorious Revolution changed ecclesiastical-military relations, this picture was not altogether new. Early modern Scotland was a highly militarised society where religion and

⁶⁷ D. Szechi, ‘The Jacobite Movement’, in H. T. Dickson (ed), *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 87–9; C. v. Ehrenstein, ‘Erskine, John, styled twenty-second or sixth earl of Mar and Jacobite duke of Mar (bap. 1675, d. 1732)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8868> (26 June 2017).

⁶⁸ *Scots Army*, pp. 13, 31; R. Wodrow, *Analecta: or Materials for History of Remarkable Providence, Mostly Relating to Scotch Ministers and Christians* (4 vols, Glasgow, 1843), iii, p. 194.

⁶⁹ J. R. Young, ‘Murray, John, first duke of Atholl (1660–1724)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19627> (26 June 2017); H. Paton and J. Childs, ‘Livingstone, George, fourth earl of Linlithgow (c. 1652–1695)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16805> (26 June 2017).

military life were highly intertwined, and radical Presbyterians rallied under the National Covenant to rise against the religious policies of two Charles for five decades.⁷⁰ Popular risings for religious causes might have been common in seventeenth-century Europe, but Scotland witnessed its national church becoming involved directly in military affairs on different levels before the Cromwellian conquest, while the Covenanter armies even sought to spread Presbyterianism in northern England and Ireland where they invaded during the Wars of Three Kingdoms.⁷¹

The post-Revolutionary Scots army appeared as a rebooted version of the Covenanter armies with many later Scottish generals tracing family histories back to the previous force. For example, the household of Hugh Mackay had been a hub of Presbyterian evangelism in the Highlands since the 1630s, and David Melville-Leslie, third earl of Leven, shared Presbyterian sympathies with his maternal ancestor Alexander Leslie, first earl of Leven and the Lord General of the Covenanter armies.⁷² However, the most distinguished embodiment of Presbyterian military identity was the brand new Cameronian Regiment.

The regimental history of the Cameronians tends to depict its origins as the most radical Covenanter sect as those ‘into whose moral fibre the Bible as the Word of God, had woven its

⁷⁰ R. B. Manning, *Swordsmen: The Marital Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford, 2003); Henshaw, *Scotland and British Army*, pp. 17–19.

⁷¹ E. M. Furgol, ‘The Religious Aspects of the Scottish Covenanting Armies, 1639–1651’ (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1982); *idem*, ‘The Military and Ministers as Agents of Presbyterian Imperialism in England and Ireland, 1640–1648’, in J. Dwyer, R. A. Mason and A. Murdoch (eds), *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 95–115.

⁷² W. R. MacKay, ‘Early Evangelical Religion in the Far North: A Kulturkampf’, *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 26 (1996), pp. 104–34.

own strong and distinctive pattern',⁷³ but this is a rather romanticised narrative. Cameronians, named after militant Covenanter minister Richard Cameron, who was killed in a skirmish in 1680, refused to acquiesce to the state control of the church and were prepared to die for their belief during the 1680s. It is very likely that many of them joined 'the Fencible Men and the Militia' dispatched to Edinburgh to protect the Convention of Estates which sought to render a settlement in Scotland in March 1689, 'in case of foreign invasion, or intestine commotions'.⁷⁴ After this temporary measure, a proposal to raise a number of new regiments was finalised in an act passed by the Convention in Edinburgh in April 1689.⁷⁵ Among them was 'the Earl of Angus's Regiment of Foot' of 1,200, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel William Cleland, a poet and former Covenanter rebel. However, how 'Cameronian' this Cameronian Regiment was seems to be questionable, for the General Meeting of the Societies in a church in Douglas which stood for the extreme Covenanters argued that this regiment was 'ane unnecessary and vnlauffull association' and 'ane association with Malignants'.⁷⁶ Some later accounts about the immorality of soldiers also implied that the Cameronian Regiment did not weave the 'Word of God' into their moral fibre.⁷⁷

⁷³ 'Speeches from the Disbandment Parade, Delivered by the Rev. Donald McDonald', <http://www.cameronians.org/brief-history/disbandment.html> (14 Mar. 2017).

⁷⁴ M. Shields, *Faithful Contendings Displayed: Being an Historical Relation of the State and Actings of the Suffering Remnant in the Church of Scotland*, ed. John Howie (Glasgow, 1780), p. 389; T. Carter, *Historical Record of the Twenty-sixth or Cameronian Regiment* (London, 1867), pp. 1–2; I. B. Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters, 1660–88* (London, 1976), p. 143.

⁷⁵ 'Act for Levying Some Regiments of Foot', 19 Apr. 1689, NAS, PA 2/33, ff. 50v–51v.

⁷⁶ Woodrow, *Analecta*, i, p. 189; J. K. Hewison, *The Covenanters: A History of the Church in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution* (2 vols, Glasgow, 1913), ii, p. 524.

⁷⁷ Dow, *Ministers to the Soldiers of Scotland*, p. 179; For example, staunch Presbyterian Lieutenant-Colonel John Blackadder had a low esteem about the morality and spirituality in the Regiment, and he did not take pride

Moreover, Cameronians, as a radical sect, regarded the Revolutionary Settlement in Scotland as an ‘uncovenanted’ government, and they later objected to the Union of 1707, choosing to remain outside the established Church of Scotland and eventually forming their own Reformed Presbyterian Church in the mid-eighteenth century.⁷⁸ Henshaw suggests that the Cameronian Regiment was a place for Cameronians to engage in a ‘Protestant crusade’, but the connection between the wider Cameronian movement and the regiment was in fact quite loose, for the Cameronian Regiment was always loyal to the establishment and the Union.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, the Cameronian Regiment did present a distinctive dynamic in ecclesiastical-military relations. The first regimental chaplain, Alexander Shields, who was previously a Cameronian ‘hill-preacher’ before the Revolution, was presumably appointed when the regiment was initially raised in 1689.⁸⁰ Unlike many of his fellows, Shields reconciled with the Church of Scotland, and more intriguingly, he ‘gote a call to Angus’ regiment’ in 1691, before being ordained in the ‘Canongate Meeting-house’ and ‘the officers of the regiment received him’, thus transforming the regimental chaplaincy into a proper ministration of the Church of Scotland.⁸¹

in being part of Cameronian Regiment. See J. Blackader, *The Life and Diary of Lieut. Col. J. Blackader*, ed. A. Crichton (Edinburgh, 1824).

⁷⁸ Burleigh, *Church History of Scotland*, pp. 262–3.

⁷⁹ Henshaw, *Scotland and British Army*, p. 60.

⁸⁰ Dow, *Ministers to the Soldiers of Scotland*, p. 171; Carter, *Historical Record of Cameronian Regiment*, pp. 4–5.

⁸¹ H. Macpherson, *The Cameronian Philosopher: Alexander Shields* (Edinburgh, 1932), p. 118; M. Voghan, ‘Alexander Shields, the Revolution Settlement and the Unity of the Visible Church — Part I. History and General Principles’, *Scottish Reformation Society Historical Journal*, 2 (2012), pp. 109–46; Woodrow, *Analecta*, i, p. 202.

Besides Shields, every company of the Regiment was assigned an elder.⁸² In a sense, the Cameronian Regiment had become a kirk-session in the Church of Scotland. Afterwards, the Cameronian Regiment was dispatched to the Low Countries together with five other Scottish Regiments. After two years of service, Alexander Shields presented a letter to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh in 1693 in the name of the ‘Minister to the Regiment Whereof the late Noble Earl of Angus was Colonel’, concerning the deteriorated morality of Scottish soldiers.⁸³ Besides asking to fill up his own regiment with ‘Recruits of People of the Presbyterian perswasion’, Shields also proposed an ambitious project regarding the Scottish regiments. He suggested the ‘Presbyterianisation’ of the Scots army by raising a regiment in each Synod, in order to supply sufficient ‘honest Souldiers’ for the army. The General Assembly seemed not to respond to this proposal, but recalled him back for ministry in Scotland in 1695, and Shields was sent on the ill-fated Darien expedition in 1700 from which he did not return.⁸⁴

Though this attempt to use the Presbyterian Church as a recruiting agent failed, the Viscount of Teviot, Commander-in-Chief of the Scots army, wrote a letter to the General Assembly in 1697 asking it to supply ministers. The General Assembly then passed an act ordering the local ministers and kirk-session, where the respective regiments quartered, to inspect and provide ministers. Soldiers and junior officers were to attend their service, and a commission appointed

⁸² Carter, *Historical Record of Cameronian Regiment*, p. 5.

⁸³ A. Shields, *A Letter from Mr. Alexander Sheilds, Minister to the Regiment Whereof the Late Noble Earl of Angus was Colonel, Now in Flanders; Directed to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Which Was to Have Met at Edinburgh in December 1693* (Edinburgh, 1694), pp. 1–11.

⁸⁴ Macpherson, *Alexander*, p. 127.

by the General Assembly would ‘take notice how this is performed’.⁸⁵ This act granted the Church of Scotland a jurisdiction over the army chaplaincy, but it was difficult to achieve overall control, as the regimental economy remained a matter largely for colonels instead of a centralised system.⁸⁶ A number of Presbyterian ministers were commissioned into some Scottish regiments, but for those units with more English connections, such as the Scots Guards and the Royal Scots, Anglican clergymen still held the chaplaincy.⁸⁷ And some ‘Scotch malignants’ who continued to serve after the Revolution caused tensions with the Presbyterians. For example, Colonel Francis O’Farrel of the Royal Scots Fusiliers, a unit raised to suppress Covenanters in 1678, mocked the Cameronians that ‘they would find no hills in Flanders upon which to preach and pray’ during the Nine Years’ War.⁸⁸

The difficulties experienced in establishing a Presbyterian chaplaincy hinted at an uneasy background for ‘Scottish military identity’. Scottish regiments overseas were on either English or Dutch pay; Scottish regiments were never exclusively ‘Scottish’, while most soldiers had been ordered to wear red coats like their English comrades since 1684.⁸⁹ In this context, Presbyterianism actually became a pillar of ‘Scottishness’ to some extent. In his letter to the General Assembly, Alexander Shields was concerned not only with ill-discipline in the army

⁸⁵ ‘Sess. 9, January 12, 1697, *ante meridiem*. – Act and Recommendation anent Ministers to the Army’, in *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, ed. T. Pitcairn (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1843), ii, p. 263.

⁸⁶ See A. Guy, *Oeconomy and Discipline: Officership and Administration in the British Army, 1714–63* (Manchester, 1985), pp. 1–3.

⁸⁷ Dow, *Ministers to the Soldiers of Scotland*, p. 180.

⁸⁸ D. Christie, *Battle Padre: Alexander Shields and the Cameronians* (King’s Lynn, 2017), pp. 129, 134.

⁸⁹ S. H. F. Johnston, ‘The Scots Army in the Reign of Anne’, *TRHS*, 3 (1953), pp. 1–21; H. Maxwell, *The Lowland Scots Regiments: Their Origin, Character and Services, Previous to the Great War of 1914* (Glasgow, 1918), p. 36.

but also the image of soldiers ‘from a Country where Presbytry is the established order’ in front of ‘Strangers’, binding national, confessional, and military identities together.⁹⁰ Retired Lieutenant-Colonel John Blackadder defended the Cameronians’ church service to the General Assembly in 1714, against the plan to bring his old regiment in line with the English pattern.⁹¹ One could say, before the *kilt*, the *Kirk* was the token of ‘Scottish military identity’.

However, confessional and military identities were far from being clear-cut within Scotland, especially after the Union of 1707 officially ended the Scots army as an independent establishment. English regiments, not as ‘jealousie betuixt our kingdoms’ any longer, began to garrison ‘North Britain’, and the chaplains they brought not inappropriately performed the Anglican liturgy for their English congregation. This practice was regarded by the Presbyterian Church of Scotland as support for the Episcopalian cause, and whether English soldiers in Scotland should be subject to the notorious rigour of the Kirk discipline was also brought into question.⁹² The issue of English regiments in Scotland soon became a ‘sideshow’ in the high-profile case of James Greenshields, an Episcopalian clergyman who appealed against

⁹⁰ Shields, *Letter to the General Assembly*, p. 5.

⁹¹ Henshaw, *Scotland and British Army*, p. 91.

⁹² T. N. Clarke, ‘The Scottish Episcopalians, 1688–1720’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1987), pp. 281–2. For English chaplains performing Anglican liturgy in Scotland, see Clarke, ‘Scottish Episcopalians’, p. 213; R. Wodrow, *Analecta: or Materials for History of Remarkable Providence, Mostly Relating to Scotch Ministers and Christians* (Glasgow, 1843), i, p. 214; *The Case of Mr. Greenshields* (Edinburgh, 1710), pp. 19, 26. Thomas Morer, an English army chaplain stationing in Glasgow, contributed to the Episcopalian pamphlet *An Account of the Present Persecution of the Church in Scotland*, see J. Gillan, *The Life of the Reverend and Learned Mr. John Sage* (London, 1714), p. 9. For English soldiers under the ecclesiastical discipline of the Kirk, see ‘Granville to the Earl of Darmouth’, 30 Aug. 1711, TNA, WO 4/12, p. 249.

Presbyterian persecution from 1709 to 1711.⁹³ During the case, the Kirk even tried to negotiate a deal with some English commanders that ‘the General shall not send his Chaplain to attend and read Prayers to his Regiment [in Scotland]; and that the Kirk shall not trouble any Person in his Regiment on the account of Fornication’.⁹⁴ But the Tory ministry, with its all High Church tendency, made the Lords overturn the case against Greenshields in 1711, and subsequently had the Toleration Act passed in 1712, effectively giving freedom of worship for the Scottish Episcopal clergymen who took the Oath of Allegiance.⁹⁵ The Presbyterians generally regarded the Toleration Act, together with the Church Patronage Act and the Yule Vacance Act of 1712, a betrayal, but the Episcopalians, if they abandoned their Jacobite loyalty, could enjoy lawful sacraments, sometimes with the English regiments. The English regiment was indeed the only ‘qualified chapel’ for the Episcopalians in Glasgow for some time during the 1720s.⁹⁶ Ironically, in more than two decades after the Revolution, which abolished Episcopacy in Scotland, the connection between Scottish Episcopalianism and the army was rebuilt.

French Huguenots

⁹³ J. Stephen, ‘English Liturgy and Scottish Identity: The Case of James Greenshields’, in A. I. Macinnes and D. J. Hamilton (eds), *Jacobitism, Enlightenment ad Empire, 1680–1820* (London, 2014), pp. 59–74, with especial reference of the issues of English regiments, pp. 61–2.

⁹⁴ *A Letter from a Gentleman in Edinburgh to His Friend in London, Giving an Account of the Present Proceedings against the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland, for Using English Lyturgy There* (Edinburgh, 1711), postscript.

⁹⁵ D. Szechi, ‘The Politics of “Persecution”: Scots Episcopalian Toleration and the Harley Ministry, 1710–12’, in W. J. Sheils (ed), *Persecution and Toleration* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 275–87.

⁹⁶ Wodrow, *Analecta*, iv, pp. 19, 26.

Henri de Ruvigny, earl of Galway, was leading an Allied army alongside the Marquis de Fronteira, Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese army, towards the River Caya in southwest Spain in May 1709. The war in the Peninsula was not going well for the Allies, and the English troops under the command of Galway had been weakened after years of service. So had Galway himself. Around two years before, he was comprehensively defeated at Almansa by the Franco-Spanish forces under the Duke of Berwick, surrendering the initiative to Philip, the Bourbon pretender. Now, Galway, who was already old at 61 suffering deafness, gout, and loss of sight in his right eye, had to launch a new offensive after an unsuccessful diplomatic mission in Lisbon. Facing the Spanish army under the Marquis de Bay, the Portuguese cavalymen fled, again, leaving the English isolated and surrounded. Having his horse shot under him, Galway narrowly escaped with his secretary Bladen and a captain. ‘After wandering the whole night’, according to one of his biographers, Galway finally reunited with the Allied army. This incident ended his military service in the Peninsula, but it was his last misfortune; after returning to England, the House of Lords voted that he had ‘acted contrary to the Honour of the Imperial Crown of *Great Britain*’.⁹⁷

Made Earl of Galway, Lord Justice of Ireland, General of the English army and English ambassador to Portugal, Henri de Ruvigny was effectively the leader of the Huguenot community in Britain, succeeding the Duke of Schomberg, who had been second-in-command under William in 1688. His experience exemplified the general fate of Huguenot migrants: he was first in England as a French diplomat during the reign of Charles II when the King initially

⁹⁷ D. C. A. Agnew, *Henri de Ruvigny, Earl of Galway: A Filial Memoir with a Prefatory Life of His Father, Le Marquis de Ruvigny* (Edinburgh, 1864), p. 147; J. A. C. Hugill, *No Peace without Spain* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 250–65, 296–8; *Journal of the House of Lords*, xix, pp. 201–2.

granted permission to accept Huguenots escaping the persecution of Louis XIV; he eventually settled in England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes when a large number of Huguenots flooded into England for asylum. He climbed to a position as high as he could reach in Ireland where major Huguenot settlements were proposed, but he died without issue in 1720, leaving his Irish earldom and French marquisate heirless, just as the Huguenot identity in Britain eventually reduced to a matter of genealogy rather than sociology. Above all, Galway was a soldier. As a former colonel in the French army, he joined the English service in 1689 together with many other French refugees, and his defeat at Almansa is still remembered as pitting a French army led by an English commander against an English army under a French commander.⁹⁸

Later Stuart Britain was not unfamiliar with soldiers of other Protestant confessions. The Swedish–German Lutheran Karl Johann Königsmark served in the forces of Charles II in Tangier, while during the reign of William III, a large number of Dutch, Danish, and German soldiers fought on the British side.⁹⁹ However, these men were either just individual adventurers or serving foreign contingents in British pay. By contrast, Huguenot soldiers uniquely formed five distinct regiments within the English establishment.

⁹⁸ R. Vigne, “‘The Good Lord Galway’: The English and Irish Careers of a Huguenot Leader”, in M. Glozier and D. Onnekink (eds), *War, Religion and Service: Huguenot Soldiering, 1685–1713* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 59–78; S. Handley, ‘Fitzjames, James, duke of Berwick upon Tweed (1670–1734)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9610> (26 June 2017).

⁹⁹ A. Marshall, ‘Königsmark, Karl Johann, Count Königsmark in the Swedish nobility (1659–1686)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68006> (26 June 2017); K. H. Galster, *Danish Troops in the Williamite Army in Ireland, 1689–91: For King and Coffers* (Dublin, 2012); J. Childs, *The British Army of William III, 1689–1702* (Manchester, 1987), pp. 102–3, 115–16.

England and the Huguenots had well-established connections in migration and military service. England began to build foreign Protestant churches for Huguenots during the reign of Edward VI when the English Reformation was not yet settled. During the Siege of La Rochelle in 1629, England was the only Protestant power that attempted to relieve the besieged Huguenots.¹⁰⁰ Even though Huguenot communities were famous for industry, manufacturing, and commerce, their substantial aristocratic presence and the violent nature of the French Wars of Religion highlighted Huguenot militancy (in fact, Huguenot soldiering was about the mercenary market as much as about confessional conflicts).¹⁰¹

However, it was only after the Restoration that England became a major employer of Huguenot gentry soldiers. Louis de Durfort-Duras became a captain of the Duke of York's Troop of Life Guards in 1665. As the first Huguenot soldier in the English army, he was naturalised, made Earl of Feversham, and made to conform to the Church of England. Feversham was eventually appointed 'Lieutenant-General over all Our Forces' in 1685, while another Huguenot refugee, Solomon de Fobert, proposed a 'Royal Academy for Military Exercises to be erected in London' — if that had materialised, it would have been the first military academy in Britain.¹⁰² However,

¹⁰⁰ R. D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (London, 1985), p. 29; G. Treasure, *The Huguenots* (New Haven, 2014), p. 266.

¹⁰¹ S. Smile, *The Huguenots: Their Settlements, Churches and Industries in England and Ireland* (New York, 1868), pp. 131–5; D. J. B. Trim, 'Huguenot Soldiering c. 1560–1685: The Origins of a Tradition', in Glozier and Onnekink (eds), *Huguenot Soldiering*, pp. 10–11.

¹⁰² *English Army Lists*, i, p. 54; P. Rambaut, 'A Study in Misplaced Loyalty: Louis de Durfort-Duras, Earl of Feversham (1640–1709)', in Glozier and Onnekink (eds), *Huguenot Soldiering*, p. 49; *English Army Lists*, ii, p.

Huguenots were still regarded as primarily ‘a nation whose industriousness and labor would produce in little time affluence, riches and safety by cultivating the soil ... by their application to the trade’ during the reign of Charles II.¹⁰³ They were not soldiers, except for a small circle around Feversham; even though many Huguenot veterans like Galway migrated to England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, most of them did not join the English service immediately.

Even though he was impressed by the conduct of the Huguenots at the Battle of the Dunes in 1658, and Feversham was his favoured courtier, James II was not interested in Huguenot soldiering due to his pro-Catholic policy domestically and his relationship with Louis XIV abroad. It was not until 1688 that he raised a ‘Huguenot’ regiment of horse, but its ‘Huguenotness’ was questionable as only Colonel Armand de Bourbon, marquis de Miremont, a lieutenant, the ‘chirurgien’ (surgeon), and the chaplain among the commissioned officers had French surnames. Robin Gwynn suggests that this regiment was for the war against the Ottoman Empire in Hungary. But this point seems to make less sense, for the Turkish war was no longer pressing after the Battle of Vienna in 1688 while the invasion of William of Orange was imminent.¹⁰⁴

45; ‘Order in Council, on Reading the Proposals of Solomon de Fobert Concerning a Royal Academy for Military Exercises to be Erected in London’, 14 May 1679, TNA, SP 29/411, fo. 417.

¹⁰³ S. Lachenicht, ‘Diasporic Networks and Immigration Policies’, in R. A. Mentzer and B. van Ruymbeke (eds), *A Companion to the Huguenots* (Leiden, 2016), p. 250.

¹⁰⁴ J. Childs, ‘Huguenots and Huguenot Regiments in the British Army, 1660–1702: “Cometh the Moment, Cometh the Men”’, in Glozier and Onnekink (eds), *Huguenot Soldiering*, p. 32; *English Army Lists*, ii, pp. 164–5; Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, p. 131.

Though it is not clear that James raised this regiment in preparation to meet the invasion, it is certain that William brought many Huguenot soldiers with him in 1688. The Dutch Republic was the largest destination for Huguenot emigration, with 50,000 to 70,000 Huguenots making their way to the northern Netherlands.¹⁰⁵ For some of them, however, Holland simply was an intermediate stop on the way to England. It was natural for them to join military service as they had served in the French army before, but it was also about the fate of their co-confessional brothers and sisters. The first generations might have expected that Louis XIV could be made to allow their return and toleration. Leaders of Huguenot communities across Europe tried to facilitate this goal by diplomatic, financial and military means, just as D. J. B. Trim remarked, while Huguenot soldiering was not ‘always confessionally motivated’, ‘it was consistently confessionally directed’.¹⁰⁶

The Marquis de Miremont’s Regiment of Horse was disbanded soon after the Glorious Revolution, but four new ‘Huguenot’ regiments were raised from veterans of the Netherlands as well as England: a regiment of horse of Frederick, duke of Schomberg, and three regiments of foot of Issac de Monceau de la Melonière, Francois Dupuy du Cambon, and Charles de la Caillimotte.¹⁰⁷ The commissioned officers of these regiments were mainly French Huguenots,

¹⁰⁵ Lachenicht, ‘Diasporic Networks and Immigration Policies’, p. 254.

¹⁰⁶ M. Glozier, ‘Schomberg, Miremont and Huguenot Invasions of France’, in D. Onnekink (ed), *War and Religion after Westphalia, 1648–1713* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 121–4; L. H. Boles, Jr. *The Huguenots, the Protestant Interest, and the War of the Spanish Succession, 1702–1704* (New York, 1997), pp. 195–209; Trim, ‘Huguenot Soldiering’, p. 29.

¹⁰⁷ C. Lart, ‘The Huguenot Regiments’, *Proceeding of the Huguenot Society in London*, 9 (1909–1911), pp. 484–93.

as were the rank-and-file soldiers, and in this sense, they could be labelled as ‘Huguenot regiments’. As John Childs estimates, there were about 700 Huguenot officers serving in these Huguenot regiments and 2–300 in other units, accounting for 10–15 per cent of the officers in William’s army.¹⁰⁸

These regiments were soon sent to Ireland to fight James and his French auxiliaries, and later some went to Flanders after the Treaty of Limerick. It is not easy to assess their performance, as contemporary accounts were rather partisan, and they fought together with other regiments. William treated them as convenient expendables, deploying them in the vanguard, and he allowed their pay to fall severely into arrears, knowing that they had nowhere else to go. Nevertheless, their sacrifice was undisputed: Schomberg and De la Caillimotte were killed at the Boyne (1690), and Du Cambon was killed at Landen (1693), and a large proportion of officers was disabled.¹⁰⁹ Even though Schomberg got a eulogy and panegyric for his death, the Huguenot regiments remained unpopular in British society.¹¹⁰

Due to the anti-standing army sentiment, it is not surprising that professional armies were distrusted, but Huguenot soldiers received particular antipathy because of their special national

¹⁰⁸ Childs, *Army of William III*, p. 134.

¹⁰⁹ M. Glozier, *The Huguenot Soldiers of William of Orange and the Glorious Revolution of 1688: The Lions of Judah* (Brighton, 2002), pp. 133, 152–8.

¹¹⁰ *An Elegy on the Unfortunate, Though Glorious Deaths, of That Most Noble Prince and Famous General Frederick Duke of Schomberg, and the Reverend and Truly Valiant Dr. George Walker* (London, 1690); Hippolyte du Chastelet de Luzancy, *A Panegyrick to the Memory of His Grace Frederick, Late Duke of Schonberg* (London, 1690).

and confessional backgrounds. Jacobites accused Huguenot soldiers of betrayal and ungratefulness, for it was James II who received them after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but now they fought against him on William's behalf.¹¹¹ The Tories did not like Huguenots either, for various reasons: most Huguenots supported the Whig party; the Tory party was hostile towards foreigners; the vision of restoring toleration in France through war went against the Tory-backed peace.¹¹²

Jacobite and Tory hostility was indeed predictable, but the frictions between Huguenot soldiers and their British peers is more intriguing. During the Irish campaign after Schomberg's death, the Huguenot commander, Henri de Ruvigny, alongside Dutch General Godard van Ginkel 'had occasional differences of opinion, which they supported sometimes even with warmth' with the Scottish general Hugh Mackay and his English counterpart, Thomas Talmash. These four gentlemen could still maintain 'the harmony of their private meetings', but Major-General Charles Trelawney resigned his colonelcy in 1692 in protest against William favouring foreign officers over British: William's preference must have disaffected British generals, and it is no wonder that Galway would become a scapegoat later for the Peninsula campaign.¹¹³ Tensions among ordinary soldiers could escalate from trifles: British soldiers regarded the more skilled and experienced Huguenots as arrogant, while Huguenot soldiers always stood at the rear of

¹¹¹ D. Onnekink, "'Janisaries, and Spahees and Pretorian Band': Perceptions of Huguenot Soldiers in Williamite England', in Glozier and Onnekink (eds), *Huguenot Soldiering*, p. 81.

¹¹² Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, pp. 123–4; H. T. Dickinson, 'The Tory Party's Attitude to Foreigners: A Note on Party Principles in the Age of Anne', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 40/2 (1967), pp. 153–65.

¹¹³ D. C. A. Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV*, 2nd Edition (4 vols, London, 1871), i, p. 149; John Childs, 'Trelawney, Charles (1653–1731)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27685> (26 June 2017).

the pay queue, and Colonel du Cambon's regiment nearly had a fight with Lord Drogheda's English battalion after the Battle of the Boyne just because of the issue of grazing horses.¹¹⁴ Similar strife could also be found in other professions, as English craftsmen, apprentices, and journeymen protested intermittently about foreigners, mostly French Huguenots, who brought competition and other troubles to their working environment.¹¹⁵ As 'newcomers', the Huguenots found themselves easily offending British 'natives' in the military as well as the civilian sphere.

Furthermore, Huguenot soldiers caused confessional and religious problems. It should be noted that Huguenots had a slightly different attitude towards Roman Catholics from the British public. Under the Edict of Nantes, French Huguenots experienced a measure of unstable co-existence with the Roman Catholic majority for decades. Even though they were persecuted under Louis XIV, their grievances were towards Louis rather than Roman Catholics in general; in fact, some Huguenots were able to escape from France because of help from their Roman Catholic neighbours and even clergymen.¹¹⁶ Therefore, 'regiments of French horse/foot' were more appropriate names than 'Huguenot regiments', for these regiments were discovered to contain a number of Roman Catholic soldiers who either deserted the French army or escaped from France for non-religious reasons. England was celebrating 'Our Third Deliverance from Popery by King William and Queen Mary' precisely at that point, and the existence of Roman

¹¹⁴ Childs, 'Huguenot Regiments', pp. 39–40.

¹¹⁵ Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, pp. 110–24.

¹¹⁶ See R. A. Mentzer, 'The Edict of Nantes and Its Institutions', in R. A. Mentzer and A. Spicer (eds), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559–1685* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 98–116; G. Hanlon, *Confession and Community in Seventeenth-Century France: Catholic and Protestant coexistence in Aquitaine* (Philadelphia, 1993). Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, p. 6.

Catholic soldiers was regarded as a symbol of disloyalty. The concern was justified, for some Roman Catholic soldiers in the camp of Schomberg's regiment near Dundalk plotted desertion to the Jacobite army in September 1689. The Huguenot colonels finally dismissed as many as 700 Roman Catholics in November 1697 before they returned to Ireland from Flanders.¹¹⁷

The confession of Huguenot soldiers themselves was also an issue of concern. With their Calvinist theology, Huguenot communities hardly sat easily in England and Ireland where the established church had different tenets in many respects, and Presbyterians remained nonconformists. Thus, after fleeing from the pressure to convert, Huguenots in England were pressed to conform in their new home. In as early as 1681, the Declaration of Hampton Court granted a series of privileges including denisation or naturalisation; free access to all guilds, professions, and education; tax exemption on any goods or possessions brought into England; and relief for the refugees, but no liberty for nonconformists. Huguenots could not live as a separate 'French nation' as in Brandenburg-Prussia and other German territories; they had to choose to be Anglicans or nonconformists.¹¹⁸ Many Huguenot ministers did conform, especially those who arrived before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but according to Robin Gwynn, nonconformity among Huguenot churches increased after 1685. Some Huguenot regiments were 'nonconformed' as well, as the chaplains to Du Cambon and La Caillimotte's regiments, Jean Jeard and Alexandre D'Escairac, had no record in the established church and were presumably nonconformist ministers, while there is no record of the chaplain

¹¹⁷ Childs, *Army of William III*, p. 135; Childs, 'Huguenot Regiments', pp. 41–2; Onnekink, 'Perceptions of Huguenot Soldiers', p. 86.

¹¹⁸ Lachenicht, 'Diasporic Networks', pp. 269, 271.

to La Melonière's regiment at all.¹¹⁹ Only the chaplain to Schomberg's regiment, Henry Scardeville, was a clergyman in the Church of Ireland. However, when this regiment was in Piedmont in 1694 under the command of Galway, who became their colonel after the death of Schomberg, a synod was convened for several Huguenot regiments from the English, Dutch, and Bradenburg establishments in Vegliano. The synod was for 'the Reformation of the morals of the soldiers', and Galway was one of the twenty-four elders.¹²⁰ Thus, even though they were pressured to conform, Huguenot regiments could still maintain their own confessional identity.

The difficulties of integrating Huguenot soldiers within British social and religious institutions, together with their association with William III's unpopular foreign regime, all contributed to the decision to disband all Huguenot regiments after the Peace of Ryswick. The Disbanding Act of 1699 stated that the standing 'regiments, troops and companies' should consist 'only of his Majesty's natural-born subjects'. Huguenot soldiers could only serve after their naturalisation or denisation and only as individuals rather than in special regiments.¹²¹ The Marquis de Miremont proposed raising new Huguenot regiments totalling 6,000 men to invade south-eastern France in 1704, but this was rejected, and no further Huguenot units served Britain during the War of the Spanish Succession.¹²²

¹¹⁹ *English Army Lists*, iii, pp. 82, 154.

¹²⁰ Agnew, *Protestant Exiles*, i, p. 156.

¹²¹ Childs, 'Huguenot Regiments', p. 44; 'Disbanding Act, 1699', in *English Historical Documents, 1660–1714*, ed. A. Browning (London, 1953), pp. 813–14.

¹²² 'Statement of Marquis de Miremont', 19 July 1704, TNA, SP 34/4, fo.119.

Huguenot regiments were thus a temporary, unpleasant experiment during the Nine Years' War. The messianic subtitle 'Lions of Judah' by Matthew Glozier is a little exaggerated while the subtitle 'Cometh the moment, cometh the men' by John Child is more accurate, as Huguenot regiments were the result of the historical coincidence of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Glorious Revolution, and the war against Louis XIV. Their existence was brief, as the political-religious situation in Britain required regiments that were in close connection with society, rather than regiments with distinct identities.

Conclusion

Nevertheless, the later Stuart army had been a multi-confessional institution; it embraced soldiers of different confessions not only as individuals but also as groups. These confessional groups all experienced ups and downs during this period. The presence of Roman Catholics in the army was an issue of parliamentary and public concern throughout the Restoration period. Roman Catholics made up only 5 per cent of the permanent establishment of Charles II's army, and despite the substantial Catholicisation, the army of James II remained mainly a Protestant institution.¹²³ However, the significance of Roman Catholicism in the army should not be downplayed. Unlike local militias and the navy which had saved England from Popery in 1588, a standing army was not a traditional measure of national defence, and the very existence of the army embodied a sense of 'Frenchness' and 'Irishness' which made it 'Popish'. Andrew Marvell wrote that no Englishman was thought capable or trustworthy to lead the English brigade in Flanders, so the chief command was left for French and Irish who were advancing Popery and Arbitrary Government.¹²⁴ Indeed, the Restoration army, especially after the death

¹²³ Childs, *Army of Charles II*, p. 28–9; Childs, *Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution*, p. 27.

¹²⁴ Marvell, *An Account of Growth*, p. 45.

of George Monck, followed the French style in discipline and administration and was subsided by Louis XIV. As a consequence, such a 'Popish' establishment would be purged after the Glorious Revolution.

But the other two Protestant groups had different fates in the army as well. As Presbyterian government was restored in Scotland, the Scottish regiments acquired a Presbyterian identity which made them distinct for the most part of their history. Although French Huguenot soldiers were harboured in Britain after 1685, their confessional identity could hardly continue as the Huguenot communities had to conform to the established church or join the Protestant nonconformists; as a result, all the Huguenot regiments were disbanded.

The temporary confessional diversity of the later Stuart army might indicate the inclination of some monarchs to liberty of conscience or the tendency to recruit suitable soldiers regardless of their religious convictions, or it might just be a matter of opportunities, but the fates of these confessional minorities show the unspoken link between the army and the established churches over a long period. Even though there were always individual soldiers of different faiths serving in the army, the regiments – the most fundamental components of the army – still mattered. As Huguenots had to choose between conforming to the Church of England or dissenting from it, maintaining distinctive Huguenot regiments was no longer viable in either case. The special case for the Presbyterians in some Scottish regiments not only indicates the link between the army and the established churches but also reminds us of the peculiar composition of the British state, even after the Union of 1707, which, despite the nuanced setback at the end of Queen Anne's reign, did not alter the ecclesiastical settlement in 'North

Britain'. Thus, most British regiments were supposed to be 'Anglican', and such affiliations were articulated by the regimental chaplains, the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 4

‘To Teach and to Instruct’: The Later Stuart Army Chaplaincy

Francis Hare was born to an Essex gentry family in London in 1671, a year of tranquillity. General George Monck, duke of Albemarle, had died just one year before, marking the end of the first decade of the Restoration. But, as he grew up, Hare lived through a succession of key moments of later Stuart history, including the Great Stop of the Exchequer, the Third Anglo–Dutch War, the Test Act, the Popish Plot, and the Exclusion Crisis. Just before he was admitted to King’s College, Cambridge in 1689, the entire country experienced one of the most tremendous political upheavals in history – the so-called ‘Glorious Revolution’. Later, he even witnessed the debut of Britain as a great military power: at the dawn of 2nd August 1704, he, as an army chaplain, administered the Holy Sacrament to Captain-General John Churchill, duke of Marlborough before the Battle of Blenheim, and afterwards, he preached a thanksgiving sermon for this monumental victory.¹

Francis Hare was probably the most famous of all religious personnel serving in the later Stuart armies from 1661 to 1714. Their duty was ‘to teach and instruct the officers and the soldiers’, as some commissions read.² The size of this special group was considerable: over 400

¹ A. Pettit, ‘Hare, Francis (1671–1740)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12298> (20 Jan. 2015); *Military Memoirs of Marlborough’s Campaigns, 1702–1712*, ed. D. Chandler (London, 1998), p. 37; ‘Marlborough to the Duchess, 14th August 1704’, in *The Marlborough–Godolphin Correspondence*, ed. H. L. Snyder (3 vols, Oxford, 1975), i, p. 358.

² E. g., ‘Herbert Astley to be Chaplain to the Regt. of Horse Commanded by the Earl of Northampton’, TNA, WO 25/1, pp. 117–18.

commissioned chaplains, or ‘ministers’ in some Scottish cases, were identified in the invaluable prosopographical works by Colonel Charles Dalton.³ But in comparison to the military chaplains who served during the Wars of Three Kingdoms, the later Stuart army chaplains remain understudied by historians.⁴ Many works briefly discuss the institutional arrangements from the articles of war or recount some anecdotes of several notable individuals, including Francis Hare.

The academic neglect of the later Stuart army chaplains might be attributed to several reasons. Firstly, being simultaneously commissioned officers of the armies as well as ordained clergymen of the established churches, the later Stuart chaplains fell victim to both anti-army resentment and anticlericalism fashionable within the early modern British public sphere. The stereotype of army chaplains as lazy, corrupt, sometimes absent, and always profane is familiar to contemporary satirists as well as modern historians.⁵ Such cynical criticism was by no means groundless. Given the pre-bureaucratic state of the military and ecclesiastical administration in the seventeenth century, the performance of the later Stuart army chaplains could match that

³ *English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661–1714*, ed. C. Dalton (6 vols, London, 1892–1904); *The Scots Army, 1661–1688*, ed. C. Dalton (London, 1989); *Irish Army Lists of King Charles II, 1660–1685*, ed. Charles Dalton (Dublin, 2000); *The Blenheim Roll, 1704*, ed. C. Dalton (London, 1899); *George the First’s Army, 1714–1727*, ed. C. Dalton (2 vols, London, 1910).

⁴ A. Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains, 1642–1651* (London, 1990); M. Griffin, *Regulating Religion and Morality in the King’s Armies, 1639–1646* (Leiden, 2004); E. M. Furgol, ‘The Religious Aspects of the Scottish Covenanting Armies, 1639–1651’ (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1982), esp., pp. 87–133, 307–37.

⁵ E. g., E. Ward, *Mars Stript of His Armour, or the Army Display’d All His True Colours* (London, 1709), pp. 60–63; P. E. Kopperman, ‘Religion and Religious Policy in the British Army, c. 1700–1796’, *JRH*, 14/4 (1987), pp. 390–405.

of their cursing comrades in red, their place-seeking colleagues in black, or their counterparts in the continental armies, such as the Dutch and the Prussians, who were in a similar state of ill-discipline.⁶ The presence of individuals who conformed to this stereotype has provided evidence for the conventional view that the army chaplaincy was chaotic until reformed and professionalised by the later Royal Army Chaplains' Department.⁷

The effort to locate the later Stuart army chaplains within a teleological progression towards a modern, hierarchical organisation obscures a far more interesting picture. The later Stuart army chaplains lived and worked in an era not only of the rise of British military power but also of the shifting role of the established church: the guarantee of civil order and political stability began to precede liturgical uniformity and theological orthodoxy as the primary concern of the Church of England.⁸ Unlike in Brandenburg–Prussia, where the Electors and the Halle Pietists

⁶ J. Israel, *Conflicts of Empires: Spain, the Low Countries and the Struggle for World Supremacy, 1585–1713* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 265; B. Marschke, *Absolutely Pietist: Patronage, Factionalism, and State-building in the Early Eighteenth-century Prussian Army Chaplaincy* (Tübingen, 2005), p. 20–22.

⁷ C. Walton, *History of the British Standing Army, A.D. 1660 to 1700* (London, 1894), pp. 579–765; C. M. Clode, *The Military Forces of the Crown: Their Administration and Government* (2 vols, London, 1869), ii, pp. 366–89; J. Childs, *The Army of Charles II* (London, 1976), p. 104; J. Childs, *The British Army of William III, 1689–1702* (Manchester, 1987), pp. 38–9; R. E. Scouller, *The Armies of Queen Anne* (Oxford, 1966), p. 278; J. Smyth, *In This Sign Conquer: The Story of the Army Chaplains* (London, 1968), pp. 21–6; A. C. Dow, *Ministers to the Soldiers of Scotland: A History of the Military Chaplains of Scotland prior to the War in the Crimea* (Edinburgh, 1962), pp. 153–94; M. Snape, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department, 1796–1953: Clergy under Fire* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 15–25; A. Maynwaring, *The Lives of the Two Illustrious Generals, John, Duke of Marlborough, and Francis Eugene, Prince of Savoy* (London, 1713), p. 72.

⁸ W. J. Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment: Orientalism, Religion and Politics in England and its Empire, 1648–1715* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 11–12.

collaborated to regulate army chaplaincy, the British monarchs as the Supreme Commanders of the army and the Supreme Governors of the Church showed little interest in intervening in the regimental chaplaincy. Nonetheless, the significance of army chaplains in military life was recognised by some contemporary authors, and some chaplains tried to improve religious observance in the army by themselves. As the most learned men amongst the soldiers, many chaplains were citizens of the ‘republic of letters’ and published scores of works, including accounts of campaigns, biographies of generals, sermons, other religious writings, and even panegyrics for their military patrons, all of which could contribute to the recognition of their efforts.

Having said that, primary sources concerning the later Stuart army chaplains are somewhat lacking. There is no single collection of archival materials concerning the army chaplains in this period: The Museum of Army Chaplaincy lacks even a single document from this era,⁹ while the sparse surviving sources are scattered among the National Archives, the British Library, the Lambeth Palace Library, the Bodleian Library, and some provincial records offices. Besides, information about many chaplains remains unclear. For example, some works referred to the appointment of Dr Herbert Astley as chaplain to the ‘Earl of Northampton’s Regiment of Horse’ as an example of the later Stuart army chaplains.¹⁰ Ironically, this ‘typical’ commission is actually confusing for historians: the purpose of raising this unit, the size, or the disbandment of this unit is unclear, nor does the entry for Herbert Astley, or Ashley, dean of

⁹ Personal email correspondence with Mr David Blake, Curator of the Museum of Army Chaplaincy.

¹⁰ A. Jarvis, ‘A Chaplain’s Commission at the Period of the Restoration’, *Royal Army Chaplains’ Department Journal*, 30/3 (1930), p. 385; Dow, *Ministers to the Soldiers of Scotland*, pp. 154–5; Walton, *History of the British Standing Army*, pp. 841–2; Clode, *Military Forces of the Crown*, ii, p. 367.

Norwich in a topography mention this commission.¹¹ Although Colonel Dalton had tried to dig out as much as he could about these chaplains from the available sources and put it in the footnotes of his works, most records just contain names, or even worse, family names, and the dates of their commissions.

Fortunately, these records are not all dead ends. Since it is reasonable to assume that most army chaplains received education at universities and ordination from established churches, cross-referencing the university and church records with the works by Colonel Dalton might provide plenty of missing pieces for the entire jigsaw puzzle, including their academic degrees, age at commission and career prospect.¹² It is not surprising that many of them are only partially

¹¹ W. Drenth, 'Mystery Regiments of 1662', The British Army Lineages blog (17 Dec. 2009) <http://britisharmylineages.blogspot.co.uk/2009/12/mystery-regiments-of-1662.html> (10 Dec. 2014); J. Prince, *The Worthies of Devon* (London, 1810), p. 18.

¹² The university records used in the cross-reference are *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900, Part I*, ed. J. Venn (4 vols, Cambridge, 1922); *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714*, ed. J. Foster (4 vols, Oxford, 1891); *Alumni Dublinenses: A Register of the Students, Graduates, Professors and Provosts of Trinity college in the University of Dublin (1593-1860)*, ed. G. D. Burtchaell and T. U. Sadleir (Dublin, 1935); *A Catalogue of the Graduates in the Faculties of Arts, Divinity, and Law, of the University of Edinburgh, since Its Foundation*, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1858); *Fasti Aberdonenses: Selections from the Records of the University and King's College of Aberdeen, 1494-1854* (Aberdeen, 1854); *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis: Records of the University of Glasgow from Its Foundation till 1727* (3 vols, Glasgow, 1854). The records of the University of St Andrew during this period seem to be unavailable. The church records used in the cross reference are *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae: The Succession of the Prelates and Members of the Cathedral Bodies in Ireland*, ed. H. Cotton (5 vols, Dublin, 1851–1860); *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: The Succession of Ministers in the Parish Churches of Scotland, from*

identifiable, while about one-quarter of all the chaplains remain completely untraceable – some of them could be of nonconformist or even recusant backgrounds. Despite these drawbacks, the prosopographical database compiled as part of this research permits a broad-ranging study of the later Stuart army chaplains as a collective group. This chapter, which draws on this database as well as other sources, will outline the profiles of army chaplains and their ministry in the army from 1660 to 1714.

Chaplaincy in the Later Stuart Army

Francis Hare was doing quite well. He received a fellowship from King's after he graduated, and he was appointed as one of the chaplains to the Royal Hospital Chelsea on 9th August 1703. He held this post until 1707, but he was already made the 'Chaplain-General of the army' on 25th April 1704. The call was made in haste, and he had only a few days to pack; if he failed to join the voyage of Lieutenant-General John Cutts, he would have to travel by himself from England and catch up with Marlborough's fast-marching army. The daily life of this scholar on the campaign was not clear. Francis Hare composed some accounts of Marlborough's campaigns, but it seems that he did not keep a journal about himself.¹³ Conversely, Marlborough mentioned him frequently in his correspondence. According to Marlborough,

the Reformation, A.D.1560, to the Present Time, ed. H. Scott (7 vols, Edinburgh, 1915–1928); *Clergy of the Church of England Database*, <http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/> (10 Feb. 2015).

¹³ F. Hare, *An Exact History of the Campaign in Germany, for the Year 1704, under the Conduct of His Excellency John Duke of Marlborough* (London, 1706); *idem*, *The Life and Glorious History of John D. and E. of Marlborough* (London, 1705). A more famous account might be his unpublished manuscript 'The Journal of Dr Hare, the Duke's Chaplain, from 1704–1705' (BL, Add MSS 61408), but its authorship has been disputed, and some scholars attribute it to another army chaplain Josiah Sandby. See F. Harris, 'The Authorship of the Manuscript Blenheim Journal', *Historical Research*, 55/132 (1982), pp. 203–6.

Francis Hare marched with the army in company with him and sometimes travelled between England and the warzone. Besides providing sermons and sacraments for Marlborough and his generals, Francis Hare also ran various errands, such as providing the news of MP elections and delivering letters and new ciphers.¹⁴

Francis Hare was not the first ‘chaplain-general’ in the history of the British armies. Margaret Griffin indicates that Charles I appointed two Anglican divines as ‘chaplains-general’ to the Royalist army in 1643, and the royal proclamation suggests that they were granted jurisdiction over all chaplains of the regiments.¹⁵ Whether or not Griffin exaggerates when she claims that this establishment was the true ‘foundation of the Chaplains’ Corps of the British Army’, the position of ‘chaplain-general’ ceased to exist after the Restoration. There was a series of principal officers such as Paymaster-General, Commissary-General of the Musters, Judge Advocate General, Adjutant-General, Scout-Master General, Physician-General, Surgeon-General and Apothecary-General in Charles II’s army, but no Chaplain-General.¹⁶ A post of ‘Chaplain to the General of Our Forces’ was commissioned for William Durham who was the domestic chaplain to James Scott, duke of Monmouth and then the Captain-General of the army in 1678, but Monmouth resigned his office in the second year, and presumably, Durham’s appointment ended as well.¹⁷ Four clergymen – Knightley Chetwood, John Wickhart, Richard

¹⁴ ‘The Royal Hospital: Paymasters General and Officials’, in W. H. Godfrey (ed), *Survey of London: Volume 11, Chelsea, Part IV: The Royal Hospital* (London, 1927), pp. 37–60; N. Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* (6 vols, Oxford, 1857), v, p. 417; *Marlborough–Godolphin Correspondence*, pp. 427, 487, 790.

¹⁵ M. Griffin, ‘The Foundation of the Chaplaincy Corps’, *JSAHR*, 80/324 (2002), pp. 288–9.

¹⁶ Childs, *Army of Charles II*, pp. 74, 261.

¹⁷ *English Army Lists*, i, p. 236.

Willis, and Francis Hare – who were close to William III and Marlborough, were commissioned to a similar post successively after the Revolution: the official title of Francis Hare in the ‘Blenheim Bounty Roll’ was ‘Chaplain to the Captain-General’.¹⁸ Although they were referred to as ‘Chaplain-General’ in some documents, supervising the entire army chaplaincy was beyond their duty. The details of the service of the three former ‘chaplains-general’ are little known, but they possibly acted as religious attendants, maybe also as secretaries, in the case of Francis Hare, to the Captain-General. In 1701, when the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) was planning to distribute a religious pamphlet for the soldiers, the committee ordered the secretary to ‘enquire whether there be a Chaplain Generall of the English Army’. A few days later, the committee decided to send the text to the general officers, indicating that they did not find a figure to supervise the spiritual affairs of the entire army.¹⁹ Those ‘Chaplains-General’ were mere ‘chaplains to the general’.

Meanwhile, William Hodges, ‘Chaplain-Generall to the Fleete’, was made a corresponding member of the SPCK, and he was consulted about ‘the method of dispersing the Society’s Books and Papers amongst the Seamen’.²⁰ Unlike his military counterparts, Hodges was described as ‘Overseer and Inspector of Chaplains’ in the Navy and given authority over all his fellow chaplains. In fact, the Royal Navy had a chaplain-general for ‘the good government of the clergy that are Chaplains in the fleet’ as early as in 1683.²¹ Though the earliest naval

¹⁸ *Ibid*, iii, pp. 283, 344; iv, pp. 49, 112; *Blenheim Roll*, p. 1.

¹⁹ ‘28 Oct. 1701’, in *A Chapter in English Church History: Being the Minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the Years 1698–1704, Together with Abstracts of Correspondents’ Letters during Part of the Same Period*, ed. E. McClure (London, 1888), p. 151; ‘4 Nov. 1701’, *ibid*, p. 152.

²⁰ ‘7 July 1701’, *ibid*, p. 141; ‘14 July 1701’, *ibid*, p. 142.

²¹ G. Taylor, *The Sea Chaplains: A History of the Chaplains of the Royal Navy* (Oxford, 1978), p. 484.

chaplains-general in the 1680s were meant for particular squadrons rather than the entire navy, the hierarchical, albeit rudimentary, structure was still better organised than the army chaplaincy. While the Navy Board issued a regulation for naval chaplains in 1677, covering their qualification, appointment procedure, and maintenance,²² no equivalent regulation can be found for the army chaplaincy throughout the period. The articles of war stipulated little about the chaplaincy itself, except for some duties of their service such as reading the Book of Common Prayer every day, preaching a sermon every Sunday and so on.²³ The ‘guards and garrisons’ of Charles II inherited part of the chaplaincy from the Parliamentary Army where there were no ecclesiastical superiors to the chaplains inside or outside the army, and colonels were entitled to choose chaplains for their own units.²⁴ There were at least two Parliamentary chaplains, Thomas Gumble and John Price, who continued to serve in the English army of Charles II, as domestic chaplains to George Monck.²⁵ However, the later Stuart army chaplaincy was not simply a duplicate of either the Parliamentary or the Royalist one, nor should it be understood based merely on a series of norms in the Articles of War. In order to grasp all the nuances of the later Stuart army chaplaincy, some traditional understandings may need to be clarified.

Firstly, early modern British army chaplaincy until 1796 is usually referred to by historians as ‘regimental chaplaincy’, which implies that the chaplaincy was a largely regimental affair, and colonels could nominate chaplains and have them commissioned by the military authorities.²⁶

²² *Ibid*, pp. 92–4.

²³ Clode, *Military Forces of the Crown*, ii, pp. 366–7.

²⁴ Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*, p. 9.

²⁵ *English Army Lists*, i, pp. 3, 110, 318; ii, pp. 21, 130; Laurence, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains*, pp. 132, 167.

²⁶ Snape, *Royal Army Chaplains’ Department*, p. 15.

However, the mechanism for the appointment of chaplains was not completely fixed by the regulations. Of course, the colonels of regiments and garrisons played an important part, but looking into some cases during the later Stuart period, it is clear that more actors were involved. After James Butler, first duke of Ormonde, was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1677, his son Richard Butler, earl of Arran, began to reorganise the Irish army in 1683–4. During this process, Ormonde recommended a Mr Mallory at Trinity College Dublin to be chaplain to one of the regiments under Arran's command, and when Charles II found some of the new regiments without chaplains or surgeons, he ordered the addition of both, with a further grant of £1700 per year.²⁷ Captain-Generals like Marlborough and James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde, could nominate chaplains for the regiments under their commands as well, since John Broughton; Egerton Cutler; Samuel Dunster; William Marston and Josiah Sandby (domestic chaplains to Marlborough); and Edmund Arwaker, John Hartstongue, and Thomas Vesey (domestic chaplains to Ormonde), all served in several different units in the forces commanded by these two generals.²⁸ Richard Fiddes, a prominent clergyman and writer, obtained the chaplaincy to the garrison at Hull through the interest of Ormonde in 1714.²⁹ In addition, over 20 letters of recommendation or petition for chaplaincy are piled up in the collection of Marlborough's correspondence in the British Library.³⁰ Compared to these mostly

²⁷ 'Ormonde to Arran, Written from St James's Square', 31 July 1683, Oxford, Bodleian MS Carte 219, fo. 496; 'Ormonde to Arran, Written from St James's Square', 5 Feb. 1684, Oxford, Bodleian MS Carte 220, fo. 9.

²⁸ *English Army Lists*, ii, pp. 95, 125; ii, p. 175; ii, p. 31; v, pp. 51, 55, 186, 196, 271; Part II, p. 39; vi, pp. 6, 94, 96, 304, 337; *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, i, p. 231; ii, pp. 76, 321; iii, p. 150; iv, p. 13; *Alumni Oxonienses*, i, p. 365; *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, ii, pp. 46, 250, 367; T. C. Barnard, 'Vesey, Sir Thomas, first baronet (1672/3–1730)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28259> (20 Jan. 2015).

²⁹ Richard Sharp, 'Fiddes, Richard (1671–1725)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9380> (18 Jan. 2015).

³⁰ 'Multiple Letters Concerning Army Chaplaincy', BL, Add MSS 61298, ff. 143–82.

badly handwritten letters, Samuel Wesley, a rector and famous poet who was the father of the great Methodist revivalists John and Charles Wesley, creatively composed a poem about the victory at Blenheim in early 1705. This so impressed Marlborough, that he promised Wesley the chaplaincy to Colonel Nicholas Lepell's Regiment of Foot.³¹ A similar dynamic could also be found in the colonial sphere, as it was Francis Nicholson, the prominent Governor of Maryland, rather than the Commander of the Garrison, who appointed John Harrison to be chaplain to the garrison of Annapolis in 1711.³²

While the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland established its jurisdiction over all 'ministers' to some Scottish regiments, as mentioned in Chapter 3, the army chaplaincy was not a formal part of the institution of the Church of England during the later Stuart period, unlike the chaplains to the royal household, nobles, bishops, universities, or trading companies.³³ However, the Anglican ecclesiastical authorities were involved in the appointment of army chaplains in some circumstances, especially after the Revolution. In 1694, John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury produced a 'certificate' for a Francis Foulke, stating the latter was 'very well Qualified both in respect of his abilities and good Life for Chaplain to a Regiment in his Majestie's Army', for William III had refused to sign his commission until he was 'found Qualified and approved'. There is no indication about how such a 'most careful

³¹ 'Letter from W. Delaune, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, Concerning the Persecution of Mr. [Samuel] Wesley, Rector of Epwoth by Dissenters', 1 Sept. 1705, Lancashire Archives, DDKE/HMC/1088; *English Army Lists*, v, p. 188.

³² 'January 15, 1711–January 17, 1711', *Supplement* (15–17 Jan. 1711), p. 1.

³³ For the category of chaplaincy, see G. Tapsell, 'The Reluctant Chaplain: William Sancroft and the Later Stuart Church', in H. Adlington, T. Lockwood and G. Wright (eds), *Chaplains in Early Modern England: Patronage, Literature and Religion* (Manchester, 2013), p. 205.

Enquiry' was undertaken or whether there was actually one,³⁴ but there are also many similar cases where the commanders pleaded for their newly commissioned chaplains to be ordained as deacon or priest before they departed to join their units, some of them in an urgent manner.³⁵ The exercise of such a power was not exclusively reserved for Lambeth Palace, as other diocesan bishops also performed ordinations and 'examinations' for newly commissioned chaplains. For example, Thomas Sprat, bishop of Rochester, had his own chaplain 'examine' and 'approve' Richard Coliere, a fellow at All Souls College, Oxford, and granted him 'the Holy Order of Priesthood' just before the latter was about to serve Colonel Hugh Wyndham's Regiment of Horse in 1694.³⁶ A similar dynamic could be found in post-Revolutionary Ireland as well, when a proclamation issued in Dublin Castle in 1697 provided that besides a commission, chaplains to be admitted would also need a certificate of their 'Learning, and Pious Life, and Conversation' from their diocesan bishops, and those chaplains would be still subject to diocesan jurisdiction and be accountable for their 'Doctrines and Morals'.³⁷

In short, these documents suggest that besides the commissions from the Secretaries of State, some colonels might also require a proper ordination or at least some written 'endorsement' of their 'regimental' chaplains. As many regiments were stationed in or near London, the Bishop of London seemed to have certain authority over the regimental chaplains there. Peter Maturin, Chaplain to Colonel William Tatton's Regiment of Foot, wrote to John Robinson, the newly appointed Bishop of London, to beg for preferment in 1714. In his letter, Maturin wrote that

³⁴ [Foulke, Francis], LPL, VB 1/4/501.

³⁵ E. g. [Palmer, Benjamin], LPL, VB 1/4/540; [Shipton, James], LPL, VB 1/4/577.

³⁶ [Windham, Col. []], LPL, VB 1/4/503.

³⁷ 'August 12, 1697–August 14, 1697', *Post Man and the Historical Account* (12–14 Aug. 1697), p. 1.

‘all Chaplains of the Army have by their station a Tittle to Your Protection being under Your immediate care & Government’.³⁸ However, the role of senior Anglican bishops in governing army chaplains seemed informal, unlike in the navy where no chaplain could be appointed without approval by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London as the regulation in 1677 articulated.³⁹ Nevertheless, the involvement of the established church meant the army chaplaincy was beyond a merely ‘regimental’ affair.

Secondly, the notion of ‘regimental chaplaincy’ also implies that chaplains were usually attached to regiments.⁴⁰ Some regulations on payment indicate so.⁴¹ Of course, there were chaplains to the garrisons, many of whom were under the employment of the Board of Ordnance which maintained its jurisdictions over these garrison chaplains after the founding of the Royal Army Chaplains’ Department in 1796 until the Board itself was abolished in the 1850s.⁴² But there were also many exceptions can be found after scrutinising the commission records edited by Colonel Dalton. Some chaplains were commissioned in units smaller than a regiment. For example, in order to suppress the Bacon’s Rebellion, a battalion consisting of five companies was sent to Virginia in 1676. Paul Williams, an unidentified chaplain, was assigned to this battalion.⁴³ A certain John Pitt was likewise appointed ‘Chaplain of the Irish

³⁸ ‘Maturin to Robinson’, 7 Oct. 1714, Oxford, Bodleian MS Rawlinson, B 376, fo. 57.

³⁹ Taylor, *Sea Chaplains*, p. 93.

⁴⁰ Snape, *Royal Army Chaplains’ Department*, p. 15.

⁴¹ E. g., ‘An Establishment of the Forces Raised for His Majesty’s Service in the Kingdom of Morocco, Sus and Fez’, 10 Oct. 1661, TNA, WO 24/1, pp. 9–12.

⁴² Snape, *Royal Army Chaplains’ Department*, pp. 16, 29.

⁴³ *English Army Lists*, vol. 1, p. 186; L. Offen, ‘British Regulars in Virginia, 1677–82’, History Reconsidered blog, http://historyreconsidered.net/British_Regulars_in_Virginia.html (19 Jan. 2015).

Battalion belonging to Colonel Thomas Erle's Regiment of Foot' in 1692.⁴⁴ In addition, several chaplains were appointed to minister to more than just one regiment. When Monmouth's and Argyll's rebellions broke out in 1685, James II recalled all six regiments of the Anglo-Dutch Brigade from the Dutch service to meet the emergency. Two chaplains were commissioned to join these troops: John Gordon to the three Scots regiments and Francis Say to the rest.⁴⁵ Some chaplains were assigned to certain expeditionary operations. John Oldy was assigned to the force of 10,000 regulars, sailors, militiamen, and volunteers who constituted the expedition under the command of Major-General Percy Kirke to relieve Londonderry under siege.⁴⁶ There were also a few chaplains commissioned to the expeditions to Southern France, Spain, and Quebec during the War of the Spanish Succession.⁴⁷

Thirdly, the later Stuart period is conventionally considered the period when the modern standing army of Britain was born. Therefore, hindsight leads to the later Stuart army chaplaincy being regarded as a part of this 'standing' establishment, just as Rev Alfred Jarvis, the interbellum Chaplain-General of the British Army, claimed in 1930.⁴⁸ However, during the later Stuart period, soldiers were not completely excluded from civil society, and when the regiments were stationed during peacetime, soldiers were usually billeted in inns, public or

⁴⁴ Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vol. 3, p. 270.

⁴⁵ J. Childs, *The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution* (Manchester, 1980), p. 120; *English Army Lists*, i, pp. 48, 50.

⁴⁶ J. Childs, *General Percy Kirke and the Later Stuart Army* (London, 2014), pp. 136–7; *English Army Lists*, iii, p. 100.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, v, pp. 55, 158; vi, p. 182.

⁴⁸ Jarvis, 'A Chaplain's Commission', p. 385.

private houses, and some of them would also keep odd jobs as artisans or labourers.⁴⁹ Thus, a ‘standing’ clergyman for religious observance among soldiers during the peacetime seemed unnecessary, since the soldiers could attend local parish churches. Army chaplains would become needed only when regiments were going to fight on foreign soil where the national churches were not available. Before the start of the ‘Second Hundred Years’ War’ of almost continual conflict between Britain and France in 1689, there were very few chaplains in the Scottish and Irish armies: only one chaplain was commissioned to Edinburgh Castle in Scotland, and no chaplain was commissioned to the regiments in Ireland until 1672 when John Woodson was assigned to the entire army.⁵⁰ The reason was probably that these two establishments were supposed to be deployed at home against the Covenanters and Roman Catholics.⁵¹ In contrast, there were about 100 commissioned chaplains on the English establishment before the Revolution, because not only was the English branch of the force much larger in terms of size but also many regiments were raised or ready for wars in the Continental theatre.

⁴⁹ J. Childs, ‘The Restoration Army, 1660–1702’, in D. Chandler and I. Beckett (eds), *The Oxford History of the British Army* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 60–1.

⁵⁰ Dow, *Ministers to the Soldiers of Scotland*, p. 156; *Irish Army Lists*, p. 79.

⁵¹ K. A. J. McLay, ‘The Restoration and the Glorious Revolution, 1660–1702’, in E. M. Spiers, J. A. Crang and M. Strickland (eds), *A Military History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2012), pp. 298–325; S. J. Connolly, ‘The Defence of Protestant Ireland’, in T. Barlett and K. Jeffery (eds), *A Military History of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 231–46.

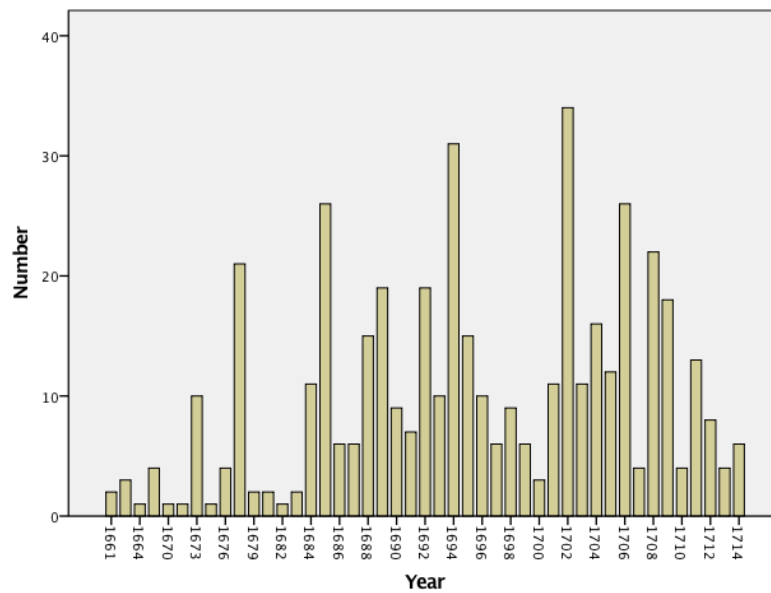


Figure 4.1 Numbers of commissions for army chaplains
Source: List of the later Stuart army chaplains

There were some chaplains commissioned during peacetime, but the available places were limited, just as any other military office. John Churchill signed a memorandum in 1686 about ‘the King’s pleasure that Mr. Carter have the next chaplain’s void either for horse or foot’, and this Mr Carter seemed not to get through the waiting list, as his name is not mentioned by Colonel Dalton.⁵² In general, the ministry of the army chaplains was primarily supposed to be active overseas during wartime. The number of commissions for the later Stuart army chaplains in different years (Figure 4.1) shows that the size of the late Stuart army chaplaincy expanded during the wars. The number of commissions for army chaplains reached its first peak in 1672 when Charles II joined Louis XIV’s war against the United Provinces, and a license issued for three army chaplains under Monmouth that ‘during their absence to enjoy their respective preferments, with all the emoluments and privileges of the same’ implies that the chaplaincy was not their ‘day job’.⁵³ Similar patterns were repeated in the year of 1678 when Charles II

⁵² ‘Memorandum’, 1 March 1686, *CSPD 1686–7*, p. 50.

⁵³ ‘License to James Gardiner, William Durham and Charles Smithson’, 3 June 1672, *CSPD 1672*, p. 147.

planned to re-enter the war alongside the Dutch and in the year 1685 when James II expanded the army to confront the rebellions of Monmouth and Argyll. When Revolutionary Britain joined the prolonged wars against France in 1689, the number of newly commissioned chaplains was boosted in 1694 at the height of the Nine Years' War and again in 1702, when the War of the Spanish Succession erupted. Numbers remained relatively high for most of the subsequent years until the Peace in 1713.

Backgrounds of the Army Chaplains

The army chaplains not only increased in number but also became more active in the wars against Catholic France after 1689. In contrast to the chaplains during the Restoration monarchy, who remained largely obscure, much more can be discovered about the post-Revolutionary chaplains. These sources allow us to reconstruct who these chaplains were and why they chose this career.

Francis Hare entered the service at the age of 33. He was probably chosen to be chaplain-general through his connection to Marlborough. When he was a fellow at King's, there were several students under his tutorship, including the future Sir Robert Walpole and John Churchill, marquis of Blanford and the elder son of Marlborough. Hare's motivation to accept this post and to step into the warzone was unclear, but the correspondence between Marlborough and

Sidney Godolphin may reveal his ambition: he was hoping for the bishopric of Oxford, one of the most impoverished diocesan sees within the Church of England.⁵⁴

A young clergyman joined the army as a chaplain intending to achieve a higher office in the ecclesiastical institution through the patronage of his commander. The story of Francis Hare might be representative, but it should be borne in mind that the situations of over 400 army chaplains varied from individual to individual. The understanding of ‘why and how did they become army chaplains’ should follow the question ‘who were they?’ Some individual cases might prove helpful, but a prosopographical database on the age, education, and ordination of these chaplains can help provide a much more comprehensive answer to this question.

Some countries did have an official minimum age for recruiting chaplains. For instance, newly recruited chaplains in the Prussian army were supposed to be older than 25, so that they were sufficiently mature and experienced for their duties.⁵⁵ In fact, setting a minimum age for ministry was not unusual in the church: in the Church of England, anyone admitted to be deacon had to be over 23, unless granted faculty, and anyone ordained to be priest had to be over 24.⁵⁶ However, this did not apply to the later Stuart army where the age of the newly commissioned chaplains ranged quite widely. Some were commissioned extremely young. Jean-Baptiste Sorsoliel, a French Protestant and ancestor of the Sorsoliel family on the Isle of Jersey, was

⁵⁴ Pettit, ‘Francis Hare’; ‘Godolphin to Marlborough, 24th June 1706’, in *Marlborough–Godolphin Correspondence*, ii, pp. 599–600; T. Blanning, *The Pursuit of Glory: Europe, 1648–1815* (London, 2007), pp. 374–5.

⁵⁵ Marschke, *Absolutely Pietist*, p. 43.

⁵⁶ *The Book of Common Prayer: The Text of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford, 2011), p. 622.

commissioned to that Island's garrison at just 16 in 1700. Jacob Rice, a clergyman in Newfoundland, was commissioned to the local garrison when he was 18 years old in 1687.⁵⁷ Some chaplains were commissioned at advanced ages. Daniel Applefort and Philip Jones were already each 59 years old when they got their commissions to the Queen's Own Regiment of Dragoons and Colonel Edward Jones's Regiment of Foot, respectively.⁵⁸ Whether they actually attended these fighting units was unknown.

However, among 283 commissions of which the chaplains' age could be traced, only four commissions were given to young chaplains under 20, and only thirteen commissions were given to senior chaplains above 50 (Figure 4.2). More than half of the commissions (150) were given to chaplains between 25 and 34 years old, including Francis Hare, when they were enlisted into service, and almost 220 commissions were given to chaplains between 20 and 39 years old. This may indicate that, though without formal regulations, the British army commanders were still less likely to choose persons either too young or too old, and they preferred chaplains whose physical conditions suited the tough military life and those capable of marching long distances with the troops.

⁵⁷ *English Army Lists*, iv, p. 240; v, p. 158; C. I. A. Ritchie, 'Rice, Jacob,' *DCB* (Toronto/Quebec, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rice_jacob_2E.html (10 Feb. 2015); 'Extracts from a History of the Sorsoleil Family' https://www.theislandwiki.org/index.php/Extracts_from_a_history_of_the_Sorsoleil_family (8 Sept. 2017).

⁵⁸ *English Army Lists*, v, p. 37; vi, p. 254; *Alumni Oxonienses*, i, p. 28; *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, ii, p. 487.

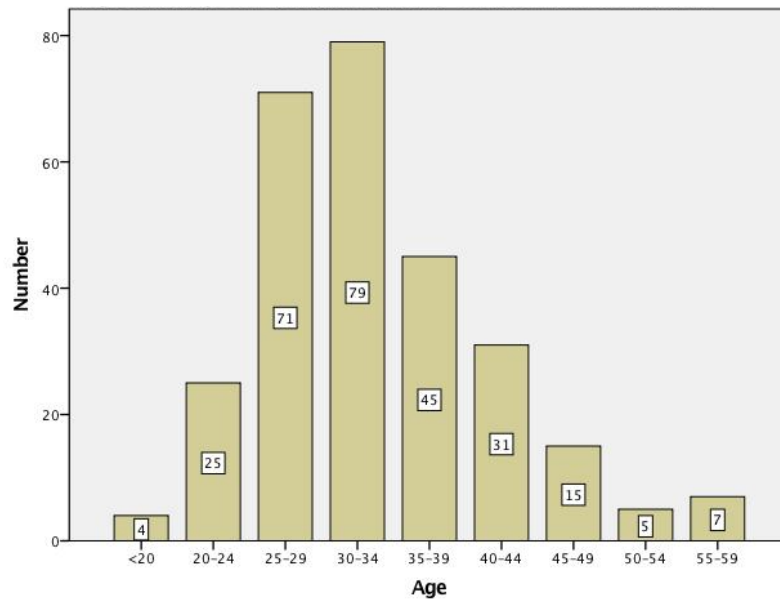


Figure 4.2 Age when chaplains joined the army

Source: List of the later Stuart army chaplains

Army chaplains were not combatants like the ordinary officers or soldiers whose duties required firing muskets or holding pikes. Instead, like other professional personnel such as surgeons, some other qualifications were expected of them. Though there were no explicit norms about the eligibility of army chaplains, most of them had received university degrees before being commissioned. Among 345 commissions of army chaplains who could be fully or partly identified (Figure 4.3), there were only 27 without known records of attending the seven universities in the British Isles. This does not necessarily mean that those without such records did not receive any university education since some of them might be of nonconformist or recusant background who had studied in Calvinist seminaries or English colleges on Continental Europe. There were also 30 commissions given to army chaplains with higher degrees of Bachelor of Divinity or Doctor of Divinity. But for most cases, newly commissioned chaplains had degrees of Bachelor of Arts (73) or Master of Arts (215) when they set off on their military careers.

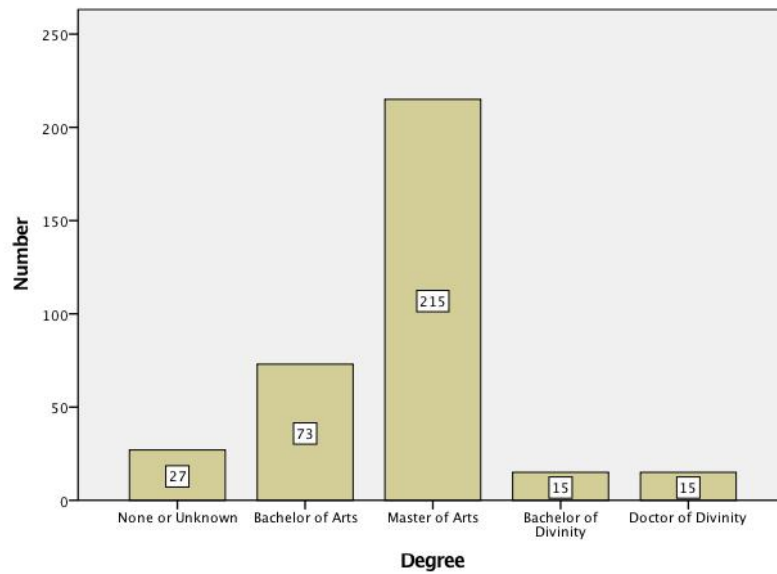


Figure 4.3 Qualifications when chaplains joined the army

Source: List of the later Stuart army chaplains

Furthermore, it is clear that most of the army chaplains had already been ordained or possessed certain offices in the churches (Figure 4.4). About one-quarter (83) of the 345 identified commissions were given to army chaplains without ecclesiastical records, but this does not mean that they were outside church organisations of any kind or just began their clerical careers as army chaplains. Regarding those who might not be in established churches, it is very likely that many of them were already low-level churchmen in the Church of Scotland and the Church of Ireland, the ecclesiastical records of which, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* and *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, do not include junior clergy, compared to the more thorough *Clergy of the Church of England Database* (CCED). Regardless, the commissions without prior ecclesiastical records are not representative of the majority (227) that were given to ordained priests (curates, vicars, rectors or higher) or ministers in Scottish cases, though none of the commissions was given to senior clergyman as high as bishop. In addition, there were another six chaplains who had been lay ministers with the title of teacher or reader, and 29 who had been deacons. This suggests that the later Stuart army chaplaincy was less likely the first station for new clergymen,

and unsurprisingly, it was definitely not a career for those who already held high-ranking ecclesiastical posts. Since, as we have seen, some colonels asked the ecclesiastical authorities to have their chaplains ordained, and that the title ‘minister’ was the equivalent of ‘chaplain’ in some Scottish regiments, it seems that the army chaplaincy was expected to be granted to mid-level clergymen.

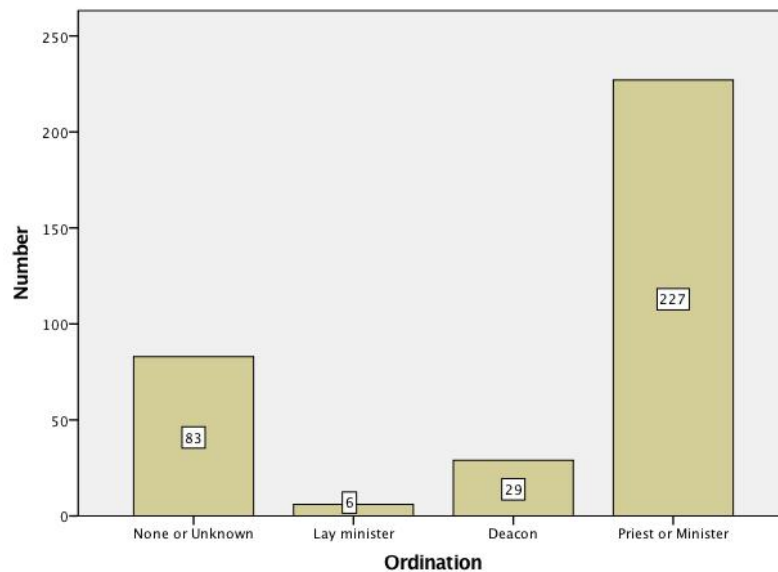


Figure 4.4 Holy orders when chaplains joined the army

Source: List of the later Stuart army chaplains

However, the education and ordination of these army chaplains could hardly be understood as qualification or training in a modern and professional sense. Since the re-established church after the Restoration was still struggling to improve preaching, visitation, and catechising in local parishes in order to reform the neglected clerical duties,⁵⁹ it was unlikely that potential army chaplains could learn something about performing ministry in an army context. In short, most army chaplains obtained their post due to personal connections rather than through any

⁵⁹ G. Tapsell, ‘Pastor Preachers and Politicians: The Clergy of the Later Stuart Church’, in *idem* (ed), *The Later Stuart Church, 1660–1714* (Manchester, 2012), pp. 73–4.

specialised professional training, unlike that provided by today's Royal Army Chaplains' Department.⁶⁰

An anonymous army chaplain published a poem in 1693 expressing his grievances as 'We, humble Famelicks, Divinity's Reliques, in plain English, Chaplains Domestick'.⁶¹ This phrase implies that many later Stuart army chaplains were also domestic chaplains. Some of them were indeed the clients of military commanders. Besides the domestic chaplains to Marlborough and Ormonde, William Brodie, a Scottish chaplain to Major-General James Maitland, and Henry Shute, an Anglican chaplain to Aubrey de Vere, earl of Oxford, both served in the units of their patrons as regimental chaplains. Baron Charles Mohun made Albert Leblanc, the chaplain to his wife, the chaplain to his own regiment.⁶² In some other cases, these connections were not necessarily so directly military. One should not be surprised if the aristocratic or ecclesiastical patrons recommended their domestic chaplains to regimental commanders they knew. There were some domestic chaplains to noblemen and church leaders serving in the army. For instance, William Johnson and George Snell were chaplains to the bishops of Hereford and Lincoln, respectively, and they both served as army chaplains as well,

⁶⁰ For example, modern British military chaplains are even required to be trained in weaponry, in order to disarm agitated soldiers lest they should hurt themselves or others.

⁶¹ One of the Camp Chaplains, *The Chaplains Petition to the Honourable House for Redress of Grievances* (London, 1693), p. 1.

⁶² *English Army Lists*, iv, p. 58; v, p. 265; vi, p. 212; *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, iv, p. 129; *Alumni Oxonienses*, iv, p. 1354; *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, iii, p. 61.

while Thomas Wharton, earl of Wharton, had his chaplain Ralph Lambert serving in Viscount Charlemont's Regiment of Foot.⁶³

Kinship was another sort of connection between army chaplains and their superior officers. St George Ashe, an Irish divine, attended the regiment of foot under the command of his father-in-law Sir George St George. Other cases were much easier to detect. Given that armed service and the church were both career options for the younger sons of gentry families, it is no surprise that there were at least eight army chaplains holding the same family names as their regimental commanders. Theobald Churchill, the youngest and most obscure brother of John Churchill and an Anglican clergyman, served in the Royal Regiment of Dragoons under his remarkable brother until his premature death in 1685. William Caulfield, Viscount Charlemont chose Tobias Caulfield, his grandson and an Irish priest, to be in his own regiment.⁶⁴

Needless to say, those choices would have to be approved by the King. Robert Pocock, chaplain to the Earl of Oxford, 'kissed the King's hand' for the chaplaincy in the Earl's regiment in 1677, before the Earl asked Sir Joseph Williamson to pass the commission for 'the King's signature'.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, it was hardly surprising that military commanders recruited army

⁶³ *English Army Lists*, i, p. 265; iii, pp. 384, 392; *Alumni Oxonienses*, ii, p. 810; 'Snell, George (1679–1692), CCED Person ID: 103212', *CCED*, <http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/> (10 Feb. 2015); *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, iii, p. 227.

⁶⁴ *English Army Lists*, i, pp. 301, 314; ii, p. 10; iii, p. 197; v, pp. 289, 290; H. J. Real, 'Ashe, St George (1658–1718)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/750> (10 Feb. 2015); *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, iv, pp. 87, 111; iii, p. 372.

⁶⁵ 'The Earl of Oxford to Williamson', 10 July 1677, *CSPD 1677–8*, p. 238.

chaplains through patronage and kinship in a society where administration and institutions relied heavily on personal connections.⁶⁶ However, in some circumstances, ‘geographical availability’ could be another factor in recruiting army chaplains, as some chaplains got commissioned for living close to the units. The Duke of Ormonde wrote to his son, the Earl of Arran, that Trinity College Dublin ‘will furnish chaplains to the several regiments’ of the army in Ireland in 1684.⁶⁷ This practice was most pronounced in remote regions or colonies where local priests or missionaries were often appointed to be chaplains to the garrisons. The Jersey and Guernsey garrison chaplains were usually also the clergymen of the local parishes. John Jackson and Jacob Rice, the first two chaplains to the garrison in Newfoundland, held the concurrent posts of parochial ministers in St John’s, Newfoundland, and missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.⁶⁸ However, the availability of clergymen in proximity might have prevented assigning permanent chaplain to a garrison, as Satoshi Tsujimoto finds out that, out of twenty-one major and minor garrisons, only five small ones were served by a chaplain in 1686.⁶⁹ Another special case was Londonderry where several Protestant churchmen from the vicinity served as chaplains to the defenders against the besieging Jacobite and French forces in 1689. It should be noted that they were volunteers without formal commissions and some of them were Presbyterians who shelved the

⁶⁶ Childs, *Army of Charles II*, pp. 40–41.

⁶⁷ ‘Ormonde to Arran: Written from St James’s Square’ 16 Feb. 1684, Oxford Bodleian MS Carte 50, fo. 331.

⁶⁸ *English Army Lists*, iv, p. 264; v, p. 158; vi, p. 184; M. Godfrey, ‘Jackson, John’, *DCB* (Toronto/Quebec, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/jackson_john_2E.html (10 Feb. 2015); Ritchie, ‘Jacob Rice’.

⁶⁹ These five garrisons were Guernsey, Sheerness, Gravesend/Tilbury, and Landguard Fort. See S. Tsujimoto, ‘Restoration Garrisons, 1660–1688’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2009), p. 25.

denominational dispute and conducted worship for the defenders together with Anglican priests.⁷⁰

After the Revolution, the menace of ‘French and Irish papists’ provided an opportunity for a temporal reconciliation or collaboration between nonconformists and the established church widely beyond Londonderry under siege.⁷¹ Some dissenting ministers served as commissioned chaplains. Jacob Prosser was a ‘Dissenting teacher at Maidenhead’ who was commissioned to be chaplain to the garrison in Portsmouth in 1712.⁷² As we saw in Chapter 3, the Earl of Angus’s Regiment of Foot after 1689 consisted of the followers of Richard Cameron, a radical Scottish Covenanter leader, whose chaplains, of course, shared the similar confessional position. For example, Alexander Shields, the most well-known chaplain of that regiment, used to be the amanuensis of Puritan theologian John Owen and was imprisoned for refusal to take the oath of allegiance. He managed to escape and eventually joined the Williamite cause in the Revolution.⁷³ After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and especially after the Revolution in 1688, it was quite natural that some Huguenot ministers served as chaplains to the Huguenot units in the English service. However, just as Huguenot soldiers did not serve exclusively in the Huguenot regiments, some Huguenot chaplains were attached to other

⁷⁰ Dow, *Ministers to the Soldiers of Scotland*, p. 146.

⁷¹ Owen Stanwood, ‘The Protestant Moment: Antipopery, the Revolution of 1688–1689, and the Making of an Anglo–American Empire’, *JBS*, 46/3 (2007), p. 481.

⁷² J. Prosser, *The Danger of Turning Again to Folly: A Sermon Preach’d at the Royal Chappel in Portsmouth, on Tuesday, July 7. 1713* (London, 1713).

⁷³ M. Jenkins, ‘Sheilds, Alexander (1659/60–1700)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004),

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25302> (10 Feb. 2015).

regiments. For instance, James Sartre, a French Huguenot from Languedoc, served as the chaplain to the Earl of Arran's Regiment of Horse.⁷⁴

Undoubtedly, a few of these army chaplains exhibited some religious passion. Four of the eight brave nonconformist ministers in Londonderry did not survive the hardship of the siege. Having served the regimental chaplaincy for several years, Alexander Shields participated in the fatal expedition of the Darien scheme to Panama as a missionary to the indigenous people, and finally died of a fever in Jamaica in 1700.⁷⁵ These examples were exceptional, however, and one should not be surprised that many chaplains joined the army simply for better living or preferment, given that self-promotion and place-seeking were quite prevalent throughout the established churches. Perhaps they were not all as hungry for a bishopric as Francis Hare, but army chaplaincy still appeared like a good prospect for many domestic chaplains with few other options. In the mid-seventeenth century, the life of domestic chaplains was fairly impoverished, and they were paid as little as ten pounds per year and were treated a little better than cooks or butlers.⁷⁶ Their material circumstances contributed to the poor regard with which they were held by their parishioners. As one anonymous chaplain wrote in his mourning poem: 'And if't be our chance/ To serve against France/ At Sea, on the Rhine, or in Flanders/ We earnestly sue t' ye/ That exempt from all duty/ We may Dine with our Pious Commanders'. In

⁷⁴ J. Childs, 'Huguenots and Huguenot Regiments in the British Army, 1660–1702: "Cometh the Moment, Cometh the Men"', in M. Glozier and D. Onnekink (eds), *War, Religion and Service: Huguenot Soldiering, 1685–1713* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 44; *English Army Lists*, ii, pp. 109, 123.

⁷⁵ Dow, *Ministers to the Soldiers of Scotland*, p. 146; Jenkins, 'Alexander Shields'.

⁷⁶ W. Gibson, *A Social History of the Domestic Chaplain, 1530–1840* (Leicester, 1997), pp. 38–43.

short, army chaplaincy would be one of the ways ‘To see a good Living’ and ‘Preferment deserv’d’.⁷⁷

It is worth examining how many chaplains would eventually get the ‘good Living’ and ‘Preferment’ they sought. Depending on circumstances, becoming an army chaplain might hinder or help a clerical career. Richard Willis, the chaplain-general to the army, was conferred with the degree of ‘Doctor in Divinity’ through the favour of William III. Samuel Noyes, who acted as chaplain to the Royal Regiment of Foot (the Royal Scots) from 1692 to 1709, managed to impress the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely by writing several letters to each of them about his travels with the troops in Flanders, and he ended up as a wealthy pluralist and a Doctor of Divinity.⁷⁸

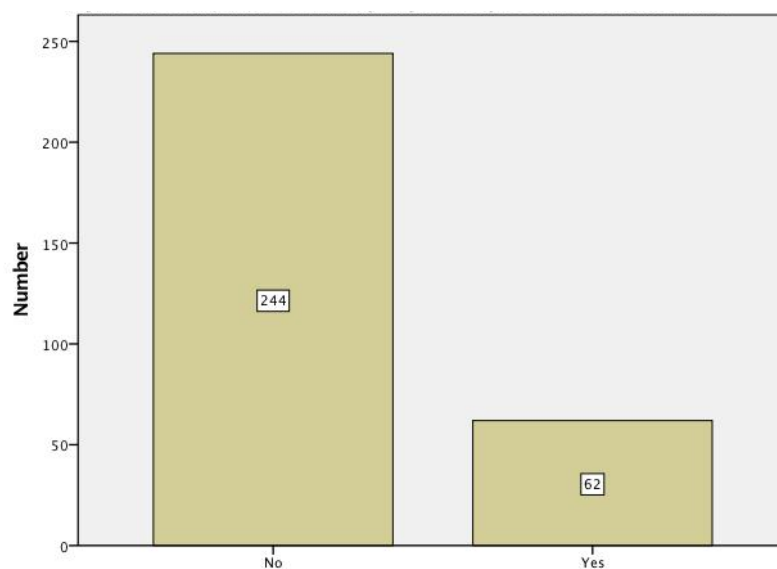


Figure 4.5 Obtaining higher degrees after joining the army

Source: List of the later Stuart army Chaplains

⁷⁷ One of the Camp Chaplains, *Chaplains Petition*, pp. 2–3.

⁷⁸ [Willis, Richard], LPL, VB 1/4/529; Snape, *Royal Army Chaplains' Department*, pp. 17–18.

However, a broader examination of the army chaplain's career path suggests that it was not the best route towards distinguished or lucrative ecclesiastical appointments. More than two-thirds of chaplains were not awarded higher degrees or offices after their service in the army (see Figure 4.5 and Figure 4.6). The obstacle to preferment of the army chaplains could be that later Stuart church leaders grew cautious of the intrusion of lay interests into their jurisdictions, resisting the intervention of laity in ecclesiastical administration, such as decision over ordination.⁷⁹ Besides, among the laity who were able to influence preferment, the 'Pious Commanders' seemed even less capable than the sovereigns and some prominent aristocrats of recommending their clients for church offices. Knightly Chetwood was quite close to Marlborough, as he even wrote a letter of congratulation to the latter in 1711, long after being discharged from the chaplaincy in 1704, but he did not receive any bishopric despite recommendations from Marlborough.⁸⁰ In contrast, Josiah Sandby, chaplain to Prince George of Denmark's Regiment of Foot and domestic chaplain to Marlborough, wrote to Marlborough and asked the latter to speak on his behalf to the Queen for a prebend at Worcester in 1707, and he achieved what he wished for.⁸¹ Francis Hare was among those disappointed chaplains, but his case is worth following. When Sidney Godolphin discussed with the Archbishop of Canterbury, on behalf of Marlborough, the deanery of Rochester for Hare as a stepping stone towards Oxford, the archbishop rejected the proposition arguing that Hare was a Cambridge

⁷⁹ Tapsell, 'Clergy of the Later Stuart Church', p. 72.

⁸⁰ 'Knightly Chetwood to Marlborough', 30 July 1711, Gloucestershire Archives, D9125/2/6954; H. de Quehen, 'Chetwood, Knightly (bap. 1650, d. 1720)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5246> (14 Sept. 2017).

⁸¹ 'Josiah Sandby to the Duke', 10 July 1707, BL, Add MSS 61303, pp. 53–4; 'Sandby, Josiah (1695–1711), CCED Person ID: 2749', *CCED*, <http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/> (10 Feb. 2015).

graduate.⁸² This was nothing more than plausible deniability since there had been one Bishop of Oxford who had previously studied at the University of Cambridge, and ironically, the deanery of Rochester was eventually granted to another Cantabrian, Samuel Pratt, the former chaplain in ordinary to later Queen Anne.⁸³ Francis Hare finally got the see of St. Asaph in Wales through the patronage of Sir Robert Walpole, in 1727 – five years after Marlborough's death.⁸⁴ However, future prospects for army chaplains were not completely dim: 10 out of about 400 of them were eventually consecrated diocesan bishops, and in comparison, only 2 out of nearly 1,000 naval chaplains became bishops during the same period.⁸⁵

⁸² 'Godolphin to Marlborough, 24th June 1706', in *Marlborough–Godolphin Correspondence*, ii, pp. 599–600.

⁸³ Hugh Curwen, bishop of Oxford (1567–1568) graduated from Cambridge; H. de Quehen, 'Pratt, Samuel (1658–1723)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22709> (10 Feb. 2015).

⁸⁴ Pettit, 'Francis Hare'.

⁸⁵ These ten army chaplains were St. George Ashe, bishop of Derry (1717–1718); Welbore Ellis, bishop of Meath (1732–1734); James Gardiner, bishop of Lincoln (1695–1705); Francis Hare, bishop of St Asaph (1727–1731) and of Chichester (1731–1740); John Hartstongue, bishop of Ossory (1693–1714) and of Derry (1714–1717); Ralph Lambert, bishop of Meath (1727–1732); William Lloyd, bishop of Killala and Achonry (1694–1716); Thomas Vesey, bishop of Ossory (1714–1730); Edward Walkington, bishop of Down and Connor (1695–1699); and Richard Willis, bishop of Winchester (1723–1734). The number of the naval chaplains is calculated from the list in Taylor, *Sea Chaplains*, pp. 487–500, 556. These two naval chaplains were Robert Frampton, bishop of Gloucester (1681–1691); and Thomas Ken, bishop of Bath and Wells (1685–1691).

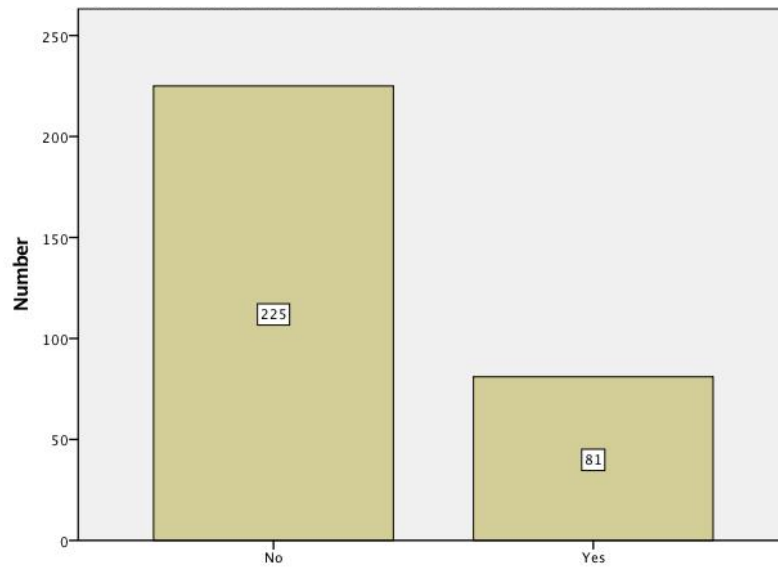


Figure 4.6 Obtaining higher orders after joining the army

Source: List of the later Stuart army chaplains

Roles and Service in the Army

Francis Hare was transferred to Chichester in 1731 and spent the rest of his life in that position. His bumpy career might be attributed to his polemical personality. As a prolific writer, he published many works about the military campaigns of Marlborough as well as current church affairs. He engaged in a heated debate with a Tory MP over the defence of Marlborough's war policy, and he participated in the Bangorian Controversy, a significant theological argument within the Church of England in the 1710s. Through his pointed quill, he made several enemies and was satirised as a warmonger as well as a 'political bishop' during his episcopacy since he spent more time in London than in his own diocese.⁸⁶ Surprisingly, in the abundant literature written by him, he scarcely mentioned his ministry in the army. Similarly, while many other

⁸⁶ Pettit, 'Francis Hare'; D. Manley, *A Learned Comment upon Dr. Hare's Excellent Sermon Preach'd before the D. of Marlborough, on the Surrender of Bouchain. By an Enemy to Peace* (London, 1711).

army chaplains composed narrative accounts on the campaigns they partook, few of them even wrote about what they did as army chaplains.

In fact, only two chaplains left extensive accounts on their own activities: Rowland Davies, chaplain to the Duke of Leinster's Regiment of Horse during the Irish campaign, and John Sharpe, chaplain to the garrison of New York after 1704.⁸⁷ The lack of crucial personal records hinders further exploration of the roles that the army chaplains played in later Stuart military life. This reticence about their own careers may be ascribed to the army chaplains' preference for writing panegyrics to leading military commanders, making references to their own activities irrelevant to the focus of their works. However, an additional reason might be that the duties of army chaplains were too negligible to be referred to. 'To teach and to instruct' the officers and soldiers as stated in some commissions is already a quite vague statement of their tasks. However, the articles of war were a little more specific. The one of 1662–3 stipulated that 'The Chaplains to the Troops of Guards and others in Regiments shall every day read the Common Prayers of the Church of England to the Soldiers respectively under their charge, and to preach to them as often as with convenience shall be thought fit'. The Articles of 1666 unpacked the requirement to preach by specifying this as 'once each week, on each Sunday or holy-day, a sermon shall be preached, or some place of scripture or catechisme expounded to them'.⁸⁸ Rowland Davies did mention several times that he preached to his regiment or read

⁸⁷ R. Davies, *Journal of the Very Rev. Rowland Davies, LLD, Dean of Ross (and afterwards Dean of Cork), from March 8, 1688–9, to September 29, 1690*, ed. R. Caufield (London, 1850); J. Sharpe, 'Journal of Rev. John Sharpe', *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 40/3 (1916), pp. 257–97.

⁸⁸ Clode, *Military Forces of the Crown*, ii, pp. 366–7; Dow, *Ministers to the Soldiers of Scotland*, p. 154. In comparison, the duties of naval chaplains were much more specified between 1687 and 1690, when Samuel Pepys received a letter to instruct naval chaplains, with ten suggestions, including chaplain should keep a

prayers to the soldiers before military exercises in his journal.⁸⁹ In comparison, however, to ‘Dine with our Pious Commanders’ was more worth mentioning for him, as he kept recording whom he dined or supped with almost every single day, with just one sentence in some entries. Social activities were far more exciting than the chaplain’s duties in the articles of war, let alone those spectacular military operations.

There were, however, a few tasks more specifically related to the chaplains’ place in the army. These included preaching sermons for special circumstances, particularly in thanksgiving services following military triumphs. After Francis Nicholson captured the 300-strong garrison of Port Royal, Acadia in 1710, a divine service was conducted by a naval chaplain, John Harrison, while Samuel Hesket, the chaplain to the expedition, preached a sermon.⁹⁰ Bernard Wilson, chaplain to Thomas Erle’s Regiment of Foot, preached in a solemn service in Bruges to celebrate the birthday of Queen Anne in 1714.⁹¹ Army chaplains might also play the role of ‘confessors’. In his diary, William Maxwell, a Scottish soldier of the Earl of Leven’s Regiment of Foot, mentioned that a drunken soldier murdered one of his comrades in Ghent in 1693 but

register of burials and the dead; a Great Bible, surplice and several Books of Common Prayers should be brought with the ship and captain’s testimony should be taken into account for the preferment of the chaplain. See ‘Thomas Hughes and M. Dunlope to Samuel Pepys’, Oxford, MS Rawlinson, A 171, ff. 2-3.

⁸⁹ Davies, *Journal*, pp. 115, 118, 122, 126, 127.

⁹⁰ *Journal of an Expedition Performed by the Forces of Our Sovereign Lady Anne etc., under the Command of the Honourable Francis Nicholson, General and Commander-in-Chief, in the Year of 1710, for the Reduction of Port-Royal in Nova Scotia* (London, 1711), p. 1.

⁹¹ ‘February 27, 1714–March 2, 1714’, *Post Boy* (1695) (27 Feb.–2 Mar. 1714), p. 1.

eventually confessed to the chaplain Alexander Shields for he could hardly bear the guilt.⁹² If a soldier was convicted and sentenced to death, his chaplain would attend the execution. When Henry Harding, a veteran, committed murder, his regimental chaplain joined the chaplain-in-ordinary of Newgate Prison and, ‘after some suitable discourse, entered upon Prayers and singing of Psalms’ at his execution in 1698. When another soldier was sentenced to be hanged in 1711, he asked for his regimental chaplain though there were already some divines with him.⁹³ A play depicting the Siege of Londonderry suggests that chaplains would also conduct funerals of fallen soldiers.⁹⁴ Some chaplains had assisted Marlborough in dealing with foreign authorities. The mayor of Brussels and the Council of State of Spanish Netherlands came to Josiah Sandby to discuss a formal welcome for Marlborough in 1706, and Francis Hare translated a letter by Joseph, King of the Romans, from Latin into English for Marlborough in 1704.⁹⁵ Other chaplains might have had chances to use their literacy and language skills as well. In 1690, a Huguenot officer, Captain Delacroix, proclaimed in French that he would protect civilian properties from soldiers’ pillaging in the Irish town of Thurles; then, he asked Rowland Davies to write the proclamation down in English and to post it in the market-house with his signature. When Colonel Nicholas Bayard at New York was tried for treason, Mr Briesack, chaplain to the garrison of New York, was sworn to be the interpreter for a French-speaking witness in 1703. In Colley Cibber’s play *Double Gallant*, when Sir Solomon Sadlife asked

⁹² W. Maxwell, *One of King William’s Men: Being Leaves from the Diary of Col. William Maxwell of Cardoness, 1685 to 1697*, ed. H. M. Reid (Edinburgh, 1898), p. 201.

⁹³ ‘May 24, 1698–May 26, 1698’, *Flying Post or The Post Master* (24–6 May 1698), p. 2; *The Second Volume of the Examiners: Beginning on Thursday the 6th of December, 1711, and Ending on Monday the 29th of December, 1712* (London, 1714), p. 85.

⁹⁴ J. Michelbourne, *Ireland Preserv’d, or, the Siege of London-Derry* (London, 1705), p. 5.

⁹⁵ ‘Josiah Sandby to the Duke’, 5 Oct. 1706, BL, Add MSS 61163, pp. 187–8; ‘Marlborough to the Duchess, 25th August 1704’, in *Marlborough–Godolphin Correspondence*, ii, p. 357.

Captain Strust why the latter did not put his soldiers to learning, the captain answered that he generally left that to the chaplain.⁹⁶

However, ‘to teach and to instruct’, in terms of religion or education, did not constitute the main part of the duties of army chaplains, at least from their superiors’ point of view. What they were really concerned with was whether the chaplains were able ‘to be present and to accompany’ their regiments. In order to do so, chaplains had to march together with the soldier in the warzone. Most of Samuel Noyes’ account is about him marching from one location to another. In order to keep up with his cavalry regiment, Rowland Davies even bought a few horses, and he was likely armed as well, for he mentioned that his pistol was stolen one day.⁹⁷ But Davies might not have ever used his weapon. In fact, chaplains seemed to have been less likely to be present on the battlefields, since Noyes seldom used the first-person singular nominative pronoun ‘I’ in his narrations on the battles. The later Stuart army chaplains did not expose themselves to any combat-related danger, in contrast to their Victoria-Cross-awarded successors in the Great War or even some of their contemporary counterparts in the Continental armies. Samuel Noyes did mention a Swiss Protestant chaplain in the French service sympathetically, who was killed by the Allied bombardment near Maastricht. The Chaplain-General to the French army was taken prisoner by Major-General Vaubonne of the Imperial forces in Italy in 1701, and the chaplain to Colonel Constantin de Magny’s Regiment of Foot,

⁹⁶ Davies, ‘Journal’, p. 147; *An Account of the Commitment, Arraignment, Tryal and Condemnation of Nicholas Bayard, Esq.* (London, 1703), p. 13; C. Cibber, *Double Gallant, or, the Sick Lady’s Cure* (London, 1707), p. 10.

⁹⁷ S. Noyes, ‘Letters of Samuel Noyes, Chaplain of the Royal Scots, 1703–4’, ed. S. H. F. Johnston, *JSAHR*, 37 (1959), pp. 33–40, 67–71, 128–35, 145–52; Davies, *Journal*, pp. 93, 129–30.

a Huguenot regiment raised in Portugal, was captured at Almansa in 1707.⁹⁸ In contrast, it seems that only Henry Scaredevill, chaplain to the Duke of Schomberg's Regiment of Horse, was wounded at the Battle of Schellenberg in 1704, and except for a few non-commissioned volunteer chaplains in the Siege of Londonderry, a certain Woodside was the only chaplain known to have died in action, and he drowned in the St Lawrence River during the disastrous Quebec expedition of 1711 rather than being killed by enemy fire.⁹⁹

The rest of the later Stuart army chaplains simply survived their service, the length of which is usually difficult to calculate since we only know the year of their commissioning. Assuming a chaplain left his regiment just before his successor was commissioned, most chaplains did not serve for long (see Figure 7). More than 50 per cent served for less than five years, and over 80 per cent, less than ten years. However, the actual length of the service of many chaplains might be even shorter. There was no record about the activities of the regimental chaplains when their regiment was stationed at home, and it is reasonable to speculate that the army chaplains were not in active service until their units were sent forth to foreign soil. Even then, some might not have accompanied their units.

⁹⁸ Noyes, 'Letters', p. 36; *The German and French Journals of the Late Campaign in Italy: Confronted Together* (London, 1702), p. 33; *The Case of the Officers Belonging to the Late Regiment of Foot, under the Successive Command of the Late Count Francis Nassau and Colonel de Magny, Which Were Taken Prisoners at the Battle of Almanza* (London, 1712), p. 24.

⁹⁹ 'Monday, July 17, 1704', *Daily Courant* (17 July 1704), p. 2; *English Army Lists*, vi, p. 388; 'Tuesday, October 9, 1711', *Daily Courant* (9 Oct. 1711), p. 2.

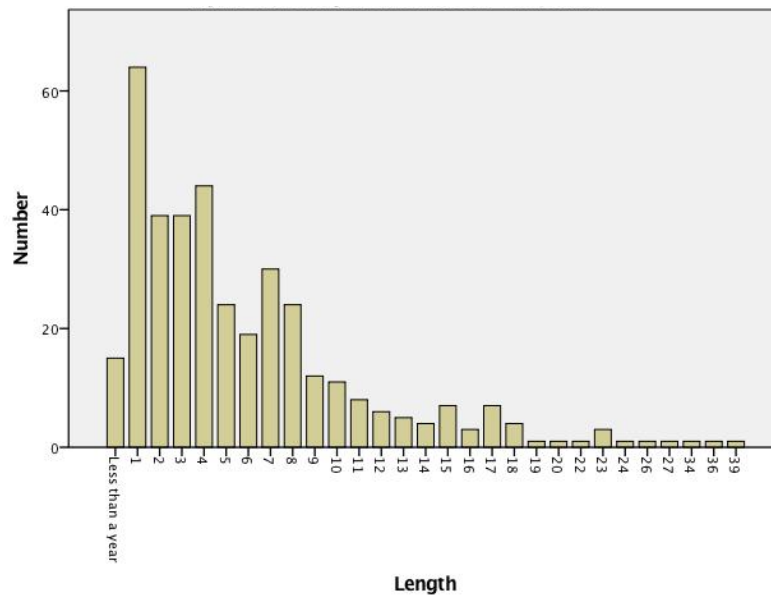


Figure 4.7 Numbers by the length of service
Source: List of the later Stuart army chaplains

It is clear that not every chaplain who wanted ‘to see a good Living’ would like to march a long journey with the troops in Continental Europe or even to the West Indies. Since most of them were ordained clergymen, their civilian parochial duties would be compromised if they followed the army. John Dogherty, chaplain to Colonel Gustavus Hamilton’s Regiment of Foot, succeeded in obtaining permission from Queen Anne to be absent when his regiment was sent to the West Indies in 1702.¹⁰⁰ Although absenteeism was rife within the entire army, especially the officers, army chaplains managed to distinguish themselves through the frequency and length of their absences. Samuel Noyes noted in May 1703 that 11 out of 24 chaplains were absent from Marlborough’s army, and in the next year, only one-third of the chaplains were actually present.¹⁰¹ Some chaplains would delegate their duties to other clergymen, but unlike the surgeon’s mate, such a ‘deputy chaplain’ was never recognised as a part of the official

¹⁰⁰ *English Army Lists*, vi, p. 290.

¹⁰¹ Scouller, *Armies of Queen Anne*, p. 278; Snape, *Royal Army Chaplains’ Department*, p. 18.

establishment. The extent of absenteeism sometimes prompted official responses. As early as in 1687, Thomas Norwood, chaplain to the Duke of Berwick's Regiment of Foot, was suspended for being 'very negligent in the discharge of his duty and attendance on the Regiment'.¹⁰² A proclamation from Dublin Castle ordered the army chaplains serving in the Irish army to choose between their regimental chaplaincy and their parishes. The Secretary at War sent a letter to Major-General David Colyear, earl of Portmore in 1704, informing him to fill the vacancy left by his absent chaplain. Absenteeism was so severe that even the chaplain-general stayed in England – Knightly Chetwood, chaplain-general from 1689 to 1704, wrote to Marlborough from his parish in Great Rissington, Gloucestershire in 1704.¹⁰³ Marlborough ordered that every absent chaplain should return to their posts by 25 March 1705; otherwise the positions would be re-commissioned.¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately, these were mere pieces of paper that could hardly make a difference. For example, Henry Bland, who was the chaplain to Lieutenant-General Thomas Farrington's Regiment of Foot, was absent on the grounds of 'having a great family' when his unit was assigned to Spain in 1710.¹⁰⁵

Absenteeism was not the sole deficiency of later Stuart army chaplaincy. Looking at individual regiments, it is clear there were irregularities in providing continuous pastoral care for soldiers. For example, Henry Shute was commissioned to the Royal Regiment of Dragoons in 1695 and left in 1702, but James Johnson was enlisted in the same unit in 1696, and his commission was

¹⁰² 'Letter From William Blathwayt', 20 May 1687, TNA, WO 4/1, p. 52.

¹⁰³ 'Letter to Lord Portmore', 27 Nov. 1704, TNA, WO 4/3, p. 104; 'Letters from Knightly Chetwood', 15 Feb. –29 June 1704, Gloucestershire Archives, D3549/6/1/C18.

¹⁰⁴ Snape, *Royal Army Chaplains' Department*, p. 22.

¹⁰⁵ *English Army Lists*, vi, p. 384.

renewed in 1702 when John Allen was also on the regimental list as a chaplain.¹⁰⁶ This indicates that more than one chaplain was on the books of this unit at the same time. It is unlikely that this was because the colonels cared for the religious well-being of the soldiers so much that they appointed additional chaplains to serve them. Mismanagement is a more reasonable answer, since chaplains might have left or been absent from their units before formally resigning, and the vacancy might remain unfilled until another commission. While more than one chaplain held the same post, there were also some chaplains commissioned to more than one unit. Besides, Francis Hare, the chaplaincy-general, was also granted the chaplaincy to Colonel Heyman Rooke's Regiment of Foot in 1704. An extreme example was William Stoughton, who held four posts at the same time during the 1690s.¹⁰⁷

The chaotic and ineffective state of army chaplaincy naturally prompted criticism from the public. Edward Ward, a contemporary satirist, published a pamphlet entitled *Mars Stript of His Armour* in order to ridicule the soldiers and officers in the army. He portrayed the chaplains as gluttons who prefer saying grace than preaching sermons, and drunks whose flesh often yielded to 'spirit' instead of the Holy Spirit. The chaplains possessed no genuine religious motivation and would incline easily to atheism and Roman Catholicism.¹⁰⁸ In another play by Colley Cibber, *Love's Last Shift*, when Snap, a servant, asks a lady why she would like to become engaged to a poor army chaplain, the lady says, 'faith he keeps me', and Snap replies, 'Not to himself'.¹⁰⁹ In the series of 'Letters of Armorous and Gallant', a 'Recruiting Officer in York'

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, iv, pp. 58, 118; v, p. 35.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, iii, pp. 227, 268, 274; iv, pp. 191, 261; v, p. 178.

¹⁰⁸ Ward, *Mars Stript of His Armour*, pp. 60–63.

¹⁰⁹ C. Cibber, *Love's Last Shift, or, the Fool in Fashion: A Comedy* (London, 1702), p. 34.

mentioned the chaplain to his regiment as one of the ‘Merry Persons’ he met, and this chaplain ‘will make you an Anagram, or an Acrostick, on your Mistress’s Name with much Ease as he explains a Text in Scripture’.¹¹⁰ Even soldiers regarded their chaplains in dim light. Captain George Carleton in Spain recorded in his memoirs that some soldiers joked that Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Bateman was a cuckold because he had sent his ‘young handsome wife’ back to England under the ‘guardianship of the young chaplain of the regiment’.¹¹¹ This kind of contempt was not groundless, however, and such an anticlerical tone was also applied to the contemporary established church. Absenteeism, pluralism, laziness, and ineffectiveness were actually the problems that were endemic in the later Stuart church, and army chaplains were no worse than parish clergymen.

Army chaplains might have enjoyed certain privileges in terms of income and preferential treatment, but they were far from being powerful, wealthy figures in the camp. A regulation on barracks in Ireland states that chaplains and surgeons could only use the officers’ room when it was vacant.¹¹² The pay for a curer of souls in a regiment was 6s 8d *per diem*, or £121 13s 4d *per annum*, which at least looked good in comparison to 6s *per diem* for a curer of bodies. Such an amount was about one-third of the salary of a colonel of a regiment of foot, ranking the fourth highest in that unit, and a similar pattern could also be found in some Continental armies.¹¹³ However, this amount could be reduced in some circumstances. Much of the pay

¹¹⁰ Person of Quality, *Serious and Comical Essays* (London, 1710), p. 206.

¹¹¹ G. Carleton, *Memoirs of Captain Carleton*, ed. C. H. Hartmann (London, 1929), p. 177.

¹¹² *Rules, Orders, Powers, and Directions for the Good Government and Preservation of the Barracks and Redoubts for Quartering the Army in Ireland* (London, 1705), pp. 7, 17.

¹¹³ ‘An Estimate of the Costs by the day and year of the Officers & men of the different Regiments’, 1673, TNA, WO 24/6, ff. 4–7. The payment for a colonel of a regiment of foot was £12, but he was also a captain of

they received might have been deducted in the name of subsistence.¹¹⁴ John Tom, vicar of Kinsale, was found acting as deputy for several absent regimental chaplains in 1708, so the Lord High Treasurer considered reducing the daily pay for each chaplain by 2s. And the pay for Nixon, a chaplain to the Earl of Bath's Regiment, was docked for being absent and having someone else officiate in 1694.¹¹⁵ Sometimes, chaplains' salaries were paid to the colonels together with those for surgeons and adjutants, so it is possible that this money would be embezzled by the colonels.¹¹⁶ Pay could be in arrears, and some chaplains could become impoverished. For example, Hugh Ross, chaplain to Colonel George Lauder's Regiment of Foot, 'had but little money for this long time' in 1696.¹¹⁷ In Cibber's *Love's Last Shift*, Snap mocks a lady's regimental chaplain fiancé by saying all he can give her is a 'Mutton Chop'.¹¹⁸ Garrison chaplains were paid much less than their regimental colleagues, with some receiving only 2s *per diem*, except the chaplain to the Tower of London, who was the most prestigious

one of his companies, making the total amount £20. E. g., a colonel of a Swiss regiment could receive 240 French livres per month, while his chaplain could receive 75 livres, while a colonel of a Portuguese regiment could receive 4 'bestas' while his chaplain could receive 1 'bestas'. See A. Stanyan, *An Account of Switzerland, Written in the Year 1714* (London, 1714), p. 196; 'Memorias Portuguesas', Oxford, MS Rawlinson, D 585, ff. 4–5.

¹¹⁴ Snape, *Royal Army Chaplains' Department*, pp. 21–2.

¹¹⁵ 'Report of Thomas Brodrick to the Lord High Treasurer on the petition of Mr John Tom, vicar of Kinsale in Ireland', 13 Nov. 1708, *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, iv, pp. 72–3; 'Royal Warrant to the Paymaster of the Forces, to pay Nixon, chaplain to the Earl of Bath's Regiment of Foot', 5 June 1693, *Calendar of Treasury Books*, x, p. 229.

¹¹⁶ E. g., 'Royal Warrant to the Earl of Ranelagh, to pay to David, Lord Portmore', 25 Mar. 1703, *Calendar of Treasury Books*, xviii, p. 207.

¹¹⁷ 'Letter from John Reynold to Benjamin Street', Shropshire Archives, 112/1/563B. For chaplain in arrear, see also: *An Agent Turn'd Inside Out, or, a Peace Officer with His Heels Upwards* (London, 1709), p. 3.

¹¹⁸ Cibber, *Love's Last Shift*, p. 34.

garrison chaplain under the Board of Ordnance, had the privilege to be paid as much as the regimental chaplains.¹¹⁹ Jacob Rice in Newfoundland wrote to his patron Henry Compton, bishop of London, complaining that the latter failed to attract enough support for him from both the government and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1711. When Rice tried to collect the clerical allowance of fish, he was sued in the military court by a local gentleman the next year.¹²⁰ William Russell, chaplain to the Gibraltar garrison, could not return to Gibraltar as ‘he has no money to carry him over nor any to Subsist him there’, and he had to petition to the Queen in 1707 for that ‘his Pay shall be Ordered’, or he was to be provided otherwise. He finally received his due pay three years later.¹²¹

Some chaplains were so well connected that they could even play an active part in military commissions. For example, Francis Hare recommended James Pelham to Marlborough for a company of Foot.¹²² Obviously, not every army chaplain enjoyed the privilege of being his commander’s confidant. However, although patronage was the foremost element of army chaplaincy, it should not be forgotten that many chaplains had forged connections to other people. Hugh Ross received hundreds of guilders from a merchant, while Jacob Rice received a

¹¹⁹ Snape, *Royal Army Chaplains’ Department*, p. 16. E. g., chaplain to the Edinburgh Castle, see T. Morer, *A Short Account of Scotland, Being a Description of the Nature of That Kingdom, and What the Constitution of It Is in Church and State* (London, 1706), p. 152.

¹²⁰ [Canada], LPL, FP 1, pp. 1–6.

¹²¹ ‘The Humble Petition of William Russell, Chaplain to the Garrison at Gibraltar’, 1707, BL, Add MSS 61619, ff. 127–9; ‘Letter from George Granville’, 22 Dec. 1710, WO 4/10, p. 74.

¹²² ‘Francis Hare to the Duke’, 1709, BL, Add MSS 61293, fo. 48.

‘small competency for the winter’ from some ‘friends’.¹²³ According to his journal, John Sharpe seemed quite enthusiastic for the expedition to Canada in 1710. He did not stay with his commander Colonel Francis Nicholson all the time; instead, he participated in a wide range of activities: preaching in a Dutch church nearby, having dinners with some junior officers as well as civilians, and catechising the Mohawk people. And after he was forced to return to Albany in 1711, he managed to make Anthony van Schaick Jr a witness to his sickness in 1714.¹²⁴ Some chaplains might also find their social connections helpful in bigger troubles. During his chaplaincy to Colonel Nicholas Lepell’s Regiment of Foot, Samuel Wesley was thrown into the gaol of Lincoln Castle because of a controversy over a county election with some dissenters in 1705, but the University of Oxford, his alma mater, and some supporters in the government helped get him out of prison. Thomas Hesketh, chaplain to Colonel Jacob Borr’s Regiment of Marines, was put in Newgate Prison in 1705. In a letter to his wife, Hesketh asked her to speak to Adam Cardonnel, civilian secretary to Marlborough, to reach out to not only Marlborough but also ‘the Queen, My Lord Sunderland and the Scottish Secretaries as also the Commissioners’, for helping him out of ‘this sad condition’.¹²⁵

¹²³ *Ibid*, pp. 1–2; ‘Letter from John Reynold to Benjamin Street’; ‘The Account for the Subsistence Due of Mr Hugh Rosse, Chaplain to the Regt. of Foot, Commanded by Col. George Lauder’, Shropshire Archives, 112/1/1346.

¹²⁴ Sharpe, ‘Journal’, pp. 257–97; ‘Deposition Sworn before Rob. Livingston, Junior, Mayor of Albany, Province of New York, by Anthony van Shaick, Junior, of That City, Respecting the Sickness of the Rev. John Sharpe, Chaplain to the Forces in the Province, While on the Expedition to Canadain, Sept. 1711’, 4 Feb. 1714, Oxford, MS Rawlinson, A 271, fo. 50.

¹²⁵ ‘Letter Concerning the Persecution of Wesley’; ‘Thomas Hesketh to His Wife’, 1705, BL, Add MSS 61582, fo. 193.

Despite their difficult circumstances, some army chaplains started to improve their ministry. Many chaplains had their sermons published, and some wrote religious manuals for the soldiers. An anonymous chaplain published a pamphlet titled *The Soldier's Religious Exercise in the Time of War* in 1690 as a religious devotion for soldiers.¹²⁶ While some contributed to the stream of religious literature in the military context since the 1680s, others addressed the regulation of the army chaplaincy itself. Edmund Arwaker, chaplain to the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Horse, drafted a book of prayer for the visitation of soldiers who were sentenced to death. He designed the prayers and scripture readings in a military context to be used with offenders in custody and before execution.¹²⁷ Maybe their motivations for these efforts was to attract favour or popularity. For example, Edmund Arwaker probably sent his draft of prayer to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1692, but it was not necessarily contrary to the improvement of the army chaplaincy more broadly.

However, the military commanders cared more about whether their chaplains attended their regiments or not than how they performed their duties. In contrast, chaplains in some Continental armies were subject to military discipline: an English author claimed that he saw a chaplain to a Hanoverian regiment 'run twice the Gauntlet in a publick street, and then turn'd out of his Regiment for his Behaviour'.¹²⁸ Likewise, Edmund Arwaker's draft prayer, lying in the miscellaneous collection of the Archbishop of Canterbury, remains unpublished and probably unused. Even though the authorities managed to produce some official regulations,

¹²⁶ Late Chaplain to the Army, *The Soldier's Religious Exercise in the Time of War* (London, 1690).

¹²⁷ 'Mr. Arwaker's Form of Prayer to be used at the Visitation of Condemned Person', LPL, MS 711, ff. 157r–162v.

¹²⁸ W. Darrell, *A Supplement to the First Part of the Gentleman Instructed, with a Word to the Ladies* (London, 1708), pp. 182–3.

their implementation could be another problem: the regulation on the army chaplaincy in 1697 put all the Irish army chaplains under the supervision of their diocesan bishops, but an anonymous pamphlet published in 1705 complained that those bishops ‘Ordain, indeed, some who are not so well qualified as might be wish’d’ to be ‘Chaplains to some Regiment’.¹²⁹ However, many people outside the military and church institutions began to care about the army chaplaincy and soldiers’ religious condition. As early as 1670s, a gentleman wrote a piece of advice to his young friend serving in the English contingent for the French service, including that he should attend his chaplain frequently, and he advised his general to choose a chaplain wisely, so that he could oppose ‘the greatest Torrent of impiety’ and understand he was doing ‘Gods work’ to ‘bring an Universal Peace to Christendom’.¹³⁰ Some other critics also argued that a chaplain ‘ought in good Conscience to give a good Example to the Soldiers’; he was supposed to be ‘a Man of approv’d Virtue, whose Example edifies as well as his Tongue’.¹³¹ Even the acidity from Edward Ward should be understood as good will since he had stated that his purpose in writing *Mars Stript of His Armour* was to encourage the soldiers to behave better in order to make the army invincible. The significance of a chaplain is indicated by the fact that he spent an entire four pages satirising them – a length only exceeded by the sections mocking brigadier-generals, colonels and captains of the guards.¹³²

Despite these calls for reform from within and from outside the army, the entire system effectively remained unshaken. The situation of the later Stuart army chaplaincy broadly

¹²⁹ *A Serious and Humble Address to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland* (London, 1705), p. 6.

¹³⁰ *Advice to a Souldier in Two Letters* (London, 1680), pp. 7–11.

¹³¹ Darrell, *A Supplement*, p. 183; T. Brown, *The Third Volume of the Works of Mr. Thomas Brown* (London, 1708), p. 347.

¹³² Ward, *Mars Stript of His Armour*, contents page.

resembled that of the established church in the long eighteenth century. Picked as ordained clergymen, the later Stuart army chaplains had already blended into the wider clergy of the Church, which suffered from the same maladies: pluralism, absenteeism, place-seeking, and lay patronage. One should bear in mind that those chaplains were ordinary, low-level clergymen of the Church of England according to the prosopographical study presented in this chapter, and one should refrain from singling them out as particular examples of lazy, corrupted, ineffective churchmen, as their problems might have been worsened by the unstable military life and the poor military administration or simply be amplified by anti-army and anticlerical sentiments.

Conclusion

Indeed, the later Stuart army chaplaincy appeared not to benefit from the professional developments in the church or the army. Despite the entry qualification and career progression shown in this study, the lack of hierarchical structure and expertise rendered army chaplaincy somewhat unrefined. But its significance should not be neglected. Chaplains broadly shared the same education and ordination backgrounds as the vicars and curates of the local parishes from which the soldiers came, especially as many of them were themselves vicars or curates at the same time.¹³³ Therefore, a regiment can be regarded as a duplicated ‘parish’ in the army, with the chaplain as its ‘vicar’. Under such a system that required chaplains ‘to present and to accompany’, rather than ‘to teach and to instruct’, soldiers continued to be members of the

¹³³ E. g., John Peter presented himself in a published sermon as ‘Rector of Greens-Norton in Northamptonshire, and Chaplain to her late Majesties Regiment of Horse, Commanded by the Honourable Major-General Lumley’. See J. Peter, *A Sermon Preach'd Before the Honourable Society of the Natives of the County of Kent, Novemb. The 17th, 1698* (London, 1698), front matter.

established church regardless of whether they were in the Low Countries, Spain, or the West Indies. This could put the Redcoats overseas within a wider context of civil society, for soldiers and civilians alike were parishioners of certain subdivisions of the Church, and they would not remain untouched by any movement that took place within the Church: when the Reformation of Manners came about, chaplains as well as many other religious writers began to forge an image of the 'Christian soldier' for this flock in uniform.

Chapter 5

‘*Religio Militis*’: Ideal Soldiering in Later Stuart ‘Military Religious Literature’

‘I put this little Monitor into your Hands, my Brother; and therefore I pray you to Accept it kindly, and to Peruse it seriously. And I humbly beseech the Holy Spirit of God, to make it useful to your Spiritual Edification and Eternal Happiness.’¹

These earnest words to ‘the soldiers in the service of the Queen of Great Britain’ were written by Josiah Woodward, an Anglican churchman. Receiving his rectory only a few weeks before his final breath in 1712, Woodward was not a prominent clergyman in the Church of England. Being a prolific writer for the Society for the Reformation of Manners and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), he nonetheless played an important role in the campaign for moral reformation after the Glorious Revolution in 1688. Many of his works were penny tracts, providing moral and religious guidance for certain social groups, including the poor, children, young people, and seamen. Among those works is one titled ‘The Soldier’s Monitor’ from which the opening sentences of this chapter were quoted.²

Ironically, the ‘Brother’ of Josiah Woodward seemed undeserving of ‘Eternal Happiness’ according to many contemporaries, who were generally hostile towards soldiers. In later Stuart

¹ J. Woodward, *The Soldier’s Monitor* (London, 1715), p. 6.

² J. Spurr, ‘Woodward, Josiah (1657–1712)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004)

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/55600> (31 May 2017); A. Hunt, *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 45.

Britain, the standing army was often considered a metropolis of ‘all vices’, ‘a great burthen’ on the public purse, and ‘absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy’. The army of James II was even suspected of being ‘Janizaries to compel’ the entire nation to accept Popery;³ simply put, for many, there was nothing good about being a soldier. However, Woodward argued that soldiering was a profession of legality, necessity, and honour. Of course, such a justification is never unconditional: soldiers shall not rebel against the ‘Will of God’ in everyday life and shall recognise some ‘Principal Truths’ that the ‘Blessing of God’ is the key to the conduct of war. Thus, soldiers ought to avoid several ‘base and pernicious Dispositions and Doings’, including blasphemy, drunkenness, lust, duelling and gambling, and ought to pursue ‘Spiritual Things’ such as piety, vigilance, fraternity, modesty, and faithfulness to ‘the Interest of your Prince and Country’.⁴ Josiah Woodward presented the model pious soldier as one who begins his morning with a ‘thankful Soul’, rests at night after a ‘Review of the Actions of the Day’, and fills his day practising Christian virtues. Whereas most historical scholarship has followed the contemporary opinion that soldiers – and the standing army in general – were sites of vice and non-Christian practice, this chapter demonstrates that some contemporaries saw the army as a potential institution for Christian reform and discipline. By examining *The Soldier’s Monitor* and other military religious texts in this period, the later Stuart army can also be seen as a positive place of providence, divine honour, religious manhood, and heroic death, at least in the eyes of many religious writers.

³ E. Ward, *Mars Stript of His Armour, or the Army Displayed in all its True Colours* (London, 1708), p. 1; ‘Disbanding Act, 1660’, in *English Historical Documents, 1660–1714*, ed. A. Browning (London, 1953), p. 802; J. Trenchard, *An Argument Shewing That a Standing Army is Inconsistent with a Free Government and Absolutely Destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy* (London, 1697); J. Miller, ‘Catholic Officers in the Later Stuart Army’, *EHR*, 88/346 (1973), p. 37.

⁴ Woodward, *Soldier’s Monitor*, pp. 5–55.

This 70-page pamphlet appears to have been composed at the request of John Hodges, the First Treasurer of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), and the SPCK was kept informed of the progress in its writing.⁵ Upon its completion, 25 copies were first sent to the general officers of the army before further distribution.⁶ Besides a series of efforts by the SPCK to deliver thousands of copies to the Redcoats at home, in Ireland, and the Low Countries, the Treasury paid Joseph Downing, a publisher associated with SPCK, £104 1 *s.* to supply *The Soldier's Monitor* to the 'Forces in Flanders and Portugal' in 1706 (with the price of 20 *s.* per hundred, more than 10,000 copies would be distributed among the British soldiers).⁷ *The Soldier's Monitor* became the quasi-official devotional book for the English army and was subsequently reprinted numerous times by royal command until the French Revolutionary Wars.⁸ Moreover, its reputation soon travelled across the English Channel, as it had been translated into German for the Prussian and Danish armies under respective royal

⁵ '21 July 1701', in *A Chapter in English Church History: Being the Minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the Years 1698–1704, Together with Abstracts of Correspondents' Letters during Part of the Same Period*, ed. E. McClure (London, 1888), p. 142; '12 August 1701', in *ibid.*, p. 144; '14 October 1701', in *ibid.*, p. 148.

⁶ '4 November 1701', in *ibid.*, p. 152.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 155, 156, 158, 162, 176–7; '12 July 1706', *Calendar of Treasury Books*, xx, p. 90. The price of *The Soldier's Monitor* is advertised in J. Downing, *A New Catalogue of Books and Small Tracts, against Vice and Immorality; and for Promoting the Knowledge & Practice of the Christian Religion* (London, 1707), p. 38.

⁸ Woodward, *Soldier's Monitor*, cover page; M. Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion: The Forgotten History of the British Soldier from the Age of Marlborough to the Eve of the First World War* (London, 2005), pp. 25–7.

decrees in the early eighteenth century and is even recognised as ‘a textbook example of the instruction of soldiers’ in that age by a scholar on German military chaplaincy.⁹

The Soldier’s Monitor was not the only title that was intended to edify soldiers and to regulate their religious lives during the later Stuart period. There was a score of publications concerning the religious aspects of the military during this era, especially after 1679, when the army became more actively involved in domestic and foreign affairs. These texts – sermons, prayer books, religious manuals, mostly by Anglican churchmen – have by and large been neglected by scholars.¹⁰ By presenting religiosity and morality to the military population, however, this literature provides evidence about warfare in the ‘Anglican’ worldview as well as the ideal ‘Christian soldier’ within it: warfare and military profession were seen as divine instruments to restore Christian peace, and thus soldiers were obliged to make their thoughts and behaviours compatible with this sacred status.

Context, genre, and authorship

⁹ A. Dörfler-Dierken, ‘The Changing Role of Protestant Military Chaplaincy in Germany: from Raising Military Morale to Praying for Peace’, *Religion, State & Society*, 39/1 (2011), p. 84 n. 10. *The Soldier’s Monitor* was published in Prussia and Denmark as *Treuhertziger Unterricht Vor Christliche Kriegs-Leute, wie sie sich der wahren Gottseeligkeit und rechtschaffenen Tapferkeit gemäs verhalten sollen, Aus dem Englischen übersetzt* (Berlin, 1703; Copenhagen, 1704). But it is noteworthy that this happened almost at the same time of the first German translation of *The Book of Common Prayer* as part of an unsuccessful project by Frederick I to unify his Lutheran and Calvinist subjects.

¹⁰ A recent exception is O. A. Brittain, ‘British Masculinities Beyond Patriarchy, 1689-1702’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2018), pp. 105–37, which uses many of these texts to examine military masculinity.

Religious literature written for a military audience was not a new innovation for later Stuart Britain. From the first half of the seventeenth century when the entanglement of confessional strife and military conflicts reached its zenith, Bible selections, prayer books, sermons, catechisms, and even hymns produced by churchmen of different confessions were circulated in many Continental armies, to regulate, indoctrinate, and motivate soldiers at war.¹¹ Likewise, the Civil Wars encouraged similar texts on both sides. These literary materials sought not only to provide spiritual and moral guidance for the soldier but also to justify the respective causes.¹²

The first text of this kind in English appears to have been produced by the Royalists. At the beginning of the First Civil War, a Royalist writer published *The Christian Souldier, or Preparation for Battaile* for the Cavaliers, and it was not long before the Parliamentarians followed suit. *The Souldiers Catechisme* by Robert Ram is probably the best known of over a dozen religious pamphlets that were published for soldiers.¹³ These works consist of common religious literature, e.g. prayer books and catechisms, but they all reflect the tense atmosphere of the ongoing war in a polemical fashion. The Roundheads claimed that the war was about

¹¹ B. Marschke, *Absolutely Pietist: Patronage, Factionalism and State-Building in the Early Eighteen-Century Prussian Army Chaplaincy* (Tubingen: 2005), pp. 75–6; N. M. Funke, ‘Religion and the Military in the Holy Roman Empire c. 1500–1650’ (D.Phil. thesis, University of Sussex, 2011), pp. 62–5; D. Gudmundsson, ‘Sermons and Prayer Books in the Swedish Army during the “Age of Greatness”’, in H. Assel, J. A. Steiger, and A. E. Walter (eds), *Kulturwirkungen der Reformation in den Metropolen des Ostseeraums* (Berlin, 2017), pp. 825–35; V. Lavenia, ‘Jesuit Catechisms for Soldiers (Seventeenth–Nineteenth Centuries): Changes and Continuities’, *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 4/4 (2017), pp. 599–623.

¹² For a selection of such texts, see *The Christian Soldier: Religious Tracts Published for Soldiers on Both Sides During and After the English Civil Wars, 1642–1648*, ed. R. T. Fallon (Tempe, AZ, 2003).

¹³ T. Jordan, *The Christian Souldier, or Preparation for Battaile* (London, 1642); R. Ram, *The Souldiers Catechisme* (London, 1645).

‘the suppression of an Antichristian Prelacie’ and ‘the advancement of Christs Kingdom’; even the Cavaliers alleged a ‘defence against Heresie’ that ‘Rebels ... shall be tormented with the Devill and his Angels’.¹⁴ Religious writers of both sides expressed not only indignation but also humour: the Puritans composed a mock ‘catechism’ for the Royalists army and *vice versa*.¹⁵

A few Parliamentary-style works still appeared occasionally after the Restoration. A ‘Low-Countrey Soldier’, possibly a former Republican in exile, published *The Militant Christian or, the Good Soldier of Jesus Christ* in 1669 to encourage the ‘Servants of God’ in persecution and imprisonment, using plenty of military terms as metaphors. For example, the author urged the reader to ‘Peruse this Book, thou’lt find Artillerie’ to shoot ‘Beasts at Rome’ and to ‘Keep with your Colours’ which are ‘the Royal Law of the Lord Jesus’.¹⁶ When the public memory of the Civil Wars was recalled in the early 1680s, Robert Ram’s *The Soldiers Catechism* was republished, with a very long foreword to argue against its main body, and dedicated to George Jeffery, the ‘Hanging Judge’ against the dissenters.¹⁷ During the Nine Years’ War, a Puritan Bible ‘heads’ called *The Souldiers Pocket Bible* was revised and republished for the Williamite army as *Christian Soldier’s Penny Bible*, with its translation altered from the Puritan Geneva

¹⁴ *The Christian Soldier*, pp. 76, 158.

¹⁵ E.g. *The Cavaliers Catechisme, or the Reformed Protestant Catechising the Antichristian Papists, Malignants, Incendiaries, and Other Ill-affected Persons under the Name of Cavaliers* (London, 1643); T. Swadlin, *The Soldiers Catechisme Composed for the Parliaments Army* (London, 1645).

¹⁶ A Low-Countrey Soldier, *The Militant Christian; or the Good Soldier of Jesus Christ* (London, 1669), dedication page; p. 29.

¹⁷ R. Ram, *The Souldiers Catechism, Foreword by John Turner* (London, 1684).

Bible to the Authorised King James Version.¹⁸ These are the few legacies of the Puritan military literature in the later Stuart period. Even though the religious works originally intended for the armies in the English Civil Wars have been analysed by modern scholars, in the late seventeenth century, this type of polemical writing was replaced by a new ‘military religious literature’ written by Anglican clergymen.

Totalling over 20 titles and more than the ones published during the Civil Wars, this later Stuart military religious literature represented only a tiny slice of the broader religious literature published at the time. Religious texts still claimed the largest share in what was a growing English-language book market in this period; Ian Green has sampled 247 titles of bestsellers or steady sellers first published from 1661 to 1700, and these texts were ‘expressing a personal statement of faith, imparting doctrinal or ecclesiastical information of a Protestant kind, or exhorting or helping others to adopt correct forms of Christian conduct’, i.e. they were religious.¹⁹ Religious literature during the later Stuart period not only expanded in quantity but also widened its targeted audience: from gentlemen, professionals, and merchants to the lower-middling sorts, such as sailors, servants, husbandmen and even soldiers – from those who were able to purchase expensive religious works to those who could only afford cheap prints but had

¹⁸ *Christian Soldier*, p. 21.

¹⁹ I. Rivers, ‘Religious Publishing’, in M. Suarez and M. Turner (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume V, 1695–1830* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 579; I. M. Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), p. 181; *idem.* and K. Peter, ‘Religious Publishing in England, 1640–1695’, in J. Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV, 1557–1695* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 80.

souls to be saved too. Publishing thus became a crucial part of broader efforts for the ‘reformation of manners’.²⁰

As ‘military religious literature’ was an integral part of the later Stuart religious publishing, it is difficult to draw a definite boundary around it. One should keep in mind that the later Stuart soldiers were not just exposed to those works published for them specifically. Some works on morality and religiosity for a more general audience might have been disseminated to soldiers as well. At the end of 1701, for example, the SPCK withdrew its original plan to send 5,000 copies of *The Soldier’s Monitor* to the army in the Low Countries and resolved instead to send 3,000 copies of *The Soldier’s Monitor* along with 3,000 copies of *A Pastoral Letter from a Minister* instead. The SPCK also distributed other ‘Printed Books and Paper of the Society’ in the army, including cautionary works against swearing, drunkenness, and ‘uncleanness’.²¹ Since many topics of these ‘general’ works have already been covered in the ‘specific’ works for soldiers, it may be redundant to include them. On the other hand, some works on the themes of religion and the military were not directly addressed to the common soldiers on active service, such as some printed sermons preached before high-ranking generals or the Honourable Artillery Company, a militia organisation in London. As they contain contemporary ideas by churchmen on the army and warfare, likely shared with soldiers, it is nonetheless helpful to include them, especially as some of the authors were commissioned army chaplains.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 82; Rivers, ‘Religious Publishing’, p. 583.

²¹ ‘2 December 1701’, in *A Chapter in English Church History*, p. 156; ‘9 April 1702’, in *ibid.*, pp. 176–7.

These military religious texts were in different genres.²² Around half of them were printed sermons, which constituted the largest category of religious publishing; some of these were reportedly preached directly to soldiers in garrisons, camps or even on ships during expeditions.²³ By unpacking a few biblical verses, these sermons address issues relating to military life through well-rehearsed structures. For example, during Monmouth's Rebellion in 1685, Samuel Rich, a rector near the war zone, preached to John Churchill's soldiers on obedience and non-resistance through Romans 13:2, while Nicholas Phillips, the chaplain to the garrison in the Isle of Scilly, exhorted soldiers to resist unlawful commands through Hebrews 11:15 in 1677.²⁴ As Britain had relatively high literacy during this period and enjoyed a wide circulation of printed materials, published sermons, especially sermons concerning war, have been studied, as they served as instruments of propaganda for the general public.²⁵ However, unlike ordinary sermons preached in parish pulpits, many of the sermons that will be investigated in this chapter were preached before soldiers, sometimes in war zones, so their immediate audience could be very different from those who read printed sermons in coffee-

²² Ian Green suggests a broad categorisation of eight genres: catechisms; printed sermons; treatises; devotional works; entertaining edifications; and miscellanies. See Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 188–9.

²³ Rivers, 'Religious Publishing', p. 591.

²⁴ S. Rich, *A Sermon Preached at Chard, June 21, 1685 before the Right Honourable John Lord Churchill and His Majesty's Forces* (London, 1685); N. Phillips, *The Holy Choice, or Faith's Triumph over All Worldly Pomp and Glory* (London, 1679).

²⁵ D. Naphtine and W. A. Speck, 'Clergymen and Conflict, 1660–1763', in W. J. Sheils (ed), *The Church and War* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 231–51; M. Rotenberg-Schwartz, 'Sinners in War, Sinners in Victory: English War Sermons, 1701–1784', in G. Teulié and L. Lux-Sterritt (eds), *War Sermons* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2009), pp. 83–102; S. Rameix, 'Justifying War: Churchmen and War in France and England during the Nine Years War (1688–1697)', in D. Onnekink and G. Rommelse (eds), *Ideology and Foreign Policy in Early Modern Europe (1650–1750)* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 181–95.

houses. Thus, these sermons need greater contextualisation, as the preachers were addressing soldiers who actually fought on the front; therefore, the rhetoric and agendas of these sermons might be different from those found in sermons preached to parishioners at home.

There are also some set forms of prayer among the military religious texts. This type of devotional work seemed to be favoured by Anglican churchmen, rather than Puritans.²⁶ However, the Book of Common Prayer of 1662 does not include any forms of prayer to be used specifically in the army.²⁷ Nevertheless, a few forms of prayer were composed for the use of soldiers, published either on their own or as a part of other works. These forms of prayer are usually designed to be used at different times or occasions. For example, an anonymous *Forms of Prayer Collected for the Private Use of a Soldier* printed in 1687 contains prayers for public services in the morning and the evening in camps, and *The Soldier's Monitor* lists several spontaneous 'ejaculations' to be used before engagement or when wounded or sick.²⁸

There are three 'confession' accounts of condemned soldiers that might be classified as entertaining edifications. To warn-off potential offenders, these kinds of 'cautionary tales'

²⁶ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 239–41.

²⁷ But there is a 'Form of Prayer to be used at SEA' in the Book of Common Prayer. See *The Book of Common Prayer: The Text of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 612–21. And a 'Mr Arwaker', probably army chaplain Edmund Arwaker, wrote a 'Form of Prayers to be used at the visitation of condemned Persons [in the Army]' (LPL, MS 711, ff. 157r–62v). The reason why this piece of unpublished manuscript ending up in the collection of Archbishop Thomas Tenison is unclear, maybe it was for his approval.

²⁸ *Forms of Prayer Collected for the Private Use of a Soldier* (London, 1687); Woodward, *Soldier's Monitor*, pp. 58–6.

usually embodied entertaining elements by telling the stories of convicts, and its publication was about to reach the peak from the last quarter of the seventeenth century, when the ordinaries of Newgate Prison began to publish regular reports of recent executions.²⁹ While the account of Richard Cromwell, a soldier and surgeon, was unclear about the details of his offence, the other two were about soldiers committing crimes in military life, involving murdering comrades or deserting the colours.³⁰ Besides these soldiers' 'last speeches' or cautionary stories of these soldiers, these texts, probably embellished by clergymen, could shed light upon the norms of an ideal soldier.

The Christian Soldier's Penny Bible, a reprint of *The Souldiers Pocket Bible* of 1643, and *The Soldier's Religious Exercise in the Time of War* were aids to Bible study, which helped the reader to understand key doctrines by drawing scriptures from different parts of the Bible and organising them into 'heads'.³¹ The 'heads' provided by these two anonymous works were mainly about how soldiers should act or react in various circumstances in military life. *The Soldier's Monitor* by Josiah Woodward was a treatise, as was *Religio Militis, or the Moral Duty of a Soldier* by 'C. B.'. Substantial in size, these two works endeavoured to portray an image of the 'Christian soldier' inside out.³²

²⁹ 'Introduction', in *Public Execution in England, 1573–1868, Volume 2*, ed. L. Yetter (London, 2009), ix–x.

³⁰ *A Dreadful Warning for Drunkards* (London, 1673); R. Cromwel, *The Happy Sinner, or the Penitent Malefactor* (Lichfield, 1691); A. Hill, *The Last Speech and Confession of Arthur Hill* (Edinburgh, 1710).

³¹ A Late Chaplain to the Army, *The Soldier's Religious Exercise in the Time of War: Being Some Proper Texts, Portions of Holy Scripture and Prayers, Useful for Those Officers and Soldiers, Who Are Engaged Abroad in Their Majesties Service* (London, 1690); Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 138–44.

³² C. B., *Religio Militis, or the Moral Duty of a Soldier* (London, 1690); Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 216–25.

Though the author remains unidentified, the dedication of *Religio Militis* indicated a likely patron-client relation between ‘C. B.’ and the Duke of Schomberg, and the inclusion of quotations in Latin and Greek suggests that the author was a well-educated clergyman. The writers of these materials were mostly clergymen with military connections, either commissioned chaplains or parochial clergymen who were invited to preach or write for soldiers. Beside army chaplains, several local clergymen published their sermons through the Honourable Artillery Companies in London and Bristol.³³ The motivation of these clergymen to write and to publish might be utilitarian: either to impress their patrons through flattering dedications or to vindicate their ineffective ministries. The author of another treatise *An Essay on Peace Address'd to the Officers of the Army*, William Edwards, served as a chaplain to Lord Ikerrin's Regiment of Dragoons, and he complained that his commission was superseded for his absence; therefore, he tried to show his ‘hard-work’ through this work³⁴ Unlike their Puritan counterparts, who referred almost exclusively to the Bible, these Anglican writers paraded their knowledge of classic literature and jurisprudence through allusions to Brutus and Hannibal or works by Henry Hammond and Hugo Grotius, before soldiers whose Commander-in-Chief, Marlborough, claimed that he only learnt English history from Shakespearean theatre.³⁵ Many

³³ E. g., T. Pittis, *A Sermon Preach'd to the Artillery Company, at St. Mary le Bow* (London, 1677); S.

Crossman, *A Sermon Preached upon April xxiii. MDCLXXX. in the Cathedral Church of Bristol* (London, 1680).

³⁴ W. Edwards, *An Essay on Peace Address'd to the Officers of the Army* (London, 1713).

³⁵ J. Meriton, *Religio Militis: A Sermon Preached to the Artillery-Company, October 24, 1672* (London, 1672), p. 6; E. Hickeringill, *The Second Volume of the Works of the Reverend Mr. Edmund Hickeringill* (London, 1709), p. 532; J. Smallwood, *A Sermon Preached before the King at Mon-St.-Andre-Camp, June 29, 1694* (London, 1695), p. 3.

of them even quoted Latin proverbs or Greek and Hebrew scriptures frequently in their sermons, in contrast to the lay preaching in plain English within the Cromwellian army.³⁶

After the Revolution in 1688, some moral reformers also contributed military religious texts, in order to regulate religious observance and improve morality in the army. Prior to Josiah Woodward's *The Soldier's Monitor*, 'a Member of the Athenian Society', presumably Samuel Wesley, who was the only clerical member within the inner circle of that Society, wrote *The Souldiers Manual, or Directions Prayers and Ejaculations for Such as Lead a Military Life* in 1694.³⁷ Their works constituted a part of the 'moral revolution', a movement that was intended to transform society, especially marginal social groups: Woodward also wrote for sailors, the poor, and the young.³⁸ These works were meant to be distributed among soldiers. The distribution of *The Soldier's Monitor* has been well documented and mentioned above, while *The Souldiers Manual* advertised its price as 'Price 2 *d.* or an Hundred of 'em stitch'd up in *Blew Paper* for 14 *s.* to those Gentlemen (*or Officers in His Majesty's Army*) that buy 'em to disperse' on its cover.

³⁶ E. g., Hicckingill, *Second Volume*, p. 525; C. B., *Religio Militis*, p. 14. Cf., M. Kishlansky, *The Rise of the New Model Army* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 72, 155; G. S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, 1993), p. 29.

³⁷ A Member of the Athenian Society, *The Souldiers Manual, or Directions Prayers and Ejaculations for Such as Lead a Military Life* (London, 1694); H. Berry, *Gender, Society and Print Culture in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural World of the Athenian Mercury* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 19.

³⁸ D. Bahlman, *The Moral Revolution of 1688* (New Haven, 1957), pp. 11–12, 26–7, 35, 101–3; Spurr, 'Josiah Woodward'.

Even though these works might have been written for different contexts, they all address the religious and moral duties of soldiers. Moreover, this kind of literature also demonstrates how contemporaries understood and envisaged warfare and soldiering. By analysing the military religious texts, we may see an alternative to the widely known anti-army rhetoric, as the army was portrayed in a positive light, and the Church negotiated with this institution over normative issues. The rest of this chapter identifies and analyses four key aspects from the military religious texts: the nature of war, divine providence in warfare, religious ‘manhood’, and ‘dying well’ in the military.

‘This Is the Nature of Our Present War’

Numerous references to the military history of ancient Israel in the Old Testament provided an abundant source for religious literature in a military context, but some verses in the New Testament also related to military topics or terms, such as ‘the whole armour of God’ in Ephesians. Among these New Testament passages is Luke 4:14, when soldiers came to John the Baptist for baptism and demanded that he answer the question ‘what shall we do?’ There were at least two chaplains who chose this passage as a sermon topic. ‘Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely; and be content with your wages’, John the Baptist replied in the text. John’s reply seems straightforward, but Thomas Pittis, a royal chaplain, gave a notable interpretation of it in his sermon to the Honourable Artillery Company in 1677. Pittis decided ‘to view the Persons making the Demand’, i. e. the soldiers. He then began the main body of the sermon with explanations about ‘why there was war’ and ‘why there were soldiers’, before formally answering ‘what soldiers shall do’.³⁹ For him, the claims of soldiering and war were

³⁹ Pittis, *A Sermon Preach’d to the Artillery Company*, pp. 4–5.

superior to any specific duties of morality or religion in the life of a soldier: a soldier's identity was in his vocation rather than his religion.

Like the pamphlets published during the English Civil Wars, the Anglican writers during the later Stuart period usually prioritised attitudes towards war and the nature of the military profession over particular behavioural norms for soldiers. Despising the mercenary or 'soldier of fortune', these pamphlets were built on the assumption that a soldier could not fight with valour unless he understood the cause for which he fought and was committed to it. According to Roland Bainton, there are three strands to Christian theologies about war: pacifism, the just war, and the crusade.⁴⁰ Pacifism banned Christians from participating in wars of any kind and was subscribed to by only a minority of denominations in early modern Britain, such as the Quakers. The theory of 'just war' that the object of war ought to be the restoration of peace, was generally held by most theologians and jurists, requiring a legal authority to launch a war as well as a humane manner of conducting it. In contrast, the idea of 'crusade', which originated in the High Middle Ages, proclaims that the 'holy war' against heresies or infidels is both an obligation and an honour for Christians. Any code of engagement could be violated or compromised in this circumstance, so the idea of 'holy war' could encourage atrocity.

In the Puritan propaganda before and during the Civil Wars, the idea of war gradually shifted from 'the just war' to 'the crusade'. For Puritans, the wars against Charles I and the Laudian church were a 'holy war' in defence of 'our Religion against Poperie', and were 'Gods warres,

⁴⁰ R. Bainton, *Christian Attitudes toward War and Peace: A Historical Survey and Critical Re-evaluation* (New York, 1960), p. 14.

the battels of the Lord'; even the Cavaliers raised the slogans of 'warre against Antichrist' and 'to maintaine the true Religion' for their cause.⁴¹ This 'holy war' rhetoric, together with even more radical lay-preaching of the sectarians among the armies, would lead to violence and destruction: soldiers vandalised cathedrals or burnt crosses and books of Common Prayer, and some Baptists even urinated in fonts to prevent infant baptism.⁴²

However, the religious writers during the later Stuart period returned to the theory of 'just war'. Thomas Pittis argued that war and the military profession are the consequences of 'the Fall of Adam', so even though neither of them belongs to the perfect creation of God, they could still be of 'Honour' and 'Lawfulness' in defending 'Prerogatives', 'Laws', 'Priviledges' and 'Properties' when 'Universal Peace' is broken.⁴³ Pittis preached in a time of peace to the Honourable Artillery Company, which was not on active service, but similar messages echoed where British soldiers fought. James Smallwood, the chaplain to the Queen's Foot Guards, preached before Marlborough in a camp near Leuven in 1705. He came up with a typical definition of the 'just war': '1st, The Cause must be Just. 2dly, The Authority must be Lawful. 3dly, The Manner of it must be Fair. 4thly, The End proposed must be for the Publick Good'. Based on these criteria, Smallwood declared, 'This is the nature of our present War'.⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Christian Soldier*, pp. 70, 148; T. George, 'War and Peace in the Puritan Tradition', *Church History*, 53/4 (1984), p. 496.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 499; B. Donagan, *War in England, 1642–1649* (Oxford, 2008), p. 159.

⁴³ Pittis, *A Sermon Preach'd to the Artillery Company*, pp. 5–6.

⁴⁴ J. Smallwood, *A Sermon Preach'd before His Grace the D. of Marlborough, in the Camp at Ulierberg-Abby, near Louvain in Brabant, July 15, 1705* (London, 1705), pp. 9–10.

For religious writers, however, the ‘Publick Good’ was never a secular one. Even though recent scholarship has identified more religious elements in the diplomacy and policy-making over the wars after the Peace of Westphalia,⁴⁵ the wars against Louis XIV are still largely considered to be about territorial changes, successive disputes, and the ‘balance of power’ rather than religion. Notwithstanding, in order to convince the soldiers that war was more than an opportunity for fortune, religious writers presented it as a matter of religion. In his *The Soldier’s Monitor*, Josiah Woodward refers to Louis XIV as one of the ‘common Disturbers’ of the peace and rights of mankind, who are ‘continually invading and arbitrarily removing their Neighbours Land-marks’. For Woodward, the Sun King was not only a menace to the ‘balance of power’ in Europe but also a transgressor of the Mosaic law ‘Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour’s landmark’ (Deut. 19: 14), for he kept seizing and annexing neighbouring territories. Therefore, the soldiers fighting against Louis XIV became the instrument of divine judgement, and the dynastic and territorial issues around the War of the Spanish Succession became intertwined with religious meanings: ‘the sweet Enjoyment of Peace may at length return to the Christian World’.⁴⁶

Besides the ‘Peace of Christendom’, there was a narrower confessional cause among the ‘Publick End’: the ‘Defence of Protestantism’. The fear of a Catholic ‘universal monarchy’ haunted Protestants throughout the second half of the seventeenth century, consolidated by the Savoyard massacre of Waldensians and the French persecution of the Huguenots after 1685.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ D. Onnekink (ed), *War and Religion after Westphalia, 1648–1713* (Farnham, 2009).

⁴⁶ Woodward, *Soldier’s Monitor*, pp. iv, 6; Deut. 19:14.

⁴⁷ A. C. Thompson, ‘After Westphalia: Remodelling a Religious Foreign Policy’, in Onnekink (ed), *War and Religion after Westphalia*, p. 48; S. Taylor, ‘An English Dissenter and the Crisis of European Protestantism: Roger Morrice’s Perception of European Politics in the 1680’s’, in Onnekink (ed), *Op. cit.*, pp. 185–93.

For the British Protestants, this fear reached its climax when Jacobite forces and mobs seized Protestant towns in Ulster and laid siege to Enniskillen and Londonderry in 1689.⁴⁸ As these events still live on in public memory today, it is not surprising that the ‘Defence of Protestantism’ was already declared in the religious works of the soldiers, especially during the Williamite War in Ireland. In his *Religio Militis, or the Moral Duty of a Soldier* of 1690, ‘C. B.’ started his sermon with ‘holy-war’ rhetoric: ‘Sword as is never like to be sheathed ... while there are Heresies and false Religions to broach, or a true Religion to defend’, and there cannot be a better cause for war than ‘the defence of the Protestant Religion and Priviledges’. Edmund Hickerlingill, an Anglican divine, preached in a camp in 1691 that soldiers should ‘play the men’ in defence of ‘religious Liberties in the true Service and Worship of God, in the Cities of our God’.⁴⁹

Interestingly, compared with Puritan propaganda of the Civil War era, which repeatedly cursed the ‘Antichrist’ and the ‘Beast of Rome’, or contemporary Protestant accounts, which tended to exaggerate the conspiracies and atrocities of the ‘Papists’, the military religious texts during the later Stuart period showed great temperance in preaching against Roman Catholics as either the transgressors of the ‘Peace of Christendom’ or persecutors against the ‘Liberty of Protestants’. In the very same sermon, Hickerlingill listed two ‘evil’ kinds of soldiers: soldiers of fortune and duellists. The former fought regardless of the matter of cause while the latter destroyed the lives of both adversaries and of themselves for revenge. But there was another sort of soldier that was even worse than either of these. Hickerlingill referred to the ‘Religious Rogue’ or ‘Religious Villians’ who slaughter people ‘differ’d from them in Religion’. He

⁴⁸ T. Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685–1720* (London, 2006), pp. 422–76.

⁴⁹ C. B., *Religio Militis*, p.1; Hickerlingill, *Second Volume*, pp. 514–15.

grouped both Muslims and Roman Catholics in this group, taking the examples of ‘Mahomet’, who preached with both ‘Alcoran’ and sword in hand, Louis XIV, who converted Huguenots by dragoons, and the Spaniards, who coerced the Native Americans into baptism. For the Protestant, in contrast, ‘the Principles of our Holy Protestant Religion, teaches us better things’.⁵⁰ Even in the ‘Defence of Protestantism’ against Roman Catholics, confessional violence was not encouraged. Even this moderate anti-Catholic sentiment diminished during the Nine Years’ War and the War of the Spanish Succession; for instance, Josiah Woodward did not mention a single word about the ‘Roman Catholic’, the ‘Papist’, or ‘Popery’ in his popular pamphlet.⁵¹

Obviously, those religious writers did not profess any tolerance towards Roman Catholics in the popular sphere. Rather, anti-Catholic propaganda still dominated in Revolutionary Britain; for example, the moral reformers imputed every kind of vice to the ‘Romish emissaries’.⁵² How the contemporary British interpreted the Anglo-French wars from 1688 is still a cause of debate among Anglophone historians; both Tony Claydon and Linda Colley insist that these wars were regarded as a defence of Protestantism, while Steve Pincus argues that a more secular and ‘modern’ discourse was being developed in this period.⁵³ The arguments are based upon the rhetoric and discourses of contemporary literature, but it is important to contextualise

⁵⁰ Hicckeringill, *Second Volume*, pp. 523–4.

⁵¹ Woodward, *Soldier’s Monitor*.

⁵² Bahlman, *Moral Revolution of 1688*, p. 9.

⁵³ L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, 1992); S. Pincus, ‘The English Debate over Universal Monarchy’, in J. Robertson (ed), *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the Union of 1707* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 37–62; T. Claydon, *England and the Making of England, 1660–1760* (Cambridge, 2007).

these texts according to their agendas and audience. The writers of religious literature for soldiers handled the message distinctively, as their audience was in a very different environment from the civilian population. In the wars against Louis XIV, British forces fought in alliance with soldiers from many Roman Catholic countries, including those from the armies of the Holy Roman Empire and Portugal, and they crossed territories with predominantly Catholic populations, including the Southern Netherlands, the Rhineland, and the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, any anti-Catholic speech or behaviour could have compromised the cooperation and collaboration of Roman Catholic allies and civilians. During the Nine Year's War, when Alexander Shields, a radical Cameronian chaplain, preached against Popery to the British forces in Bruges, there were complaints not only by the Roman Catholic bishop and the governor but also by the British commander.⁵⁴ And given that English Protestants drew freely on Roman Catholic models of spirituality after 1660, it is not a surprise that the prayers of Prince Eugene of Savoy, the fellow commander of Marlborough and a Catholic, were published in English and exalted as 'the Soldier's Saint-like Piety'.⁵⁵

Without a doubt, in the military religious literature, the ideas about the nature of war were inherited from 'School-Men' in the intellectual tradition of philosophers, theologians, and jurists from the Classical to the Reformation periods. But since this religious literature was pragmatic and propagandistic rather than academic, the religious writers needed to adjust or modify it according to the context of their audiences. Thus, the concept of war they presented

⁵⁴ A. C. Dow, *Ministers to the Soldiers of Scotland: A History of the Military Chaplains of Scotland prior to the War in the Crimea* (Edinburgh), p. 178

⁵⁵ J. Gregory, 'Homo Religiosus: Masculinity and Religion in the Long Eighteenth Century', in T. Hitchcock and M. Cohen (eds), *English Masculinities, 1660–1800* (Harlow, 1999), pp. 102–3; *Prince Eugene's Prayer: Wherein the Christian World May See the Soldier's Saint-like Piety* (London, 1708).

does not perfectly fit with Bainton's typology. Rather, much of the writings could be located somewhere between the 'just war' and the 'crusade'; it could be a 'religious' one but not necessarily a 'confessional' one, as it upheld the Protestant cause of defending 'liberty of religion' and the 'balance of power' but did not have to be explicitly anti-Catholic or promote anti-Catholic violence.

'To Look up to God for Success and Victory'

In August of 1708, an Allied fleet with 1,000 Spanish infantrymen and 600 English marines set off from Spain to Sardinia, under the command of Admiral John Leake and Major-General Charles Wills. The fleet arrived in the bay outside Cagliari, the capital of the island with a bastioned stronghold, on 12th August. Amphibious operations like this were not without risk: an Allied assault on Cádiz in 1702 was repelled by the Bourbon forces, while the British expedition to Quebec in 1711 turned into a disastrous shipwreck. At this very moment, John Philips, the chaplain to Colonel Joshua Churchill's Regiment of Marines, delivered a sermon on *HMS Chester*. In this sermon, Philips urged the soldiers to 'look up to God for Success and Victory', since 'the Divine Providence extends its Care to the minutest and most inconsiderable things'. Thanks be to God, the battle ended with the surrender of the garrison after just a few cannonades.⁵⁶

The belief that God actively intervenes in human affairs was widely accepted in post-Reformation Britain by not only the 'godly' Puritans but also ordinary people. Based on the

⁵⁶ J. Philips, *A Sermon Preach'd on Board Her Majesty's Ship the Chichester in the Bay of Sardinia, August 1, 1708* (London, 1709), p. 4; A. Parnell, *The War of the Succession in Spain* (London, 1905), pp. 253–4.

doctrine that nothing on earth happened without the permission of God, divine providence was used to interpret 'supernatural' wonders, prodigies, and omens, and it was also regarded as the ultimate reason behind every 'natural' event in personal, local, and national affairs.⁵⁷ Unsurprisingly, belief in divine providence was applied to battlefields which were overwhelmed by uncertainties. The 'Protestant winds' in 1588 and 1688 were claimed to be examples of divine intervention in military affairs, and providence was also believed to function at the micro-level: Josiah Woodward wrote in his popular pamphlet that 'even in the most confus'd Slaughter of a Battle, no Man is kill'd or preserv'd by Fate or Fortune; every killing Bullet does serve some End of the All-wise Governor of the World'.⁵⁸ Due to the general acceptance of the concept of divine providence, it became the subject of many homilies and religious texts during the later Stuart period. Woodward suggested that a soldier 'needs a more peculiar Defence from God's Providence', and some religious writers liked to cite scripture in Ecclesiastes to teach soldiers to 'look up to God for Success and Victory': 'The Race is not to the swift, nor the Battel to the Strong, nor Favour always to Men of Skill'.⁵⁹

However, the second half of the seventeenth century witnessed the development of military professionalism, the growth of standing armies, and the improvement of fighting techniques. Examining the aspects of planning, command structure, and battlefield management from 1688 to 1713, Keith McLay argues that with a more rational, effective and, of course, secular

⁵⁷ K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1971), pp. 78–9.

⁵⁸ Woodward, *Soldier's Monitor*, p. 16

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 14; Pittis, *A Sermon Preach'd to the Artillery Company*, p. 2; F. Hare, *The Charge of God to Joshua: In a Sermon Preach'd before His Grace the Duke of Marlborough at Avenes le Sec, September 9, 1711* (London, 1711), p. 14.

execution of war, military operations became a matter of planning, preparation, and conduct where the place of divine providence gradually decreased.⁶⁰ In short, the ‘Protestant wind’ of 1688 was reduced to a ‘prepared’ or ‘planned’ wind rather than a ‘Providential’ wind.

McLay’s argument suggests an ‘Enlightened’ dichotomy between ‘science/reason’ and ‘religion’. However, as Jonathan Clark points out, the emergence of Newtonian natural philosophy and mechanistic cosmology did not discredit popular belief in divine providence, which remained a prominent topic among religious, philosophical, and literary writings in Britain throughout the long eighteenth century.⁶¹ Similarly, the growth of military professionalism did not undermine belief in divine providence in warfare, nor was the development of military professionalism hindered by this religious doctrine. Religious writers did not consider divine providence to be an alternative to the ‘planning, preparation and conduct of war’. John Meriton, an Anglican priest, preached to the Honourable Artillery Company in 1672 that God’s preference for Joshua ‘was by no means to be interpreted as a discharge from his own diligence and duty’.⁶² In the aforementioned sermon, Philips reminded the soldiers not to ‘so far depend on God, as to neglect, or undervalue the Use of human Means’. He then made an analogy with salvation to illustrate the equal emphasis on divine providence

⁶⁰ K. A. J. McLay, ‘The Blessed Trinity: The Army, the Navy and Providence in the Conduct of Warfare, 1688–1713’, in Onnekink (ed), *War and Religion after Westphalia*, pp. 103–20.

⁶¹ J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1660–1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 30; J. C. D. Clark, ‘Providence, Predestination and Progress: Or, Did the Enlightenment Fail?’, *Albion*, 35/4 (2003), pp. 559–89.

⁶² Meriton, *Religio Militis*, p. 6.

and human agency in warfare: ‘by Grace we are sav’d, but shall we therefore refuse to work? God forbid!’⁶³

Recent scholarship investigated the political and cultural significance of divine providence in various religious texts. Throughout the seventeenth century, the teaching of divine providence was an important doctrine that reinforced morality, piety, obedience, and even nationality.⁶⁴ This may be seen in the religious texts of the later Stuart soldiers. Firstly, the use of providence in these texts emphasised a form of proto-nationalism that was closely tied to Protestantism in Britain. For religious writers, divine providence is not an indifferent driving force behind everything: it is the execution of the purpose and will of God. Given that contemporary war was ‘at Heaven’s command’ to defend Protestantism and to restore the peace of Christendom, divine providence would doubtlessly favour Britain as an elected nation of God and her army as an instrument of God. Army chaplain Thomas Heskith preached on divine providence before the British soldiers after they captured Port Royal from the French in 1710. In this sermon celebrating such a historic triumph in the Anglo-French conflicts in America, he stated that providence ‘who hath been pleas’d to order that a Place of such vast importance to the British Empire, shou’d be obtain’d with so small an Effusion of Blood’, and he believed that ‘a few such defaleations from the Gallick Empire will be the blessing of GOD drive the French

⁶³ Philips, *A Sermon Preach’d on Board*, pp. 8, 10.

⁶⁴ Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, pp. 78–112; J. Spurr, ‘“Virtue, Religion and Government”: The Anglican Uses of Providence’, in T. Harris, P. Seaward and M. Goldie (eds), *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 29–41; A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999); W. E. Burns, *An Age of Wonders: Prodigies, Politics and Providence in England, 1657–1727* (Manchester, 2002).

entirely from those American Parts'.⁶⁵ After Marlborough passed the Lines of *Ne Plus Ultra* and captured Bouchain in 1711, Francis Hare preached a sermon for the thanksgiving service, comparing Marlborough to Joshua after the death of Moses as well as Britain to the Israelites. Using early modern rhetoric that equated Britain with biblical Israel,⁶⁶ Hare acknowledged that the continuing 'Divine Favour' – Hare's synonym for 'divine providence' – had sustained the nation and helped her to subdue stronger enemies, as it had the Israelites in the wilderness. At that difficult moment, Marlborough should, just as Joshua did, take courage from previous victories and, with the blessing of God, bring the nation into the 'Promised Land' – 'the more agreeable Joys of a Safe and Honourable Peace'.⁶⁷

The biblical Joshua crossed the River Jordan and subsequently conquered the land of the Canaanites, but the contemporary 'Joshua' was unfortunately released from the position of Captain-General very soon after this sermon was preached, and the siege of Bouchain became his last battle. There were many reasons why Marlborough fell from grace, but his downfall highlighted a crucial yet implicit tenet of divine providence, as presented in religious literature: the power of the monarch. Though the concept of divine providence was commonly used to interpret miracles and prodigies, it also justified the right to rule and the authority of the establishment after the Restoration. The return of Charles II, the re-establishment of the Church

⁶⁵ T. Heskith, *Divine Providence Asserted, and Some Objections Answered: a Sermon Preach'd October the 10th. 1710. (at Annapolis-Royall in America) before the Honourable Francis Nicholson Esq. Capt. General & Commander in Chief; after the Surrender of That Place* (Boston, 1710), epistle dedicatory, p. 20.

⁶⁶ C. Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London, 1993), pp. 264–70; A. Guibbory, 'Israel and English Protestant Nationalism: "Fast Sermons" during the English Revolution', in D. Loewenstein and P. Stevens (eds), *Early Modern Nationalism and Milton's England* (Toronto, 2008), pp. 115–18.

⁶⁷ Hare, *The Charge of God to Joshua*, pp. 1–16.

of England, and the accession of James II and the Glorious Revolution were all claimed to be the acts of God to preserve the constitution and the religion of the country. Similarly, in religious texts, divine providence was not only a force that determined the path of every bullet or shell on the battlefield, but it was also the power to maintain the monarchy, the government, and the established church. Thomas Pittis prayed that '[m]ay the King's Throne be established in Peace; our Religion safe under the Conduct of Divine Providence' while Samuel Rich warned soldiers that '[t]o resist the Authority Providence hat set over us is so sinful and so dangerous principally on these Three accounts': it offends the 'Authority of God', the 'Spirit of Religion' and the 'Interest of Societies'. Though Oliver Cromwell was a devout believer in divine providence, Edward Pelling, the chaplain to the Duke of Somerset, listed the Lord Protector as one of the opponents of divine providence in a sermon to the Honourable Artillery Company in 1679, for he was a rebel and regicide, like Assyrian king Sennacherib who publicly blasphemed the LORD, and Roman emperor Nero who brutally persecuted Christians.⁶⁸

John Spurr notes that the teaching of divine providence instilled obedience in parishioners during this period,⁶⁹ and religious writers utilised this doctrine for a similar end. As Britain was the only country to experience the traumas of military rule in early modern Europe, the political nation was wary of the standing army, especially its prominent commanders. Though it was next to impossible for Marlborough to build 'chimera's of Commonwealths'⁷⁰ as Cromwell

⁶⁸ Pittis, *A Sermon Preach'd to the Artillery Company*, p. 12; Rich, *A Sermon Preached at Chard*, pp. 3–8; E. Pelling, *A Sermon Preach'd to the Artillery-Company at S. Mary le Bow, October 21, 1679* (London, 1679), pp. 12–13.

⁶⁹ Spurr, 'The Anglican Uses of Providence', p. 30

⁷⁰ J. S. Bromley (ed), *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 6: *The Rise of Great Britain and Russia, 1688–1715/25* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 281; Rich, *A Sermon Preached at Chard*, p. 14.

did, his pride and fame became concerning to many writers. A satirist alluded to Marlborough as a leader of ‘the Ants’, who takes every advantage he gained from ‘the Swain’ (the nation) for granted and is eventually rooted out for his haughtiness and pride. In *Mars Stript of His Armour*, satirist Edward Ward wrote that ‘[b]y the Richness of his Pavilion, you’d think it the Palace of some mighty Monarch’ and ‘[i]n Winter he leaves his high Command, and repairs to the Fountain of his Honour, the Court’ in the chapter ‘Of a Captain-General’, targeting Marlborough who immortalised his fame through the construction of the splendid Blenheim Palace.⁷¹

In light of this, religious writers advised commanders not to boast about their achievement and capacity. Josiah Woodward wrote that ‘some Generals have spoken very prophanelly of this Matter, as if they would not ask Victory from any Power above ... they have impiously and blasphemously given the Name of INVINCIBLE’. Edmund Hickeringill similarly noted that the Spanish Armada of 1588 was called ‘Invincible’ but was ultimately crushed before the power of divine providence.⁷² Woodward indicated ‘a Way of Humility’ for Captain-General Churchill, which entailed recognising that ‘our Almighty God is the over-ruling Generalissimo’⁷³ – even though the contemporary Generalissimo, Prince George of Denmark, did not rule over anything. Thus, by emphasising divine providence, the religious writers taught soldiers, and especially commanders, that they should ascribe glory unto the name of God, and

⁷¹ R. D. Horn, *Marlborough: A Survey: Panegyrics, Satires and Biographical Writings, 1688–1788* (New York, 1975), p. 416; Ward, *Mars Stript of His Armour*, pp. 15–16.

⁷² Woodward, *Soldier’s Monitor*, p. 10; Hickeringill, *Second Volume*, p. 541.

⁷³ Woodward, *Soldier’s Monitor*, pp. 2, 11, 13

consequently be modest, humble, and obedient before the embodiment of divine providence, namely, the monarchy and the Church.

‘Quit Your Selves Like Men!’

The idea of divine providence might seem particularly pertinent for the commanders, but it was also relevant to ordinary soldiers. John Petter was the chaplain to Her Majesty’s Regiment of Horse during the Nine Years’ War. He preached a sermon ‘before Their Majesties, K. William and Q. Mary’s forces’ when he served in the garrison of Ghent in 1694 and subsequently published it ‘at their Request’. Petter picked a passage in 1 Samuel 4:9 ‘[q]uit your selves like men’. He explained that to ‘quit your selves like men’ means to have some ‘peculiar vertues of every rank and condition of Men’, which are ‘Courage’, ‘Orderliness’ and ‘Fidelity’, especially for the soldiers. After the examination of all these virtues, he proclaimed that ‘to be religious’ is ‘[t]he best and surest way to do so’ and that soldiers should have the ‘fear of God’ in their hearts, do works of charity and participate religious rituals. He then listed the reasons to ‘quit your selves like men’ ‘at this present Conjunction’: to fight for the government, the Church and the monarchs, and against the perfidious French. His sermon ends with a blessing for soldiers: ‘Arms with good Success this ensuing Compagne’.⁷⁴

However, this sound sermon turned out to be rather awkward. John Petter took ‘quit your selves like men’ out of context, which is ‘be strong, and quit yourselves like men, O ye Philistines’. This sentence was shouted out by the Philistines when they confronted the Israelites, and the

⁷⁴ J. Petter, *A Sermon Preached before Their Majesties, K. William and Q. Mary’s Forces at Gant in Flanders* (London, 1694).

story ends with the defeat of the people of God and the capture of the Ark – an ominous tale to preach on when the contemporary ‘Israelites’ were about to fight against the enemies of God. Presumably, Petter realised this mistake after he preached, so he apologised for ‘those Defects which shall be obvious to you in the reading’ in the dedication. It is quite clear that rather than interpreting the scriptures in their contexts, he just picked up some biblical verses to decorate the theme of his sermon – the manhood and masculinity of the soldiers. This topic was also well covered in many other military religious texts: for example, the sermon by Edmund Hickeringill was based on 2 Samuel 10:12 ‘let us play the *Men*’ while the subheading of the pamphlet by Josiah Woodward was ‘being Serious Advice to Soldiers, to behave themselves with a just Regard to Religion and true *Manhood*’.⁷⁵

Negotiating masculinity was one of the main topics addressed by these religious writers.⁷⁶ In early modern society, manhood was not something physiological that one could gain by birth: the difference between male and female was far more than genital.⁷⁷ Manhood was a concept that was attached to a series of cultural and social constructions, including sociability, friendship, honour, sexuality, and physical attributes. As John Petter wrote, ‘man’ was by no means an ‘ordinary person’ but a ‘Man of Worth and Valour’.⁷⁸ The characteristics that

⁷⁵ Hickeringill, *Second Volume*; Woodward, *Soldier’s Monitor*.

⁷⁶ See Gregory, ‘Masculinity and Religion’, pp. 85–110, for religion and masculinity in general, and Brittain, ‘British Masculinities’, pp. 114–20, for religion and masculinity in the military context. It should be noted that Owen Brittain also uses some personal accounts by soldiers, which I think should be handled differently due to the backgrounds of authors. Religion and military from the perspectives of soldiers will be discussed in Chapter 6.

⁷⁷ E. A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London, 1999), p. 28–9.

⁷⁸ Petter, *A Sermon Preached before Their Majesties*, p. 2.

distinguished tough, courageous, and rational men from soft, cowardly, and emotional women were lauded among professional soldiers, who were almost exclusively male during the later Stuart period.⁷⁹

It seemed that religious writers did not simply endorse and nurture the martial masculinities developed through decades within early modern armies. Instead, they tried to construct a religious version of military manhood from the ideal of *Militia Christi* which was inherited from the Pauline epistles through medieval monasticism down to Puritan military writings. This idea suggests that being a Christian is also being a soldier, a spiritual warrior fighting against the invisible powers of ‘the World, the Flesh, and the Devil’, just as Josiah Woodward indicated: ‘Military Profession, taking it in a spiritual Sense, is the very Business of a Christian’.⁸⁰

In this sense, the manhood of a soldier was not exclusively military but rested on general gender norms. As John Meriton concluded, Christianity ‘makes the Good Prince and the Good Subject, the good Husband, the good Wife, the good Master, the good Servant, the good Merchant, Mariner, Husbandman, Lawyer, Physician, yea and good Souldier too’.⁸¹ Religious writers confronted the opinions that denied the religious masculinity of soldiers. Some of these

⁷⁹ There were indeed a few female soldiers in the army, such as Christian Davis. But they disguised themselves as men, and they stopped serving as soldiers when their sex was disclosed.

⁸⁰ George, ‘War and Peace in the Puritan Tradition’, p. 500; J. Moodey, *Souldiery Spritualized, or the Christian Souldier Orderly and Strenuously Engaged in the Spiritual Warre* (Cambridge, MA, 1674); Woodward, *Soldier’s Monitor*, p. 31.

⁸¹ Meriton, *Religio Militis*, p. 16.

opinions argued that the army was evil and therefore was inconsistent with religion, while others suggested that religion might soften the manhood of soldiers.⁸² Faced with such a dichotomy, religious writers had to persuade their readers that religion was not only necessary but also beneficial to their military masculinity. They emphasised that soldiers faced not only earthly enemies but also spiritual ones on a daily basis and noted that the latter was far more powerful. John Meriton stated that '[s]uch as are Pride, and Passion, malice, earthly-mindedness, ambition, hypocrisie, wrath, and revenge, the worst enemies we have'. He also annotated the following verse from the Book of Proverbs: 'He that ruleth his spirit is a better man (i.e. shew's more Man-hood and gallantry of mind) than he that takes a City'.⁸³ Therefore, masculine attributes such as valour, courage, and honour all embodied a natural dimension and, more importantly, a spiritual one. Meriton pointed out that along with 'natural courage', 'spiritual courage' was also necessary for soldiers, as it helped them endure afflictions, resist temptations, and mortify corrupt affections. Edmund Hickeringill suggested that God is 'the only Fountain and Measure of Honour'.⁸⁴

On the other hand, soldiers' misbehaviour was interpreted as not only a sin but also a betrayal of manhood. Edward Pelling wrote that one could 'drink himself out of the shape of a *Man* into the similitude of a Beast'.⁸⁵ Josiah Woodward listed several 'base and pernicious Dispositions and Doings' that soldiers should avoid: blasphemy, drinking, lust, duelling and gambling. All these vices were considered to undermine one's manhood. For instance, God would vindicate

⁸² Meriton, *Religio Militis*, pp. 14–15; Petter, *A Sermon Preached before Their Majesties*, pp. 14–15; Pittis, *A Sermon Preach'd to the Artillery Company*, pp. 12–13.

⁸³ Meriton, *Religio Militis*, pp. 11–12.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 4–13; Hickeringill, *Second Volume*, p. 522.

⁸⁵ Pelling, *A Sermon Preach'd to the Artillery-Company*, p. 9.

his honour against blasphemers and wound them ‘in a very terrible Manner’. A soldier could shamefully part ‘with his *Manhood*, his Honour, and his Innocence, for the inconsiderable Pleasure of a little Drink’. Impure lust could sink the bravest Spirits into the ‘Prosecution of base and shameful Intrigues’ and into ‘an odious and fatal Bandage and Slavery’, while the more ‘abominable’ sodomites did not even deserve ‘the Name of a *Man*’. Duellists were overcome by passion, which is ‘what Women, and Children, and sickly Persons, are mostly subject to’. Finally, soldiers were warned that gambling ‘rather perplexes than recreates the Mind’.⁸⁶ These ‘base and pernicious’ doings could deprive a soldier of his manhood and turn him into a defeated duellist, a slave in chains and a fool to folly. Femininity was considered a dreadful threat to masculinity. Pelling denoted that those ‘who fear not the threats of a Cannon, or the face of Death, should not be so much as Beauty-proof, but captivated by the very Looks of a *Female* Enemy’, using the biblical allusion to Samson and Delilah, and the classical allusions to Hercules, Omphale, Anthony and Cleopatra, etc.⁸⁷ This ascetic masculinity discouraged any female presence in military life, just as Thomas Pittis stated that women in camps ‘make their Relations lost the Field’.⁸⁸

Military masculinity, which rejected blasphemy, drinking, whoring, and duelling while nurturing discipline, piety and obedience, reflected the moral reforms of the entire country, especially after 1688. However, it also corresponded with the development of warfare after the mid-seventeenth century. During this period, infantry usually stood only a few ranks deep in a linear formation. In this formation, soldiers advanced without firing, suffering from enemy

⁸⁶ Woodward, *Soldier's Monitor*, pp. 18–25.

⁸⁷ Pelling, *A Sermon Preach'd to the Artillery-Company*, pp. 9–10.

⁸⁸ Pittis, *A Sermon Preach'd to the Artillery Company*, p. 18.

bombardments and musketry. If a soldier lost his self-discipline, fleeing from his colour or firing without command, the entire formation would collapse, and the battle would become a calamity. Discipline, self-control, and persistence were critical; John Lynn refers to this phenomenon as ‘the battle culture of forbearance’.⁸⁹ Religious writers likewise encouraged self-control and forbearance by emphasising discipline of the body and mind as well as of the spirit. John Petter interpreted courage as ‘Suffering cheerfully any Hardships’, ‘Receiving boldly the Assaults of your Enemies’, and ‘Fighting bravely whenever you are commanded to it’. For the second point, he used the story of David and Goliath to encourage soldiers to approach enemies without fearing their weapons.⁹⁰ But this fortitude was not akin to the berserking Highland charge or ‘Dutch courage’: it required clear and rational thinking rather than mere heroic passion. Josiah Woodward ranked drinking as ‘base and pernicious Dispositions and Doings’, second only to blasphemy, and inspired soldiers to ‘preserve a strict and constant Sobriety’ and ‘rational Soul’.⁹¹

‘The Righteous Perisheth’

But regardless of how brave, courageous, rational or sober soldiers could be, a terrible fate was awaiting them: death. On 8th October 1698, Francis Collingwood was waiting to embark at Portsmouth with his regiment. This north countryman had already been in the armed service since 1678, and he had been promoted to colonel in 1692. Having fought in Continental Europe in the Nine Years’ War, he was about to start a new stage of his career: Lieutenant-General of

⁸⁹ J. A. Lynn, *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture from Ancient Greece to Modern America* (Cambridge, MA, 2004), pp. 120–1, 128–9.

⁹⁰ Petter, *A Sermon Preached before Their Majesties*, pp. 3–5.

⁹¹ Woodward, *Soldier’s Monitor*, pp. 20, 39.

the Leeward Islands, the West Indies. But his military life would soon come to an end: he died just a few months later, and on 29th May 1699 his body was interred in St John's Figtree Church, Nevis. Thomas Heskith, the chaplain of his regiment, delivered a eulogy on the funeral, from Isaiah 57:1 'The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to Heart'.⁹²

It is a fitting quotation for Colonel Francis Collingwood. The details of his sudden death remain unclear, and the authorities were unconcerned with the event, apart from arranging for his replacement. However, according to the account of Narcissus Luttrell, he died with 'his lady and daughter, with many of his officers and soldiers', and ten days later '[o]ne moyety of the late colonel Collingwoods regiment are dead in the Leeward Islands'.⁹³ These records suggest that Francis Collingwood and his men were consumed by a tropical epidemic. But disease was not the only threat to soldiers during the later Stuart period: battle, malnutrition, and shipwrecks also claimed thousands of lives.

Soldiers during the later Stuart period were haunted by mortality on a daily basis. A religious writer stated that even though soldiers are 'subject to the Diseases and Casualties of Nature with the rest of Mankind, they likewise labour in a much more hazardous Calling'.⁹⁴ Reflecting

⁹² N. Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* (6 vols, Oxford, 1857), iv, p. 435; T. Heskith, *A Sermon Preach'd at the Funeral of the Honourable Col. Francis Collingwood and of His Lady* (London, 1700).

⁹³ 'Col. Edward Fox communicated his Commission as Lt. General of the Leeward Islands', 28 Nov. 1699, *CSPC*, 1699, p. 548; 'Council of Trade and Plantations to Mr. Secretary Vernon', 28 Nov. 1699, *CSPC*, 1699, p. 549; Luttrell, *Historical Relation*, iv, pp. 543, 547.

⁹⁴ C. B., *Religio Militis*, p. 4

a long-standing culture of death in Western Christianity, the military religious texts gave soldiers instructions on how to deal with death in military life. Notably, the texts characterise its significance and aftermath. In order to comfort his audience after Colonel Collingwood's sudden demise, Thomas Heskith suggested that God does take the good away, sometimes in a horrible manner which seems set for the wicked, 'from the Evil to come': in that way, they are released from potential judgement or temptation.⁹⁵ Military death not only provided relief for physical agony or external tribulation, but it also provided spiritual relief. As Nikolas Funke suggests, pre-modern capital punishment was an awe-inspiring, edifying event rather than an act of revenge.⁹⁶ If convicts publicly and honestly repented of their sins, their deaths were thought to release their souls from the sinfulness and wickedness of their bodies to eternal happiness, by the mercy of God. In an exemplary pamphlet, Arthur Hill of the Scots Guards, who was executed for murdering his comrade, regarded his execution 'a City of Refuge for my Soul' where the blood of Christ will 'cleanse my Soul from Blood-guiltiness' rather than 'cry for Vengeance'.⁹⁷ In another example, edited by churchmen and titled 'The Happy Sinner, or the Penitent Malefactor', soldier and namesake of the former Lord Protector Richard Cromwell, reportedly embraced his death after being convicted of murder in 1691 with the words 'in my Bosome, and entertain it as an end appointed for my Misery, and a Means to bring me unto Happiness'.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Heskith, *A Sermon Preach'd*, pp. 15–18

⁹⁶ Funke, 'Religion and the Military', p. 157.

⁹⁷ Hill, *Last Speech and Confession*, p. 3.

⁹⁸ Cromwel, *Happy Sinner*, p. 3.

Furthermore, the concept of purgatory was rejected by the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone, and the place of reward and punishment in Protestant eschatology is less clear than in its Catholic counterpart. Consequently, later Stuart religious writers implied that soldiers would face consequences of their actions after death in order to regulate their moral conduct. 'Let us consider, That we must for ever fare in the Life to come, according as we do comply with, or rebel against the Will of God in our present Life', wrote Josiah Woodward, 'The good Man will be for ever Happy, as are the glorious Angels above; and the Wicked will be ever wretched, as are the damned Devils'.⁹⁹ Woodward addressed infernal and angelical rhetoric to soldiers who 'forget God' and who 'truly serve and honour God', respectively; for the former, death is the 'final Execution' with 'Hell as his abiding Portion' and 'Eternity as the Duration of his Torment', while for the latter 'Guardian Angels ... will convey you to eternal Happiness when you die'.¹⁰⁰

As military death was an unavoidable part of a soldier's life, religious writers sought to teach them how to be 'righteous' in the face of death. Even though the art of 'dying well' had its root in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, as Ralph Houlbrooke points out, the concept was developed into two models after the Reformation: one within the 'Puritan' tradition, which entailed resorting to one's inner faith to deal with death, while the other was a 'sacramental' model, which used rituals such as confession, absolution, and communion with Anglican clergymen to handle death.¹⁰¹ But due to the messy circumstances of military life, especially on

⁹⁹ Woodward, *Soldier's Monitor*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 41–2.

¹⁰¹ R. Houlbrooke, 'The Age of Decency: 1660–1760', in P. C. Jupp and C. Gittings (eds), *Death in England: An Illustrated History* (Manchester, 1999), pp. 179–80.

battlefields, chaplains might not be available for every dying soldier. The Anglican religious writers had to compromise in teaching the art of 'dying well'. On the one hand, devotion in everyday life and inner piety were encouraged: Woodward wrote a long passage on exercising devotion, beginning with a discussion on the depravity of mankind and the forgiveness of God, and ending with 'the true way of despising Death, and of laying the Foundation of unshaken Fortitude of Mind'. The following section, on 'a short View of one Day of a Soldier's Life', concentrated on inner meditation and devotion, and included little involvement from the clergy.¹⁰² On the other hand, religious writers still tried to provide soldiers with formality and structure for their devotions. Some 'ejaculations', which were very short prayers, were given to soldiers to use before battles or when sick and wounded, reflecting the prayer-book tradition of the Church of England and assuring that they could hand over their souls to God if facing military death. In some special situations, such as executions of condemned soldiers, a complete process of confession, absolution, and communion was still to be used.¹⁰³

Conclusion

'Military religious literature' might be a minute part of the publishing market during the later Stuart period, but *The Soldier's Monitor* and other pamphlets reveal efforts by some churchmen to influence soldiers through texts. Their endeavour, which can be seen as part of the reformation of manners, might look insignificant in some aspects, the analysis of the contents of 'military religious literature' demonstrates 'what is war' and 'how soldiers should be like' in the eyes of at least some churchmen at the time. For them, war and soldiering were not

¹⁰² Woodward, *Soldier's Monitor*, pp. 29–39.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, pp. 49–50, 58–61; Athenian Society, *Souldiers Manual; Forms of Prayer*; 'Mr. Arwaker's Form of Prayer'.

irrelevant to religion at all; instead, war was a divine instrument to restore the peace of Christendom, and soldiering could be a career of morality, masculinity and godliness.

By depicting war and soldiering in this way, the 'military religious literature' posed a voice different to the prevailing anti-army sentiment in early modern Britain. In this light, soldiers were not necessarily an outcast community in society; like other social groups, soldiers became 'redeemable' and a target of moral reformation. Thus, soldiers could be regarded as an integrated part of society, unlike pirates or highwaymen. If soldiers relied upon divine providence and then obeyed every authority established by it, including the monarchy, Parliament and the Church, the army would be a benefit to the realm, instead of a burden or menace to it. Just as chaplain Thomas Heskith discoursed in a treatise to justify plundering and war as a whole, 'the Peace, the Safety, and Happiness' of the people and government could not be sustained 'without a competent Army', and by maintaining one, a monarch 'may be capable to gain the true Ends of Government, which is Honour, Peace, and Happiness'.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ T. Heskith, *Laphyrologia, or, a Discourse Concerning Plunder: Wherein the Legality of the Same is Proved by Several Presidents and Arguments Brought from the Laws of God, or Nature, and Nations* (London, 1703), p. 26.

Chapter 6

‘Do You Think Religion Is Banish’d the Camp?’: Religion and Military Life

‘Then it is observed abroad, that no Race of Mortals hath so little Sense of Religion as the *English* Soldiers; to confirm which, I have been often told by great Officers in the Army, that in the whole Compass of their Acquaintance, they could not collect three of their Profession, who seemed to regard or believe one Syllable of the Gospel.’¹

This grim comment by Jonathan Swift, a notable satirist and a dean of the Church of Ireland, represents the general nature of ungodliness and profaneness of the English (or ‘British’) army by referring to the wicked city of Sodom in the Book of Genesis where even ten righteous men could not be found.² Swift did not specify which officers he talked with, but negative remarks by officers on the soldiers under their command, most notably the ‘Scum of the Earth’ by the Duke of Wellington, did not go unchallenged by modern historians.³ Indeed, any student on the British Army during this period would not miss Lieutenant-Colonel John Blackader and his devout reflections on military life. More evidence of soldierly piety can be found if one looks for it particularly. After the Seven Bishops were sent the Tower of London in 1688 for refusing

¹ J. Swift, *A Project for the Advancement of Religion and the Reformation of Manners* (London, 1709), pp. 9–10.

² Similar remarks were repeated by churchmen and even fellow soldiers, see M. Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion: The Forgotten History of the British Soldier from the Age of Marlborough to the Eve of the First World War* (London, 2005), pp. 15–17.

³ N. Mansfield, *Soldiers as Workers: Class, Employment and Conflict in the Nineteenth-Century Military* (Liverpool, 2016), pp. 28–32; K. Linch, *Britain and Wellington’s Army: Recruitment, Society and Tradition, 1807–15* (Basingstoke, 2011), 90–8.

to read the Declaration of Indulgence, for example, the officers and soldiers knelt and begged for their blessing when they arrived, and they attended services conducted by the bishops. Christopher Codrington, soldier and plantation proprietor, was one of those who laid the foundation of the Anglican church in the West Indies.⁴ Even lay preaching, which is usually associated with the Parliamentary soldiers during the Civil Wars, was not unheard of in the later Stuart army: the Privy Council of Scotland ordered a ‘sojour in the Earl of Dumbartouns regiment who takes upon him to preach’ to be arrested in 1686.⁵

Anecdotes like these could be piled up. But to what extent do these individual cases contradict the conventional view of a ‘godless’ army, particularly one which had been expanded to be as large as over 70,000 strong by 1697? After all, despite the relative abundance of personal accounts and correspondences by generals, officers and soldiers during the later Stuart period, only John Blackader and William Maxwell provided substantial information on their religious belief in their meditative diaries: needless to say, these two Scottish Presbyterians were not able to speak for those English soldiers who constituted the majority of the army.⁶ However,

⁴ W. Gibson, *James II and the Trial of the Seven Bishops* (Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 109–12; C. Hefling, ‘The Province of the West Indies’, in C. Hefling and C. Shattuck (eds), *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldview Survey* (Oxford, 2006), p. 864.

⁵ ‘Minutes of the Council’, 14 Sept. 1686, in *RPCS*, xii, p. 435.

⁶ Some of these materials might appear problematic. Among them, both *Memoirs of Captain Carleton* and *The Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies* had been mistakenly attributed to Daniel Defoe. But the former is later identified as a work by Carleton himself and an unknown ghost writer, while the latter, though ‘Mother Ross’ of an eventful life did exist, is recognised more in the balladry tradition than as an identified military account. Still, *Life and Adventures* could provide some helpful insights on gender and military in the eighteenth century. See R. M. Baine, ‘Daniel Defoe and Captain Carleton’s *Memoirs of an English Officer*’, *Texas Studies*

given that the army was raised from a wide social spectrum, albeit predominantly from the physically able, male, 'poorer sort', and that prior to the industrialisation, Christianity was 'in the social air which everyone breathed together, rich and poor, gentlemen, husbandman, artificer, labourer and pauper', as Peter Laslett implies, contextualising soldierly religiosity in the eighteenth-century laity might be a good starting point.⁷

Studies of lay piety in the long eighteenth century have produced a very mixed picture. The relative low church attendance and reception of communion might suggest a 'secularising' society. On the other hand, religious activities remained vibrant in both public and domestic domains. In general, recent surveys tend to draw a cautiously optimistic view of lay Anglican piety.⁸ But these studies have usually focused on the civilian population, so some of their conclusions are not immediately transferable to soldiers. First of all, the army was extraterritorial as far as the religious establishments were concerned. Of course, before departing overseas, soldiers would have spent time in civilian society, especially as the practice of quartering put them into day-to-day encounters with civilians. But as soon as they set off to the Low Countries or Iberia, they would find themselves outside the parochial structure, around

in *Literature and Language*, 13/4 (1972), pp. 613–27; D. Dugaw, 'Davies, Christian (1667–1739)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7228> (5 July 2017).

⁷ D. Chandler, 'The Great Captain-General 1702–1714', in D. Chandler and I. Beckett (eds), *The Oxford History of the British Army* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 75–8; P. Laslett, *The World We Have Lost: Further Explored* (London, 1983), pp. 71–2.

⁸ E. g., J. Walsh and S. Taylor, 'Introduction: The Church and Anglicanism in the "Long" Eighteenth Century', in J. Walsh, C. Haydon and S. Taylor (eds), *The Church of England, c. 1689–c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 22–9; W. M. Jacob, 'England', in J. Gregory (ed), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II: Establishment and Empire, 1662–1829* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 97–100.

which a large part of religious activities and identities centred. As Chapter 4 demonstrates, the regimental chaplaincy that could have provided an alternative was still fairly unregulated; regular services might be still offered if their chaplains were actually present, but the sense of belonging, which was imbued through lay participation in vestry or just a tangible *campanile*, was by and large missing.⁹ This feature of military life obviously concerned the church, with charities such as the SPCK trying to nurture religious and moral life in the army by distributing religious pamphlets.¹⁰ The actual effects of their work upon the soldiers have yet to be examined, but we do know that soldiers were not all indifferent to religion. They were a highly mobile group of people, leading a transient life. For an army on the move, routines of daily, weekly, and yearly periods within a defined area seemed to be harder to maintain. Devout John Blackader had to be on duty on Sabbath; for another soldier John Millner, Christmas Day, with

⁹ Visual materials, such as regimental banners with religious icons or slogans, were used in some Continental units during the seventeenth century, usually to express confessional convictions or religious veneration of their commanders or proprietors. Apart from a few flags with propagandist mottos ('Fear Nothing But God' of the Duke of Monmouth and 'Pro Religione et Libertate' of William of Orange), however, such use was lacking in the later Stuart army. A remotely similar exception might be the square standard of the Second Troop of Horse Guards under James II, with two angels supporting the royal crown. See N. M. Funke, 'Religion and the Military in the Holy Roman Empire c. 1500–1650' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Sussex, 2011), pp. 65–72; L. E. Staiano-Daniels, 'The War People: The Daily Life of Common Soldiers 1618–1654' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Los Angeles, 2018), pp. 131–2; S. M. Milne, *The Standards and Colours of the Army, from the Restoration, 1661, to the Introduction of the Territorial System, 1881* (Leeds, 1893), p. 28.

¹⁰ B. S. Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680–1730* (New Haven, MA, 2014), pp. 128–9.

all its religious and secular meanings, was reduced to a generic 'Dec. 25' in his journal in 1708.¹¹

Such laconic entries in fact give us vital clues about contemporary religiosity since the calendar was highly confessionalised. The frequent intermingling of the 'old style' and the 'new style' in the letters by the Duke of Marlborough who was in constant correspondence with princes, diplomats and generals from Catholic countries (and from some Protestant countries which were just about to adopt the Gregorian calendar) could be seen as a sign of the transconfessional nature of the military life: soldiers were put into close contact with people from other confessions.¹² There were significant minorities of Roman Catholics and Protestant dissenters at home, but soldiers from where there were merely a few 'Popish chapels' might have a chance to visit splendid Catholic cathedrals as they were travelling on the Continent. Encounters with Dutch Reformed ministers, Prussian Lutheran soldiers, or Spanish Catholic nuns are mentioned in many accounts by soldiers.¹³ The impact of such experience on soldiers varied from individual to individual. Many were keen to observe or even to participate in the activities of other confessions, such as attending Catholic mass or learning Lutheran hymns, while others

¹¹ J. Blackader, *The Life and Diary of Lieut. Col. J. Blackader*, ed. A. Crichton (Edinburgh, 1824), p. 179; J. Millner, *A Compendious Journal of All the Marches, Famous Battles, Sieges, and Other Most Note-worthy, Heroical, and Ever Memorable Actions of the Triumphant Armies* (London, 1733), p. 256.

¹² *Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough, with His Original Correspondence*, ed. W. Cox and J. Wade (London, 1847), i, xv.

¹³ Blackader, *Diary*, p. 179; J. Scott, 'The Remembrance: A Metrical Account of the War in Flanders, 1701–12', in *Papers Illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands, 1572–1782*, ed. J. Ferguson (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1901), iii, p. 326; G. Carleton, *Memoirs of Captain Carleton*, ed. C. H. Hartmann (London, 1929), p. 206.

could not conceal their distaste. After entering the ‘Land of Idolatry’, i.e. the Spanish Netherlands, where ‘images of the Virgin Mary, St Ann and the Cross are worshipped in every Grove’ in 1689, an English soldier remarked that ‘the Canaanites could never arrive to a greater pitch of Idolatry’, showing at least not every Redcoat was indifferent to religion, and some of them were quite sensitive to their confessional identities.¹⁴

Soldiers were mostly ordinary laypersons leading an extraordinary life. While the exact level of piety among soldiers might be difficult to establish, if the established faith remained relevant and lively among the lay population in general during the long eighteenth century, as some recent studies have suggested, the impact of religion, shaped by some characteristics of military life, could still be expected among the lay population in service. Instead of simply examining the religiosity of soldiers, this chapter will try to investigate various roles played by religion in the later Stuart army, by navigating through different phases of military life: from recruitment, when soldiers began their service, to peacetime and combats, and finally to the tragic endings of many.

‘So Help Me God’

‘I swear to be True to our Sovereign Lord and Lady, King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, and to Serve them Honestly and Faithfully in the Defence of Their Persons, Crown and Dignity, against all Their Enemies and Opposers whatsoever; And to observe and obey Their

¹⁴ H. Herbert, ‘V Captain Henry Herbert’s Narrative of His Journey through France with His Regiment, 1671–3 and Ane Account of Our Regements Marches from the Winter Quarters to ther Entrance in France’, ed. J. Childs, *Camden Fourth Series*, 39 (1990), p. 305; *A Journal of the Late Motions and Actions of the Confederate Forces against the French in the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands* (London, 1690), p. 7.

Majesties Orders, and the Orders of the Generals and Officers set over me by Their Majesties. So help me God.’¹⁵

A man who identified himself as ‘Christopher Welsh’ would have said the above words out loud in The Golden Last, probably a public house in Dublin in 1693. There was a group of army officers in town ‘beating up’ for recruits to reinforce the forces fighting in Flanders. Such a recruiting group generally consisted of a captain, a sergeant, a corporal, a drummer and two privates, and they gathered recruits ‘in every corner of the city’ by beating drums, which became a primary military musical instrument during the English Civil Wars. Rendezvous were set up in the marketplaces, taverns, and public houses to enlist volunteers and, more often, conscripts drafted by parochial authorities.¹⁶

Christopher Welsh volunteered for the service of King and country, and his zeal even won him a shilling as a reward. However, ‘Christopher Welsh’ is a ‘she’; her real identity was Catherine Welsh, also known as ‘Mother Ross’, an Irish pub owner. In her husband’s suit and with her hair cut short, she fought as a foot soldier and then a dragoon in the Nine Years’ War and the War of the Spanish Succession. After her true identity was disclosed, her military career came to an end, but she was honourably presented to Queen Anne in 1712 when she returned to England, and her legend as one of the most famous female soldiers in British history continued even after her death in 1739.¹⁷

15 *Rules and Articles for the Better Government of Their Majesties Land-forces in the Low-Countries, and Parts beyond the Seas* (London, 1692), pp. 6–7.

16 J. Childs, *The Army of Charles II* (London, 1976), p. 23.

17 *The Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies* (London, 1741), pp. 20–21; Dugaw, ‘Davies, Christian’.

There has been considerable interest in Catherine Welsh's gender and sexuality, but her story also gives insight into the more mundane aspects of the later Stuart army. Her enlistment was one of them. Her voluntary enlistment reflects important elements of recruitment rituals of eighteenth-century armies.¹⁸ As the commencement of military life for soldiers in the later Stuart army, recruitment was also a perennial problem during the post-revolutionary period and especially the reign of Queen Anne. Indeed, unlike Charles I who was struggling alone for his crown, the situation was not desperate enough to enlist Irish Catholics or Scottish Highlanders; the government still had a problem in securing sufficient able-bodied flesh to fuel the roaring war machine against France. The scale of war and the size of European armies increased steadily, while the ingrained animosity against the standing army in the Parliament, as well as in society at large, compelled British monarchs to reduce the army to a minimum level after a peace was reached, making recruitment a crucial issue when the British Isles were at war. The strength of the British army reached almost 70,000 during the Nine Years' War, while it dropped to less than 20,000 after the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 but then soared again to its zenith during the War of the Spanish Succession. Besides the obvious gap of nearly 50,000, required upon mobilisation again in 1702, the war-dead and prisoners also needed to be continually replaced, especially after the tragic defeat at Almansa in 1707 when a large part of the British contingent was captured by the Bourbon forces.¹⁹

¹⁸ I. Berkovich, *Motivation in War: The Experience of Common Soldiers in Old-Regime Europe* (Cambridge, 2017), p. 139.

¹⁹ J. Childs, *The British Army of William III, 1689–1702* (Manchester, 1987), p. 103; R. E. Scouller, *The Armies of Queen Anne* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 345–8.

The dynamic and the mechanism of recruitment for the later Stuart army have already been investigated by historians in detail.²⁰ However, the exact procedure or ceremony of recruitment is still somewhat obscure. Many historians refer to the practice of ‘beating of drums’ in recruiting, but they tend to consider it more as a method of attracting civilians to the rendezvous of the recruiting party, rather than as a ritual through which one signed up to be a soldier. This transition from a free citizen into a soldier bounded by commands and regulations from superior officers was solemnised by an oath which, according to John Tillotson, the contemporary Archbishop of Canterbury, was ‘a sacred thing, as being an act of religion and an invocation of the name of God’.²¹

Though the famous account *The Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies* does not explicitly mention Catherine Welsh taking an oath of fidelity when she enlisted, she in fact had done so according to the subsequent story. She was taken prisoner by the French while out foraging a few months later; when the Duke of Berwick, a Jacobite general, asked her to join the French service, she answered, according to the story, ‘I had taken an oath already to King William, and if there was no crime in breaking it, as I was satisfied it was one of the blackest dye, I could not in honour break my engagement’.²²

²⁰ See G. Davies, ‘Recruiting in the Reign of Queen Anne’, *JSAHR*, 28 (1950), pp. 146–59; Scouller, *Armies of Queen Anne*, pp. 102–25; A. Gilbert, ‘Army Impressment during the War of the Spanish Succession’, *Historian*, 38/4 (1976), pp. 689–708.

²¹ J. Spurr, ‘A Profane History of Early Modern Oaths’, *TRHS*, 11 (2001), p. 38.

²² *Mrs Christian Davies*, pp. 25–6.

The oath at the beginning of this section, which was presumably the same as that sworn by Mother Ross, is quoted from *Rules and Articles for the Better Government of Their Majesties Land-forces in the Low-Countries, and Parts beyond the Sea*, from 1692. In this military regulation, the oath of fidelity follows an article that ‘[a]ll Officers and Soldiers, of what Quality or Condition soever, shall take the following Oath, which shall be administered to them by such Person or Persons, and in such Places as his Majesty, his General, Lieutenant General, or Commander in Chief of the Forces for the time being, shall appoint’,²³ and similar articles also appear in most military laws for the later Stuart army in all three kingdoms.²⁴ In their printed version, the oath is presented in a different, larger typeface from the rest of the text, indicating that soldiers were supposed to say the oath out loud in public. The occasion of administration is not explicit in many military laws, but according to *Rules and Articles of War for the Better Government of His Majesties Army in the Kingdom of Scotland* of 1686, such an oath ‘shall be administered to them as their first Muster, and entrance into His Majesties pay, and at such other times’, which suggests that oath-taking was arguably a part of recruitment.²⁵ Since the oath was sworn to the monarch by name, it should be renewed when a new monarch ascended to the throne. British troops took another oath of fidelity to Queen Anne after the death of William III in 1702.²⁶

²³ *Rules and Articles for the Better Government of Their Majesties Land-forces in the Low-Countries, and Parts beyond the Seas* (London, 1692), pp. 6–7.

²⁴ E. g., *Articles and Rules for the Better Government of His Majesties Forces in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1675), pp. 4–5; *Rules and Articles for the Better Government of Her Majesties Land-forces in the Low-Countries, and Parts beyond the Seas* (London, 1702), pp. 6–7.

²⁵ *Rules and Articles of War for the Better Government of His Majesties Army in the Kingdom of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1686), p. 5.

²⁶ Millner, *Compendious Journal*, pp. 7–8.

Such an oath of fidelity can be traced back to the first ‘Protestant’ military law by Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester in 1586. The exact content of the oath changed over time, but it usually begins with a promise of allegiance to the monarch, and then a promise to obey commanders, and it closes with, ‘So help me God’.²⁷ Such an oath is not only religious but also royalist, so it remained in existence in the military laws of the Royalist army during the Civil Wars. However, because some Puritans, especially Baptists, rejected the swearing of oaths of any sort, the articles of war of the Parliamentary army did not include any regulation about an oath of fidelity.²⁸

Interestingly, the early post-Restoration military regulations do not have articles for the oath of fidelity either.²⁹ This nuance might indicate that the later Stuart army, at least part of it, was a remnant of the former Parliamentary army. However, the oath of fidelity was re-introduced into *Articles and Rules for the Better Government of His Majesties Forces by Land* in 1673, and every soldier was even required to receive ‘the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper according

²⁷ M. Griffin, *Regulating Religion and Morality in the King’s Armies, 1639–1646* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 8–12.

²⁸ Oath of fidelity in the Royalist military laws, e. g., *Military Orders and Articles Established by His Majesty for the Better Ordering and Government of His Majesties Army* (Bristol, 1643), pp. 12–13. Parliamentary military laws, e. g., *Laws and Ordinances of Warre, Established for the Better Conduct of the Army, by His Excellency the Earl of Essex* (London, 1643).

²⁹ E. g., *Laws and Ordinances of War Established for the Good Conduct of His Majesties Army in Ireland* (Dublin, 1662); *Laws and Articles of War for the Government of His Majesties Forces within the Kingdom of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1667). It is even more intriguing that most of the early post-Restoration military regulations were titled ‘Laws and Ordinances of War’, just as those in the Parliamentary army, while the Royalist counterparts were often titled ‘Military Orders and Articles’.

to the laws and usage of the Church of England' before his second muster.³⁰ The subsequent military laws, titled either 'Articles and Rules' or the other way around, kept the same articles. The reintroduction of an oath of fidelity implies that, after the peaceful decade under George Monck, the political allegiance of the army might prove problematic. In fact, the later Stuart monarchs, especially James and William, faced the menace of disobedience, disloyalty, and even betrayal by officers and soldiers during their reigns, making fidelity a necessary part of military life, even if it ultimately failed to prevent Marlborough and others defecting to the king's enemies in 1688.

An oath of fidelity was more than just an empty formality, since compromising verbal and ritual commitment could lead to severe consequences. Many Roman Catholic officers were removed from their offices because of the Test Act issue after 1673, and the problem of occasional conformity became a partisan struggle in the first decade of the eighteenth century.³¹ Likewise, the oath of fidelity was not merely an 'idea'; it effectively put soldiers under the authority of military laws. Violating one's oath was not without repercussions: the fundamental ground for soldiers to be court-martialled was oath-breaking. According to a prayer used at the execution of mutineers and disobedient soldiers in 1692, those convicts were punished for being 'Contrary to ... the Solemn oath of Obedience and Fidelity which he hath taken to our Sovereign Lord the King'. Several soldiers deserted the camp in 1702, 'notwithstanding ...[they] had taken the Oath of Fidelity to our Sovereign Lady Queen Anne';

³⁰ *Articles and Rules for the Better Government of His Majesties Forces by Land during the Present War* (London, 1673), pp. 3–4; 'Charles II to the Commissaries General of the Muster', 18 March 1673, *CSPD* 1673, pp. 42–3.

³¹ Childs, *Army of Charles II*, pp. 27–8; G. Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, revised edn (London, 1987), pp. 99–103.

as a result, ‘the Severity thereof was put in Execution upon’ them.³² Thomas Mallet, chaplain to Lieutenant-General Thomas Erle’s Regiment of Foot, also highlighted the importance of the religious oath in military life, in a poem he published to praise military life in 1705. The last chapter is about the overall religious meaning of military life, and in its very first section Mallet wrote that ‘We take the *Sacramental* Oath, we *Vow*, we *Swear*/ To *Fight*, Engage and Meet the War./ We swear to *Fight* as long as we have Breath’.³³

It is right to say that the oath of fidelity ‘constrained’ soldiers to military service since, due to the massive demand for manpower, soldiers who were impressed considerably outnumbered ‘volunteers’ during the War of the Spanish Succession.³⁴ However, volunteers were still encouraged: they could receive 40s as King’s or Queen’s shilling, twice as much as that for the impressed. Catherine Welsh was appreciated for her zeal to go against the French for ‘His Majesty King William and my country’; she was given a guinea for the King’s Shilling, plus a crown to drink to the king’s health.³⁵

Certainly, not every volunteer was driven into service by such strong patriotism; in fact, the real motive for Mother Ross was to look for her husband Richard Welsh, who had enlisted after a recruiting officer got him drunk.³⁶ While the motivation of Mother Ross was exceptional, the

³² ‘Mr. Arwaker’s Form of Prayers to be Used at the Visitation of Condemned Persons’, LPL, MS 711, ff. 157r–162v; Millner, *Compendious Journal*, p. 12.

³³ T. Mallet, *The Soldier’s Religion, or, Contemplations Heroical-Divine* (London, 1705), p. 45.

³⁴ Gilbert, ‘Army Impressment’, p. 702.

³⁵ Davies, ‘Recruiting in the Reign of Queen Anne’, p. 154.

³⁶ *Mrs Christian Davies*, pp. 16–21.

way her husband was lured into service was common. Such schemes fit perfectly into the conventional understanding of the motives of early modern recruits. Apart from those ‘among nobility and gentry’ who were driven by a sense of gallantry,³⁷ the majority of recruits were pushed into the army by adverse circumstances. Some had themselves to blame, just like Mother Ross’s husband, and many viewed the army as an alternative to their prospects of punishments, debts, unhappy marriages, economic misfortunes, or simply starvation.³⁸ In short, early modern armies, including that of the later Stuart monarchy, were traditionally regarded as the dregs of society, full of idlers, drunkards, criminals and all other sorts of the undesirable who were after nothing but material gains. Such an image naturally chimed with the observations of Swift and others noted at the beginning of this chapter.

However, this conventional image has been challenged by some recent studies. Ilya Berkovich applies the ‘institution/occupation’ model formulated by American military sociologist Charles Moskos in discussing the factors behind the motivation of eighteenth-century recruits. While most previous suggestions focus mainly on the occupational elements which place emphasis on the pragmatic motivation of individual soldiers, Berkovich argues for a balanced consideration of institutional elements which ‘transcended individual self-interest in favour of a presumed higher good’.³⁹ Following a religious or confessional cause could fall into this

³⁷ R. B. Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The Origins of the British Army, 1586–1702* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 263–89; Carleton, *Memoirs*, p. 15.

³⁸ C. Duffy, *The Military Experience in the Age of Reason* (London, 1987), pp. 89–91; G. Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 46–8; D. Showalter and W. J. Astor, *Soldiers’ Lives Through History: The Early Modern World* (Westport, CT, 2007), pp. 26–7.

³⁹ Berkovich, *Motivation in War*, pp. 129–32.

category. One example in the later Stuart army was Scotsman William Maxwell of Cardoness. Born into a Covenanter family, William Maxwell seemed not to share the sense of military honour of many contemporary Scottish lairds. The professions that he considered were divinity, law and medicine. He got to know about William of Orange's plan to invade England in 1688 when he was a tutor in Leiden. Finally, he joined the Williamite army for the Protestant cause. Interestingly, he was by no means a zealous militant, nor did he show any enthusiasm in his diary. Actually, he struggled for a time: he wrote that '[a] serious wrestling with God is that which is called for'. But he eventually decided to follow the calling, since he was anxious not to live a peaceful life while the 'Protestant interest' was at stake. Even though he was promoted very quickly in the Nine Years' War, the military profession itself seemed not to his liking, for he did not serve further in the War of the Spanish Succession. He led a quiet life as landowner and magistrate, except for his stint as a militia commander during the Jacobite Rising in 1715.⁴⁰

Needless to say, soldiers like William Maxwell or John Blackader were not typical among the later Stuart army, but the few personal accounts voicing such idealistic motives need to be treated with cautions.⁴¹ For many recruits, however, there might not be a singular motive driving them to the army, and both institutional and occupational considerations existed behind their decisions with different amounts. As Berkovich points out, while material gain was not paramount for many soldiers as wages and booties might not be as plenty as some would assume, positive ideas were used effectively to attract the potential recruits, such as appeals to

⁴⁰ W. Maxwell, *One of King William's Men: Being Leaves from the Diary of Col. William Maxwell of Cardoness, 1685–1697*, ed. H. M. B. Reid (Edinburgh, 1898), esp., pp. 157–67.

⁴¹ Berkovich, *Motivation in War*, p. 130.

loyalty, bravery, and national identity.⁴² One should not neglect the element of religion in these ideas, especially in the British national identity. Protestantism served as a pillar of it, demonstrated in the public propaganda to promote wars against Catholic France (or any other ‘Antichrist’ figures) in general and in the British army in particular from the later Stuart period onwards.⁴³ Using newspaper advertisements to discuss how the British army appealed to institutional factors during the eighteenth century, Berkovich mentions a piece attracting ‘the most capable of annoy our enemies in their present Desperate design against the Protestant religion, and British Liberties’ in 1759.⁴⁴ Though newspaper advertisements appear not to be used for recruitment under the later Stuarts, there were other forms of media which could influence recruiting indirectly by conveying similar messages. Angela McShane and Hannah Smith examined later Stuart ballads and comedies, respectively, concluding that soldiers began to be portrayed as faithful lovers and loyal subjects, as well as orthodox members of the Church of England, serving their country and church sacrificially.⁴⁵

These ballad composers and playwrights were not churchmen, and some of them used to serve in the army. Ironically, the religious establishment stayed outside of this arena. Local parishes were more or less involved in recruitment. Parish constables were supposed to press ‘any able bodied Men ... who have no lawful Calling or Employment, or visible Means for their Maintenance’ into the army and to keep them from desertion before departure, in order to get

⁴² *Ibid*, pp. 132–8, 157–64.

⁴³ L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, CT, 1992), p. 18.

⁴⁴ Berkovich, *Motivation in War*, p. 137.

⁴⁵ A. McShane, ‘Recruiting Citizens for Soldiers in Seventeenth-Century English Ballads’, *JEMH*, 15/1–2 (2011), pp. 105–37, esp., 129–31; H. Smith, ‘Politics, Patriotism, and Gender: The Standing Army Debate on the English Stage, circa 1689–1720’, *JBS*, 50/1 (2011), pp. 48–75, esp., 56–8.

rid of ‘the refuse and dregs of the nation’, but vicars seemed not keen to see the faithful and decent of the flock sent into the service, as a rector in Berkshire petitioned for the discharge of a ‘mistakenly’ pressed housekeeper from his parish in 1706.⁴⁶ Tory and High Church opposition to British involvement in the Continental war meant that the pulpit, the most significant media of the time, remained silent in promoting volunteerism, except for thanksgiving sermons delivered after the victory of Blenheim.⁴⁷

‘Melancholy is a Great Enemy to Religion’

‘The whole Pagan, Mahometan, and Christian World, have been long (too long) plagu’d with Priests and Priest-craft; the common Theme, the daily Discourse, the general Complaint, the fatal Malady, the eternal Grievance and State-Sore, believ’d it to be incurable; and therefore born as an Affliction without Remedy.’

These words of resentment sound like a *déjà vu* of the Puritan discourse during the early Stuart period. Yet, they appear at the beginning of a pamphlet titled *‘Religio Militis: or, a Soldier’s Religion’*, written by William Morgan, probably a captain of Brigadier Thomas Erle’s Regiment of Foot, in 1695.⁴⁸ Compared to other more carefully crafted works under the same title by churchmen, Morgan’s writing is rambling, starting with grievances towards the established church, shifting to comments on Roman Catholicism, Islam, and pagan religions,

⁴⁶ R. Gardiner, *The Compleat Constable: Directing all Constables, Headboroughs, Tithing-men, Churchwardens, Overseers of the Poor, Surveyors of the Highways, and Scavengers* (London, 1710), p. 75; ‘Henry St John, Feb. 1705/6’, TNA, WO4/4, pp. 151-2.

⁴⁷ Davies, ‘Recruiting in the Reign of Queen Anne’, p. 147.

⁴⁸ *English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1660–1714*, ed. C. Dalton (6 vols, London, 1892–1904), iv, p. 88.

and ending with an exaltation of the military profession.⁴⁹ Interestingly, it was whilst in his winter-quarters that Captain Morgan composed his ideas. Indeed, meditating and writing could be a healthy way to kill time in such a circumstance, but the animosity towards the established church exposed in the pamphlet is even more intriguing. It provides a unique perspective on religion in general and the religious establishment in the peacetime life of the later Stuart soldiers.

Warfare after the Thirty Years' War is characteristically described as 'limited' by many historians. Struggling to maintain logistics through a clumsy transportation system for the enlarged armies, many commanders were inclined to avoid aggressive manoeuvres and even to dodge confrontational engagements.⁵⁰ As a consequence, soldiers spent much longer times in winter-quarters, garrisons and camps or waiting for transportation, when they were not on slow marches or counter-marches.

Such seemingly 'aimless' time-spending might make up the majority of military life. It was dull, murky, and depressing for soldiers, and 'melancholia' was prominent in their experience. Many soldiers used this medical term to describe and even to summarise their life in the army. Robert Parker, a Protestant Irishman, used to serve in the Royal Irish Regiment after the Revolution. When he recalled the beginning of his service in his memoir, he wrote, 'I then began to reflect ... that carrying a brown Musket was but a melancholy prospect'. John

⁴⁹ W. Morgan, *Religio Militis: or, a Soldier's Religion* (London, 1695), pp. 1–22.

⁵⁰ D. Chandler, *The Art of Warfare in the Age of Marlborough* (London, 1976), pp. 12–15.

Blackader also put down this emotion in his diary: ‘a melancholy temper, inclined to discontent, poisons all my comforts’.⁵¹

The term ‘melancholia’ was actually so widely used in the seventeenth century that it became ‘epidemic’ among the men of letters all over Europe: even a scholar living in his college could feel ‘melancholy’ because of the news of ‘War, Plagues, Fires, Inundations, Thefts, Murders, Massacres, Meteors, Comets, Spectrums, Prodigies, Apparitions, of townes taken, cities, besieged in France, Germany, Turkey, Persia, Poland’.⁵² The ‘melancholic’ humour of soldiers was far from mawkishness and sentimentality but was instead induced by their experience of being uprooted from their native social environments to serve on foreign soils. Johannes Hofer, a contemporary Swiss medical student at the University of Basel, coined a new term ‘nostalgia’ in his dissertation for ‘an afflicted imagination’ principally found among ‘young people and adolescents sent to foreign regions’, i.e., Swiss soldiers on foreign service.⁵³

Even though British writers did not adopt this ‘cutting edge’ language immediately, the ‘melancholia’ of British soldiers fitted with ‘nostalgia’ pathologically. John Blackader missed ‘the sweet intercourse and ordinances I enjoyed in Scotland’ every now and then, but the military service kept him from all these joys: he had to be on duty even on the Sabbaths ‘I used to have in Scotland’. He disdained his Dutch Reformed and French Huguenot co-religionists,

⁵¹ R. Parker, *Memoirs of the Most Remarkable Military Transactions from the Year 1683 to 1718* (Dublin, 1746), p.11; Blackader, *Diary*, p. 205.

⁵² A. Gowland, ‘The Problem of Early Modern Melancholy’, *Past and Present*, 191/1 (2006), pp. 83, 120.

⁵³ J. Hofer, ‘Medical Dissertation on Nostalgia’, trans. C. K. Anspach, *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine*, 2 (1934), pp. 381–3.

whom he encountered in the Low Countries, for their ‘deadness and formality’.⁵⁴ ‘Nostalgia’ could also be caused by deprivation of relationships or old lifestyles. When Mother Ross ‘lay quiet all the Winter’ in 1702, she wrote of ‘the Melancholly the Remembrance of him [her husband] brought upon me’. Henry Herbert, the later fourth Baron Herbert of Cherbury, joined Sir Henry Jones’s Regiment of Light Horse in the French service in 1671, and initially, his journey was quite a merry grand tour, as long as he could enjoy comedies, cathedrals, chateaux and cuisine in France. But when he had to spend six days idly in the forest of the Ardennes, he could not but mock the environment as ‘a vast wilderness of woods yet not unpleasant to such as fancy Malancholy walkes’.⁵⁵

As John Blackader wrote, ‘Melancholy is no friend to grace, and a great enemy to religion’; soldiers ‘[t]ried to divert it by amusement’.⁵⁶ ‘Melancholia’ or ‘nostalgia’ usually led to various ‘amusements’ or ‘vices’, but the most prominent one among them was drinking. John Stevens, a Jacobite Irish soldier, remarked upon the ‘air’ in the Irish army during the Williamite war: ‘It is the general error of youth that to prevent or divert melancholy ... and the consequence of it is excess of drinking and other vices’.⁵⁷ Soldiers’ health deteriorated with alcohol abuse, and some even died from excess drinking. Alcoholism also undermined discipline, for drunken soldiers quarrelled and duelled, and even murdered comrades and civilians, incurring attacks from moralists. However, the massive demand for liquor among the soldiers made it too

⁵⁴ Blackader, *Diary*, pp. 179, 208.

⁵⁵ *Mrs Christian Davies*, p. 47; Herbert, ‘Narrative’, p. 317.

⁵⁶ Blackader, *Diary*, p. 153.

⁵⁷ J. Stevens, *The Journal of John Stevens: Containing a Brief Account of the War in Ireland, 1689–1691*, ed. R. H. Murray (Oxford, 1912), p. 106.

profitable for commanders to be banned completely throughout the eighteenth century.⁵⁸ The thin pamphlets of moral teaching and medical advice could hardly compete against the thick ‘melancholia’ of military life.

Family and romantic relationships could also relieve ‘melancholia’ or ‘nostalgia’. Though potentially risky, the sensitive William was able to go back to Scotland from time to time during the Nine Years’ War to court Miss Stewart, his future wife, and to finally marry her in 1696. Perhaps, as a result, he did not appear ‘melancholy’ in his diary, noting that ‘if I should have sit down and thought for many years how to be happy in a wife, what could I have thought on that I have not got?’⁵⁹ John Blackader married in 1702, and his wife accompanied him to Flanders. He was comforted a little when he joined his wife from the frontline: ‘after a campaign of fatigues, hazards, and dangers, the Lord has brought me back safe to this place, and given me a comfortable meeting with my wife’.⁶⁰ However, although a permanent marital relationship could comfort soldiers and even improve their piety, the British army dissuaded soldiers from marrying and made the military life difficult for married couples to manage together.⁶¹ Some soldiers just turned to immoral relationships; Mother Ross finally found her husband in the arms of a Dutch woman, and, interestingly, even herself, ‘to kill time’, ‘made my address to a burgher’s daughter, who was young and pretty’. She felt guilty about this

⁵⁸ Childs, *British Army of William*, p. 126; P. E. Kopperman, “‘The Cheapest Pay’: Alcohol Abuse in the Eighteenth-Century British Army’, *Journal of Military History*, 60/3 (1996), pp. 445–70.

⁵⁹ Maxwell, *Dairy*, p. 214.

⁶⁰ Blackader, *Diary*, pp. 163, 266.

⁶¹ J. Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century: ‘The Girl I Left Behind Me’* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 27, 31–3, 149.

relationship: 'When I afterwards reflected on this unjust way of amusement, I heartily repented it'.⁶²

Devotion and meditation could be ways out of 'melancholy' for a few individuals. John Blackader sometimes went alone into the field of battle, 'got a preaching from the dead', or just meditated when he was on guard. Such solitary practices barely worked, for as he wrote, 'Solitude is the nursery of melancholy'. Even worse, *esprit de corps* could be undermined. Blackader liked to pray, meditate and walk alone to get rid of the 'ill company'; as a major and then a lieutenant-colonel, he did not even want to pray for the Scottish army.⁶³

Writing religious articles might have also been a way to kill idle time, just as Captain William Morgan wrote *Religio Militis* in his winter-quarters. He seemed not to go astray from the orthodox doctrines; he received 'the Nicene Creed into my Belief', and even 'thought it the noble Posture of defending the Creed'. Nonetheless, his resentment towards the established church was strong: 'If we go to the Church-National in every Kingdom, how wretched! how miserably are they divided, rent and torn among themselves!' He also disdained religious literature, criticising 'the vast Numbers of Books and Pamphlets' leading to 'general Disturbance and Confusion of Mankind' and only bearing 'the Gloss and Varnish of Religion'.⁶⁴ Where did all these cynical ideas come from in the winter-quarters of Captain Morgan?

⁶² Mrs Christian Davies, pp. 27, 60.

⁶³ Blackader, *Diary*, pp. 178, 205, 219, 246.

⁶⁴ Morgan, *Religio Militis*, pp. 2, 4, 11.

The religious establishment could have done something to address the ‘melancholy’ of soldiers: as John Blackader concluded, ‘Faith is the best remedy’. David Gudmundsson remarks that religious services in the Swedish army during the Great Northern War were ‘the consolation of soldiers’.⁶⁵ Indeed, the later Stuart articles of war contain detailed regulations on religious observation. Throughout the entire later Stuart period, religious articles always come first above any other articles in military law, and besides the articles on blasphemy and other moral offences, they included regulations on attending religious services. For example, the articles of war of the Irish army in 1662 state that ‘Sermons, Morning and Evening Praisers bee diligently frequented’, and an English one in 1673 required that every soldier ‘diligently frequent divine service and sermon on Sundays, and other days, especially festivals’.⁶⁶ Besides ordinary services, thanksgiving services were also to be held after victories, according to commands of generals.

There are very few accounts on the actual delivery of these services, especially in the English establishment. According to some Scottish accounts, psalms singing, sermons, prayers, and catechising could be parts of a religious service. Some chaplains also seemed to be available for confession.⁶⁷ At times, soldiers would attend services in local churches instead. Richard

⁶⁵ D. Gudmundsson, ‘The Consolation of Soldiers: Religious Life in the Swedish Army during the Great Northern War’, *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 39/2 (2014), pp. 212–25.

⁶⁶ *Laws and Ordinances of War Established for the Good Conduct of His Majesties Army in Ireland* (Dublin, 1662), pp. 5–6; *Articles and Rules for the Better Government of His Majesties Forces by Land during the Present War* (London, 1673), p. 1.

⁶⁷ Scott, ‘Remembrance’, pp. 375, 396; Blackader, *Diary*, p. 343.

Butler, earl of Arran, was commissioned Colonel of the Regiment of Irish Foot Guards in 1662, and even though there was a chaplain in the regiment, he still contributed to the repair of St Audeon's Church in Dublin so that his men could use it. John Blackader usually attended the Dutch or French Huguenots churches; he even attended both on the same Sunday. As a staunch Anglican, Henry Herbert felt comfortable attending Huguenot services and even Roman Catholic mass when he was in France.⁶⁸

However, whether religious life in the army could actually 'console' soldiers was questionable. The religious service was compulsory for soldiers: according to the articles of war, officers would be court-martialled, and soldiers would be fined or imprisoned for being absent from the service. The compulsory 'church parade', in which soldiers marched together to attend religious services, had been a 'tradition' in the British army from the Restoration to its abolition after World War II. According to some assessments in the twentieth century, compulsory religious services were unpopular among soldiers.⁶⁹ Things were probably not much different in the eighteenth century: most soldiers' accounts do not mention church services at all. Moreover, religious services were not well-executed. The serious articles about divine services might be dead letters: according to the court-martial records, no one was actually sentenced for violating any religious regulation.⁷⁰ The service itself could be formulaic. Blackader observed

⁶⁸ H. Murtagh, 'Butler, Richard, first earl of Arran (1639–1686)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/58099> (26 June 2017); Blackader, *Diary*, pp. 179, 187; Herbert, 'Narrative', pp. 300, 305.

⁶⁹ J. A. Crang, 'The Abolition of Compulsory Church Parades in the British Army', *JEH*, 56/1 (2005), pp. 92–106, esp., 98.

⁷⁰ For the records of the courts-martial during the later Stuart period, see 'General Courts Martial', 1692–1710, TNA, WO 71/13; 'Courts Martial Proceedings: Papers', 1668–1697, TNA, WO 71/121.

in a thanksgiving service in 1705: 'these mouths come to His service hot from cursing and swearing, pretending to thank God for mercies they have no sense of; when the work is over, return to their trade of swearing and blasphemy'. He also recorded that a Sabbath service was interrupted by a false alarm, and it was not resumed afterwards.⁷¹

The failure of the Church to 'console' the hardship that soldiers experienced in military life might have contributed to the tension between the soldiers and the religious establishments. Captain William Morgan demonstrated such a strained relation. He wrote the following dialogue between a 'Private Centinel' and a 'Priest': when the priest greeted the soldier with 'Brother, I wish you Peace', the soldier replied 'Damn ye for a Rogue, I wish you no Purgatory, and then we shall both be Beggars'.⁷²

'God Was on Our Side for My Part'

It was interesting that Captain William Morgan chose a 'Private Centinel' to be the representative of the later Stuart soldiers. According to a military dictionary in 1702, 'sentinel' is '[a] private Soldier taken out of the *Corps de Garde*, and posted upon any spot of Ground, to stand and watch carefully for the security of the said Guard, of any Body of Troops, or Post, and prevent any surprize from the Enemy'.⁷³ Sentinels were on the front boundary between peacetime life and active engagement; they were deployed on the sides of camps and garrisons during peacetime, and they participated in combat as well; at least two sentinels were cited as

⁷¹ Blackader, *Diary*, pp. 252, 343.

⁷² Morgan, *Religio Militis*, dedication pages.

⁷³ *A Military Dictionary, Explaining All Difficult Terms in Martial Discipline, Fortification, and Gunnery* (London, 1702).

the authors of ballads on battles. One was referred to as ‘a Protestant Centinel of the English Forces’, while the refrain in a ballad by the other ‘Private Centinel’ is ‘Thus Protestant Soldiers still carry the day’.⁷⁴ It is possible that these ‘Centinels’ also carried some religious metaphors of vigilance, reminding soldiers they had battles to fight, temporal and spiritual.

Even though the image of hymn-singing puritan soldiers from the Cromwellian army was long gone, soldiers of the later Stuart army did more or less take religion into their combat experience. Some soldiers practised different levels of religiosity before battles. Marlborough had Francis Hare, his chaplain, officiate sacraments before the Battle of Blenheim in 1704, ‘in order to prepare him for another World, should he miscarry in the Attempt’.⁷⁵ Enthusiastic hymn singing at battle seemed not to be appealing to the later Stuart soldiers, but religious elements could still be expressed in their combat experience through spoken words. In the Siege of Kaiserswerth in 1702, John Scott, a Scottish soldier of Lord Portmore’s Regiment of Foot, stated that Scotsmen gave a German war cry ‘*Gott uns bewahre*’ which was probably learnt from the Swiss and Prussian contingents before the assault.⁷⁶ Fixed forms of prayer, usually Anglican, might have been more widely used. Anglican churchmen introduced some forms of prayers and ejaculations in their pamphlets for soldiers to read before and during the

⁷⁴ *A Brief Touch of the Irish Wars* (1690); *The Loyal Soldiers of Flanders* (1695).

⁷⁵ ‘Marlborough to the Duchess, 14th August 1704’, in *The Marlborough–Godolphin Correspondence*, ed. H. L. Snyder (3 vols, Oxford, 1975), i, p. 358; A. Maynwaring, *The Lives of the Two Illustrious Generals, John, Duke of Marlborough, and Francis Eugene, Prince of Savoy* (London, 1712), p. 72.

⁷⁶ Scott, ‘The Remembrance’, p. 326.

engagement.⁷⁷ It is not clear whether soldiers actually said these prayers in battle, but this practice as a morale boost may have been appreciated by some commanders. Scottish soldier Major-General Hugh MacKay of Scourie, a notable innovator of contemporary infantry tactics, wrote an essay about his doctrine in which he insisted that '[w]hen the Army is embattelled, and the Troops ready to march toward the Enemy', and commanders ought to 'affect a cheerful Countenance' to soldiers to 'Animate them to the Work'. In order to do so, a sample of prayer was given so that soldiers could 'freely expose their Lives to GOD'.⁷⁸ But praying in combat was not exclusive to the godly; even some of the vilest did not have to be taught to cry for God's help in an emergency. George Saunders, a Tangerine veteran who was executed as a highwayman in 1685, confessed that he 'had often taken God's Name in Vain, yet he Prayed to God sometimes to keep him from Evil Courses'. Another veteran, John Lee, who was condemned for murdering his comrade in 1698 confessed that he 'seldom thought on God, until he was ready to engage with the Enemy in Battle' and 'neglected to pray at other times'.⁷⁹ This is the early modern version of 'there are no atheists in foxholes'.

⁷⁷ *Forms of Prayer Collected for the Private Use of a Soldier* (London, 1687), pp. 42–4; A Member of the Athenian Society, *The Souldiers Manual, or Directions Prayers and Ejaculations for Such as Lead a Military Life* (London, 1694), pp. 18–19; J. Woodward, *The Soldier's Monitor* (London, 1715), pp. 58–9.

⁷⁸ H. MacKay, *Rule of the War for the Infantry, Ordered to Be Observed by Their Majesties Subjects Encountring with the Enemy upon the Day of Battel* (Edinburgh, 1693).

⁷⁹ 'Ordinary's Account, 4 March 1685', *Old Bailey Proceeding Online*, <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?div=OA16850304> (27 Feb. 2019); 'Ordinary's Account, 3 Aug. 1698', *Old Bailey Proceeding Online*, <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?div=OA16980803> (27 Feb. 2019).

If those profane souls somehow expected divine intervention in the heat of battle, it was more so for people as devout as General MacKay, who genuinely believed God would ‘come and help’ them and be ‘a Defence against the Enemy’ as he prayed. In his correspondence with George Melville, Secretary of State for Scotland, during the Jacobite Rising in Scotland in 1689, MacKay wrote that he rested upon providence of God ‘more than any direction or conduct of myn’ in his expedition to the Highlands, and he even remarked that it was providence of God that blinded Alexander Cannon, the Jacobite commander, and disheartened his Highlanders, so that the Jacobite army missed the best opportunity of two full days to defeat the Williamites before the Battle of Dunkeld.⁸⁰ Such a belief in divine providence was also shared by some less pious generals. Keith McLay suggests that Marlborough evaluated divine providence and the effort of soldiers equally in the achievement of victory in his letter to the House of Lords in 1704, but in his letter to the Duchess after his triumph at Ramillies in 1706, he wrote that ‘nobody living can more sincerely attribut the good success to Providence then I do, for I think the enemys taking the resolution to venture a battaile, which was so much against their intirest, could be by no other hand’.⁸¹ Similarly, Lieutenant-General George Hamilton, earl of Orkney, kept referring to God being ‘on our side for my part’ and insisting (in letters to his brother) that in regards to military achievements, ‘God will continue prosper us’.⁸²

⁸⁰ ‘Major-General MacKay to Lord Melvill, 24th July 1689’, in H. MacKay, *Memoirs of the War Carried on in Scotland and Ireland*, ed. J. M. Hog (Edinburgh, 1833), p. 247; Mackay, *Memoirs*, p. 69.

⁸¹ K. McLay, ‘The Blessed Trinity: The Army, the Navy and Providence in the Conduct of Warfare, 1688–1713’, in D. Onnekink (ed), *War and Religion after Westphalia, 1648–1713* (Farnham, 2009), p. 103; ‘Marlborough to the Duchess, 1st July 1706’, in *Marlborough–Godolphin Correspondence*, ii, p. 569.

⁸² G. Hamilton, ‘Letters of the First Lord Orkney during Marlborough’s Campaigns’, ed. H. H. E. Cra’ster, *EHR*, 19/74 (1904), pp. 314–16, 320–21.

Soldiers on the front line of battle also believed in divine intervention. An anonymous English dragoon serving in the Peninsula mentioned ‘with the bless of God’ or a similar phrase six times in his relatively short personal account; this is not likely to have been a mere formula, as he wrote ‘I did think we took but little notice of the Lord’s Providence over us’.⁸³ Matthew Bishop, an English soldier, recorded that at the Siege of Lille in 1708, his regiment ‘was cannonaded with great Violence’ by the French, his own hat was blown off to twenty yards away, but his regiment received little damage. He commented that this ‘was owing to Providence, and I had used to say to the Men, *trust to Providence and never fear*’. Irish soldier Captain Peter Drake was far less lucky: his unit was outnumbered by French dragoons in a skirmish during the Nine Years’ War, and 20 out of 25 men were killed at the spot. Yet, after he led the remaining five soldiers, including three wounded, into shelter in the woods, he still thanked ‘the Almighty’s Providence’ for escaping ‘without further Damage’.⁸⁴

Recent scholarship has affirmed the overriding presence of providence in the European soldier’s emotion on the battlefield in the early modern era until warfare was ‘secularised’ at the end of the eighteenth century.⁸⁵ However, it is worth noting that there was not a unanimous concept of ‘divine providence’ during the later Stuart period and that some soldiers’ idea of ‘providence’ deviated from the orthodox doctrine in the religious literature in the previous

⁸³ *A Royal Dragoon in the Spanish Succession War: A Contemporary Narrative*, ed. C. T. Atkinson (London, 1938), pp. 11, 37, 47, 51.

⁸⁴ M. Bishop, *The Life and Adventures of Matthew Bishop of Deddington, Oxfordshire* (London, 1744), pp. 185–6; P. Drake, *The Memoirs of Captain Peter Drake* (Dublin, 1755), pp. 68–9.

⁸⁵ Duffy, *Military Experience*, p. 5; D. Sturkenboom, ‘Battlefield Emotions in Early Modern Europe: Trends, Key Issues and Blind Spots’, in E. Kuijpers and C. van der Haven (eds), *Battlefield Emotions, 1500–1800: Practices, Experience, Imagination* (London, 2016), pp. 272–3.

chapter. For example, George Carleton used ‘providence’, ‘fortune’, and ‘fate’ to describe something beyond human endeavour in his memoir; for him, ‘providence’ seemed to be interchangeable with ‘fate’ and ‘fortune’, both of which were dismissed by religious writers as ‘pagan’ ideas.⁸⁶

Providential belief of the later Stuart soldiers was also different from the Cromwellian one during the Civil Wars. As Ian Gentles points out, the earlier providentialist worldview, together with victories, banished self-doubt and imbued soldiers with a ‘holy ruthlessness’, making them believe that they were the instrument of God to destroy Antichrist ‘Root and Branch’.⁸⁷ In contrast, the providentialism of the later Stuart soldiers seemed not to indicate a dehumanisation of the enemy. ‘Engagement prayers’ usually depicted the battlefield as a scene of a lawsuit, asking God to ‘judge between us and Our Enemies’ and pleading mercy for ‘our sins’.⁸⁸ Since a battle was between two groups of ‘sinners’, instead of pitting ‘saints’ against ‘Antichrist’, a sense of sympathy towards the enemy was shown in providential belief. Josiah Woodward suggested an ejaculation, ‘Lord, have Mercy and Pity upon all those poor Creatures that shall this Day lose their Lives, and receive them into thine Infinite Mercy’, while another ejaculation by the Athenian Society was ‘O Lord! Preserve me and my Friends, and forgive my Enemies’.⁸⁹ Some soldiers believed that divine providence might even spare the lives of

⁸⁶ Carleton, *Memoirs*, pp. 44, 103, 107. For the mixed usage of ‘providence’ and ‘fortune’, see D. Randall, ‘Providence, Fortune, and the Experience of Combat: English Printed Battlefield Reports, circa 1570–1637’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 35/4 (2004), pp. 1053–77. For the rejection of ‘fate’ or ‘fortune’ by religious writers, see Woodward, *Monitor*, p. 16.

⁸⁷ Gentles, *New Model Army*, pp. 107–8.

⁸⁸ *Forms of Prayer*, p. 44; MacKay, *Rule of the War for the Infantry*.

⁸⁹ Woodward, *Soldier’s Monitor*, p. 59; Athenian Society, *Souldiers Manual*, p. 19.

enemies during the battles. At the Battle of Blenheim, the Elector of Bavaria and Marshal Marsin managed to escape through the pass of Nördlingen at night when the Allied forces were fatigued. Captain Robert Parker remarked that ‘it may rather be said, that Providence interposed, which seeing the slaughter of the day, thought it sufficient; Otherwise few, if any of them, could have escaped’.⁹⁰

In fact, even during the Civil Wars, as Barbara Donagan points out, enmity raised by ‘holy ruthlessness’ was mitigated by the shared professional value of military honour.⁹¹ Such a martial ethos seemed to find its root in the Middle Ages, but it was not merely a revival of medieval chivalry. There was a mismatch in the early modern British soldiering. On the one hand, soldiers, especially those who were from aristocratic backgrounds, were still influenced by the chivalrous ideas of valour, glory, and honour, and attempted to pursue them in professional careers. This led to pervasive duelling and brawling as methods of defending one's honour among soldiers as well as among courtiers in early modern Britain. On the other hand, these values and behaviours could hardly be accommodated alongside the evolution of missile weapons and linear warfare, which demanded great amounts of discipline, obedience and steadiness.⁹² Some later Stuart soldiers detected the feebleness of the old martial ethos in their experience of combat. George Carleton recorded a gentleman volunteer at the naval Battle of

⁹⁰ Parker, *Memoirs*, p. 93.

⁹¹ B. Donagan, ‘The Web of Honour: Soldiers, Christians, and Gentlemen in the English Civil War’, *HJ*, 44/2 (2001), pp. 365–89.

⁹² See R. B. Manning, *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 5–8; L.

MacMahon, ‘Chivalry, Military Professionalism and the Early Tudor Army in Renaissance Europe: A Reassessment’, in D. J. B. Trim (ed), *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism* (Leiden, 2003), p. 210.

Sole Bay during the Third Anglo–Dutch War, who ‘was of known personal courage’ and whose ‘sword never having failed him in many private duels’. But ‘when the bullets whizzed over his head’ during the battle, he cowardly ran from the deck down to the hold. Thus, Carleton remarked upon the significance of religion in combat: ‘True courage cannot proceed from what Sir Walter Raleigh finely calls the art or philosophy of quarrel. No! It must be the issue of principle, and can have no other basis than a steady tenant of religion’.⁹³

‘Death and Immortality’

Of course, not every soldier behaved like this cowardly gentleman at Sole Bay. Colonel Richard Nicolls, a former Royalist cavalry commander and the first Governor of the Province of New York, lost his life as a volunteer soldier during the same battle. It is not clear from the available evidence whether he based his courage on ‘a steady tenant of religion’ or not, but his valiant deed was undergirded by the church. His body was buried in St Andrew’s Church in his hometown, Ampthill, Bedfordshire, and the cannonball which killed him was laid there as a part of his funeral monument, with an inscription ‘*Instrumentum Mortis et Immortalitatis*’, ‘an instrument of death and immortality’.⁹⁴

Indeed, cannonballs and bullets which killed some soldiers made their valour ‘immortal’, either physically or intellectually. Elegies were published for at least four commanders who were killed in action or died of their wounds. The Duke of Schomberg and the Reverend-Colonel

⁹³ Carleton, *Memoirs*, p. 19.

⁹⁴ R. C. Ritchie, ‘Nicolls, Richard (1624–1672)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004),

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20182> (26 June 2017).

George Walker, who were killed at the Battle of the Boyne, were praised thus: ‘Immortal thou shalt be through Earth’s vast round’ and ‘Great WALKER ever shall record thy Name’. Lieutenant-General Thomas Tollemache was shot in his thigh during the Battle of Camaret in 1694, and the wound deteriorated so rapidly that he died within a month. The clergyman poet Edmund Arwaker wrote a long elegy for him, extolling him, ‘While in a peaceful Grave his Body lies/The Guardian Relick of our Isle’.⁹⁵

‘Immortal’ glory was not just for fallen commanders; generals who died peacefully also received honours. A memorial for Lieutenant-General Cornelius Wood, who died in 1712, was erected just under the ceiling of St Leonard’s Church in Aston Clinton, Buckinghamshire, with trophies of arms and an inscription reading, ‘So long His Honour, Praise & Name will last’.⁹⁶ Lieutenant-General Richard Ingoldsby was accorded a grand funeral in Dublin in 1712. Among the long parade from his house to Christ Church were foot soldiers, cavalry, artillerymen, physicians, clerks, chaplains and, of course, drummers and trumpeters. After his body was interred, twenty guns fired three rounds, and then three regiments deployed on Castle Street, High Street, and Christ Churchyard answered with a volley of fire.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ *An Elegy on the Unfortunate, Though Glorious Deaths, of That Most Noble Prince and Famous General Frederick Duke of Schomberg, and the Reverend and Truly Valiant Dr. George Walker* (London, 1690); E. Awarker, *An Elegy on His Excellency Leutenane-General Tolmach* (London, 1694), p. 8. See also *An Elegy on the Death of His Grace the Duke of Grafton* (London, 1690); F. Hext, *An Elegy: Sacred to the Memory of the High-born Prince Henry, D. of Grafton* (London, 1690).

⁹⁶ S. Ede-Borrett, ‘The Memorial of Lieutenant-General Cornelius Wood (1637–1712)’, *JSAHR*, 91/336 (2013), pp. 144–5.

⁹⁷ *The Form of the Proceeding to the Funeral of Lieutenant General Ingoldsby* (Dublin, 1712).

However, passionate elegies, magnificent memorials, and pompous funerals were the peculiarity of generals. The management of deceased soldiers, in battles or in peace, reflected the social hierarchy of later Stuart Britain. For example, Lieutenant-General Charles Howard, earl of Carlisle, was buried in York Minster, while Christopher, George Monck's dissolute son who inherited the ducal title and a series of military and political offices from his renowned father, was buried in Westminster Abbey after he died in Jamaica in 1688.⁹⁸ The treatment of Viscount Dundee's body after Killcrankie was a little sloppy – his armour and clothes were stripped off, but his remains were soon placed in a crude coffin and interred in St Bride's Church, Blair, and his armour and clothes were also recovered by his brother.⁹⁹

Even though the religious writers taught soldiers that angels would convey their souls to eternal happiness after their deaths, it seemed that only notable commanders who died overseas in battle could enjoy the privilege of having their bodies transported back home. Colonel Charles Fitzcharles, the illegitimate son of Charles II, drank some contaminated water after an intense fight in Tangier in 1680 and soon died of dysentery. His body was escorted by his friend Lord Mordaunt to London and was interred in Westminster Abbey. Lieutenant-General Sir John

⁹⁸ G. Goodwin, 'Howard, Charles, first earl of Carlisle (1628–1685)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13886> (26 June 2017); R. Clifton, 'Monck, Christopher, second duke of Albemarle (1653–1688)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18938> (26 June 2017).

⁹⁹ M. Linklater and C. Hesketh, *For King and Conscience: John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee* (London, 1989), pp. 220–21.

Lanier died at the tragic Battle of Steenkerke in 1692, and his corpse was sent back to England by an Admiralty yacht.¹⁰⁰

By contrast, respectful treatment towards the ‘unknown soldier’ was still far away; the sources about burials of ‘rank and file’ right after battles are very obscure. Soldiers usually just ‘vanished’ from the records after they were slain, so it is reasonable to assume that they ended up in mass graves.¹⁰¹ However, unmarked mass graves for later Stuart soldiers might be hard to find: a modern survey did not find any burial for the thousands of fallen soldiers at the Battle of Oudenarde in 1708, at least not in anywhere near the core of the battlefield, and it is the same for those at the Battle of Malplaquet in 1709, probably the bloodiest battle in eighteenth-century Europe.¹⁰² Nevertheless, disposal of dead bodies would have been hasty, due to the necessity to prevent pestilence, especially during the warmer campaigning seasons. But there were also occasions that corpses were left to rot after combats, at least for a few days. After the Battle of Schellenberg in 1704, John Blackader ‘went alone into the field of battle, and there got a preaching from the dead’. He described the scene thus: ‘[t]he carcasses were very thick strewed upon the ground, naked and corrupting’ and according to the date in his diary,

¹⁰⁰ J. Callow, ‘Fitzcharles, Charles, earl of Plymouth (c. 1657–1680)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004),

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9540> (26 June 2017); P. Wauchope, ‘Lanier, Sir John (d. 1692)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16050> (26 June 2017).

¹⁰¹ See Funke, ‘Religion and the Military’, pp. 171–5; G. Hanlon, *Italy 1636: Cemetery of Armies* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 169–70.

¹⁰² G. Foard and T. Partida, ‘The Archaeology of Medieval and Early Modern Battlefields in Flanders’, *Journal of Conflict Archaeology*, 13/1 (2018), p. 24; K. J. Hatzinger, ‘Establishing the American Way of Death: World War I and the Foundation of the United States’ Policy Toward the Repatriation and Burial of Its Battlefield Dead’ (M.A. dissertation, University of North Texas, 2015), p. 7.

these corpses had been exposed on the ground for about ten days.¹⁰³ Even worse, about 400 English soldiers were killed by Moors in an ambush outside Tangier in 1664, and the unburied bones could still be seen in the green glades ten years later until the English forces regained control of this area and gave them proper Christian burials.¹⁰⁴

Moreover, though many early modern emergency burials for civilians after plagues were still carefully arranged, ready for the resurrection in the Second Coming, soldiers' bodies in military mass graves were usually damaged.¹⁰⁵ Looting of clothes and other possessions from the fallen soldiers was common, conducted by enemies, civilians and even comrades.¹⁰⁶ Mathew Bishop mentioned this practice several times, and he thought it was an 'intolerable Barbarity'. When Mother Ross found the body of her husband after Malplaquet, a strange man was stripping her husband; he was killed by Mother Ross in a great fury.¹⁰⁷ But it is wrong to assume later Stuart soldiers were generally apathetic towards the bodies of their comrades and even foes. During the Siege of Namur in 1695, the defenders negotiated a truce of one day just for the burial of the dead. Matthew Bishop's unit surprised a French regiment before Oudenarde in 1708, but they did not chase the retreating French – not only because they had just had a long march but also because they had to 'bury our Dead on the Morrow'.¹⁰⁸ After a victory in Tangier in 1680, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Sackville ordered that the bodies of the dead Moors within the

¹⁰³ Blackader, *Diary*, p. 219.

¹⁰⁴ E. M. G. Routh, *Tangier: England's Lost Atlantic Outpost, 1661–1684* (London, 1912), pp. 68–9, 280.

¹⁰⁵ T. W. Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains* (Princeton, NJ, 2015), p. 126.

¹⁰⁶ This conduct is presented in the contemporary paintings on Ramillies and Malplaquet by Louis Laguerre.

¹⁰⁷ Bishop, *Life and Adventures*, pp. 210, 212, 216; *Mrs Christian Davies*, pp. 47–8.

¹⁰⁸ Blackader, *Diary*, p. 137; Bishop, *Life and Adventures*, pp. 159–160.

English line be sent out that day.¹⁰⁹ Soldiers also lamented their fallen comrades. George Carleton tried to recall as many names as possible of the soldiers killed at the Battle of Sole Bay and the Battle of Saint-Denis in 1678 when he was writing his memoir decades later. In the story of Mother Ross, several soldiers and soldiers' wives came to comfort her in her bereavement, preventing her from an indulgence of grief.¹¹⁰

Burying soldiers during peacetime might indeed be easier, but articles of war did not provide any explicit instructions about dealing with soldiers who died in such circumstances. The army probably paid for the burial of a soldier in a parish church. In 1668, the Duke of Ormonde issued a warrant to the Irish army that 'in case any souldier doe die between the monthly musters, then the captain or officer commanding in chiefe the company providing a certificate from the minister of the parish where such souldier is buried, he shallt allowed the benefit of that muster, without cheque, to defray the charge of his buriall'.¹¹¹ But the peacetime death of soldiers seems largely to have remained a civil issue. The wills of soldiers were under ecclesiastical rather than military jurisdiction: hundreds of soldiers' wills from the later Stuart period are held in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Interestingly, they were identified as not only soldiers but also parishioners, and many soldiers' wills highlight both their units and their parishes.¹¹² Even soldiers who passed away overseas might have wanted to connect to a

¹⁰⁹ J. Halkett, 'Tangier — 1680: The Diary of Sir James Halkett', ed. H. M. McCance, *JSAHR*, 1 (1922), p. 19.

¹¹⁰ Carleton, *Memoirs*, pp. 20, 42; *Mrs Christian Davies*, pp. 47–51.

¹¹¹ 'Warrant, by the Duke of Ormonde, for a Monthly Muster of the Regiment of Guards: Written from Dublin Castle', 6 Apr. 1668, Oxford Bodleian MS Carte 163, fo. 59.

¹¹² E. g., 'Will of Thomas Atkinson, Soldier in the Duke of Albermarle's Regiment of Foot Quartering at Saint Clement Danes in Middlesex of Fenningham, Lincolnshire', 14 Jan. 1661, TNA, PROB 11/303/67; 'Will of

local church nearby. Dr John Higgins, the regimental surgeon of the Royal English Regiment and a friend of Henry Herbert, died of disease in Nancy. The funeral was administered by a Huguenot pastor and attended by the local Protestant congregation. The pastor provided Herbert with a certificate stating that his friend remained true to the Reformation doctrines to his last breath.¹¹³

Death itself was undoubtedly an overwhelming experience for soldiers when they saw their comrades die or faced death themselves. Matthew Bishop was shocked when he saw ‘a great many dead Bodies floating about’ after the ill-fated Quebec Expedition in 1711.¹¹⁴ Soldiers were clear about the danger of death. Bishop observed a popular saying in the army when recruitment was commissioned: ‘they are going in order to bring over those that were killed in the last Campaign’.¹¹⁵ Religious writers taught soldiers to look to religion and despise the fear of death, but not every soldier dealing with death was driven by conviction. Soldiers might not think about death at all at some crucial moments of fighting, let alone overcome the fear of it by reason. Most soldiers’ personal accounts do not reveal much about their mentality concerning the danger of death, though Ralph Houlbrooke suggests that standing together with comrades as a unit throughout military life diminished the individual’s fear of death.¹¹⁶

Thomas Smith, Soldier Color Sergeant of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex’, 20 Mar. 1695, TNA, PROB 11/424/465.

¹¹³ Herbert, ‘Narrative’, pp. 355–6.

¹¹⁴ Bishop, *Life and Adventures*, p. 251.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

¹¹⁶ R. Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480–1750* (Oxford, 1998), p. 78.

Conclusion

In his famous normative guidance book, *The Gentlemen Instructed*, Jesuit writer William Darrell set a dialogue between a 'Eusebius' and a 'Leander' about the duty of a soldier. As a wise and godly man with experience in college, camp, and court, Eusebius speaks eloquently about the lack of religion among soldiers and the importance of keeping religion alive in the camp. Then Leander, an army officer, asks 'Do you think Religion is banish'd the Camp? Why, Sir, I fear we have too much than too little?'¹¹⁷

Whether Leander is right or not depends on how we understand religion in early modern Britain. If we project the modern perception that religion is a *personal* commitment or conviction to the early modern period, most later Stuart soldiers, apart from some notable exceptions, who were known for excessive drinking, cursing, womanising, gambling and duelling were anything but religious. As we have seen in the previous chapters, however, religion was a public institution that was established in both society and the army, as well as a predominant worldview heavily embedded into soldiers' understanding of warfare and death, regardless of whether their belief deviated from orthodox doctrine. In this sense, religion was not 'Banish'd the Camp'; instead, soldiers came to the camp under the Sacramental oath, spent the rest of their military life with the presence of religion, and ended up with death as 'Christian' as possible.

Therefore, the religious establishment would worsen soldiers' conditions if it failed to console the 'melancholia' they experienced. Later Stuart soldiers were both from and still in

¹¹⁷ W. Darrell, *A Supplement to the First Part of the Gentleman Instructed* (London, 1708), p. 197.

an environment where religion played a crucial role, so the absence and maladies of the established church did not set soldiers 'free' for alternative philosophies. In this sense, the harsh criticism against the profaneness of soldiers or the acute reaction by Captain Morgan towards the church does not show the lack of religion in the later Stuart army because such uneasy interactions might not happen in the first place if religion did not matter to soldiers or the other way around. Instead, these frictions paradoxically indicate the close relation among the army, the church and the state.

Conclusion

The religious and military history of the later Stuart period lacks the drama of the Civil War, ‘the last War of Religion in Europe’.¹ Nor was it yet the beginning of the heyday of *Pax Britannia*, characterised by the overseas missions as well as global military expansion. Of course, the period 1660–1714 saw important changes of its own, from the New Model Army who sang Psalms to show their godliness, to the Redcoats who sang *British Grenadiers* to show their gallantry, but this thesis is not intended to be a mere religious history of the later Stuart soldiers in the light of the ‘new military history’.

Instead, it has sought to locate the foundation and growth of the British army in the context of the later Stuart period as a crucial transitional era in wider British history. At the beginning of this period when Charles II was restored, Britain was an unstable composite monarchy of three kingdoms recovering from the wounds inflicted by devastating civil wars and experimental military rule. By the Peace of Utrecht which marked the period’s end, Britain had been transformed into a significant military, colonial, and commercial power of growing global importance. In terms of the politics of religion, a persecuting society with an ‘incomprehensive’ established church eventually accommodated liberty of conscience for all mainstream Protestants. And in terms of the military, the modern British army evolved from the tiny mixture of the former rivals in the civil wars to a formidable land force in Europe. Both developments deserve to be looked at in their own right, but this study attempts to combine them by examining the tangled establishment of the church and the army, how it came into

¹ J. Morrill, ‘The Religious Context of the English Civil War’, *TRHS*, 34 (1984), p. 178

being through all the political-religious upheavals after the Restoration, and how it was articulated to the soldiers in various aspects and in different ways.

One could easily put Britain into the wider picture of the development of standing armies in *Ancien Régime* Europe, as the British officers shared with and learnt from their Continental counterparts in weaponry, tactics, ranking, and command systems.² On the other hand, while the Redcoats were coming to resemble other European soldiers, their distinction from the civil population grew gradually, with their identity being highlighted by uniforms, *esprit de corps*, and barracks. Military historians of Britain have already broken away from the traditional nationalistic peculiarity and have begun to write a history of the British army by painting them as simply red-coated members of a common European military culture.

Without disputing the significance of the wider European context, this study demonstrates a different dynamic in the growth of the British army. Though growing distinct in some respects, the British army was being incorporated in other ways into the wider society where religion played a fundamental role. On the other hand, despite all the similarities, it was religion that differentiated the British army from the French and differentiated Marlborough from his fellow protégés of Marshal Turenne, such as Tallard and Villars. For Marlborough, religion was more than the sacrament he received before Blenheim or the thanksgiving he gave after. Compared to the Continental armies, the British officership was usually gentry rather than aristocratic.³ This fact ensured a close link between the army officers and clergymen, another career choice

² S. Conway, 'The Eighteenth-century British Army as a European Institution', in K. Lynch and M. McCormack (eds), *Britain's Soldiers: Rethinking War and Society, 1715–1815* (Liverpool, 2014), pp. 17–38.

³ J. Childs, *Armies and Warfare in Europe, 1648–1789* (Manchester, 1982), pp. 79–80.

for gentry sons. The traditional approach towards professionalism suggests the separation of a body of professionals from the rest of the society, as well as the developments within this body.⁴ However, Chapter 1 revealed the overlaps and parallels between the two important professions of the realm, emphasising the connections with other professions and the society for professionalisation. Army officers and clergymen were both involved in the networks of patronage, through which early modern society worked, and they were linked to the monarch as the Supreme Commander of the Forces and the Supreme Governor of the Church. Therefore, army officers and clergymen shared a similar experience of all the political upheavals across this period. After the relatively quiet 1660s, fear of ‘Popery and Arbitrary Government’ made the public concerned about the ‘popish’ inclination of the Church and subjugation of the people by a standing army. After James II came to the throne in 1685, his pro-Catholic policies were resisted by many members of both institutions: seven bishops were thrown into the Tower of London for refusing the Declaration of Indulgence, and six ‘Portsmouth Captains’ were discharged for rejecting Catholic soldiers. Conspiracies involving both soldiers and clergymen ushered the Glorious Revolution in 1688, which eventually overthrew James. The new Williamite regime proved to be uneasy for the army and the church, however, as hundreds of clergymen became nonjurors and several English commanders fell from favour.

Chapter 2 examined the use of the army in religious persecution in England and Scotland as well as the impact of the military presence on religious affairs in Ireland and the overseas colonies. Deploying soldiers to coerce religious minorities was a pan-European practice even after the Peace of Westphalia and again indicated the associations between the standing armies

⁴ E. g., D. J. B. Trim, ‘Introduction’, in idem (ed), *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 6-11.

and the established churches common throughout Europe. On the other side of the English Channel, however, the lack of a centralised organisation, strength, or sophisticated bureaucracy prevented the Redcoats from enforcing the religious uniformity to the level that soldiers accomplished in France, Piedmont-Savoy, and the Habsburg lands. English soldiers were sent to arrest dissenting ministers and break conventicles under the instructions of the local magistrates, while Scottish troops imposed Episcopacy upon the mainly Presbyterian population, but neither managed to alter the original religious landscape and even worse, the Scottish persecution provoked Covenanter uprisings intermittently till the Glorious Revolution. Likewise, the military governors in Ireland and the other colonies found it difficult to push their agenda to promote the Church of England due to unstable and complicated local situations; therefore, compromise and collaboration became the most they could expect. Even though using standing armies to subdue the population is conventionally regarded as a default criterion of 'state formation' in early modern Europe, we see that soldiers who were trained, equipped and organised in similar ways met with different outcomes in Britain compared to Continental cases. The British army was never an instrument purely at the disposal of the monarchy. It was an institution heavily bound to society, and its performance in suppressing religious dissenters was restrained by the weak state structure and the special religious climate in the British Isles.

Chapter 3 explored the confessional minorities serving in the later Stuart army. Just like many other European armies, those of the later Stuarts incorporated soldiers of different religious convictions. Roman Catholics, Scottish Presbyterians, and French Huguenots were present both as individuals and regiments at points across this period, but the religious politics in Britain eventually dismantled such multiconfessionalism. Roman Catholicism was undoubtedly problematic due to anti-Catholic sentiment, as Catholic officers were shunted in and out of Charles II's army, while the scheme to Catholicise the Irish army raised alarms

which in turn contributed to James II's downfall. As fellow Protestants, however, the Huguenot soldiers fleeing from France met a surprisingly cool welcome in Britain. All four Huguenot regiments in the English establishment had to be disbanded, for a distinctive Huguenot identity was not encouraged in the army or the church. In an early modern society without a full or equal religious settlement, religious dissenters, Catholic and Protestant alike, were seen as politically subversive. As an institution of the nascent state, the army was rendered politically unreliable by the religious dissenters, so it became necessary to purge (in the Catholic cases) or reduce (in the Huguenot cases) soldiers of confessional minorities, regardless of their military capacity. The only exception was the Scottish Presbyterians. After the Presbyterian government was restored in the Church of Scotland in 1690, some Scottish regiments, such as the Earl of Angus's Regiment of Foot and the Earl of Leven's Regiment of Foot, were able to maintain their Presbyterian identity by incorporating themselves into the jurisdiction of the Kirk and receiving Presbyterian ministers as chaplains from it. The different fates of these confessional minorities show the unspoken connection between the British army and the monarchy's established churches.

The majority of the Redcoats were supposed to be Anglicans, and such an affiliation was represented by the army chaplaincy, which is the topic of Chapter 4. The regimental chaplains were generally ordained priests of the Church of England, and many even held parochial livings at the same time, as shown in the prosopographical survey of about 400 chaplains. Unlike the French or the Prussian armies, where the chaplaincies were centralised and bureaucratised, the chaplaincy in the later Stuart army was not organised in a hierarchical manner, subject to a single, centred authority. Instead, individual chaplains were connected to their colonels or some other military commanders. Their main duty was not to cultivate soldiers of piety or to console them in their harsh military life, but instead to attend their regiments overseas and to read the

prayers just as they did in their own parishes. The army chaplaincies in some Continental armies were constructed in a 'mission' model by assigning particular churchmen, such as Jesuits or Pietists, to undertake special ministry. But the later Stuart army chaplaincy demonstrated an alternative 'parish' model as normal clergymen were commissioned for normal service. Before the foundation of the Royal Army Chaplains' Department in 1796, the regimental chaplaincy was more or less a duplicate of the parish system, with the chaplain-vicars, chosen by their military patrons, to provide services for parishioners-in-arms. This could explain the ineffectiveness of the regimental chaplaincy, as it shared all the maladies of the established church. Furthermore, incorporating regiments into the parochial system not only reinforced the Anglican characteristic of the British army (except for a few Scottish units) but also implied that the army was an integrated element of wider society.

Nonetheless, religion was not merely an ecclesiastical institution for the later Stuart army. Chapter 5 explored the idea of 'Christian soldier' through the religious literature published in military contexts. These texts, including sermons, exemplars, prayer books, and religious manuals, were intended to cultivate various virtues in their readers in the army, by putting warfare into a religious framework and providing specific behavioural norms. The religious writers depicted the wars as a Godly undertaking to restore and preserve Christian peace and attributed victories and defeats to divine Providence, in order to teach the soldiers to fear and obey God, and then, by extension, all the civil, ecclesiastical, and military authorities installed by Him. This kind of literature was intended to instruct soldiers to live a decent life in the army, and some pamphlets such as *The Soldier's Monitor* by Josiah Woodward were widely circulated among soldiers, but the general readership and reception of this kind of literature were unclear. Nevertheless, the presence of religious literature for soldiers was not unique during the later Stuart period; similar tracts were published to enforce moral principles upon

various social groups, such as seamen, young persons, and the poor. All these efforts were part of the Reformation of Manners, a social campaign to promote discipline and religious morality from the end of the seventeenth century to the early eighteenth century, precisely when the standing army debate also grew more heated. The fact that soldiers were included in this project to improve the overall morality of society provided an antidote for anti-army sentiment, as many religious writers recognised the necessity to integrate the army into the realm, rather than to reject it.

So long as the army was closely linked to society, religion was bound to play an important role in military life, regardless of the relative profanity of the soldiers or the inefficiency of the chaplains. Chapter 6 covered the roles of religion in four different parts of military life: recruitment, peacetime life, combat, and death. Only a few soldiers joined the army for religious zeal to defend the Protestant cause from Catholic France, but every recruit was bound by the religious oath he took during enlistment, to serve the monarch and to obey any officers appointed by him/her, so any soldier who violated military regulations would be punished as an 'oath breaker'. When the soldiers were not in combat, they were obliged to attend religious service regularly. Such a practice was known as 'church parade', a tradition which lasted for nearly 300 years in the British army to highlight its connection with the established church. However, the maladies of the religious establishment prevented it from consoling the 'melancholy' experience of soldiers who were on prolonged service on foreign soil, and this situation in turn undermined the religiosity and morality of soldiers, as many of them turned to alcoholism, womanising, and other vices.

No matter how profane they were, soldiers found the religious worldview prominent, and through it they could make sense of the things which happened on the battlefields. Many soldiers referred to divine providence when they were describing their combat experience, though their understanding of providentialism might deviate from the orthodox teaching of theologians. The chaotic situation of battles made a proper burial a luxury for fallen soldiers, especially the rank and file, but dying in a Christian way was still something soldiers could expect if possible. The nature of religious activities in the army might have been constrained by the unsettled military life, but nevertheless, the Redcoats were not without religion. On one hand, soldiers were recruited from parishes where religion remained indispensable in social and intellectual life; on the other hand, the military establishment, despite the ineffectiveness, was trying to keep soldiers within the ecclesiastical framework and to prevent them from becoming social outcasts.

More broadly, this thesis investigated Britain as a ‘fiscal-military state’ and as a ‘confessional state’ or at least how well the country could fit these two historical metanarratives. This study has shown some features that characterise a ‘fiscal-military state’ or ‘confessional state’: development of a professional army, efforts to enforce religious uniformity (with the help of soldiers), discipline and regulation on the life of subjects (soldiers in this case), alliance between church and state (including the army), etc. These two models as forms of state formation tend to highlight centralisation and uniformity as hallmarks of progressive modernity: the authority managed to mobilise resources, especially money and manpower, to achieve —

in various ways, including war — a unitary nation-state — a unified political jurisdiction of course, but religious uniformity also mattered.⁵

But such a neat narrative sits uneasily in the case of Britain, which provides a counter-narrative of ‘composite monarchy’ characterised by localisation and devolution.⁶ Indeed, though Charles II managed to have all the three kingdoms under the same Episcopal church using the same prayer book, the Church of Ireland never became the Irish national church, the Scots restored their Presbyterian church, and England began to tolerate its dissenting subjects — let alone the schism within the Church of England itself. The British army forged its affiliation with the established church by purging Roman Catholic soldiers and disbanding the Huguenot regiments, but the ‘established church’ should be plural as the English regiments followed the Church of England while the Scottish regiment followed the Kirk. The British army did bear the agenda to promote religious conformity in all Stuart realms, but Britain was so ‘composite’ that the authorities in different kingdoms pursued conformity on their own terms — English troops did not travel north until the Scots army was defeated by the Covenanters in 1679, and the Irish government did not even seek help from the other side of St George’s Channel in facing the vibrant dissenting movement.

⁵ Michael Braddick incorporates these two themes in his classical examination of the British state formation.

See M. J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550–1700* (Cambridge, 2000).

⁶ For a classical comparative study on the composite monarchies, see J. H. Elliot, ‘A Europe of Composite Monarchies’, *Past & Present*, 137/4 (1992), pp. 48–71.

Likewise, the thesis on ‘fiscal-military state’ has been revised by the fact of ‘composite monarchy’ in the British case, just as a recent work refers to Britain as ‘fiscal-military states’.⁷ Professional armies are usually regarded as important *instruments* for state formation so that it deserved a lion’s share of the revenues of ‘fiscal-military state’, but this thesis suggests that the British army itself became an *object* in the formation of the ‘composite state’. The creation of a permanent military institution did not change the politics of religion in all the Three Kingdoms but was rather shaped by them — just as James II’s army in unprecedented strength deserted him in 1688 and was later purged and affiliated with Anglican or Presbyterian churches.

Perhaps, it is better to save the singular ‘British nation’ for the international sphere, where Anglican and Presbyterian soldiers could largely leave their differences behind for Protestant nationhood in Europe and beyond. Though the religious ‘nature’ of the wars against Louis XIV is still debatable, it is clear that, as this thesis demonstrates, the wars were explained to soldiers in religious discourse, similar to the way they understood the battles: Divine Providence was to punish the princes who broke Christian peace, just as it was to guide the soldiers through the uncertainty on the battlefields. Thus, while the intertwining between religion and the army reveals the composite character of the later Stuart states *internally*, it also shows the unity of the British nation *externally*. The theses on ‘fiscal-military state’ and ‘confessional state’ tend to focus on the developments within territorial boundaries, but the case of Britain displays the significance of finding a place in the European system. The state formation of Britain was less about how ‘Presbyterian’ Scotland emerged with ‘Anglican’ England than about how

⁷ A. Graham and P. Walsh, ‘Introduction’, in A. Graham and P. Walsh (eds), *The British Fiscal-Military States, 1660–c. 1783* (Abingdon, 2016), pp. 21–4.

‘Protestant’ England and Scotland found a shared place in rivalry with ‘Catholic’ France and the Jacobites. This ‘externality’ of the British state would break from the classic state-formation narratives which enshrine centralisation and conformity, and the intertwining between religion and the army might be helpful to understand this aspect.

Moreover, this entanglement did not stop at the Rhine or the Danube – it travelled to the rest of the world through the British Empire. The army and the church were both important agencies of British imperialism and have been respectively studied in the colonial contexts.⁸ But just as this thesis suggests, they were also highly entangled with each other. A Chinese scholar in the early twentieth century had a famous saying: ‘[W]hile Buddha came to China on white elephants, *Christ* was borne on *cannon balls*’.⁹ Of course, these words are full of nationalistic emotions, and they do not actually mean that Westerners tried to spread Christianity by force in China, but they indicate that military affairs and religion were not always perceived separately in the nineteenth-century colonial contexts, just as the eighteenth-century Britons did not always put the army and the church in different categories either.

⁸ E. g., M. N. McConnell, *Army and Empire: British Soldiers on the American Frontier, 1758–1775* (London, 2004); R. Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, 1700–1850* (Oxford, 2007); H. M. Carey, *God’s Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c. 1801–1908* (Cambridge, 2011); M. Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion: The Forgotten History of the British Soldiers from the Age of Marlborough to the Eve of the First World War* (London, 2005), pp. 1–3. For another effort of comprehensive studies, see also S. Conway, ‘War, Imperial Expansion and Religious Developments in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland’, *War in History*, 11/2 (2004), pp. 125–47.

⁹ Chiang M., *Tides from the West: A Chinese Autobiography* (New Haven, 1947), p. 4.

Thus, this thesis endeavoured to explore the potential methodology in combining church history and military history. It is challenging as this attempt sits uneasily within the current structure of historical scholarship. Church history and military history are traditionally classified into two distinct disciplines. This affects the way in which historical materials are archived and organised, as every historical source has to be in either category. Even though the 'new' military history encourages researchers to study non-military aspects, including religion, this approach may risk being self-contained by viewing the army as a distinct group, cut off from the wider society. To avoid such potential weaknesses, some basic concepts should be reconsidered: Is religion merely a set of doctrines and commitments or also a body of institutions? Is an army a socially isolated group or an integral part of society? The answers given in the twenty-first century must be different from those in the early modern period.

Appendix I

List of the Later Stuart Army Chaplains

Foreword

This list of 407 army chaplains is mostly extracted from the army lists by Col. Charles Dalton. Dalton's lists, albeit exhaustive, only provide the basic information such as date of commission and unit, but cross-referencing it with the ecclesiastical and university records could demonstrate more detailed profiles of these chaplains, including their age, education and ecclesiastical career. Due to the scarcity of sources, however, some chaplains could not be identified. Some identified chaplains might be mistaken for their namesakes.

Explanation of Marks and Abbreviations

Names of chaplains marked with asterisk are not included in Charles Dalton's lists. Names of chaplains in CAPITALS have entries in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Dates in *italic* are assumed: for the date of birth, the person is assumed to be admitted or matriculated in university at the age of 18; the end of service is assumed to be when another person took the post or the disbandment of the regiment.

For military service: F., Regiment of Foot; H., Regiment of Horse; D., Regiment of Dragoons; M., Regiment of Marines. Name of place stands for the garrison or forces in respective place.

For church ordination: ADc., archdeacon; B., bishop; Cn., canon; Cr., curate; D., dean; Dc., deacon; M., minister; Pb., prebendary; Ps., priest; R. rector; V., vicar.

Name	Birth	Service	Education	Ordination
LANCELOT ADDISON*	1632	Dunkirk 1660-3 Tangier 1663-70	BA (Oxon) 1655; MA (Oxon) 1657	V. 1662; R. 1670; D. 1683
John Allen	n/a	Royal D. 1702-8	MA 1697	Reader 1697
Josias Alsop	1663	Queen Dowager's F. 1694-1710	BA (Cantab) 1684; MA (Cantab) 1688; BD (Cantab) 1696	V. 1699; R. 1700
George Anderson	1676	Viscount Teviot's D. 1706-14	Greek class (Glas) 1696	M. 1706
William Andrews	1682	1st Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards 1708-17	BA (Oxon) 1700; MA (Oxon) 1702	Dc. 1700; Ps. 1702
Daniel Appleford	1643	Queen's D. 1702-10	BA (Oxon) 1666; MA (Oxon) 1670	R. 1680
John Armstead	1666	Richard Ingoldsby's F. 1693-1702	BA (TCD) 1685; MA (TCD) 1688	Vicar choral 1696; Pb. 1700
Edmund Arwaker	1660	Queen Dowager's H. 1687-1702 Frederick Hamilton's F. 1694-1711	MA (TCD)	Cn. 1682; ADc. 1691; Pb. 1712
ST. GEORGE ASHE	1658	George St. George's F. 1691-4	BA (TCD) 1676; MA (TCD) 1679; BD (TCD) 1687; DD (TCD) 1692	B. Cloyne, 1696; B. Clogher, 1697; B. Derry, 1717
CHARLES ASTON	1665	Royal Hospital Chelsea 1699-1702	BA (Cantab) 1686; MA (Cantab) 1689; BD (Cantab) 1697; DD (Cantab) 1702	R. 1692
Herbert Astley	1620	Earl of Northampton's H. 1662-7	BA (Cantab) 1642; LLD (Cantab) 1648; DD (Oxon) 1661	R. 1660; Pb. 1663; D. 1670
Robert Auchinleck	1645	Albert Conyngham's D. 1689-98	MA (Abdn) 1670	M.
James Auchmuty	1680	Thomas Prendergast's F. 1709-13	BA (TCD) 1700	D. 1735
Philip Auley	n/a	Jersey 1678-1700	MA	Ps. 1684
Simon Babe	n/a	Ross's D. 1705-9	n/a	n/a
James Badily	n/a	Lord Lovelace's F. 1689-90	n/a	n/a
Richard Bainbrigge	1637	Lord Ikerrin's F. 1704-12	BA (Cantab) 1658; MA (Cantab) 1667	Ps. 1674
Thomas Banks	n/a	Earl of Salisbury's H. 1688	MA (TCD) 1685; DD (Cantab) 1685	R. 1688
John Barker	1665	Lord Paston's F. 1712	BA (Cantab) 1687; MA (Cantab) 1690	Cr. 1691
Benjamin Barnet	1650	Queen's Troop of Guards 1676-91	BA (Oxon) 1672; MA (Oxon) 1675; BD (Oxon) 1701; BD (Oxon) 1701	Ps. 1675
Robert Barry	1676	Daniel Carroll's H. 1710-11	BCL (Oxon) 1700	V. 1708
Randolph Baskerville	1663	Lord Delamere's H. 1698-91	BA (Cantab) 1684; MA (Oxon) 1687	n/a
Paul Batchelor	1678	John Hill's F. 1707-15	BA (Cantab) 1700; MA (Cantab) 1718	Ps. 1702
William Beauvoir	1679	Roger Elliot's F. 1713	BA (Oxon) 1691; MA (Cantab) 1704	R. 1692
Edward Beaver	1649	Earl of Carlisle's F. 1673-4	BA (Cantab) 1669; MA (Cantab) 1672	R. 1674
Charles Beveridge	1655	William Beveridge's F. 1691-2	BA (Cantab) 1675; MA (Cantab) 1678	R. 1678

Name	Birth	Service	Education	Ordination
WILLIAM BINCKES	1653	Charles Wheeler's F. 1678-9	BA (Cantab) 1675; MA (Cantab) 1678; DD (Cantab) 1699	R. 1682; D. 1703
Francis Blackeston	1652	1st Troop of Life Guards 1691	BA (Cantab) 1672; MA (Cantab) 1675	V. 1679
Robert Blake	1659	Howe's F. 1702-4	BA (Cantab) 1683; MA (Cantab) 1687	R. 1694
Thomas Blanck	n/a	Lord Mohun's F. 1702-13	n/a	n/a
John Bland	1667	Viscount Teviot's D. 1703-6	BA (TCD) 1688	Pb. 1722
Henry Bland	1677	La Fabreque's D. 1708-09 Farrington's F. 1709-?	BA (Cantab) 1700; MA (Cantab) 1706; DD (Cantab) 1717	R. 1706; D. 1728
Charles Blanc	n/a	Bevil Granville's F. 1700-4	n/a	n/a
John Blair	n/a	Hospital in Spain 1706-?	MA (TCD) 1703	Ps. 1703
Jean Boignolle	n/a	Peter de Belcastel's F. 1694-7	n/a	n/a
John Bonamy	1659	Guernsey 1713-?	BA (Oxon) 1688; MA (Oxon) 1694	R. 1692
Robert Bostocke	1629	George Legg's F. 1678-9	BA (Oxon) 1650	R. 1661
Timothy Boughey	1635	Lord Wentworth's Guards 1661-84	BA (Oxon) 1658	V. 1660
David Bowen	1690	Mark Kerr's F. 1711-12	BA (Oxon) 1709; MA (Oxon) 1719	R. 1729
Samuel Bowles	1649	Earl of Shrewsbury's H. 1685-92	BA (Cantab) 1671; MA (Cantab) 1674	V. 1687
John Bradley	1658	Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards 1699-1708	BA (Oxon) 1681; MA (Oxon) 1684	V. 1688
Nicholas Brady	1661	Richard Atkins's F. 1694-8	BA (TCD) 1685; MA (Oxon) 1686; DD (Oxon) 1699	V. 1688
Robert Bragg	1683	Portsmouth 1709-12	BA (Cantab) 1706; MA (Cantab) 1709	Ps. 1710
Henry Brearey	1681	Lord Mordaunt's F. 1708-?	BA (Cantab) 1701; MA (Cantab) 1704	Ps. 1707
John Peter Brisac	n/a	New York 1701-4 Lord Lovelace's F. 1708-12	n/a	Ps. 1700
William Brodie	n/a	Maitland's F. 1708-15	Bursar (Glas) 1700	M. 1708
John Broughton	1674	William Breton's F. 1705-6 Lord Lovelace's F. 1706-8	BA (Cantab) 1694; MA (Cantab) 1697; DD (Cantab) 1716	Ps. 1697
George Browne	1650	Duke of Ormonde's F. 1684-5	BA (TCD) 1671; MA (TCD) 1674; BD (TCD) 1682; DD (TCD) 1682	n/a
Philip Browne	1643	Duke of Albemarle's F. 1673-4	BA (Cantab) 1664; MA (Cantab) 1667	Ps. 1669
Robert Bryden	n/a	Earl of Cleveland's H. 1666-7	n/a	n/a
Abraham Burrows	n/a	Heyman Rooke's F. 1711-12	n/a	n/a
William Burton	n/a	Cornwall's F. 1687-94	n/a	n/a
Alexander Calhoun	n/a	Viscount Mountjoy's F. 1695-8	n/a	n/a
John Campbell	n/a	James Douglas's F. 1678-9 Thomas St. John's F. 1691-7 Dumbarton 1709-?	n/a	n/a

Name	Birth	Service	Education	Ordination
ROBERT CANNON	1663	Royal Hospital Chelsea 1708-15	BA (Cantab) 1685; MA (Cantab) 1689; BD (Cantab) 1702; DD (Cantab) 1707	Dc. 1685; R. 1707; D. 1721
Lancelot Carleton	1686	Daniel Carroll's H. 1711-12	BA (TCD) 1708	Ps. 1711
John Carpenter	1662	Artillery Train for Flanders 1693-7	BA (Oxon) 1681; MA (Oxon) 1684	Dc. 1686; R. 1712
John Cartwright	n/a	Prince of Denmark's F. 1708-11	n/a	n/a
Tobias Caufield	1671	Viscount Charlemont's F. 1702-15	BA (TCD) 1694; MA (TCD) ?	Pb. 1696
Robert Cess	n/a	Earl of Inchiquin's F. 1702-12	n/a	n/a
Alexander Chalmers	n/a	Gibraltar 1714-?	MA (Abdn) ?	Ps. 1708
John Chalmers	n/a	James Maitland's F. 1697-1702	n/a	n/a
Edward Chambers	1662	Bevil Skelton's F. 1688-92	BA (Oxon) 1683; MA (Oxon) 1689	Ps. 1685
Charles Chapman	1649	Thomas Dongan's F. 1678-9	BA (Oxon) 1670	V. 1676
KNIGHTLEY CHETWOOD	1650	Royal Fusiliers 1685-94 Chaplain-General to the Army in the Netherlands 1689-1704	BA (Cantab) 1676; MA (Cantab) 1679; DD (Cantab) 1691	Ps. 1683; Pb. 1687; ADc. 1689; D. 1707
Edward Chichester	1677	Earl of Donegal's F. 1701-14	MA (Oxon) 1699	R. 1702
George Child	1653	Wood's H. 1702-8	MA (Oxon) 1684; MA (Oxon) 1687	R. 1692
Theobald Churchill	1663	Royal D. 1683-5	BA (Oxon) 1680; MA (Oxon) 1683	Dc. 1683; Ps. 1684
Edward Claringbrun	n/a	Thomas Saunderson's M. 1703-5	n/a	n/a
Giles Clarke	n/a	Earl of Ossory's H. 1683-8	n/a	V. 1687
Patrick Cock	1642	HRH's H. 1678-9	BA (Oxon) 1664; MA (Oxon) 1667	Ps. 1674
Richard Collier(e)	n/a	Hugh Wyndham's H. 1694-1702 Henry Scott's F. 1703-14	n/a	n/a
John Colling	n/a	Hill's F. 1705-6	n/a	n/a
Benjamin Conway	1661	Edward Fitzpatrick's F. 1692-5	BA (Cantab) 1683; MA (Cantab) 1686 BA (Cantab) 1694	Ps. 1692
Robert Conway	n/a	Francis Collingwood's F. 1695-6	n/a	n/a
John (Thomas) Coodge	n/a	George Viller's F. 1697 George Viller's M. 1702	n/a	n/a
John Cooke	1659	Edward Hales's F. 1685-6	BA (Oxon) 1679	Dc. 1680
Robert Corvelier	n/a	John Desbordes's D. 1709-12 Anthony de la Coulombiere's F. 1709-12		
Henry Cottingham	1681	Thomas Erle's F. 1702-8	BA (TCD) 1692; MA (TCD) 1695	n/a
Robert Coucher	n/a	Earl of Essex's D. 1711-16	n/a	n/a
Richard Cox	1673	Farrington's F. 1702-9	BA (Oxon) 1693; MA (Oxon) 1696	n/a
Thomas Cradock	1650	Sheerness 1678-82	BA (Cantab) 1670; MA (Cantab) 1682	V. 1676
John Crew	1681	Sheerness 1703-4	BA (Oxon) 1703	Dc. 1703; Ps. 1706

Name	Birth	Service	Education	Ordination
John Croft	1652	Lord Morpeth's F. 1678-9	BA (Oxon) 1673; MA (Oxon) 1675	Dc. 1673
Richard Crump	1654	Thomas Fairfax's F. 1684-8	BA (TCD) 1675; MA (TCD) 1678	Precentor 1684
William Curwen	n/a	Duke of Monmouth's H. 1678-85	n/a	Cr. 1682
Egerton Cutler	1708	Royal F. 1709-20	Matric. (Oxon) 1696	V. 1708
Albert Dalgarne	n/a	Holland Regiment 1673-8	n/a	n/a
MARIUS D'ASSIGNY*	1647	Tangier?	BD (Cantab) 1668	V 1668
EDWARD D'AUVERGNE	1665	Roger Elliot's F. 1703-13 3rd Foot Guards 1713-37	BA (Oxon) 1683; MA (Oxon) 1686	R. 1693
ROWLAND DAVIES*	1649	Duke of Leinster's H. 1690-3	BA (TCD) 1671; MA (TCD) 1681; LLD (TCD) 1706	Pb. 1676; D. 1679
Henry Davis	n/a	John Hammer's F. 1696-1706	n/a	n/a
John Davis	1654	Duke of Schomberg's H. 1705-15	BA (Oxon) 1675; MA (Oxon) 1677; BD (Oxon) 1690; DD (Oxon) 1708	R. 1688
Peter Galley de Gojac	n/a	Earl of Arran's H. 1702-?	n/a	n/a
John Maximilian de L'Angle	1641	Howe's F. 1706-19 Nicholas Lepell's F. 1705-6	DD (Cantab) 1681	V. 1674
Anthony d'Astor de Laussac	n/a	Chaplain to Gen. Earl Rivers 1706-? Marquis de Montandre's D. 1709-12 Constantine de Magny's F. 1709-12	n/a	n/a
Edward Deane	1676	Royal Welsh Fusiliers 1706-14	BA (Cantab) 1696; MA (Cantab) 1699	Dc. 1699
Daniel Debalt	1688	Nicholas Lepell's F. 1712	BA (Oxon) 1706; MA (Oxon) 1710	R. 1730
- Deberron	n/a	John Gibson's F. 1694-8	n/a	n/a
Peter Louis Debon	n/a	La Fabrique's D. 1709-13 Balthazar de Foissac's D. 1709	n/a	n/a
William Denny	1637	Duke of Norfolk's F. 1685-96	BA (Cantab) 1659; MA (Cantab) 1662	R. 1665
Alexandre d'Escairac	n/a	Count de la Caillennette's F. 1690-4	n/a	n/a
James Dingley	1666	William Steuart's F. 1694-5	BA (Cantab) 1686; MA (Cantab) 1691	Lecturer 1692
Peter Dixon	1656	Francis Luttrell's F. 1690-3	BA (Oxon) 1677; MA (Oxon) 1680	V. 1680
Stephen Dockwray	1651	Earl of Ogle's F. 1673-4	BA (Cantab) 1669; MA (Cantab) 1672	V. 1673
John Dogherty	1661	Gustavus Hamilton's F. 1698-1715	BA (Oxon) 1680; MA (TCD) 1684	Pb. 1685
Robert Doyley	1661	Duncanson's F. 1702-15	BA (Oxon) 1679; MA (Oxon) 1682	R. 1688
Thomas Driscoll	1682	Royal Welsh Fusiliers 1714-?	BA (Oxon) 1705; MA (Oxon) 1708	Pb. 1721
John Dubourdieu	1676	Marquis de Miremont's H. 1688-9	Matric. (Oxon) 1694	M.; R. 1701
Peter Dubourdieu	1671	Roger Townshend's F. 1706-12	BA (Cantab) 1693; MA (Cantab) 1697	Ps. 1693
Pascall Ducas(se)	n/a	Echilin's D. 1702-?	BD (TCD) 1722; DD (TCD) 1722	D. 1727
- Dullgarden	n/a	Lord Northampton's F. 1673-4	n/a	n/a

Name	Birth	Service	Education	Ordination
SAMUEL DUNSTER	1676	Royal F. 1702-13 Thomas Erle's F. 1708-13	BA (Cantab) 1697; MA (Cantab) 1700; DD (Cantab) 1713	Dc. 1698; Ps. 1700
Francis Durel	n/a	Royal D. 1708-?	n/a	n/a
WILLIAM DURHAM	1639	Chaplain to the Gen. of Our Forces 1678-?	BA (Oxon) 1657; MA (Oxon) 1661; BD (Oxon) 1669	R. 1674
William Durston	1656	Ferdinand Hastings's F. 1692-1702	BA (Oxon) 1675; MA (Oxon) 1678	R. 1683
- Edwards	n/a	Lord Ikerrin's D. 1706-14	n/a	n/a
John Ellis	1656	William Beveridge's F. 1689-94	BA (Cantab) 1677	V. 1685
WELBORE ELLIS	1662	2nd Troop of Life Guards 1693-1712	BA (Oxon) 1684; MA (Oxon) 1687; BD (Oxon) 1697; DD (Oxon) 1697	Pb. 1696; R. 1702; B. Kildare, 1705; B. Meath, 1732
John Evans	n/a	Lord High Admiral's R. 1664-?	MA (Oxon) 1663	Ps. 1663
James Eve	n/a	William Delaune's F. 1708-12	BA 1706	Ps. 1706
Gerard Fenn	1674	Matthew Bridges's F. 1694-1701	BA (TCD) 1696; MA (TCD) 1699	n/a
Nicholas Fenn	1681	William Breton's F. 1708-12	BCL (Oxon) 1709; DCL (Oxon) 1723	R. 1709
Richmond Fenton	1681	MacCartney's F. 1708-13	BA (Oxon) 1702	V. 1713
Nicholas Fenwick	n/a	Pearce's F. 1707-15	n/a	n/a
RICHARD FIDDES	1671	Hull 1714	BA (Oxon) 1691; BD (Oxon) 1714; DD (Oxon) 1718	R. 1696
John Fishe	n/a	Meath's F. 1691-1702	n/a	Cr. 1680
Bardsey Fisher	1657	John Jacob's F. 1695-1702	BA (Cantab) 1678; MA (Cantab) 1681; DD (Cantab) 1704	Dc. 1681; Ps. 1683
James Fleming	n/a	Royal Irish D. 1696-1704	MA (Glas)	Dc. 1694
Solomon Foley	1664	Solomon Richard's F. 1688-91	BA (TCD) 1684; MA (TCD) 1687	Pb. 1695
Arthur Forbes	n/a	Earl of Granard's F. 1684-6	n/a	n/a
Joseph Forster	1677	North and Grey's F. 1706-17	BA (Cantab) 1697; MA (Cantab) 1700	Dc. 1697; Cr. 1700
Francis Foulke	1667	George St. George's F. 1694-9	BA (Cantab) 1690; MA (Cantab) 1694	Ps. 1691
Isaac Fox	1655	Bolton's 2nd F. 1690-7	BA (Cantab) 1676; MA (Cantab) 1680	Ps. 1678
Augustin Frazer	n/a	Royal Hospital Chelsea 1687-91	n/a	n/a
Robert Friend	1667	Orrey's F. 1704-13 Scots Troop of Life Guards 1708-15	BA (Oxon) 1690; MA (Oxon) 1693; DD (Oxon) 1709	R. 1700
John Gaile	1661	Queen's H. 1702-14	BA (Oxon) 1681; MA (Oxon) 1684	R. 1698; V. 1713
William Galloway	1660	Artillery Train 1693-1709	BA (Oxon) 1678; MA (Oxon) 1681	V. 1700
JAMES GARDINER	1637	1st Troop of Horse Guards 1666-78	BA (Cantab) 1653; MA (Cantab) 1656; DD (Cantab) 1669	R. 1668; D. 1671; B. 1695
James Gilbert	1653	Royal Hospital Kilmainham 1684-7	BA (Oxon) 1673; MA (Oxon) 1680	Ps. 1687

Name	Birth	Service	Education	Ordination
John Gilder	n/a	Royal F. 1686-8	BA (Oxon) 1650	R. 1667
Edward Gleast	n/a	William Beveridge's F. 1692-4	n/a	n/a
James Golden	n/a	George Hamilton's F. 1691-8	n/a	n/a
John Good	n/a	Strathnaver's F. 1695-8	MA (Edin) 1693	M. 1699
- Goodwin	n/a	Ferrers's F. 1688-92	n/a	n/a
John Gordon	n/a	Scots Brigade from Holland 1685-?	n/a	n/a
Francis Gore	1685	Queen's D. 1710-?	Pen. (TCD) 1703	Pb. 1709
Clotworthy Gowan	n/a	John Mitchelburne's F. 1698 Col. Henry Conyngham's Irish D. 1700-?	BA (TCD) 1697; MA (Edin) 1693; MA (TCD) 1698	Pb. 1702
Richard Greby	1676	Thomas Stanwix's F. 1706-12	BA (Cantab) 1698	Ps. 1706
John Greenhill	1645	Northampton's F. 1673-4	BA (Cantab) 1669; MA (Cantab) 1672	Dc. 1671; V. 1674
Benjamin Gregory	n/a	Steuart's F. 1704-17	n/a	n/a
Thomas Gregory	1646	Holland Regiment 1666-73 John Talbot's D. 1678-9	BA (Cantab) 1668	Dc. 1681; Ps. 1681
Edward Griffith	1667	Edward Lloyd's F. 1693-1707	BA (Cantab) 1690; MA (Cantab) 1693	Dc. 1690; R. 1723
Nicholas Grill	n/a	William Seymour's F. 1702-11	n/a	n/a
William Grills	n/a	Queen's F. 1711-24	MA 1711	Ps. 1711
THOMAS GUMBLE	1626	Duke of Albemarle's Troop of Life Guards 1661-76	BA (Cantab) 1647; MA (Cantab) 1650; DD (Cantab) 1661	Ps. 1660; Cn. 1661; R. 1663
William Hackett	n/a	O'Farrell's Fusiliers 1697-1702	n/a	n/a
William Halford	1675	Royal Hospital Chelsea 1702-3	BA (Cantab) 1697	Ps. 1700
Nathaniel Hamond	1646	Sheerness 1682-9	BA (Cantab) 1668; MA (Cantab) 1671	V. 1693
Stephen Hancock	1657	Earl of Arran's H. 1684-5 Thomas Farrington's F. 1694-1702	BA (TCD) 1678	D. 1689
FRANCIS HARE	1671	Royal Hospital Chelsea 1703-8 Heyman Rooke's F. 1704-11 Chaplain to the Capt.-Gen. 1704-?	BA (Cantab) 1692; MA (Cantab) 1696; DD (Cantab) 1708	Pb. 1707; B. St Asaph 1727; B. Chichester 1731
John Harris	1667	Prince George of Denmark's F. 1702-6 Chaplain to Argyll, C.-in-C. in Spain 1711-?	BA (Cantab) 1688; MA (Cantab) 1691; BD (Cantab) 1699; DD (Cantab) 1706	Ps. 1696
John Harrison	n/a	Annapolis Royal 1710-20	MA	M.
Thomas Harrison	1665	Richard Temple's F. 1702-6	BA (Cantab) 1689; MA (Cantab) 1692; BD (Cantab) 1699	Ps. 1691
John Hartstongue	1658	2nd Troop of Life Guards 1691-3	BA (Cantab) 1677; MA (Cantab) 1680	Ps. 1682; B. 1693
William Harvey	1686	Robert Dalzell's F. 1709-12	BA (Cantab) 1707; MA (Cantab) 1710	Ps. 1710
Samuel Harward	n/a	Royal Fusiliers 1694-1706	n/a	n/a
John Harwood	n/a	Robert Goodwyn's F. 1693-7	n/a	n/a

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Richard Harwood	1668	Lord Cutt's D. 1704-12	BA (Oxon) 1698; MA (Oxon) 1698	Dc. 1704
Thomas Haslewood	1664	William Evans's F. 1708-13	BA (Cantab) 1687; MA (Cantab) 1690; BD (Cantab) 1698; DD (Cantab) 1712	R. 1703
Gabriel Hastings	1662	Huntingdon's F. 1685-9	BA (Cantab) 1683; MA (Cantab) 1687	V. 1684
William Hawkins	1670	Tower of London 1699-?	BA (Cantab) 1690; MA (Cantab) 1693	Ps. 1696
William Hawtayne	1679	Welsh Fuziliers 1703-6	BA (Cantab) 1701; MA (Cantab) 1707	Dc. 1702; Ps. 1703
William Hay	n/a	Royal Scots D. 1695-1702	n/a	n/a
Edward Head	1652	Princess Anne's D. 1694-7	BA (Oxon) 1662; MA (Oxon) 1675	R. 1678
David H(e)art	n/a	John Gibson's F. 1698	MA	Lecturer 1699
Alexander Henderson	n/a	Duke of Monmouth's F. 1678-9	n/a	Dc. 1674
Joseph Heseltine	n/a	Duke of Bolton's F. 1692-8	n/a	n/a
Thomas Hesketh	1673	Francis Collingwood's F. 1696-9 Edward Fox's F. 1702-?	BA (Cantab) 1694; MA (Cantab) 1697	Ps. 1689
Robert Heslenton	1640	Queen's H. 1678-9	BA (Cantab) 1660; MA (Cantab) 1663; BD (Cantab) 1683	Ps. 1663
John Hicks	1653	Chaplain to Gen. John Hill 1711-?	BA (Oxon) 1675; MA (Oxon) 1678; BD (Oxon) 1690; DD (Oxon) 1701	R. 1701
John Hilton	1667	Queen's D. 1694-1711	BA (Cantab) 1689; MA (Cantab) 1692	Ps. 1692
Thomas Hodds	n/a	Earl of Plymouth's H. 1685-1702	n/a	n/a
William Hodges	n/a	Lord Paston's F. 1704-12	n/a	n/a
SAMUEL HOLIDAY	1685	Cameronians 1708-22	MA (Glas)	M. 1722
Richard Hook	1642	Viscount Lumley's H. 1685-7	BA (Cantab) 1664; MA (Cantab) 1667; DD (Cantab) 1705	R. 1681
Benjamin Hopkins	1652	Duke of Beaufort's F. 1685-96	BA (Oxon) 1674; MA (Oxon) 1677	Pb. 1696
Grevasse How	n/a	Col. John Hales's F. 1692-3	MA	Ps. 1671
John Hughes	n/a	Dunkirk 1712-?	n/a	n/a
Thomas Hughes	1640	Tangier ?-1684 Tangier's F. 1683-94	BA (Oxon) 1662; MA (1665)	Cr. 1664; R. 1666
Francis Huish	n/a	Sir John Jacob's F. 1698-1713	n/a	n/a
Thomas Humphrey	1686	Sir Roger Bradshaigh's F. 1706-13	BA (Oxon) 1704; MA (Oxon) 1710	Cr.; V. 1712
Samuel Hunter	1666	Ferdinand Hastings's F. 1694-5	BA (Oxon) 1687; MA (Oxon) 1689	Dc. 1687; R. 1699
William Huxley	1640	Col. Archibald Douglas's F. 1688	BA (Cantab) 1664; MA (Cantab) 1669	Dc. 1664; V. 1667
John Hyde	1661	Earl of Deloraine's F. 1708-12	BA (Oxon) 1691; MA (Oxon) 1694; BD (Oxon) 1705	Dc. 1694; V. 1722
Alexander Irwin	n/a	Royal F. 1688-92	n/a	Cr. 1678
- Jackson	n/a	Sir Henry Belasyse's F. 1696-7	n/a	n/a

Name	Birth	Service	Education	Ordination
Alexander Innes	n/a	New Royal English Regiment 1673-7 New York 1686-92 Col. John Buchan's F. 1695-7 Chaplain-General of Our Forces to Be Sent to Portugal 1703-?	MA (Abdn)	Ps. 1694
John Jackson	n/a	Newfoundland 1701-5	n/a	R. 1710
John Jaunces	1660	Royal HG. 1689-1702	BA (Oxon) 1681; MA (Oxon) 1683	R. 1684
Jean Jeard	n/a	Col. Du Cambon's F. 1689-98	n/a	n/a
William Jephson	1658	Sir William King's F. 1684-8 Sir Edward Dering's F. 1689-92 1st Foot Guards 1690-2 Col. John Courthope's F. 1694-8	BA (TCD) 1678; MA (TCD) 1683	Cn. 1681
Edward Jocelyn	1658	Viscount Shannon's M. 1702-13	BA (Cantab) 1680; MA (Cantab) 1683; BD (Cantab) 1690	R. 1694
Benjamin Johnson	1644	1st Troop of Life Guards 1685-6	BA (Cantab) 1664; MA (Cantab) 1667; BD (Cantab) 1674	R. 1676
Charles Johnson	1673	Col. Edward Leigh's D. 1694-7	BA (TCD) 1692; MA (TCD) 1696	Reader 1699
James Johnson	n/a	Scots Foot Guards 1689-1713 Royal. D. 1696-1702	BA (Oxon) 1659; MA (Oxon) 1662; BD (Oxon) 1669; DD (Oxon) 1689	R. 1664
William Johnson	1643	Guernsey 1679-1713	BA (Oxon) 1666; MA (Oxon) 1669; BD (Oxon) 1685; DD (Oxon) 1685	R. 1668
John Johnston	n/a	Tilbury 1696-1724	MA (Abdn)	V. 1694
David Jones	1674	Thomas Handasyde's F. 1712-?	BA (Oxon) 1695; MA (Oxon) 1697	R. 1708
John Jones	1642	Irish Regiment of Guards 1674-8	BA (TCD) 1660; MA (TCD) 1664; DD (TCD) 1674	Ps. 1666
Philip Jones	1649	Col. Edward Jones's F. 1708-12	BA (Cantab) 1672	Ps. 1671
Daniel Kidley	1659	Princess Anne's F. 1692-6	BA (Oxon) 1677	Cr. 1690
John Kilsby	1658	Sir John Guise's F. 1689-93	BA (Oxon) 1679; MA (Cantab) 1682	Ps. 1686
Samuel Kinder	1682	Brig.-Gen. Nicholas Price's F. 1708-13	BA (TCD) 1703; MA (TCD) 1709	n/a
John King	1654	William Steuart's F. 1695-1702 2nd Foot Guards 1688-1727	BA (Oxon) 1678; MA (Oxon) 1681; DD (Cantab) 1698	R. 1684
John Knox	n/a	Col. Skeffington's Londonderry F. 1689-98	n/a	n/a
Thomas Lambe	1631	Sir John Fenwick's F. 1678-9	BA (Cantab) 1652; MA (Cantab) 1655	R. 1669
Ralph Lambert	1666	Viscount Charlemont's F. 1694-7	BA (TCD) 1686; MA (TCD) 1696; BD (TCD) 1701; DD (TCD) 1701	R. 1703; D. 1709; B. Dromore 1717; B. Meath 1727
Thomas Langdale	n/a	Col. Richard Coote's F. 1702-15	n/a	Pb. 1693

Name	Birth	Service	Education	Ordination
Emanuel Langford	1658	Royal Hospital Chelsea 1688-99	BA (Oxon) 1679; MA (Oxon) 1682; BD (Oxon) 1693; DD (Oxon) 1693	R. 1690
Peter Lesueur	n/a	Col. Paul de Gually's D. 1709-12	n/a	n/a
Charles Leaver	n/a	Queen's H. 1714-23	BA (Cantab)	Ps. 1686
Albert Leblanc	n/a	Lord Mohun's F. 1702-13	MA (Cantab); DD (Cantab) 1728	V. 1714
William Lee	1678	Col. Edmund Soame's F. 1705-13	BA (Oxon) 1697; MA (Cantab) 1700; DD (Cantab) 1718	Ps. 1700
Charles Legard	1651	Landguard 1676-1708	BA (Cantab) 1675; MA (Cantab) 1678	Dc. 1676; Ps. 1678
William Legard	1663	Col. Thomas Windsor's H. 1694-7 Col. Thomas Windsor's H. 1706-13	BA (Cantab) 1681; MA (Cantab) 1684	Ps. 1686
Bernard Lewis	1679	Sir Charles Hotham's F. 1705-13	BA (Cantab) 1701; MA (Cantab) 1704	Dc. 1701; Ps. 1706
Francis Alexander L'Horondelle	n/a	Col. William Breton's F. 1706-12 Brig.-Gen. Blood's F. 1707-?	n/a	n/a
John Libanus	1663	Earl of Thanet's H. 1685-91 Werden's H. 1687-9	BA (Cantab) 1683; MA (Cantab) 1687	Dc. 1682; V. 1688
John Lidgold	1665	Col. Thomas Allen's F. 1707-13	BA (Oxon) 1686; MA (Oxon) 1689	V. 1713
John Lillyman	1642	Princess Anne's H. 1685-92	BA (Cantab) 1661; MA (Cantab) 1664	R. 1667
John Lloyd	1671	Royal Irish D. 1694-6	BA (Oxon) 1691; MA (Oxon) 1694	Dc. 1694; Ps. 1696
William Lloyd	1649	King's Foot Guards 1680-8 Royal Foot Guards 1689-91 Sir John Edgeworth's F. 1689-1	BA (TCD) 1671; MA (TCD) 1673	Ps. 1684; B. Killala and Achonry 1694
Joseph Loveday	1679	Royal Scots 1709-?	BA (Oxon) 1702	Dc. 1702; R. 1715
John Lowry	1639	Col. Thomas St. John's F. 1696-7	BA (Cantab) 1663; MA (Cantab) 1666	Ps. 1666
Alexander Mackintosh	n/a	King's D. 1678-9 Holland Regiment 1685-6 1st Troop of Life Guards 1686-91	MA	R. 1677
John Maidstone	1641	Ostend 1678-?	n/a	n/a
John Majou	1670	Col. D'auverquerque's F. 1706-14	BA (Oxon) 1700; MA (Oxon) 1700	n/a
John Mauleverer	1649	Holland Regiment 1686-1702	BA (Cantab) 1667; MA (Cantab) 1670	Ps. 1673
Thomas Mallet	1652	Thomas Erle's F. 1693-1708	BA (Oxon) 1673; MA (Oxon) 1676	R. 1677
Richard Mallory	1655	Duke of Ormond's H. 1684-8 1st Foot Guards 1689-94	BA (TCD) 1681	Ps. 1684
John Manson	1658	Princess Anne's H. 1690-2	BA (TCD) 1683; MA (TCD) 1693	V. 1702
William Marston	1675	Col. Thomas Brudenell's F. 1701-2	BA (Cantab) 1695; MA (Cantab) 1698	Ps. 1699
Henry Matthews	1681	Gorge's F. 1714-17	BA (TCD) 1704	n/a
Peter Maturin	1670	Col. Tatton's F. 1704-1722	LLD (TCD) 1722	Pb. 1722

Name	Birth	Service	Education	Ordination
- Maxwell	n/a	Co. John Wachop's F. 1688-97	n/a	n/a
James Mayne	n/a	Earl of Argyle's F. 1694-7	n/a	n/a
Thomas Mayowe	n/a	Marquis of Worcester's F. 1673-4	n/a	n/a
William Mayton	n/a	Col. Charles Churchill's M. 1709-13	n/a	n/a
Rory McKenny	n/a	Earl of Dumbarton's F. 1679-1684	n/a	n/a
Roderick McKenzie	n/a	Royal Scots 1684-6	MA (Abdn) 1677	Ps. 1678
John McLane	n/a	Col. Henry Conyngham's D. 1699-1700	n/a	n/a
Neil McVicar	1672	Col. James Maitland's F. 1702-8	n/a	M. 1700
William Merriden	n/a	Col. Thomas Sanderson's M. 1706-9	n/a	R. 1678
Thomas Merry	1662	Royal Hospital Chelsea 1701-2	BA (Cantab) 1684; MA (Cantab) 1687	Ps. 1688
Nicholas Le Mesurier	n/a	Guernsey 1675-9	MA 1675	Ps. 1675; D. 1698
Robert Middleton	n/a	Royal Scots Fusiliers 1702-7	n/a	n/a
Alington Miles	1662	Queen's D. 1685-6	BA (Oxon) 1684; MA (Oxon) 1687	Dc. 1688; Ps. 1690
John Miller	1665	Richard Ingoldsby's Coy. of F. at New York 1692-5	BA (Oxon) 1685; MA (Oxon) 1688	R. 1696
John Milling	n/a	Col. James Maitland's F. 1694-1702	n/a	n/a
George Mitford	1667	Col. Luke Lillington's F. 1695-8	BA (Cantab) 1689	Dc. 1692
John Monroe	n/a	Viscount Mountjoy's F. 1701-11	n/a	Dc. 1691
Laurence Moore	n/a	Col. Roger McElligott's F. 1688-9	n/a	n/a
William Morgan	n/a	Earl of Plymouth's F. 1680-7	BA	Ps. 1662
Thomas Morer	1652	Queen's H. 1685-95	BA 1675	V. 1677
William Morrice	n/a	Royal Foot Guards 1684-9	Referred as 'Dr'	R. 1665
Samuel Morse	1650	Prince of Denmark's F. 1685-9	BA (Oxon) 1672; MA (Oxon) 1675	Ps. 1673; R. 1690
Patrick Mullen	1666	Francis Langston's H. 1695-1715	BA (TCD) 1687; MA (TCD) 1691	Pb. 1698
Thomas Mulliken	n/a	Col. Richard Cunningham's D. 1694	n/a	n/a
Thomas Nixon	1651	Plymouth 1685-1711 Earl of Bath's F. 1687-1700	BA (Cantab) 1673; MA (Cantab) 1676; DD (Cantab) 1690	Ps. 1678; R. 1688
Thomas Norwood	1653	Princess Anne's F. 1685-8	BA (Oxon) 1673; MA (Oxon) 1676	R. 1688
Samuel Noyes	1661	Royal F. 1692-1709	BA (Cantab) 1684; MA (Cantab) 1687; DD (Cantab) 1707	R. 1707; Cn. 1731
John Oldys	n/a	Maj.-Gen. Kirk 1689-?	n/a	n/a
Charles O'Neil	1676	Inniskilling D. 1698-1702	Adm. (Cantab) 1694	n/a
John Orfeur	1672	Col. John Tidcomb's F. 1694-?	BA (Oxon) 1689	V. 1695
Ralph Oates	n/a	Sir Henry Goodrick's F. 1678-9	BA (Glas) 1660	n/a
John Ovington	1656	Sir Thomas Newcomen's F. 1684-8	BA (TCD) 1675; MA (TCD) 1678; DD (TCD) 1701	R. 1701
William Owsley	1663	Royal D. 1693-4	BA (Oxon) 1685; MA (Oxon) 1687	R. 1688

Name	Birth	Service	Education	Ordination
Henry Paget	n/a	Troop of Grenadier Guards 1694-9	n/a	n/a
Henry Parkhurst	1655	Queen's D. 1686-?	BA (Oxon) 1671; MA (Oxon) 1675; BD (Oxon) 1683; DD (Oxon) 1695	Ps. 1676
Thomas Payne	1689	Christopher Fleming's F. 1711-2	BA (Cantab) 1710; MA (Cantab) 1713	Dc. 1711; Ps. 1713
John Percivall	n/a	Col. Samuel Venner's F. 1695-1702	BA	V. 1695
Mervin Perry	1670	Sir David Colyear's F. 1695-7 Lord Luca's F. 1702-?	BA (Oxon) 1689; MA (Oxon) 1691	Ps. 1692
John Petter	1662	Queen's H. 1695-1702	BA (Cantab) 1682; MA (Cantab) 1685; DD (Cantab) 1697	Dc. 1685; R. 1697
John Phillips	n/a	Col. George Viller's M. 1706-18 Plymouth 1711-23	MA	n/a
Nicholas Phillips*	1622	Scilly 1670-81	BA (Oxon) 1642	V. 1664
Robert Philpott	1663	Sheerness 1689-1703	BA (TCD) 1684; MA (TCD) 1687	n/a
Samuel Piggot	1665	Duke of Bolton's F. 1695-7 Col. Henry Holt's M. 1702-13	BA (Cantab) 1688	R. 1707
Charles Pilsworth	1661	Col. Richard Brewer's F. 1696-?	BA (Oxon) 1681; MA (Oxon) 1684	R. 1685
Charles Pinckney	1661	Earl of Arran's H. 1694-7	BA (Cantab) 1684	Dc. 1683; Ps. 1686; V. 1687
David Pitcairn	1672	Col. James Ferguson's F. 1702-8	MA (St And) 1693	M. 1695
John Pitt	1664	Col. Thomas Erle's F. 1692-4	BA (Oxon) 1686	V. 1689
Philip Place	n/a	Col. Zacharia Tiffin's F. 1696-1710	n/a	n/a
Oliver Pocklington	1664	Edward Villier's H. 1693-1718	BA (Oxon) 1686; MA (Oxon) 1689	Ps. 1688
Robert Pocock	1627	Earl of Oxford's H. 1662-89	BA (Oxon) 1647; MA (Oxon) 1660	R. 1665
Michael Poulton	1654	Earl of Peterborough's H. 1685-93	BA (Oxon) 1673; MA (Oxon) 1676	Ch. 1687
Nathaniel Poulton	n/a	Col. Zacharia Tiffin's F. 1692-6	n/a	n/a
George Powell	1666	Princess Anne's F. 1696-1711	BA (Oxon) 1687; MA (Oxon) 1690	R. 1691
SAMUEL PRATT	1658	Col. John Berkeley's D. 1685-92	DD (Cantab) 1697	R. 1683; D. 1706
JOHN PRICE	1627	Coldstream Guards 1670-88	BA (Cantab) 1650; MA (Cantab) 1653; DD (Cantab) 1661	Ps. 1661
Jacob Prosser	n/a	Portsmouth 1712-19	n/a	Ps. 1711
James Ramsay	1682	Marquis of Lothian's D. 1711-? Col. Kerr's D. 1714-?	BA (Cantab) 1703; MA (Cantab) 1707	Ps. 1706
Jacob Rice	1687	Newfoundland 1705-12	BA (Oxon) 1704	n/a
Samuel Rich	1647	Sir John Guise's F. 1688-9	BA (Oxon) 1664; MA (Cantab) 1671	V. 1666
James Richardson	1671	Royal HG. 1701-?	BA (Cantab) 1695; MA (Cantab) 1698	Ps. 1695
Bernard Richon	n/a	Col. Fredrick Sibourg's F. 1706-12	n/a	n/a

Name	Birth	Service	Education	Ordination
Samuel Ring	1682	Royal Regiment of Fusiliers 1706-9	BA (Cantab) 1703	Ps. 1706
Peter Rivall	n/a	Viscount Mordaunt's F. 1702-13	n/a	Dc. 1687
Edward Roberts	1675	Col. Lillingston's F. 1694-8	BA (Oxon) 1694	R. 1703
John Roberts	1681	Earl of Arran's H. 1701-2	BA (Oxon) 1700	Dc. 1701; Ps. 1702
William Rolls	1621	Duke of York's Troop of Life Guards 1679-1702	BA (Oxon) 1641; MA (Oxon) 1644; BD (Oxon) 1661	R. 1660
John Rosewell	1656	Col. Henry Cornewall's F. 1685-7	BA (Oxon) 1676	Cr. 1678
Thomas Rose	1646	Earl of Denbigh's D. 1694-7 Col. George Viller's M. 1702	BA (Cantab) 1669; MA (Cantab) 1685	Ps. 1672
Hugh Ross	n/a	Col. George Lauder's F. 1693-9	n/a	n/a
Simon Rowe	n/a	Col. Kilner Brasier's F. 1708-12	n/a	n/a
William Russell	n/a	Gibraltar 1704-14	n/a	n/a
Edward Rust*	1652	Landguard 1708-50	BA (Cantab) 1673	Dc. 1675; V. 1681
Henry Reignolds	n/a	Royal F. of Ireland 1701-9	n/a	n/a
John Salkeld	n/a	Maj.-Gen. Whetham's F. 1710-17	n/a	n/a
Josiah Sandby	1671	Prince George of Denmark's F. 1706-9 Artillery Train 1709-?	BA (Cantab) 1693; MA (Cantab) 1696	Dc. 1695; R. 1696; Pb. 1708
Thomas Sandys	1647	Prince Rupert's D. 1678 Earl of Macclesfield's H. 1699-1712	BA (Oxon) 1669; MA (Oxon) 1672	R. 1702
James Sartre	n/a	Earl of Arran's H. 1687-95	MA (Academy of Puylaurens) 1669	R. 1695
William Sawle	1655	Col. Robert Hodge's F. 1688-1706	BA (Cantab) 1678; MA (Cantab) 1705	R. 1695
Francis Say	1647	English Brigade from Holland 1685-?	BA (Cantab) 1669; MA (Cantab) 1672	Dc. 1670; V. 1679
Edward Scarborough	n/a	Thomas Erle's F. 1694-1700	n/a	n/a
Henry Scardeville	1654	Lord Cavendish's H. 1690-1705	BA (TCD) 1677; MA (TCD) 1680	Ps. 1682; D. 1691
Samuel Schuldharn	1667	Duke of Ormonde's H. 1702-13	BA (Cantab) 1687; MA (Cantab) 1690	Ps. 1692
William Scrafton	1677	3rd Troop of Life Guards 1702-18	BA (Cantab) 1698; MA (Cantab) 1701	Ps. 1702
John Sharoll	n/a	Earl of Arran's H. 1685-7	n/a	Preacher 1678
John Sharp	1680	New York 1704-17	MA (Abdn) 1700; DD (Abdn) 1714	R. 1703
Francis Shaw	1657	Col. Kirk's F. 1710-24	BA (Oxon) 1679; MA (Oxon) 1683	V. 1685
AILEXANDER SHIELDS	1660	Earl of Angus's F. 1689-97	MA (Edin) 1675	M. 1689
James Shipton	1671	William Steuart's F. 1698-1704	BA (Cantab) 1691; MA (Cantab) 1694	Dc. 1698
Hugh Shorthose	1679	Lord Tunbridge's F. 1706-12	n/a	Ps. 1699
Henry Shute	1655	Royal D. 1695-1702	BA (Oxon) 1678; MA (Cantab) 1682	V. 1685
Samuel Sing (Synge)	1657	Sir Robert Peyton's F. 1689-98 Erle's F. 1702-8	BA (Oxon) 1674; MA (Oxon) 1677; DD (TCD) 1705	Ps. 1675; D. 1679
Thomas Skinner	1665	Col. Thomas Erle's F. 1692-3	BA (Oxon) 1682; MA (Oxon) 1685	R. 1689

Name	Birth	Service	Education	Ordination
James Smallwood	1656	1st Foot Guards 1692-1713	BA (Cantab) 1678; MA (Cantab) 1681	V. 1696
Matthew Smallwood	1615	1st Troop of Life Guards 1661-6	BA (Oxon) 1634; MA (Oxon) 1642; DD (Oxon) 1660	R. 1660
- Smith	n/a	Duchess of York's F. 1678-9	n/a	n/a
- Smith	n/a	Lord North & Grey's F. 1704-6	n/a	n/a
Andrew Smith	n/a	Col. John Foulke's F. 1693-4	n/a	n/a
Benjamin Smith	n/a	Col. River's F. 1703-15	n/a	n/a
George Smith	n/a	Col. Thomas Meredith's F. 1702-?	n/a	n/a
Henry Smith	n/a	Sir Richard Temple's F. 1706-13	n/a	n/a
William Smith	n/a	Royal Irish F. 1698-1701	n/a	n/a
William Smyth	n/a	Viscount Charlemont's F. 1697-8	n/a	n/a
George Snell	1644	Col. William Northcote's F. 1694-8	BA (Oxon) 1665; MA (Oxon) 1668	V. 1670
John Baptist Sorsoliel	1684	Jersey 1700-?	n/a	R. 1709
Thomas Squire	1664	Sir Matthew Bridge's F. 1701-7	BA (Cantab) 1686; MA (Cantab) 1692	Ps. 1691
Thomas St. Loe	1654	Royal D. 1685-93	BA (Oxon) 1679; MA (Oxon) 1682	Ps. 1683
William Starkey	1651	4th Troop of Life Guards 1685-1708	BA (Cantab) 1670; MA (Cantab) 1673	R. 1675
Robert Stewart	n/a	Prince George of Denmark's F. 1711-24	MA 1708	R. 1708
Smith Stone	1683	Royal Fusiliers 1709-?	BA (Oxon) 1703	V. 1716
George Story	1681	Col. Alexander Grant's F. 1708-13	BA (Cantab) 1703	Ps. 1708
William Stoughton	n/a	Princess Anne's H. 1692-4 Col. Samuel Venner's F. 1692-1702 Douglas Late's F. 1692-8 Col. George Villier's F. 1697-8 Viscount Charlemont's F. 1701-2	n/a	n/a
John Sumner	1665	Howe's F. 1704-6	BA (Cantab) 1687	Ps. 1714
John Swift	n/a	Col. George Villier's M. 1702-6	n/a	n/a
- Swindall	n/a	Lord Cavendish's H. 1688-90	n/a	n/a
John Taylor	n/a	Hull 1711-14	n/a	n/a
Lewis Thomas	1651	Col. Richard Ingoldsby's F. 1697-1703	BA (Oxon) 1673; MA (Oxon) 1682	V. 1691
Richard Thomas	1659	Marching Hospital in Ireland 1690-1	BA (TCD) 1681; MA (TCD) 1684	Ps. 1687
James Thompson	1671	Royal Scots D. 1697-1708	BA (Cantab) 1694	R. 1698
William Thorold	1670	Col. Luke Lillingston's F. 1705-21	Matric. (Cantab) 1688	Dc. 1707
Clifford Thurlby	1649	Sir William Clifton's F. 1685-1702	BA (Cantab) 1670; MA (Cantab) 1673	R. 1675
James Thwaites	1684	Brig.-Gen. Henry Durell's F. 1712-?	BA (Oxon) 1704; MA (Oxon) 1708	Ps. 1708
James Tinley	n/a	Lord Dungannon's F. 1704-13	n/a	n/a
Nicholas Trapps	n/a	Sir Edward Hales's F. 1686-8	n/a	n/a

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John Trebsack	n/a	Col. La Fabreque's D. 1706-12 Col. Lepell's F. 1706-12	n/a	Dc. 1698; Ps. 1699
Nathaniel Trotman	1679	Col. Godfrey's F. 1706-12	BA (Oxon) 1701; MA (Oxon) 1704	n/a
William Turner	1647	Tangier ? Holland Regiment 1678-85	BA (Oxon) 1666; MA (Oxon) 1668; BD (Cantab) 1676; DD (Cantab) 1683	ADc. 1676; R. 1676
Henry Turnebull	n/a	Col. George Hamilton 1695-1709	MA (Edin) 1684	R. 1696
Theodorus van den Brovig	n/a	Hospital in Ireland 1690-1	n/a	n/a
John Vaughan	1631	Lord Vaughan's F. 1673-4	MA (Cantab) 1657	R. 1671
THOMAS VESEY	1673	Col. Peter Carle's F. 1710-12	BA (Oxon) 1693; MA (Oxon) 1698	R. 1700; B. Ossory 1714
Edward Waile	n/a	Col. John Coy's H. 1692-1702	n/a	n/a
Edward Walkington	1652	Viscount Mountjoy's F. 1694-8	BA (TCD) 1673; MA (TCD) 1676; DD (TCD) 1693	ADc. 1693; B. Down and Connor 1695
Staniford Wallis	1676	Col. La Fabreque's D. 1709-12 Col. De Foissac's D. 1709-12	BA (Oxon) 1699	V. 1703
Robert Warren	1680	Earl of Peterborough's D. 1710-12 2nd Troop of Life Guards 1712-18	BA (Cantab) 1701; MA (Cantab) 1704; DD (Cantab) 1716	Ps. 1704
William Watmer	1651	Col. Richard Ingoldsby's F. 1695-1	BA (Cantab) 1673; MA (Cantab) 1684	Cr. 1692
Thomas Webster	1647	Lord Alington's F. 1678-9	BA (Cantab) 1669; MA (Oxon) 1679	Dc. 1670; Cr. 1677
John Weems	n/a	Sheerness 1704-15	n/a	n/a
Theodore Wells	1667	Col. Owen Wynne's F. 1705-13	Demy (Oxon) 1686-9	Ps. 1696
Walter Wells	1674	Hugh Wyndham's Carabiners 1698-?	BA (Cantab) 1697; MA (Cantab) 1700	Dc. 1697; V. 1705
Zacharia Wells	1665	Col. William Evans's F. 1703-13	BA (Cantab) 1688; MA (Cantab) 1691	Pb. 1702
SAMUEL WESLEY	1662	Col. Nicholas Lepell's F. 1705	BA (Oxon) 1688; MA (Cantab) 1694	Dc. 1688; R. 1691
Jonathan Whaley	1661	Col. Thomas Sauderson's M. 1702-3	BA (Cantab); MA (Cantab) 1694	V. 1697
William Wharton	1677	Col. Stringer's F. 1705-13	BA (Cantab) 1698; MA (Cantab) 1701	Dc. 1698; Ps. 1701
Charles Wheldon	1643	Earl of Peterborough's H. 1673-4	BA (Cantab) 1664	Ps. 1667
Edward Whitcombe	1651	1st Troop of Horse Guards 1691-1720	BA (Oxon) 1671	V. 1674
Patrick White	n/a	Henry Conyngham's Irish D. 1698-9	n/a	n/a
Peter White	n/a	Col. Hill's F. 1706-7	n/a	n/a
Thomas White	1657	Maj.-Gen. Webb's F. 1711-25	BA (Oxon) 1678; MA (Oxon) 1680	V. 1682
DAVID WHITFORD	1626	Lord Douglas's F. 1666-79	BA (Oxon) 1647; MA (Oxon) 1661	R. 1673
Seth Whittle	1655	Viscount Mountjoy's F. 1684-8	BA (Cantab) 1677	Dc. 1679; R. 1686
John Wickhart	1657	Chaplain-General of the Army in Flanders 1692-4	MA (Cantab) 1676; DD (Cantab) 1693	Cn. 1684; D. 1693
Charles Wilbraham	1661	Tilbury 1687-96	BA (Oxon) 1680; MA (Oxon) 1683	Dc. 1684; R. 1687
Thomas Wilkins	n/a	Col. Thomas Brundhall's F. 1702-13	BA	Dc. 1695
Paul Williams	n/a	Battalion to Virginia 1676-9	n/a	n/a

Name	Birth	Service	Education	Ordination
RICHARD WILLIS	1664	Chaplain-General to the Army in Flanders 1694-7	BA (Oxon) 1688; MA (Oxon) 1695; DD (Cantuar) 1695	Cr. 1688; Lecturer 1692; D. 1701; B. Gloucester 1714; B. Salisbury 1721; B. Winchester 1723
BERNARD WILSON	1689	Thomas Erle's F. 1713-?	BA (Cantab) 1713; MA (Cantab) 1719; DD (Cantab) 1737	Dc. 1712; Ps. 1716
John Winder	1660	Col. Ferdinand Hastings's F. 1690-2	BA (Oxon) 1681	Dc. 1681
Aaron Wood	n/a	Brig.-Gen. Cornelius Wood's H. 1708-13	n/a	V. 1692
Matthew Wood	1663	Col. Ventris Columbine's F. 1695-1703	BA (Cantab) 1684; MA (Cantab) 1687	Dc. 1689; Ps. 1691
Roger Woodcock	1680	Col. Nicholas Prince's F. 1706-8	BA (Oxon) 1700; MA (Oxon) 1704	R. 1704
John Woodson	n/a	Irish Regiment of Guards 1672-5	n/a	n/a
John Wright	1667	Hospital at Dunkirk 1712-?	BA (Cantab) 1688; MA (Cantab) 1693	R. 1688

Appendix II

Transcript of ‘Mr. Arwaker’s Form of Prayers to be Used at the Visitation of Condemned Person [in the Army]’

Foreword

In a bound item of miscellaneous papers (MS 711) for Thomas Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury (1695–1715) in the Lambeth Palace Library lies a ten-page manuscript titled ‘Mr. Arwaker’s Form of Prayer to be Used at the Visitation of Condemned Person’.¹ Though the identity of this ‘Mr. Arwaker’ is not declared in the paper, historian Rev James B. Leslie suggested he was Church of Ireland clergyman Edmund Arwaker, as this manuscript was listed in his bibliography. Graduating from Trinity College Dublin, Arwaker had been Canon of Kildare Cathedral (1681–6), Archdeacon of Armagh (1691–3) and rectors of two parishes from 1693, and he also served as domestic chaplain to the Duke of Ormond.² Given the content of this paper, Arwaker obviously had experience as an army chaplain. A person with the same name is registered as chaplain to the Queen Dowager’s Regiment of Horse from 1685 and

¹ ‘Mr. Arwaker’s Form of Prayer to be used at the Visitation of Condemned Person’, LPL, MS 711, ff. 157r–162v.

² J. B. Leslie, *Armagh Clergy and Parishes: Being an Account of the Clergy of the Church of Ireland in the Diocese of Armagh, from the Earliest Period, with Historical Notes of Several Parishes, Churches &c.* (Dundalk, 1911), p. 53.

chaplain to the Col. Frederick Hamilton's Regiment of Foot from 1694 in the army lists of Col. Charles Dalton.³ It is likely that this chaplain was indeed the Irish churchman Edmund Arwaker, for Hamilton's regiment was raised in Ireland.⁴

If this identification is correct, Edmund Arwaker would have served in the Low Countries together with his unit in the Nine Years' War. Though this manuscript is undated, addressing William and William alone as the 'Sovereign' indicates it must have been written sometime from the death of Queen Mary in 1694 to 1702, and the Continental service (1694–7) of Arwaker's regiment happened to fall within this timespan as well. During the later Stuart period, soldiers fighting on foreign soil where the common laws had no writs were put under rigorous military codes in the Articles of War where a number of offences were subject to death penalty, including the four crimes mentioned in this manuscript: murder, theft, mutiny and desertion.⁵ It is possible that

³ *English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1660–1714*, ed. C. Dalton (6 vols, London, 1892–1904), ii, pp. 95, 125; iv, p. 31. Though Charles Dalton registered the name as 'Edward Arwaker' on one occasion, he stated that they were the same person.

⁴ It should be noted that Edmund Arwaker is sometimes confused with his son, who was named after him. However, Edmund Arwaker the Younger left very few details and was far less likely to serve as an army chaplain than his father.

⁵ J. Childs, *The British Army of William III, 1689–1702* (Manchester, 1987), pp. 84–6. *Rules and Articles for the Better Government of Their Majesties Land-forces in the Low-Countries, and Parts beyond the*

Arwaker had attended some convicts in his jurisdiction, prompting him to draft this form of prayers. Drawing inspirations from the Book of Common Prayers, especially ‘Visitation of the Sick’, Arwaker might have hoped to make his prayers official for the army (maybe that is the reason why this manuscript ends up in Archbishop Tenison’s collection), but this paper looks crude and unorganised in some aspects, with several omissions and expurgated marks. Nevertheless, this unpublished manuscript provides some insights on the roles of religion in military life, especially how military discipline was interpreted in the light of Christian morality. While the original spellings are kept, this transcript employs a different format for lucid reading.

Seas (London, 1692), pp. 5, 7–25 declares capital punishment for over twenty types of offence.

A FORM

For the

VISITATION OF PERSON UNDER THE SENTENCE OF DEATH,

To be used in His Majesties Army.

¶ *When any Soldier is sentenced to die, let notice be given thereof to the Chaplain of the Regiment, who coming into the condemned person's presence, shall say, Kneeling,*

O Remember not our sins, but have mercy upon us, O Lord, & that soon, for we are come to greater misery!

Help us, O God of our Salvation, for the glory of thy name, O deliver us, & be merciful to our Sins, for thy name Sake!

O let the sorrowful sighing of the prisoners come before thee, & according to the greatness of thy power, preserve thou those that are appointed to die.

So shall we give thanks for ever, & will always be showing forth thy praise, from generation to generation.

Glory be to *etc.*

¶ *Then the minister shall say,*

Let us pray.

Lord have mercy upon us.

Christ have etc.

Lord have *etc.*

Our Father which art in heaven *etc.*

Minister. O Lord heare the poor;

Answer. And despise not thy Prisoners.

Min. O Lord save thy Servant;

Ans. Who putteth his trust in thee.

~~*Min.* Send him help from thy holy place.~~

Min. Turn thy face from his Sins;

Ans. And pull out all his misdeeds.

Min. Make him a clean heart, O God;

Ans. And renew a right Spirit within him.

Min. Cast him not away from thy presence;

Ans. And take not thy Holy Spirit from him.

Min. Bring his Soul out of prison;

Ans. That he may give thanks to thy name.

Min. O Lord heare our prayer.

Ans. And let our cry come unto thee.

Minister.

Heare us, Almighty & most merciful God & Saviour, extend thy infinite mercy & compassion to this thy Servant, whom thy Judgements have overtaken; Sanctifie, we beseech thee, this thy just correction to him, that the sense of thy goodness may add strength to his faith, & the abhorrence of his own unworthiness, bring seriousness to his repentance. That when his Body hath past the Suffering due to his offence on earth, his Soul may not be left in hell, but that both, after this painful life is ended, may dwell

with thee in life everlasting, thro Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O Father of mercies, & God of all comfort, our only help in time of need, we flie to thee for succour in behalf of this thy Servant now lying under thy hand & the sentence of condemnation; look graciously upon him, O Lord, & the nearer the outward man is to decay, strengthen him, we beseech thee, so much the more continually with thy grace, & holy Spirit in the inner man.

Give him unfeigned repentance for all the errors of his life past, & stedfast faith in thy Son Jesus, that his Sins may be don away, & his pardon sealed in heaven, before he go hence & be no more seen; & forasmuch as the time of his dissolution draweth neare, so fit & prepare him, we beseech thee, against the houre of death that after his departure hence in peace & in thy favour, his Soul may be received into thine everlasting kingdom, thro the merits & mediation of Jesus Christ thine only son, our Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the minister exhort the condemned person after this form or other like,*

Dearly beloved, know this that Almighty god is the just Judg of all the earth, to him vengeance belongeth, & he will make it overtake the wicked person to destroy him, for the wages of Sin is death, & the Soul that sinneth shall die. Wherefore know you certainly that the punishment which you are to suffer is God's visitation, it is he that chastifes you, for your instruction to make sensible of those Sins which have offended him, & so truely penitent for them, that you may obtaine pardon & forgiveness, & that while you suffer the pains of a temporal death, you may escape the terrors of that which is eternal. Humble yourselfe, therefore under the mighty hand of God, & now that you are chastified, receive instruction, for as God is just & powerfull to punish Sinners, so

if we confess our Sins, he is faithfull & just to forgive us our Sins, & to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. So that (as St. Paul saith in the 12th cha[ter] to the Heb[rews]) whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth and scourgeth every Son whom he receiveth, for he chasteneth us for our profit, that we may be partakers of his holiness. These words, good Brother, are written in holy Scripture for our comfort & instruction, that we should not only submissively, but thankfully beare our heavenly Father's correction, whensoever it shall please him to visit our offences with the rod & our Sin with Scourges, & there should be not greater comfort to a penitent Sinner than to consider the gracious goodness of God, & how mercie rejoyceth against judgement, in the methods of his Providence to reclaime a disobedient Son, & while he kills the body, to preserve both body & soul from hell. Now therefore, taking your punishment which is thus profitable for you, patiently, I exhort you in the name God to remember your profession which you made unto God in your Baptism, & forasmuch as after this life there is an account to be given to the righteous Judg, by whom all must be judged without respect of persons, I require you to examine yourselfe and your estate, both toward God & men, more particularly in relation to your offence, for which you are condemned to dye, so that accuseing & condemning yourselfe for your own faults, you may find mercie at our heavenly Father's hand for Christ's sake, & not be accused and condemned in that fearful Judgement which is greater & more terrible than the judgement of men, & in which if God will be extream to mark what is don amiss, even the most righteous shall not be able to abide it, much less the ungodly and Sinner. Therefore I shall rehearse to you the Articles of our faith, that you may know whither

you do believe as Christian man Should or no.

¶ *Here the minister shall rehearse the Articles of the faith, saying thus,*

Dost thou believe *etc.*

¶ *The Condemned person shall answer,*

This I believe, Lord help my unbelief!

¶ *Then the minister shall say the collect for Trin[ity] Sunday,*

Almighty *etc.*

¶ *Then the minister shall say,*

Having repeated the Articles of our Faith, I shall now rehearse to you the Commandments that you may consider and bewaile your several breaches of them.

¶ *Here the minister shall rehearse the tenn Commandments & the condemned person, kneeling, shall after every Commandment ask God mercie for his transgression, as followth,*

Lord, be merciful to me, a sinner, & pardon my transgression of this law.

Minister.

Let us pray.

O God who declarest thy almighty power, most chiefly in showing mercy & pittie, mercifully forgive our heinous & manifold transgressions of thy laws, & granting such a measure of thy Grace, that we loving thy Commandments above all things, may obtain thy gracious promises, & be made partakers of thy heavenly treasure, thro Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the minister examine the condemned person whether he repent him truly*

of his Sins, especially that for which he is condemned, & be in charity with all the words, endeavouring to make him fully sensible of the crime of breakeing the Articles of Warr, & particularly if the Case be Mutiny or Deserting.

¶ *Then shall this confession in the communion service (Almighty God, father of our Lord, Jesus Christ) be made, by all kneeling.*

¶ *Then shall follow one over more of these collects.*

Almighty and everlasting God *etc.*: Sunday after Trinity the 12th.

Grant, we beseech thee *etc.*: Sund[ay] after Trin[ity]: 21st.

O Lord, we beseech thee absolve *etc.*: Sund[ay] after Trin[ity]: 24th.

¶ *Here the Condemned person shall joyine in a Special confession of the Sin for which he is to suffer, in one of the collects at the end of this service. Then shall follow these two collect in the Communication.*

O Lord, we beseech thee, *etc.*

O most mighty God, *etc.*

¶ *After this the Priest shall absolve the condemned person, if he humbly & heartily desire it, after this Sort,*

Our Lord Jesus Christ *etc.*: (as in the visitation of the sick.)

¶ *Then the Priest shall say the Collect there following,*

Let us pray.

O merciful God *etc.*

¶ *Then he shall say these Psalms.*

Ad te, domine, levavi. Ps. 25.

Beati quorum. Ps. 32.

¶ *Useing the doxologie after each Psalm.*

¶ *Adding this.*

O Saviour of the World *etc.*: as in the visitation.

¶ *Then shall the minister say,*

The Almighty Lord, who is *etc.*: *ibid.*

¶ *Then after that he shall say,*

Unto God's gracious mercie & protection, *etc.*: *ibid.*

¶ *The minister shall exhort the condemned person to prepare for receiveing the holy Communion on the morning of his Execution. In the service for the day, shall he used these proper Psalm 1; 6; 38; 130, and for the 1st lesson, Job: 7th, for the 2nd lesson Matt[hew]: 27th.*

¶ *In the Litanise, which shall be allways used the day, after the prayer (we humbly beseech thee, O Father) shall be used this for the King.*

O Almighty God, the sure defence of all who trust in thee, let thy favorable protection always keep the person of thy Servant our Sovereign Lord King William, behold O God our defender & be thou his, & to cover his head in the day of Battle, that neither the weapons, nor the malice of the enemy may ever approach to hurt him; let thy Spirit direct him in all his measures & designs, & thy power assist him in all his undertakings & attempts; & give to all his General officers, Prudence to advise, and to them and all his other officers and soldiers, courage to secure what thou seest good for us, that Success & victory may constantly attend our Arms; for the deliverance of thy people

from those greate & apparent dangers, wherewith they are compassed. Grant this, O Father, for the sake of thy well beloved son ~~Jesus Christ~~ our Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

¶ *In the Communion Service before the Epistle shall be used the collect for Ash*

Wednesday (Almighty & everlasting God etc.).

Epistle: 1 Pet[er]: 4 chap[ter] from v: 15th to the end (Let none of you *etc.*)

Gospel: Luke 13th ch[apter] from v: 1st to 6th (There were present *etc.*)

¶ *After the prayer for the Church militant, the Priest shall proceed according to the form presented for the holy Communion beginning at these words (ye the do truly and carefully repent).*

¶ *After the Communion, at approaching the place of Execution, the minister going along with the condemned person shall say,*

I am the resurrection & the life *etc.*

I know that my Redeemer liveth *etc.*

We brought nothing into *etc: as in the office of burial.*

¶ *Then shall reade one or both of these Psalms,*

Dixi custodiam. Ps. 39.

Domine refugium. Ps. 90.

The Lesson 1Cor[inthians] 15th chapter from v: 50th to the end (now this I say)

¶ *Then shall the minister use the particular prayer suited to the offence of the condemned person, concluding with the commendatory prayer at the poynt of departure, in the visitation of the sick (O almighty God with whom do live) adding this (under God's gracious mercy etc.)*

¶ *Prayers upon Several occasions, in which the condemned person shall joyne in his
Special confession.*

¶ *For Murder*

O Almighty God, who for the preservation of Man made in thine own image, hast in the holy Sanctions of thy law forbid the carrying Sin of Murder and positively declared the whose shedeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed, we humbly present our selves beforethee, in behalf of this miserable Sinner, whose hands and conscience are defiled with blood, and who therefore justly deserves not to live out halfe his days, but to have his portion with him who was a murder from the beginning we acknowledge, o Lord, thy justice in the sentence of condemnation passed upon him, hut withal implore thy mercy, that in making inquisition for blood, who thou bringst him to condign punishment in his bloody sufferings, thou wouldest not shut up his soule with sinners, nor his life with the blood-thirsty. O let not the voyce of his brother's blood that he hath shed cry louder to thee from the ground for vengeance, than the precious blood of thy dear son which speaketh better things than that of Abel calls to these in heaven for mercie! But let him be cleansed by that from all his sins, and so washed from his iniquities, that who they are red as scarlet of a crimson dye, they may be white as snow, that his soul may be presented to thee without spot, and blameless. We confess, o Lord, he hath no plea to urge for mercies at thy hands, which his slain brother did not find at his, nor doth he deserve thou shouldst save his soul, who as much as in him lay, attempted to destroy his brothers by takeing him unprepared for death. But thou art a god of infinite mercies, and compassions, and thy Son Jesus Christ came into the World

to save Sinners, then by his Agony and bloody sweat, by his cross and passion, by his precious death and burial, good Lord deliver him from blood guiltiness. o thou that art the god of our health, and our tongues shall sing of thy praise. Given him O Lord, a troubled Spirit, such as will be an acceptable Sacrifice to thee, & a broken & contrite heart, which thou will not despise, & this we humbly beg in the name and mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord, whose blood of the new Testament was shed for the remission of Sins. *Amen.*

¶ *For Theft*

O just and righteous Lord who hast commanded all men to abstaine from the injurious Sin of Theft, wee beseech the in behalf of this wrench offender, who humbly and with heartly pertinence acknowledges his violation of the holy law, and that he hath deserved the punishment he is to suffer, since, not observeing the Baptist's direction of doing violence to no man & being content with his wages, he hath bin a companion of theives & a consenter unto them. Be merciful unto him O God, be merciful unto him, & thou, O blessed Jesus, who hadth compassion onto Thief on the Cross, despise not him who calls upon thee from the prison, but pardon the injustice that he hath done to his neighbour, and the indignity that he hat offend to thy holy religion and grant most gracious Saviour, that when his Soul shall be parted from his body, in the day of execution, it may be with thee in Paradise. *Amen.*

¶ *For Mutiny and Disobedience to Superiours*

O almighty God, who by thy Apostle hast commanded every Soul to be Subject to the higher powers, and told us by thy Prophet that Rebellion is as the Sin of Witchcraft

& Stubbornness as iniquitie and idolatrie, Lay not, wee beseech thee, that sin to the charge of this thy Servant, who humbly confesseth before thee, that he hath bin stubborn and rebellious in not obeying the commanders of his superiour officers but fomenting Mutiny & Sedition in the Army, Contrary to the express laws of God and men, and the laudable example of the Centurion's soldiers in the gospel and the Solemn oath of Obedience & Fidelity which he hath taken to our Sovereign Lord the King. He cannot consider, O Lord, the dangerous consequence of those divisions, without greate thoughts of heart, nor can he think upon the breach of his own vows, without acknowledging his condemnation just, & that unless thou, Lord, in thy abundant mercie, will be pleased to pardon his offence, he hath no expectation but of a severe judgement. Pardon him then, O Lord, pardon thy penitent Servant, & lay not this sin to his charge, nor let the example of his crime be to prevalent to encourage others to the like offence, as his suffering to deter them from committing it, & though his sin resembles theirs who bred a Mutinie in the Hosts of heaven, let him not, O gracious Father, be, like them, excluded thence, but pardon and receive him into the blessed Society there, for the sake of him who look not on the nature of Angels, but the seed of Abraham, to make reconciliation for our Sins, over Jesus Christ thy only Son our Lord. *Amen.*

¶ *For Deserting*

O most just God, who art thy selfe faithful & requirest fidelitie in all men, in the discharge of the duty to which they are obliged, be merciful to this Sinner who hath bin false to his engagement, & unfaithful to his Sovereign & the persons that employed him, in basely deserting his Colours, & injuriously quitting the Service in which he was

inlisted. With confusion of face he acknowledges his unworthiness, in that while his brethren were jeoparding theyr lives in the high places of the field, he turned himself back, fled from the help of the Lord against the mighty, & as much as in him lay, left his King, his Country & his fellow Soldiers exposed to the fury of theyr enemies, & contribute to withdraw others by the example of his treachery & falsehood. But now he flies to thee in time of need, O Lord, be thou his helper, & make him so truely penitent, that thou mayst not forsake him, but turne & have mercie upon him for the merits of Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

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