

THE ENGLISH DIPLOMATIC CORPS, 1649-1660:
A COMPARISON OF THE DIPLOMATS OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND
PROTECTORATE AND OF CHARLES II

by

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Abstract

The diplomatic corps employed by Oliver Cromwell and Charles II from 1649 to 1660 differed greatly. This study will focus on the top three diplomatic ranks: ambassador, envoys and residents and will exclude agents and chargé d'affaires. The lesser ranks have been excluded for several reasons primarily because biographical information does not exist for many of them and as lesser diplomats their missions were not significant and often lasted only a matter of days. This prosopographical examination of the twenty-four diplomats employed by Charles II and Oliver Cromwell provides insight into their similarities as well as their differences. After examining the twenty-four, one from each side will be further researched. In matters of religion, Cromwell predictably sent Protestants. Charles also sent Protestants, but did send Roman Catholics, especially to Catholic courts. Despite the age difference between Cromwell and Charles II, age did not separate their diplomats. The average age of Cromwell's and Charles' II diplomats was both forty years. In matters of education, those who went to college had a tendency to choose the Puritan-influenced Cambridge for the Commonwealth and Protectorate and Oxford for the Royalists. The area a diplomat was from shows that the diplomats from north chose the side of the Commonwealth while those from London and south chose the Royalist side. Royalists had a higher percentage of military service and a higher percentage of Parliamentary service. Although more Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats had a university education, the Royalists had a higher percentage of master's degrees and the study of the law. When looking at a diplomat's position in a family, the Commonwealth diplomats had a greater chance of being the oldest son, while the Royalists tended to be younger sons. This information is valuable because it expands the commonly held historiographical image of the typical Royalist and Commonwealth

supporters and illustrates the differences between the general support and each sides diplomatic corps.

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to Jay Shrimplin, one of the best friends I have ever had, and also to my dog Buddy, who spent countless hours keeping me company while I read the many books a history graduate school student will read. Both Jay and Buddy came into my life during graduate school and I lost them both. I wish they could have been alive to see me finish.

Introduction

The diplomatic corps employed by Oliver Cromwell and Charles II from 1649 to 1660 differed greatly. This study will focus on the top three diplomatic ranks: ambassador, envoys and residents and will exclude agents and *chargé d'affaires*. The lesser ranks have been excluded for several reasons, primarily because biographical information does not exist for many of them and as lesser diplomats their missions were not significant and often lasted only a matter of days. This prosopographical examination of the twenty-four diplomats employed by Charles II and Oliver Cromwell will provide insight into their similarities as well as their differences. This study of the diplomatic agents of Oliver Cromwell and Charles II raises certain questions about the traditional historiographical view of the period. Were these individuals exemplary of those who supported Cromwell and those who rallied to Charles II?

Other historians have conducted prosopographical studies of British diplomats, but no one has studied the diplomats during the time of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. The standard sources for information on the diplomats are Ludwig Bittner's *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder seit dem Westfälischen Frieden von 1648* and Gary Bell's *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives 1509-1688*.¹ In addition to Bittner and Bell's diplomatic lists, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* first and second editions are the standard work on each individual's life. Other sources include the Great Britain Public Manuscripts Commission, the Public Record Office and the Thurloe Papers. The British Foreign Office does not give complete or often reliable information on diplomats who served before 1852. For investigation of later diplomats, there are many works available by distinguished diplomatic historians including Phyllis Lachs' *The Diplomatic Corps under Charles II and James II*, David Bayne Horn's *The British Diplomatic Representatives of 1689-1789*, Henry

¹ Ludwig Bittner, *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter all Länder seit dem Westfalischen Frieden 1648* (Oldenburg: Gerhard Stalling, 1936); and Gary M. Bell, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives 1509-1688* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1990).

Snyder's "*The British Diplomatic Service During the Godolphin Ministry*" and Raymond Jones' *The British Diplomatic Service 1815-1914* which exemplify the genre.² Other excellent prosopographical studies that have analyzed foreign diplomats such as Lamar Cecil's *The German Diplomatic Service, 1871-1914* and Edward Whitcomb's *Napoleon's Diplomatic Service* are excellent models.³ In addition, this thesis attempts to place the diplomats into the larger historiographical context of the English Civil War and to further analyze and identify which groups supported the king and which supported Parliament. This study will provide insights into the larger question of the employment of elites and the question of divided loyalties.

The patterns between the two groups of diplomats did not mirror each side's general support in the civil war. The king received his support from the northern portion of England and the western portion of Wales, while the Parliament received most of its support from the southern half of England. The more economically backward areas of the country joined the king and the wealthiest areas, in particular London, sided with Parliament.⁴ In fact, areas that supported the king supplied more Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats and conversely more Royalist diplomats came from areas that supported the Commonwealth and Protectorate. Royalists in Parliament were also younger than supporters of Parliament by ten years.⁵ Again, this study contradicts these findings. In the interest of fairness, Charles II had a smaller pool of men to choose from as his group of Royalist was in exile. Studies have been conducted on who supported the king and who supported the Parliament in the civil war. Those who supported Parliament from the death of Charles I to the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 and who chose exile have been looked at but no studies have been conducted on the diplomatic corps of the

² Phyllis Lachs, *The Diplomatic Corps under Charles II & James II* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1965); Henry Snyder, "The British Diplomatic Service During the Godolphin Ministry" in Ragnhild Hatton and M. S. Anderson eds., *Studies in Diplomatic History* (1970); D.B. Horn, *The British Diplomatic Representatives of 1689-1789* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1961); and Raymond Jones, *The British Diplomatic Service 1814-1914* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1983).

³ Lamar Cecil, *The German Diplomatic Service, 1871-1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976); and Edward A. Whitcomb, *Napoleon's Diplomatic Service* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979).

⁴ Ivan Roots, *The Great Rebellion* (London: Batsford, 1966), 62.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 65.

Commonwealth and the exiled Royalists.⁶ Unfortunately for historians, a great majority of the diplomatic papers needed to prove or disprove an argument were destroyed by the parties involved or were lost. Documentation is scarce because many individuals feared retribution, as they had killed their king in addition to participating in a civil war. Knowing that the Royalists might someday reverse their fortunes, many Commonwealth and Protectorate supporters destroyed evidence to prevent future charges of treason. As Colonel Gilbert Talbot told the Marquis of Ormond in 1655, “Burn this letter after the perusal of it . . . tis not good to have papers, fearing some misinformation.”⁷ Not only did individuals destroy their papers, many surviving papers belong to individuals in private collections that are not accessible according to The National Archives. During this time period, possession of public documents conferred ownership. Only after many years have some of these documents come into the possession of the British government or large collections, such as the Bodleian Library. Many of the collections are also disorganized or incomplete. Fortunately, because this study is focused on analyzing the diplomats’ basic biographical information, not studying their diplomatic missions, the paucity of information does not invalidate the results.

Methodologically, the list of diplomats was culled from the standard lists by Ludwig Bittner’s and Gary Bell’s works and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* as well as the *Dictionary of National Biography*. These texts were used to create sketches of each diplomat

⁶ G. E. Aylmer, ed., *The Levellers in the English Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell Paperbacks, 1975); Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution* (London: Nelson, 1961); Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (Harmondsworth: Penguin books, 1975); J.S. Morrill, *The Revolt of the Provinces: Conservatives and Radicals in the English Civil War, 1630-1650* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1976); Robert S. Paul, *The Lord Protector: Religion and Politics in the Life of Oliver Cromwell* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1955); Valerie Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961); Lawrence Stone, *The Causes of the English Revolution 1529-1642* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972); C.V. Wedgwood, *The King’s Peace 1637-1641* (London: Collins 1955) and *The King’s War 1641-1647* (London, Collins, 1958); A.H. Woolrych, *Battles of the English Civil War* (New York: Macmillan, 1961); and Blair Worden, *The Rump Parliament 1648-1653* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

⁷ Michael Roberts, ed., *Swedish Diplomats at Cromwell’s Court* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, University College of London, 1988).

and to provide vital biographical information.⁸ Questions such as educational background, age, military or parliamentary service, and religion will be examined. Lastly, the background of two representative diplomats from both sides will be analyzed, but first, the background of the two principals, Oliver Cromwell and Charles II, will be examined.

⁸ H.C.G. Matther and Brian Harrison ed., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) and Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908).

Chapter 1 - Background: The Principals and their Policies

In order to understand the differences between the diplomatic corps of the Commonwealth and Protectorate and that of Charles II, their principals must be understood. Examining their lives will provide some understanding of why they made the foreign policy decisions that they did and whom they chose to carry out those policies.

Oliver Cromwell (25 April 1599 - 3 September 1658) as a man and statesmen evokes many different opinions. Following the Restoration and for the next hundred years, works such as James Heath's *Flagellum*, the first Earl of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* and others favored the Royalists. Clarendon called him a "brave, wicked man."⁹ Modern historians, such as Wilbur Cortez Abbott, described Cromwell as "the prototype, if not the archetype, of modern dictatorship." Others viewed Cromwell in a more positive light. By 1840, Thomas Carlyle shared the opinion that "I have gone within this last twelve months actually as it were to see that Cromwell was one of the greatest souls ever born of English kin." Samuel Rawson Gardiner described Oliver Cromwell as "the most typical Englishman of all times. He stands there, not to be implicitly followed as a model, but to hold up a mirror to ourselves, wherein we many see alike our weaknesses and our strength."¹⁰ Yet to another he is to politics what Shakespeare is to literature, the dominant figure to whom our thoughts naturally recur.¹¹ Others, such as the eighteenth century Dr. Samuel Johnson claimed, "Everything worth saying about him had already been said."¹²

Oliver Cromwell was born on the 25 April in 1599 to the most important family in the small town of Huntingdon, an area that consisted mostly of fenlands and swamps in the eastern part of England in the county of Huntingdonshire. People in the shire survived with difficulty in

⁹ Edward Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1826), 300.

¹⁰ Samuel R. Gardiner, *Cromwell's Place in History* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1910), 116.

¹¹ C.V. Wedgwood, *Oliver Cromwell* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956), 13.

¹² Maurice Ashley, *The Greatness of Oliver Cromwell* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1957), 12.

a land controlled by the church until Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, minister of Henry VIII, helped to dissolve the monasteries. Thomas Cromwell's nephew, Richard Williams, aided his uncle and adopted his mother's maiden name, Cromwell.¹³ For his service to Henry VIII, Richard Cromwell received Hichingbrooke, a large nunnery, and other properties in 1538.¹⁴ In 1540, he impressed Henry VIII at a jousting tournament, receiving the diamond off of the king's finger and his knighthood.¹⁵ The newly knighted Sir Richard acquired the Abbey of Ramsey and properties in Huntingdonshire and was appointed high sheriff of Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire in 1541 and served in Parliament the following year. When he died he left a small fortune to his eldest son Henry. Sir Henry earned the name "the Golden Knight" for entertaining Queen Elizabeth and for his extravagant lifestyle while building at Hichingbrooke and Ramsey.¹⁶ Queen Elizabeth knighted his son, Oliver, in 1598.¹⁷ He adopted his predecessor's lifestyle and entertained the next monarch, James I, so lavishly that the king returned several times. The price of entertaining forced Sir Oliver to sell Hichingbrooke to the Montagu family, after which he moved to his Ramsey property.¹⁸ Oliver left his second son, Richard, a small estate at Huntingdon. Richard Cromwell had three sons, but only the third Oliver, the fifth of ten children, survived.

Historians know little of Oliver Cromwell's childhood. Cromwell attended the Free School at the Hospital of St. John at Huntingdon under the instruction of Dr. Thomas Beard, a strict Calvinist and a devout Puritan. Before taking his position as the Master of the Hospital and Grammar School of St. John the Baptist Huntingdon, Beard graduated from Cambridge University. He strongly believed that the pope was the Antichrist and instilled in his pupils a belief that God knew all and forgave little. In his teachings he relied upon his book *The Theatre*

¹³ John Morley, *Oliver Cromwell* (London: MacMillan and Co. Limited, 1900), 7.

¹⁴ Charles Firth, *Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of Puritans in England* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 1.

¹⁵ Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell: The Lord Protector* (New York: Grove Press, 1973), 11, and J.T. Headley, *The Life of Oliver Cromwell* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1857), 3.

¹⁶ Fraser, 12.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, and J.T. Headley, *The Life of Oliver Cromwell* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1857), 7.

of God's Judgments, a collection of stories in which the Lord punished sinners and rewarded the righteous, demonstrating God's immediate action in history.¹⁹ Puritans, who thought that this divine action applied to sovereigns as well, had begun to express this belief in speeches in the House of Commons. Beard's book went through four editions. Beard later published *Antichrist the Pope of Rome*, in which he tried to prove that the pope was the Antichrist.²⁰ Cromwell would carry these convictions to his next institution of learning, Sidney Sussex College at Cambridge.²¹

Cromwell entered Sidney Sussex on 23 April 1616.²² The head master, Doctor Samuel Ward had turned the college into a center of Puritan thought.²³ Cromwell was placed under the care of Reverend Richard Howlett, a man not much older than he. Historians know little of Cromwell's time here. Cromwell said that during this time in his life he "lived in and loved darkness and hated the light: I was a chief, the chief, of sinners,"²⁴ echoing religious converts who had made similar comments. In all likelihood, he was no worse than the other students of his day. His love of the outdoors, hunting and hawking stayed with him for the rest of his life. Most of the information about his education comes from his detractors, who wrote about him after the Restoration and claimed he studied little. He left without obtaining his degree after attending only one year.

At eighteen Oliver's father died, leaving Oliver the head of the household worth perhaps three hundred pounds a year (approximately thirty four thousand pounds today), and leaving Cromwell responsible for his mother and unmarried sisters. His two brothers had died in childhood. At this time, young men from the gentry finished their education in the study of law. Historians generally accept that he attended Lincoln's Inn where his father, grandfather and two uncles had also studied.²⁵ He also had many family members and friends who studied at Gray's

¹⁹ Fraser, 17; Firth, 5; and Morley, 9.

²⁰ Fraser, 17.

²¹ Paul, 24.

²² Headley, 5.

²³ Wedgwood, *Cromwell*, 17.

²⁴ Paul, 22-23 and Wedgwood, *Cromwell*, 17.

²⁵ Fraser, 24.

Inn. Cromwell did spend time in London during his twentieth and twenty-first year and met a wealthy leather merchant, Sir James Bouchier, whose daughter, Elizabeth, he married on 22 August 1620.

Shortly after his marriage, Cromwell experienced his evangelical conversion to Christ. Historians disagree about whether Cromwell was influenced by the demands of marriage and family or by his maturity. Cromwell sought treatment for periodic attacks of melancholia. Some have suggested that outbreaks of depression ensued because of personal questions of faith in his life. The nature of Cromwell's writing did change from 1626 to 1638.²⁶ In the earlier correspondence, Cromwell's wrote in a conventional style but his later correspondence was filled with praises of God. His lifestyle also changed before the civil war. Following Cromwell's conversion, his faith in the Almighty became the base of his character and the reason, or so he claimed, for his actions.²⁷

In Cromwell's time, English Puritans believed in predestination. During this period, English religious differences grew. For Puritans "liberty hath a sharp and double edge fit only to be handled by a just and virtuous men."²⁸ Few Puritans left the Church of England; rather they hoped to reform it.²⁹ Charles I's reign changed the church and many Puritans changed their minds. Charles I increasingly appointed a group referred to as "Arminians," an important reform-minded group of Anglicans who promoted practices closer to Catholicism, such as priestly vestments and other pre-Reformation rituals.³⁰ Arminians became bishops in places such as York, Norwich and Ely.³¹ Arminians claimed to hold office by divine right. Charles I chose their leader, William Laud, as the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. Puritans such as

²⁶ Fraser, 38.

²⁷ Maurice Ashley, *Charles I and Oliver Cromwell: A Study in Contrasts and Comparisons* (New York: Methuen, 1987), 186.

²⁸ Clayton Roberts with David Roberts, *A History of England: Prehistory to 1714* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1985), 1: 367.

²⁹ Austin Woolrych, *Oliver Cromwell* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 10.

³⁰ Fraser, 45; and Woolrych, 9.

³¹ Ashley, *The Greatness of Cromwell*, 51.

Cromwell refused to accept Laudian bishops and their modified prayer book. Puritan distrust of Catholics at this time led them in part to oppose Charles I's policy of aiding Catholic Spain, which waged war against their fellow Protestants, the Dutch. In addition, the Catholic Queen Henrietta Maria protected Catholics at court, and some entered the Privy Council. She also favored Catholic ambassadors.³² For Cromwell, his belief in the Lord demonstrated itself through the idea that if he succeeded in a course of action, God sanctioned it. He thought that the Lord used him as an instrument of divine will and that his failures resulted from his own sin. Cromwell's belief insulated him from the criticism of other men and gave him a great sense of confidence in success but a horrible despair when he failed.³³

Having undergone his religious conversion and married, Cromwell and his wife moved home to Huntingdon where he owned a modest estate. A wealthy landowner in the area could count thousands in revenue, Cromwell could not. He lived a quiet life and fathered four boys and two girls. Shortly before the birth of Cromwell's sixth child, his uncle lost his fortune and sold the Cromwell estate at Hichingbrooke.³⁴ Even though his family's influence in the county was at an all time low, Huntingdon chose Cromwell to represent them in Parliament in 1628-1629.³⁵ In his first Parliament Cromwell played a minor role. He did, however, speak against new ideas from the High Church Bishops, which the king supported. In 1629, Parliament passed the Petition of Right but would not meet again for eleven years.

Parliament believed that Charles I's policies opposed "fundamental laws." Despite Charles I's pledge to honor these laws, he continued to levy tonnage and poundage without the consent of Parliament and refused to allow his official actions to be questioned. Charles also revived the ancient forest laws in 1634, which annexed lands that had been outside of the royal forests for over three hundred years, and exacted heavy fines.³⁶ As he had earlier warned

³² Woolrych, 10.

³³ Wedgwood, *Cromwell*, 25.

³⁴ Firth, 9.

³⁵ Wedgwood, *Cromwell*, 20.

³⁶ Firth, 20.

Parliament in 1626, “Remember that Parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting and dissolution; therefore as I find the fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue, or not to be.”³⁷

Meanwhile, Cromwell involved himself in local politics. He refused to pay for a knighthood at this time, a device that kings had resorted to in an attempt to raise money on many occasions.³⁸ In 1631, after eleven years of farming, Cromwell sold his family’s estate at Huntingdon and became a tenant farmer at St. Ives.³⁹ Five years later, Cromwell’s wife’s uncle died and left his estate at Ely to Cromwell.⁴⁰ Cromwell actively participated in community affairs, joined to the Parson’s Charity, an organization for the relief of the sick and the poor, and represented the fen dwellers in the Fen Drainage case. Fen drainage threatened the livelihood of the poor who earned their living by fishing and raising cattle on these public lands.⁴¹ Once drained and turned in into private property, the common man would lose access to what had been open land.⁴² Edward Montagu, Lord Mandeville, for example, prompted riots, when he promptly fenced former fenland.⁴³ The House of Lords came to the defense of Montagu while in the House of Commons Cromwell spoke out against the project investors. The incident demonstrates the difference between the “court interests” and the “country interests.” The court interest comprised of those in power in a purchased office or those who managed customs or others who received favors from the crown. Merchants often lent the crown money in return for obtaining monopoly rights for certain goods receiving royal charters.⁴⁴ The country interest differed in that they did not rely on the government for their livelihood. They lived independently of the crown and grew tired of the government’s increased demands. Many

³⁷ Ibid., 19.

³⁸ Ibid., 28; Hill, 45; and Woolrych, 10.

³⁹ Wedgwood, *Cromwell*, 22; and Woolrych, 6.

⁴⁰ Fraser, 50.

⁴¹ Woolrych, 7.

⁴² Fraser, 52.

⁴³ Paul, 47.

⁴⁴ Woolrych, 10.

merchants supported the country interest because they too were tired of the crown's restriction on trade and the king's new taxes including tonnage and poundage and the tax on all towns for the navy.

The Scots in particular resented Charles I's policies and rebelled. Problems arose in 1638 when Charles I attempted to force the Scots to adopt a new Book of Common Prayer. The Scots resisted, igniting the Bishop's War in 1639 and 1640.⁴⁵ Charles recalled Parliament, hoping to stir sympathy against the invasion and when he could not raise support, he dissolved Parliament after only three weeks.⁴⁶ The king could not stop the Scots and they occupied northern England. His minister, Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford, hoped the occupation would provoke sympathy for the crown, but it did not. The gentry did not support Charles' rule without Parliament and the army did little to stop the invasion. The king had little support of his own. One prominent puritan, John Pym, stated, "they must now be of another temper than they were the last Parliament."⁴⁷ The king was forced to recall Parliament, which reopened in November. Encouraged by bold leaders such as Pym, the Long Parliament accomplished much. Parliament used a Bill of Attainder to hang Thomas Wentworth, Charles' minister.⁴⁸ They passed the Triennial Act, which ensured regular meetings of Parliament every three years.⁴⁹ It abolished the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission allowing Parliament to meet until it agreed to dissolve.⁵⁰ It also ended Charles I's taxation policies such as ship money, revised forest laws and forced knighthoods.⁵¹ The Long Parliament effectively limited Charles I's power.

In the Long Parliament, Cromwell learned the methods of parliamentary government and continued his interest in religious reform. Cromwell served on several committees and helped Sir Henry Vane present the Root-and-Branch Bill, which represented what many Englishmen

⁴⁵ A. Ward, *The Cambridge Modern History* (New York: Macmillan, 1911), 9: 285; Woolyrich, 10.

⁴⁶ Wedgwood, *Cromwell*, 32.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁴⁸ Acton, 290.

⁴⁹ Roger Howell, Jr., *Cromwell* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1977), 26.

⁵⁰ Firth, 53; and Woolyrich, 10.

⁵¹ Howell, 26.

avored: a limited ecclesiastical hierarchy and a modified prayer book.⁵² The bill, however, never made it through the committee. Cromwell served as a typical small landowner, one who had married into the merchant class.

Although he played a minor role, one member of Parliament, Phillip Warwick, noted Cromwell's large red face and the stains on his country tailored suit. Warwick disapproved of Cromwell's support for John Lilburne, a man the King's Court of Star Chamber whipped and imprisoned for distributing John Prynne's pamphlet.⁵³ In Parliamentary matters, Cromwell did not speak against Strafford but did attack the Anglican Church and its new policies in a debate with the Royalist Sir John Strangways.⁵⁴ Although many people feared an absolute monarch taking their liberties, Cromwell became more concerned with the issue of religious reform. He supported the removal of bishops from the House of Lords. When the Long Parliament opened in the fall of 1640, Cromwell was forty-two and at a special time of his life. He had weathered financial difficulties and undergone a religious conversion. All of his children had been born and he lived comfortably on his inheritance. Secure in his beliefs and financial independent, Cromwell participated in the parliamentary process and found himself ready for the next chapter of his life.

In response to Charles I calling out the militia, on 6 July 1642, Parliament's Committee of Safety resolved to raise ten thousand men, and on 22 August King Charles headquartered the Royalist forces at Nottingham.⁵⁵ Members of Parliament chose sides and approximately 175 members of the House of Commons supported the king with around three hundred staying at Westminster for Parliament.⁵⁶ Eighty from the House of Lords remained on the king's side

⁵² Morley, 93.

⁵³ Firth, 49.

⁵⁴ Paul, 50.

⁵⁵ Firth, 68; Acton 302; and Fraser, 85.

⁵⁶ Firth, 68.

while thirty members supported the Parliament and twenty did not choose.⁵⁷ The civil war had begun.

Charles was the eldest son of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, the daughter of the French King Henry IV and sister of King Louis XIII. Almost a year earlier Charles was preceded in birth by a brother, Charles James, who was born prematurely and did not survive.⁵⁸ Finally the English had a prince born on their soil.⁵⁹ In total, Charles' parents would have nine children in fourteen years, six of whom would survive: Mary, James, Elizabeth, Henry and Henriette Anne.⁶⁰ At eight years of age Charles II held the rank of Knight of the Garter at Windsor Castle and moved to his own court at Richmond. The Bishop of Chichester, Brian Duppa, assumed the responsibility of tutor and William Cavendish, the Earl of Newcastle, the new Groom of the Stole and only Gentleman of the Bedchamber, the Governor. Considered one of the finest gentlemen of his day, Newcastle proved the greatest influence in the life of Charles.⁶¹ Newcastle loved the luxuries in life and felt that Charles should study, but not "take heed of too much book."⁶² He tried to instill in Charles a princely manner, telling him "you cannot lose by courtesy" and advised him to avoid flattery and to remember his mortality.⁶³ As King Charles I stated, "you are the son of our love."⁶⁴ As the child of a loving mother and father, Charles had a happy childhood. His mother wanted Charles raised in "wonderful civility." The prince took this lesson easily and later those around him would comment that he was "civil rather to an excess" and that there was a softness and gentleness in him both in his air and his expression.⁶⁵ After three years as Charles' governor, Newcastle resigned and was replaced by the Marquis of

⁵⁷ Firth, 68.

⁵⁸ Antonia Fraser, *King Charles II* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1979), 3.

⁵⁹ David Loth, *Royal Charles Ruler and Rake* (New York: Brentano's Publishers, 1930), 3.

⁶⁰ Fraser, 14.

⁶¹ Christopher Falkus, *The Life and Times of Charles II* (New York: Doubleday, 1972), 19.

⁶² Maurice Ashley, *Charles II*, 2.

⁶³ William Matthews, *Charles II Escape from Worcester, A Collection of Narratives Assembled by Samuel Pepys* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1966), 5.

⁶⁴ Ashley, *Charles II*, 1; and Fraser, *Charles II*, 12.

⁶⁵ Fraser, *Charles II*, 15.

Hertford, William Seymour. Earlier in life the king had imprisoned Seymour in the Tower of London for marrying Arabella Stuart, the cousin of King James I.⁶⁶ Despite this imprisonment, Hertford remained loyal to the crown. A wealthy and respected man, Seymour proved a poor choice for many reasons. For one, his advanced age and for another, he loved books but lacked the skill to teach.⁶⁷ He lived comfortably in the country and avoided business affairs. He had accepted the position to the prince out of loyalty and quit after two years to raise an army for the king. The new governor, Thomas Howard, the Earl of Berkshire, differed from his two predecessors in that he pursued the office but lacked both wealth and culture. He also accepted the position when Charles was too old for a governor.⁶⁸ Later, Parliament would arrest him and place him in the Tower of London, only to release him as harmless. Hyde called him a fool who, although a gentleman, had no qualities to support the title. Howard lasted the longest of all the governors, from 1643 to 1646 when Charles fled England, but was the least effective of Charles' governors.⁶⁹

Like many children, Charles preferred the outdoors and sports to books. As with many royals of his time, Charles had his own household and staff, and his parents influenced him less than common parents would. In matters of religion, his father, an Anglican, advised him on the importance of one religion in the kingdom. This viewpoint did not extend to his mother, who as a devout Catholic kept her own chapels and priests because of a secret clause in the wedding treaty, which also gave her special rights over the children until they were thirteen. Young Charles cared more for the ceremonies and style of church than the spiritual message, perhaps as a result of his most influential tutor Newcastle, who taught the young Charles the value of ceremony and order.⁷⁰ Charles' childhood would soon end with the coming civil war.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 26.

⁶⁷ Ashley, *Charles II*, 3.

⁶⁸ Fraser, *Charles II*, 31.

⁶⁹ Ashley, *Charles II*, 4.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 6.

In 1639, Charles' father went to war with Scotland over issues of religion. Charles' youth prevented him from participating in government much before the war. His one notable act came during the Parliament's trial of the king's minister, the Earl of Strafford. The Parliament used an Act of Attainder to expel him from the House of Commons for treason and despite his own able defense, they declared him guilty. As an angry mob assaulted the castle at Whitehall, Charles I reluctantly agreed to Parliament's demands. After a period of remorse he sent Charles II, ten years old at the time, to plead for the earl's life.⁷¹ Charles II presented a message to the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, but after he left, Parliament ruled on other issues and the next day they beheaded Stafford. Shortly thereafter, Charles II's mother and sister left for the United Provinces, where the queen intended to gain support for the Royalist cause. The king sent for Charles who received his own cavalry unit, which arrived at Nottingham for the opening battle of the English Civil War.

With the beginning of the war, Charles, age twelve, along with his brother James, the Duke of York, age nine, accompanied their father and their cousin Prince Rupert on the early Royalist campaigns. Charles stayed with his father at his headquarters in Oxford or went on campaigns. By 1644, the fortunes of war favored the parliamentary forces. With Royalist morale at a new low, the king decided to give command of his western armies to his son in March 1645, three months before his fifteenth birthday.⁷² Although they constantly argued amongst themselves, members of his council significantly influenced Charles. With a victory by Parliament at Naseby on Christmas 1645, the king advised his son to flee abroad.

After the Royalists suffered another defeat at Torrington on 16 February 1646, Charles II finally fled on 2 March 1646 for Saint Mary's, in the Scilly Islands off the coast of Cornwall, where he would suffer from poor conditions, scarcity of food and the indifference of the locals.⁷³ After Parliament sent a fleet to surround the island Charles and his council decided to flee. A

⁷¹ Ashley, *Charles II*, 7.

⁷² Matthews, 2.

⁷³ Loth, 38; and Fraser, *Charles II*, 40.

storm drove off the Parliamentary fleet and on 16 April Charles and his group left for Jersey, which remained loyal to the crown and which Charles found more congenial. He stayed in Elizabeth Castle where the governor of the islands, Sir George Carteret, made every attempt to cater to Charles and his entourage.⁷⁴ Although Charles could remain on Jersey, he received a letter from his father that made it clear that he thought his son had gone to France, where he should stay with his mother and listen to her and her council. Charles' counselors, guided by Lord Colepeper, believed he should stay on Jersey and out of the hands of the French and that leaving would hurt the loyalist cause.⁷⁵ They also objected to having the heir to the crown at a foreign and Catholic court.⁷⁶ He could wait and determine his course of action. At this time the Royalist stronghold at Oxford had not yet fallen. The queen thought Charles should leave and go either to Ireland or Scotland. With the mixed messages and divided advice of his own council, Charles followed the advice of his father and embarked for France.

Charles arrived in France on 26 June 1646 and moved in with his mother and her court at St. Germain. He brought with him the members of his council, Digby, Jermyn and Colepeper.⁷⁷ Hyde stayed in Jersey and continued his work, *History of the Rebellion*, which he had begun writing on the Isle of Scilly. In France, concerns over protocol prevented Charles from officially visiting the French court.⁷⁸ Once there he disappointed many, including possible marriage prospects arranged by his mother because he did not speak French although he told Prince Rupert he understood everything said to him. During this time Royalists from Scotland and Ireland asked Charles to leave France and to lead their respective armies. Influential Scottish nobles, such as the Marquis of Argyll, for example, demanded Charles' support Presbyterianism. Charles I, however, did not want his son controlled by the Scots whom he did not trust.

⁷⁴ Richard Ollard, *Clarendon and His Friends* (New York: Athenum, 1988), 105.

⁷⁵ Ashley, *Charles II*, 18; and Fraser, *Charles II*, 44.

⁷⁶ Eva Scott, *The King in Exile, The Wanderings of Charles II from June 1646 to July 1654* (London: Archibald Constable and Company Limited, 1905), 10.

⁷⁷ Ashley, *Charles II*, 19.

⁷⁸ Fraser, *Charles II*, 48.

Meanwhile, Charles' brother James joined the Royalist fleet and used it to flee England. Charles moved from St. Germain to Calais and replaced his brother as the Lord High Admiral and took to the seas searching for the Parliamentary fleet under the Earl of Warick.⁷⁹ On 17 July 1648, the Royalist fleet left Downs under the command of Charles and after setbacks such as poor wind conditions and a minor mutiny, they arrived in Helvoetsluys where Charles disembarked for the Hague.

At the Hague, Charles fell in love with a young Welsh exile, Lucy Walter, who gave him a son, whom Charles claimed and called James, the future Duke of Monmouth, his favorite child.⁸⁰ During this time Charles learned that Parliament planned to place his father on trial. The worried prince sent a blank sheet of paper with his signature at the bottom, pleading with Parliament to save his father's life and agreeing to any terms they demanded. He also pleaded with the Dutch for assistance and sent letters to various courts of Europe. Charles could not save his father the king. King Charles I went to trial and on 30 January he was executed.⁸¹ For several days thereafter, his servants did not tell Charles II who only learned of his father's fate after a chaplain referred to him as "your majesty."⁸² Despite no monarchy in England, Charles II was recognized as the king in Ireland and Scotland.⁸³ The shocked nobility of Europe quickly recognized him as Charles II. He had yet to reach his nineteenth birthday.

Charles II arrived in Breda in March 1650, waiting for the Scottish Commissioners.⁸⁴ They brought unacceptable terms asking Charles to submit to their Covenants, to establish Presbyterianism in England, Scotland and Ireland, to enforce laws against Catholics and to leave the government of Scotland to the Scottish Parliament and its Estates with religious matters left to the Kirk.⁸⁵ Although advised against this agreement by his Privy Council, Charles signed

⁷⁹ Fraser, *Charles II*, 58-59.

⁸⁰ Ashley, *Charles II*, 28; Falkus, 35; and Fraser, *Charles II*, 64.

⁸¹ Matthews, 3.

⁸² Falkus, 35; and Fraser, *Charles II*, 78.

⁸³ Acton, 508.

⁸⁴ Fraser, *Charles II*, 72.

⁸⁵ Ashley, *Charles II*, 34; and Scott, 134.

what is known as the Treaty of Breda on 1 May 1650 at the urging of Queen Christina of Sweden and Prince William of Orange, Charles' brother in law.⁸⁶

With the treaty signed, he left for Scotland in the summer of 1650. He did not trust the Scots and they in turn did not trust him. He found himself treated to long hours of sermons and his hosts forced him to send some of his companions away because of their questionable morals and politics. The elders of the Kirk, guided by Argyll, denied Charles participation in governing affairs, but pleased him by attacking south. Charles and the Scottish Army faced Cromwell's troops at Dunbar on 3 September 1650.⁸⁷ After the battle the Scots counted their losses with three thousand dead, ten thousand captured. Cromwell lost only twenty dead and fifty-eight wounded.⁸⁸ Charles made the decision to leave the Scots and following the battle he escaped going only forty miles before the Scots captured him. The Scots promised him more freedom and to raise a new army. The Scots upheld their promise, raising an army during the spring and summer while Cromwell maneuvered his forces north of the Scottish Army position. As the Scots moved into England they received a lukewarm response and upon reaching Worcester, Cromwell attacked them. One year to the day after the tragedy of Dunbar, Oliver Cromwell crushed this new Scottish army.⁸⁹ Cromwell himself believed the battle of Worcester "as stiff a contest for four or five hours as ever I have seen."⁹⁰ Charles' remaining forces retreated into Scotland where he again attempted escape.⁹¹ He later would recall, "although I could not get them to stand by me against the enemy, I could not get rid of them now I had a mind to do it."⁹² Escaping, Charles gained the assistance of English Catholics.⁹³ Running, hiding and at one point staying in trees to remain hidden from the troops, Charles found shelter in Royalist homes. With

⁸⁶ Acton, 509; and Hunt 365.

⁸⁷ Hume, 324.

⁸⁸ Loth, 76.

⁸⁹ Hume, 324.

⁹⁰ Ashley, *Charles II*, 48; and Fraser, *Charles II*, 110.

⁹¹ Korr, 30.

⁹² Ashley, 50.

⁹³ Fraser, *Charles II*, 113.

the help of a dedicated Royalist's daughter and Lord Wilmot, he disguised his identity and travelled to Bristol seeking passage to the continent despite the proclamations demanding the discover and the apprehension of Charles Stuart. He gained passage in Brighton and soon made his way to Paris.

When Charles fled abroad, he went to France because his mother was the daughter of a past French king and his cousin was the current king. Charles reached France in October of 1651 no better off than a poor refugee.⁹⁴ During the early part of his exile, Charles hoped for not only financial but also military support from the French. Unfortunately for Charles, France suffered from internal conflict, and a long war with Spain, prompting the French to ultimately seek an alliance with the Commonwealth and to expel Charles II.⁹⁵ While Charles was in France, Cromwell sought an alliance. While the French delayed, the Spanish ambassador, Don Alonso de Cardenas, offered a Spanish alliance with England. The Spanish agreed to assist with England's capture of Calais and England would help Spain seize Dunkirk. The English Council of State accepted and on 14 September 1652, the English Admiral Blake defeated the French fleet.⁹⁶ With no French support or reinforcement, the Spanish captured Dunkirk. After losing Dunkirk, the French renewed their efforts for an alliance with England.⁹⁷ To do so, France sent a resident to London, Antoine de Bordeaux, who formally recognized the Commonwealth. Despite this recognition, Cardinal Mazarin, Chief Minister of France, viewed Charles II as useful, both as a threat to Cromwell's position in England and to help obtain Irish troops to fight on the continent. Mazarin kept Charles short of money to prevent him from moving and to keep him reliant on French financial assistance. After the French signed their treaty with Cromwell, they had agreed to the expulsion of Charles from France.⁹⁸ Always low on money, Charles

⁹⁴ J. R. Jones, *Charles II, Royal Politician* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 25.

⁹⁵ Fraser, *Charles II*, 47.

⁹⁶ Hume, 39.

⁹⁷ Ashley, *Charles II*, 58.

⁹⁸ Ollard, 184; and Clive Parry, ed. *The Consolidated Treaty Series* (Dobbs Ferry: Oceana Publications, 1969) 4 (1655-1658): 1-20.

asked his sister, the Princess of Orange in the United Provinces, to assist in his move to Vienna and help with the Holy Roman Emperor. Although his sister was the Princess of Orange, Charles could not take refuge in the Netherlands because the Dutch had recognized and signed a peace treaty with the Commonwealth.

With no large coastline nothing to fear from Cromwell and his navy, the Holy Roman Emperor remained friendly to Charles and in August 1652 forbade his ambassador in Constantinople from recognizing the Commonwealth agent. Pleased by this action, Charles sent Wilmot, the newly created Earl of Rochester to the Imperial Diet in April 1653, where a new King of the Romans would be chosen.⁹⁹ Charles instructed Wilmot to promise the emperor that once restored to the throne Charles would ensure that Catholics would be tolerated. Wilmot also sought support for Charles against his enemies. If Wilmot could not accomplish his mission, Charles instructed him to seek money and the right to recruit and to transport troops within the empire for the Royalist cause. He should also determine who would entertain Charles as a guest in their country. Charles suggested that Wilmot speak to William Curtius, Charles' resident at Frankfort, if he needed advice. If possible, he should conduct his affairs as a private person, although he was accredited as an ambassador. Wilmot failed to win the Diet's support for the Royalist cause, but the Emperor promised Wilmot 100,000 rix-dollars, only a small part of which Charles ultimately received. Wilmot used much of what he had raised for his embassy and fared better than his fellow diplomats. He lived well and the German princes treated him favorably. Charles hoped Wilmot could gain an audience with the pope using the Emperor's influence. Because Charles himself had corresponded earlier with the pope, Wilmot was able to gain an audience. Although Pope Innocent X wished Charles well, he refused to receive any official agent of Charles until he converted to Catholicism.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Ashley, *Charles II*, 59.

¹⁰⁰ Scott, 374.

Charles' primary consideration in dealing with foreign courts remained offers of support and recognition.¹⁰¹ In order to accomplish this goal, Charles sent diplomats Henry Bennet to Spain (April 1657) and William Crofts to Poland (September 1649) and Henry Hyde and Francis Cottington to Spain (December 1649). He sent Thomas Killgrew to Venice (February 1650), John Coleper to Moscow (May 1650), Richard Brown to France (August 1651), Henry Bard to Persia (1653), Henry Wilmot to Prussia (September 1654).¹⁰² Crofts succeeded in gaining a small amount of monetary support from the Polish king and queen, as Colepeper did from the Russians. The Spanish did not want Cottington and Hyde to visit Spain, as the Spanish ultimately sought an unsuccessful alliance with the Commonwealth against France.¹⁰³ When the two arrived in Madrid, they did, however, have an audience with the king. Early in 1651, the Spanish court asked the Royalist embassy to leave.¹⁰⁴ Feeling insulted, Hyde and Cottington convinced the Spanish to pledge 50,000 pieces of eight to Charles in Flanders. Cottington, a Catholic, wished to stay in Spain, which the Spanish king approved. But as the Commonwealth became more successful, Charles appeared less and less credible. One nation after another recognized the new government in England. Charles sent diplomatic agents to Sweden in 1653, yet Queen Christina refused a formal embassy from Charles, though she expressed goodwill and allowed his agents to recruit troops and to sail from Swedish ports.¹⁰⁵

Charles also sent his Ambassador Lord Wentworth to Denmark in April 1653 with instructions asking the King Frederick to intercede on Charles' behalf with the United Provinces State-General and to gain access to Denmark's ports for royalist ships. He should also try to gain ships and arms for Scotland. If successful, Wentworth should make the same requests to the

¹⁰¹ Ashley, *Charles II*, 65.

¹⁰² Scott, 284-285.

¹⁰³ F.C. Montague, *The History of England from the Accession of James I to the Restoration, 1603-1660* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907), 387.

¹⁰⁴ R. A. Stradling, *Phillip IV and the Government of Spain 1621-1655* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 350.

¹⁰⁵ Ashley, *Charles II*, 59 and Scott, 387.

Dukes of Holstein and Oldenburg.¹⁰⁶ Frederick expressed sympathy for Charles, but stated that he must look after his own interests and signed a commercial treaty with the Commonwealth.¹⁰⁷ In addition to these nations, Venice sided with Cromwell as well. Charles II placed his resident, Thomas Killigrew, in Venice as early as 26 August, 1649. Charles II instructed Killigrew to persuade the Signora of Venice, in addition to the Dukes of Savoy and Tuscany to favor royalist merchants at the expense of Republicans and to deny any audience to republican representatives.¹⁰⁸ Venice, however, ended Killigrew's embassy on 22 June 1652.¹⁰⁹ The Venetian senate had warned Killigrew several times that he should not allow outlaws, but particularly smugglers, asylum in the embassy. In addition, Killigrew was selling meat illegally and bypassing customs. Like many ambassadors during this time, Killigrew was paid little, if at all. The Venetian council of Ten made an example of Killigrew as he as one of the most vulnerable ambassadors. Cromwell had put pressure on Venice to end the Royalist Embassy, and the Venetian Senate turned against the Royalist cause, siding with the Commonwealth. One month after Killigrew's departure, the Venetians replaced the English royal coat of arms with those of the Commonwealth. With the Commonwealth's increasing naval strength and commercial success, Charles II lost another possible ally.

In July 1654, Portugal signed a treaty with England as well and in September, Cromwell signed an alliance with France. Mazarin recognized the new government in England and made his agent Bordeaux an official ambassador. In both cases, Charles's personal connections failed to help him. Moving his small impoverished court from place to place, begging money from Royalists and German princes, Charles found himself without an ally.

¹⁰⁶ Scott, 381.

¹⁰⁷ Clive Parry, ed., *The Consolidated Treaty Series* (Dobbs Ferry: Oceana Publications, 1969), 3 (1654-1655): 355-366.

¹⁰⁸ Geoffrey Smith, *The Cavaliers in Exile 1640-1660* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 84.

¹⁰⁹ Linda S. Frey and Marsha L. Frey, *The History of Diplomatic Immunity* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999), 230-232, 222.

France, the United Provinces, Denmark, Sweden and Portugal signed treaties with Cromwell. After Cromwell's alliance with France against Spain, Charles II found an ally allowing him refuge in the Spanish territory.¹¹⁰ Charles finally settled outside Brussels in the Spanish Netherlands in March 1656.¹¹¹ He would remain there for the next four years.¹¹² Royalist and Spanish negotiations had begun early, yet were not finalized until 1656. With the French allied with Cromwell and Charles with Spain, Charles' French support payments ended and were replaced with equally problematic Spanish payments. In total, Charles received six payments totaling 145,00 florins.¹¹³ With the new alliance signed on 12 April 1657 and ratified by Philip IV on 5 June 1657, the Spanish agreed to invade England with 6,000 men, (4,000 on horse and 2,000 on foot), provided Charles could guarantee a safe port in England to land.¹¹⁴ For Spanish support, Charles promised to form an army within the Spanish Netherlands, and following his restoration, to help Spain recover Portugal and to relinquish any territory gained in the West Indies since 1630 although this ultimately did not happen.¹¹⁵ With intelligence provided by Cardinal Mazarin, Cromwell warned Parliament of a possible invasion from Flanders by Charles II.¹¹⁶ By the fall of 1656, Charles had perhaps 2,000 men in addition to the 6,000 Spanish available to him.¹¹⁷ Unfortunately for Charles' efforts, with Cromwell's capture of Dunkirk and the loss of a close friendly port, the idea of a Spanish-assisted royalist invasion of England ended.¹¹⁸

How did Cromwell and Charles differ in foreign policy? Did their different ideas on religion influence their objectives? How did Cromwell's view of the monarchy affect his foreign policy? Did Charles II shape his plans in an effort to avenge the death of his father? With

¹¹⁰ Jones, 25.

¹¹¹ Stradling, 297.

¹¹² Parry, 4: 71-78.

¹¹³ Smith, 101.

¹¹⁴ Montague, 439 and Parry, 4: 71-78.

¹¹⁵ Ashley, *Charles II*, 78 and Jones, 27.

¹¹⁶ Charles Firth, *The Last Years of the Protectorate* (New York Russell & Russell Inc. 1964), 1(1656-1657): 24.

¹¹⁷ Firth, *Last Years*, 26.

¹¹⁸ Ollard, 200.

Cromwell having in-laws in the merchant class, did he have specific ideas on how the Commonwealth should approach trade? Also, did the change in government from a Republic to a Protectorate affect the foreign policy decisions of Cromwell or Charles II?

Oliver Cromwell guided England's foreign policy according to British historian at Oxford Charles Firth, with three simple goals: "The first was the desire to maintain and to spread the Protestant religion; the second, the desire to preserve and extend English Commerce; the third, the desire to prevent the restoration of the Stuarts by foreign aid."¹¹⁹ To accomplish these goals, the Commonwealth needed legitimacy and the recognition of other nations. The Dutch had recognized the Commonwealth in January of 1651. To achieve his first foreign policy objective, Cromwell sent Oliver St. John and Walter Strickland to the United Provinces with an offer of an alliance in February 1651.¹²⁰ The two nations had favorable relations because of their earlier battles against Spain. England wanted security and help in keeping the Royalists out of power. This alliance between the two republics initially would be commercial, not governmental. The United Provinces rejected the offer but did engage in discussions over the commercial and legal rights of Dutch merchants in areas the English viewed as their trade areas, although they refused to grant the same rights to the English as the Dutch enjoyed in the East Indies and Africa. The United Provinces did not want to ally itself with a state that could pull them into a war, or damage their trade. Nor did the Dutch want to ally themselves with a regicide state, one no other European nation had recognized. The Republic appeared weak at this time. The Dutch knew of Charles II's plotting in Scotland and of Cromwell's difficulties in securing Ireland. The Rump Parliament's first agent to the Hague, Isaac Dorislaus, had been assassinated and no action was taken against the Royalists.¹²¹ Cromwell's later agents, St. John and Strickland, had also been threatened.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Firth, *Cromwell*, 363.

¹²⁰ Howat 71; Korr, 71; and Ward, 5: 138.

¹²¹ Hume, 309; and Montague, 359.

¹²² Korr, 11.

With little possibility of a treaty with the United Provinces, the English Council of State established the Council of Trade in 1650, enacting a new mercantile policy, the Navigation Act of October 1651, to protect expanding English trade while restricting imports.¹²³ The Navigation Act specifically targeted the United Provinces.¹²⁴ In restricting Dutch trade, the act also targeted Royalist colonies such as Virginia and Barbados that used Dutch ships to move their goods.¹²⁵ The opinion of the time favored war with the Dutch even if the act did not intentionally cause it. The act restricted goods coming from Asia, Africa and the Americas and allowed entry into England only on English ships or on ships from the country of origin at a time when few producers in Northern Europe had their own shipping and relied on ships from the United Provinces. The act prohibited re-exports, most of which came from Amsterdam. The act even banned fish importation unless brought into England on English ships. The Council had the power to enforce the act, unlike earlier courts that had proposed similar measures but lacked the means to enforce them. The United Provinces quickly protested and asked for the repeal of the act as well as the return of vessels seized; yet they offered no concessions of their own.¹²⁶ War was inevitable with each side unwilling to compromise and was officially declared on 8 July 1652.

War between the United Provinces and England centered on the issue of trade between two of the most advanced commercial powers of the time that fought around the globe, not only in Europe.¹²⁷ Republican governments conducted the war, the Parliament in England and the States General in the United Provinces. Both governments used pressure and propaganda to assure the support of the people in their countries. The English wrongly blamed the United Provinces for the depressed state of English trade, which they thought was partially caused by the United Provinces' enormous capital, which they provided at much lower interest rates to

¹²³ Montague, 391.

¹²⁴ G. M. D. Howat, *Stuart and Cromwellian Foreign Policy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974), 71.

¹²⁵ Howat, 72.

¹²⁶ J. R. Jones, *Britain and the World 1649-1815* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1980), 65-66.

¹²⁷ Jones, 52.

merchants who as a consequence had lower operating costs. The abundance of capital combined with the efficient shipping methods of the United Provinces and their fluyt ships gave them enormous advantages over the English.¹²⁸ The Dutch also placed no restrictions on exports, not even to their enemies. The Dutch operated efficiently while the English lacked a cohesive trading policy, having previously divided into factions while seeking privileges under the former Court's patronage system. The court had demanded money from merchants to support the government, which weakened the financial position of traders, who often operated on delays of months, sometimes years in the shipping and receiving of goods.¹²⁹ Parliament hoped that by restricting the Dutch trade they would strengthen their own merchants and saw war with the United Provinces as an acceptable result of the Navigation Act.

After Oliver Cromwell received the title of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England on 16 December 1653, he resolved to end the war in April of 1654 because he viewed it as detrimental to the Protestant cause.¹³⁰ To end the war, the United Provinces agreed to the Navigation Act of 1651, which acknowledged the English supremacy in waters England claimed as theirs, and to compensate English merchants who had suffered losses.¹³¹ The British set a limit on the number of United Province warships in seas England considered British and required them to notify the Commonwealth three months in advance of ship movements.¹³² The Dutch agreed to expel England's enemies within their borders, thus preventing Charles II from receiving help from the only country in Europe with a large navy.¹³³ The Dutch received nothing other than an end to the hostilities.

¹²⁸ Cooper, 233; and Howat, 55.

¹²⁹ Jones, 63.

¹³⁰ A. W. Ward, *The Cambridge Modern History* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911), 4: 439.

¹³¹ Parry, 3, 225-256 and A. W. Ward with G. W. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, *The Cambridge Modern History The Age of Louis XIV* (Cambridge: University Press, 1961), 5: 141.

¹³² Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *History of The Commonwealth and Protectorate 1649-1656* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1903), 62.

¹³³ Jones, 70 and Korr, 76.

After the war ended with the United Provinces, Cromwell and his council desired to improve British trade in the Baltic. A week after the treaty with the United Provinces, Cromwell sent his first ambassador, Bulstrode Whitelocke, to Queen Christina of Sweden.¹³⁴ On 11 April 1654, Queen Christiana signed a commercial treaty and agreed not to help Charles II.¹³⁵ Following the Swedish treaty, Frederick III of Denmark signed a commercial treaty with England on 15 September 1654.¹³⁶ British vessels could safely sail through the Baltic, specifically through the sound between the Danish island of Zealand and Sweden.¹³⁷ Although Cromwell failed to form a Protestant union, the commercial treaties promoted English trade, allowing Cromwell to focus on his other foreign policy goals.

With peace made and commercial advantages gained, Cromwell sought to ally England with either Spain or France. Spain was the first major power to recognize the Commonwealth.¹³⁸ Issues of trade, security, religion and patriotism influenced this policy. The Portuguese sought a treaty with England to help in their struggle with Spain despite the unpleasantness of the Sa' Case, one of the biggest diplomatic incidents during the Commonwealth.¹³⁹ The Portuguese ambassador's brother, Dom Pataleone de Sa' e Menezes and some other Portuguese became involved in an altercation with a former English officer of the civil war. They attacked and wounded the man but were stopped by a bystander whom the Portuguese later sought out. In the ensuing fracas one of Sa's servants killed a shopper. The Horse Guards were called out to stop the mob that chased the Portuguese to their embassy. They threatened force and the ambassador surrendered the men. After nine months imprisonment and a trial, the younger Sa' was beheaded despite his brother's diplomatic status.¹⁴⁰ Cromwell refused to intervene. Despite a delay caused

¹³⁴ Howatt, 77.

¹³⁵ Parry, 3: 257-269.

¹³⁶ Parry, 3: 355-366.

¹³⁷ Howatt, 77.

¹³⁸ Korr, 21.

¹³⁹ Linda S. Frey and Marsha L. Frey, "The Bounds of Immunity: The Sa' Case. Politics, Law, and Diplomacy in Commonwealth England" *Canadian Journal of History* 25 (April 1990), 41-60.

¹⁴⁰ CSP, Domestic, 1654, 4 May 1654, p.151, #22; 8 May 1654, p. 156, #32; Montague, 421; and Stradling, 326.

by the presence of Prince Rupert and other Royalists in Lisbon and in a futile hope to save Sa' Portugal agreed to a commercial treaty on 10 July 1655, which allowed English trade throughout the Portuguese colonies while allowing religious freedom for the English.¹⁴¹ The Portuguese desperately needed an ally in their fight for independence against Spain.

Portugal was not the only country trying to gain an alliance with Cromwell. France and Spain both wanted an alliance with England. To gain English support, France promised assistance to the English with the capture of Dunkirk and to end France's support of Charles II and other Royalists. For Cromwell, capturing Dunkirk provided two benefits. Pirates had used Dunkirk as a base against English shipping.¹⁴² Dunkirk also would provide a foothold on the continent.¹⁴³ On matters of religious issues, by allying England with France against Spain, Cromwell believed that he could assist the French Huguenots while at the same time forcing Charles II out of France.¹⁴⁴ Cromwell believed that through peace with France he could help the plight of French Protestants, but by fighting France he could not. During the negotiations with the French ambassador, Cromwell expressed his desire to help the Protestants not only in France but also the Vaudois in Savoy and the Protestant cantons in Switzerland.¹⁴⁵ The Duke of Savoy had persecuted the Vaudois, and although Cromwell knew he could not use force in the matter, he still hoped to help these Protestants.¹⁴⁶ At the end of August, the Duke of Savoy and the Vaudois ended their conflict with the signing of the Treaty of Pignerol with the provisions dictated and enforced by France. Cromwell did not object to the treaty although the Vaudois themselves were unhappy with it. The treaty established their right to worship freely while the duke agreed to end his persecution of this religious minority. In 1685, Louis the XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes ending toleration in France and the new Duke of Savoy persecuted the

¹⁴¹Ashley, *Charles I and Oliver Cromwell*, 131.

¹⁴²Korr, 36.

¹⁴³Ashley, *Charles I and Oliver Cromwell*, 136; and Korr, 183.

¹⁴⁴Montague, 435.

¹⁴⁵Korr, 150; and Montague, 435.

¹⁴⁶Korr, 151.

Vaudois causing them to flee their lands. Cromwell, although criticized at the time and by later historians for his failure to adhere to his religious ideals, demonstrated his pragmatic approach to a situation in which he knew he had little say.¹⁴⁷

Relations between Spain and England had deteriorated when the Commonwealth diplomat Anthony Ascham was murdered in Spain in 1650.¹⁴⁸ Although criticized for allying himself against Spain, Cromwell pointed out that the Spanish crown had promised support for Charles II in invading England. Because Cromwell promoted his idea of a Western Design, that is, of securing a base of operations in the West Indies to weaken Spain in the new world he decided to strike at Spanish possessions there.¹⁴⁹ By August, Cromwell told the Spanish ambassador that for Spain to remain in friendly terms with the Commonwealth that they must agree to certain new conditions. Realistically, Cromwell wanted to modify the Anglo-Spanish Treaty of 1630, which stated that the English could discreetly practice their religion. Cromwell demanded religious freedom for all Englishmen in Spanish territories and the right to free trade in the West Indies. Some argue that with such bold demands, Cromwell sought to provoke war with Spain.¹⁵⁰ The Spanish had attacked English vessels, and did not grant freedom of religion within their empire. In order to carry out Cromwell's Western Design, the council declared war on Spain on 15 October 1655. The commanders, Admiral William Penn and General Robert Venables, failed to take Hispaniola, but seized Jamaica in May of 1655.¹⁵¹ Cromwell did not know if such attacks would lead to warfare in Europe as earlier attacks on the French fleet or English attacks in North America had caused no war with France in Europe. By 23 March 1657, Cromwell's ambassador to France, William Lockhart, had negotiated an alliance with France. The English admiral, Blake, destroyed the Spanish fleet at Santa Cruz the following month. On land, 6,000 English Ironsides laid siege to Dunkirk on 13 June 1658. Twelve days later, the

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 155-156.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 21.

¹⁴⁹ Acton, 4, 482.

¹⁵⁰ John Lynch, *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change 1598-1700* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992), 168.

¹⁵¹ Howat, 87; and Montague, 432.

Spanish surrendered the town delivering it to Lockhart.¹⁵² Although the Spanish had surrendered Dunkirk, England and Spain would not formally agree to peace until after Charles II's Restoration. A formal treaty was signed in September of 1660.¹⁵³

On 3 September 1658, the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester, Cromwell died.¹⁵⁴ To carry out his foreign policy Cromwell sent fifteen ambassadors, envoys and residents. In assessing Cromwell's foreign policy, many historians point to his war with a declining Spain while allying himself with a stronger France. Had Cromwell chosen a Spanish alliance and fought France, detractors believe he would have preserved the balance of power in Europe. They also criticize his dreams of a Protestant League with the United Provinces and the Swedes. Despite later criticism, diplomats of the time acknowledged the Protector's success. Countries such as France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Venice and Portugal sided with or signed treaties with the Commonwealth. Giovanni Sagredo, Venetian Ambassador to France, in a letter to his senate, wrote on 6 July 1655 that "the Court of England, by sheer force, has made itself the most dreaded and most conspicuous in the world. Six ambassadors from crowned heads are now resident there and others are expected."¹⁵⁵ Although criticized, Cromwell's policies led to commercial treaties, the acquisition of new territories such as Jamaica in the West Indies and capturing Dunkirk in Europe while preventing Charles II from gaining meaningful support from the continent.¹⁵⁶

Charles II's Interregnum foreign policy centered on his desperate struggle to find financial support and a friendly court for himself and his fellow Royalists. Having no money of his own, Charles found himself at the mercy of any power willing to help. As countries sided with Cromwell, he lost the support of formerly sympathetic courts as well as places where he and

¹⁵² Ward, 4: 440.

¹⁵³ Hume, 401.

¹⁵⁴ Montague, 459.

¹⁵⁵ Allen B. Hinds, ed., *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English and Collections of Venice, And In Other Libraries of Northern Italy* (Nendlen: Kraus-Thompson Organization Limited, 1970), 30: 77.

¹⁵⁶ Charles Harding Firth, *The Last Years of the Protectorate* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), 2: 257.

his Royalists could seek refuge and plan their return to England. With fewer potential allies, Charles also lost needed assistance in gathering an army to invade England. In his diplomatic efforts, he pledged his commitment to the Protestant religion to Protestant heads of states while he promised tolerance towards Catholics to sympathetic Catholic courts. Despite Charles' and his Royalist followers' best efforts they made little progress in restoring the monarchy in England. Cromwell's death, followed by his son Richard's inability to provide stability and order, did more to facilitate the restoration than Charles ever did and ensured the king's return.

Cromwell and Charles II had little in common. One came from a modest gentry family and the other from the ruling family of his country. One was old and one was young, Cromwell was forty-eight and Charles II was nineteen. Cromwell's political and military experiences propelled him into a leadership role and power while Charles had little experience other than being raised for his sense of responsibility. Understanding these men gives a perspective on how and why they chose the diplomats they did. In particular these characters and life experiences influenced their choices, as did their religious outlook. Charles' choices were more circumscribed because he had only a narrow circle of followers on whom to rely.

Chapter 2 - The Diplomats

Did Oliver Cromwell and Charles II choose different kinds of men to serve on diplomatic missions? Methodologically, this study relies on the two standard bibliographical dictionaries, *The Dictionary of National Biography* edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee and *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* edited by H.C.G. Matther and Brian Harrison to provide vital information for this chapter. All of the diplomats chosen are listed in both. Supplementary materials where relevant will be cited. Oliver Cromwell lived most of his life, raised a family and earned a living as a small gentry farmer while serving in the occasional Parliament. Charles II was a teenager who had little time to accomplish much in his young life when the monarchy ended in England. Did this difference in these two individuals affect their choices as diplomatic representatives? Did the younger man choose other young men while an older Cromwell picked older men? How did their religious differences help them choose? Did Cromwell look for men with similar backgrounds to his, or did he rely on career diplomats with experience? Having commanded troops in battle, did he prefer military veterans, or did he choose from his former peers in Parliament? Did Cromwell and Charles II's foreign policies affect whom they chose?

Oliver Cromwell and Charles II differed in age by thirty-four years. Did the drastic age difference between the two influence the age of their diplomats?¹⁵⁷ Examining the nine diplomats sent by Charles II, all have a year of birth listed except one, William Crofts. The other eight diplomats' ages range from thirty-eight for the youngest (Henry Bard) and seventy the oldest (Francis Cottington). The average age was forty-four years old. If Cottington is excluded as Charles I first appointed him to his post and he died early during Charles II's exile, John Culpepper, the next oldest, had reached his fiftieth birthday, lowering the average diplomat's age to forty years old at the time of their appointment. Compared to the diplomats sent by Charles II, the fifteen diplomats sent by the Commonwealth and Protectorate all have a known year of birth.

¹⁵⁷ For a list of diplomats and their age of appointment, see Appendix C.

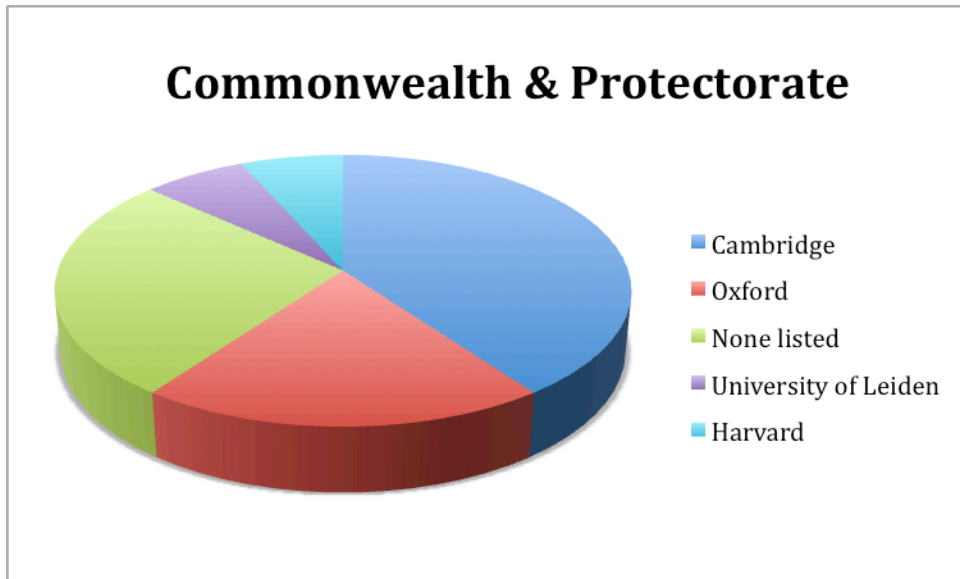
Edward Rolt had reached his twenty-sixth birthday while Oliver St. John was fifty-three. The average age for this group was forty years old at the time of appointment. The median age for the Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats was thirty-nine, compared to the median of fifty-one for Royalist diplomats. Excluding Cottington, the median age changes to forty-one for the Royalists. A comparison of the average age of the diplomatic corps of Charles II at forty-four against the diplomatic corps of the Commonwealth and Protectorate at forty demonstrates that age did not drastically separate the two groups.

Did education separate the two groups?¹⁵⁸ Surprisingly only one diplomat, the Royalist Henry Bennet, attended the prestigious prep school of Westminster. Out of the fifteen diplomats sent by the Commonwealth and Protectorate, six diplomats attended Cambridge (40 percent). In the group of nine diplomats sent by Charles II, one attended Cambridge (11 percent). When looking at the attendance at Oxford, three diplomats from the Commonwealth and Protectorate attended Oxford (20 percent) and four Royalists (44 percent). Cambridge had become a center of Puritan thought before the Civil War. Perhaps attending Cambridge influenced the student to choose the side of Parliament or perhaps by attending Cambridge, the student or his family showed their strong Puritan leanings. Oxford had come under the control of William Laud, a high church Arminian, as Chancellor in 1630, certainly the opposite of the Puritan philosophy.¹⁵⁹ Another group had no university education at all. In the Commonwealth and Protectorate group, four of the fifteen (27 percent) had no university education and among the Royalists four of the nine (44 percent). Once a university education had been acquired, a significant number of both groups continued their education. Three Royalists and two Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats had master's degrees, (13 percent) for the Commonwealth and Protectorate and (30 percent) for the Royalists. Several others chose the study of law, with four Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats (27 percent) listed as having studied law at Middle Temple, Lincoln's Inn

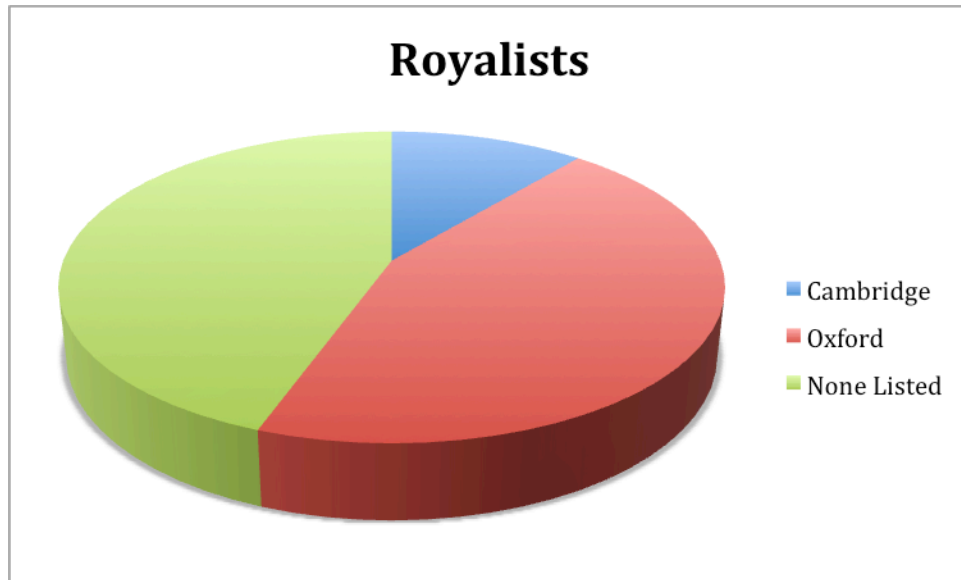
¹⁵⁸ For a list of diplomatic education, see Appendix F.

¹⁵⁹ Donald Pennington and Keith Thomas eds., *Puritans and Revolutionaries, Essays in Seventeenth-Century History Presented to Christopher Hill* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1978), 74.

and Grey's Inn. Three Royalist diplomats studied law at (30 percent), all at Middle Temple. Yet another distinction was those diplomats who studied abroad. The Commonwealth and Protectorate provide two examples of this; Isaac Dorislaus attended the University of Leiden and George Downing attended the first class of Harvard. Comparing the two groups shows a predictably higher attendance at Cambridge for the Commonwealth and Protectorate and a higher percentage at Oxford for the Royalists. The Royalists also had a larger percentage who did not attend college. For those Royalists who did attend college, a higher percentage obtained more education than the Commonwealth and Protectorate group. The Royalists had a slightly higher percentage of lawyers and a higher percentage with master's degrees.¹⁶⁰

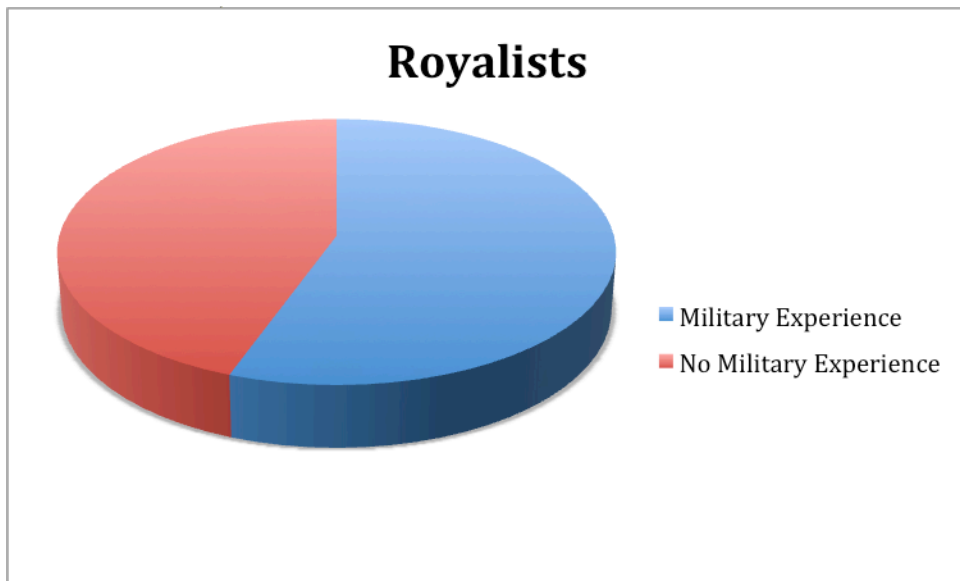
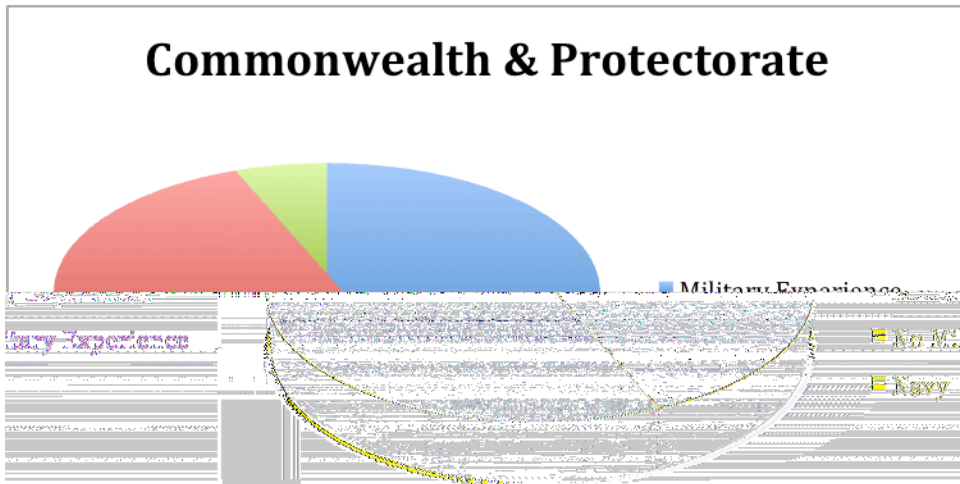


¹⁶⁰ Appendix F.



Although the Commonwealth and Protectorate sent a higher percentage of educated diplomats, did the Royalists send more who served in the military? Perhaps the diplomats' youth, combined with the outbreak of the civil war pulled some Royalists into the fighting at a time when otherwise they would have attended a university. Out of fifteen diplomats sent by the Commonwealth and Protectorate, seven had served in the military (47 percent). Out of nine diplomats sent by Charles II, five had some kind of military service, over half (56 percent). Only one diplomat, sent by the Commonwealth and Protectorate, George Downing, had any service in the navy; he had served as a ship's chaplain. Looking at service prior to the Commonwealth and Protectorate, including service abroad but excluding guards units or quartermaster positions, the numbers change. Royalist military service drops to four (44 percent) as does Commonwealth and Protectorate service (27 percent). With time served before or during the Commonwealth and Protectorate, the Royalists as a group had a higher percentage of military service than their Commonwealth and Protectorate counterparts.¹⁶¹

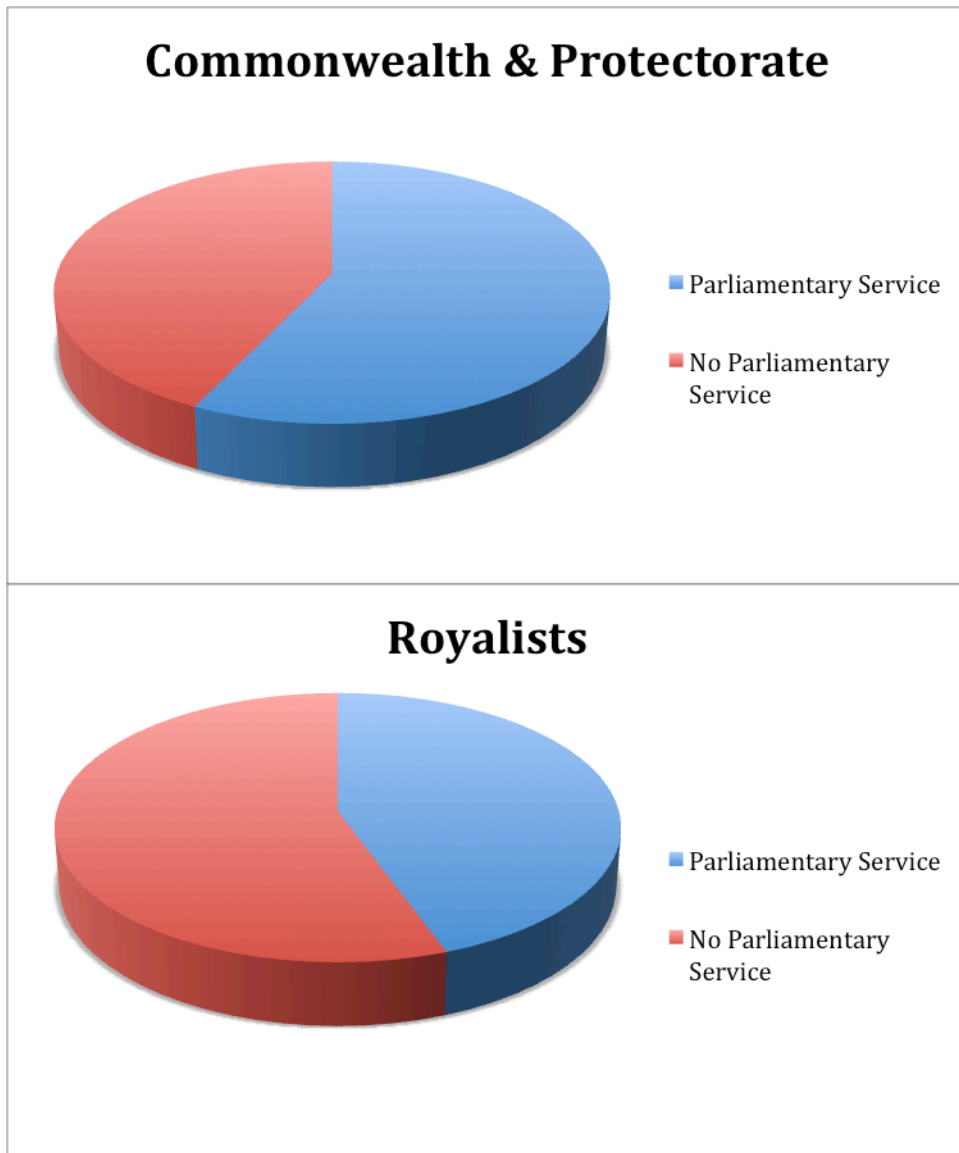
¹⁶¹ For a list of diplomats' military service, see Appendix G.



Perhaps while the Royalists served in the military, the Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats served in the Parliament.¹⁶² Looking at these numbers, this is not the case. Of the fifteen Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats, eight had served in Parliament, either before the war or during the Commonwealth or Protectorate (57 percent) while seven never served in the Parliament before the Restoration in 1660. Of the Royalist diplomats, four had Parliamentary service (44 percent), while five did not. While slightly more republicans had Parliamentary

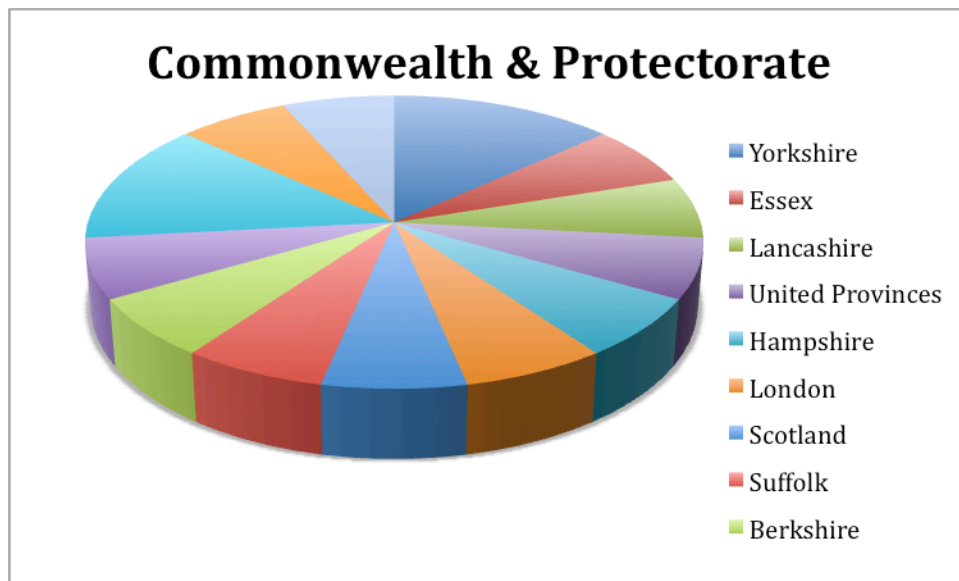
¹⁶² For a list of diplomat's parliamentary service, see Appendix E.

service, some had served during the Commonwealth or Protectorate. If Parliamentary service during the republic is excluded, the number drops to five Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats having served in Parliament prior to the Commonwealth and Protectorate (33 percent) compared to the (44 percent) of Royalists who served. The Royalist diplomatic corps then had a higher percentage who served in Parliament.

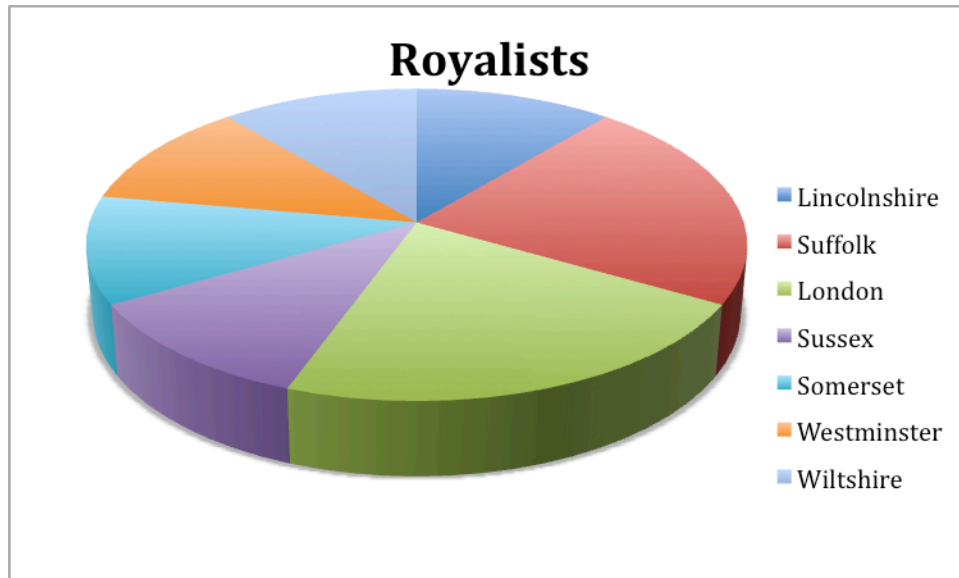


Could the region of the country the diplomat originated from define his group?¹⁶³

Looking at a map of England with the plotted birthplaces of the diplomats shows many things. One diplomat, Richard Lawrence, has no place of birth listed. Eleven diplomats were born in the southern third of England, from London and further south (46 percent). Of the Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats, six came from north of the London area (55 percent). Three diplomats came from outside England, one from Scotland, one from Ireland and one from the United Provinces. All of the diplomats sent by Charles II were born in England. Only three came from north of the London area at (33 percent). Examining the bottom third of the map of England shows the majority of the diplomats' origins. The apparent pattern here lies in that the Royalist diplomatic corps mostly came from the southern part of England while Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats mostly came from the north.

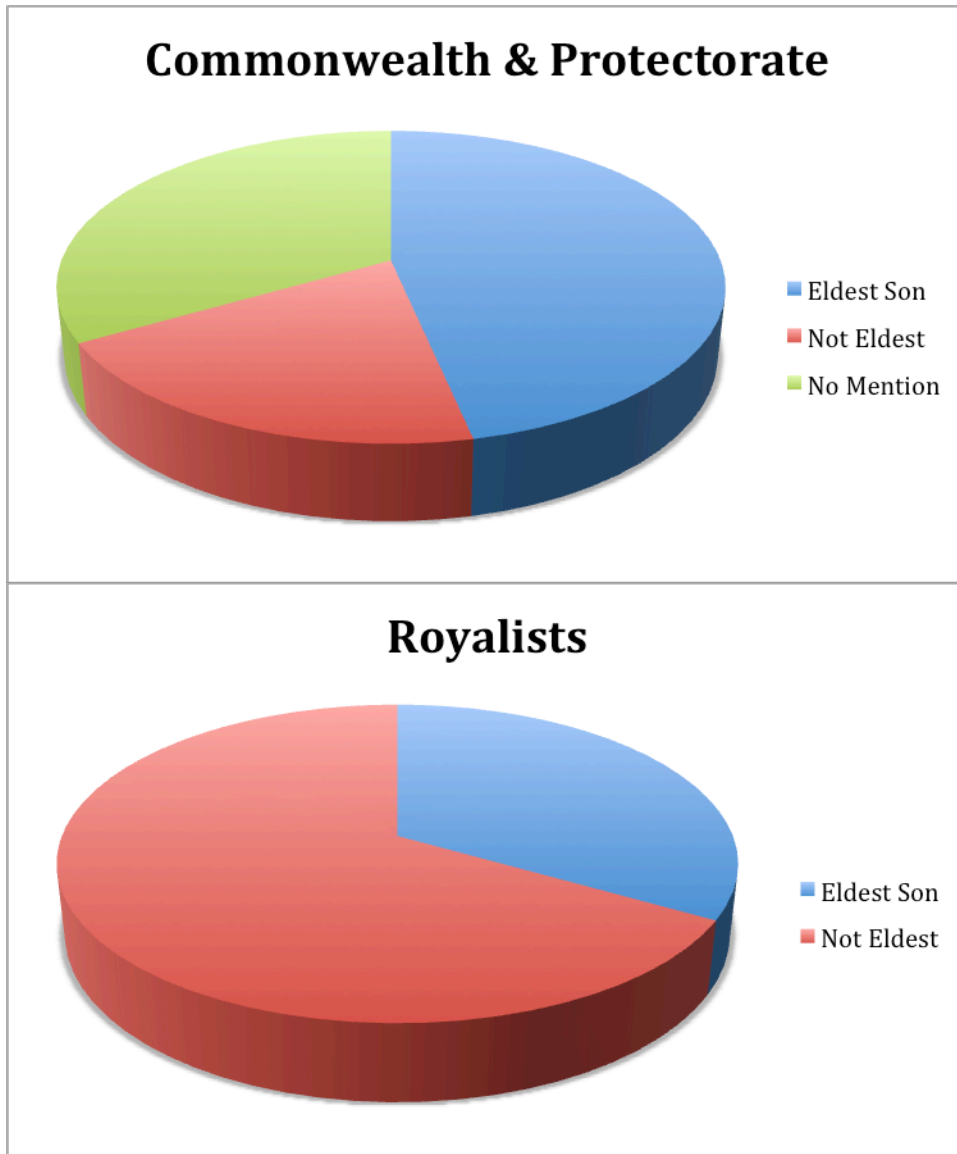


¹⁶³ For a list of diplomats' place of birth, see Appendix B.



Not only did the diplomats' place of birth matter, but also if the diplomat were the eldest son, or the only son who stood to inherit a title, lands and position.¹⁶⁴ Perhaps a diplomat's family could influence whether or not he sided with the Republic or the king. Of the twenty-four diplomats sent by the Commonwealth and Protectorate and Charles II, ten were the oldest in their family (42 percent), seven out of fifteen (47 percent) for the Commonwealth and Protectorate and three out of nine for the Royalists (33 percent). Of those who were not the eldest son, five Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats and six Royalists were not the oldest among other siblings. For three Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats and one Royalist the family position is not known. With the limited information available and the acknowledgment that siblings could have existed but have no mention in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats had a better chance of being the oldest, as opposed to the Royalists.

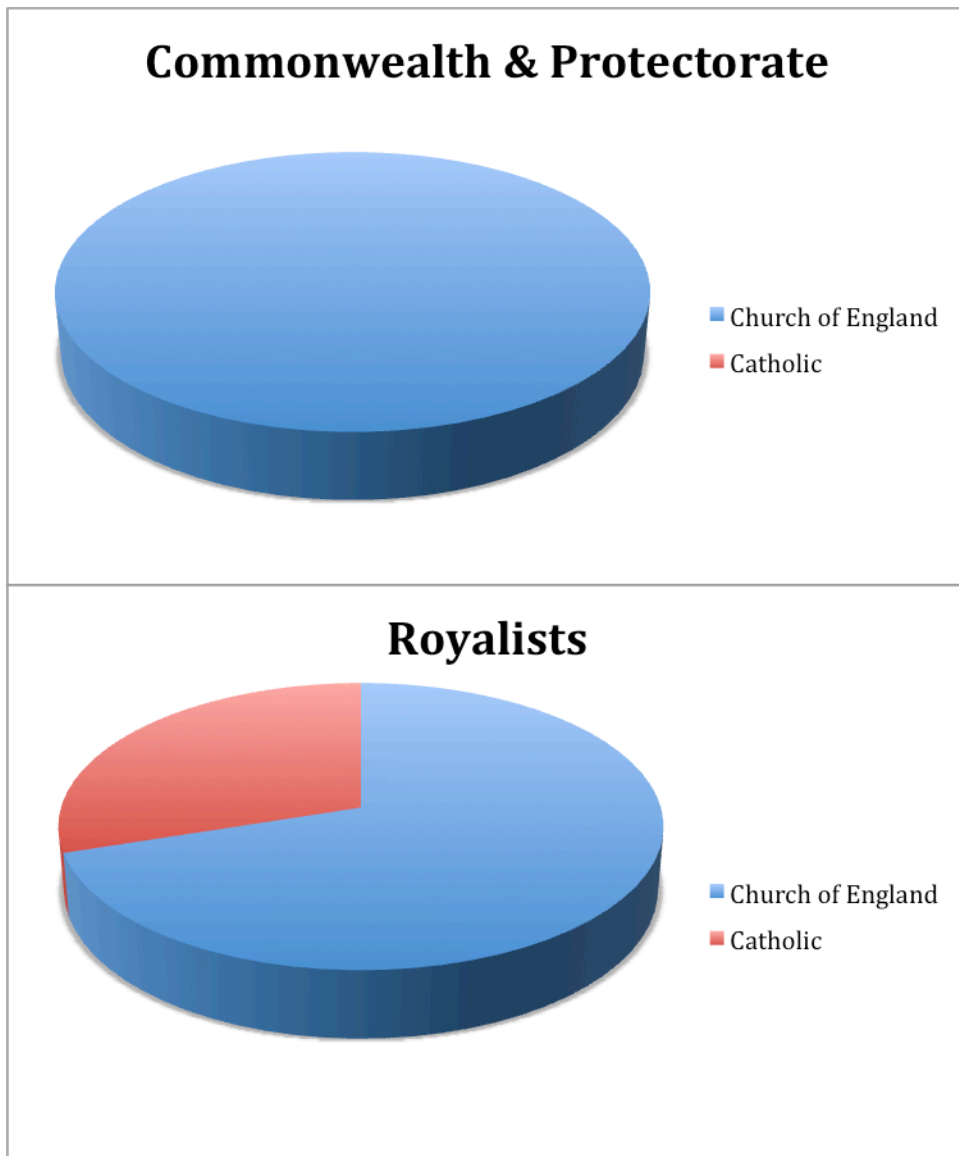
¹⁶⁴ For a list of diplomats who were eldest sons, see Appendix D.



The Royalist diplomats were more likely the younger sons in their families, but many received titles because of their own merit.¹⁶⁵ Out of the nine diplomats in Charles II's group, eight of the nine received a peerage from Charles I or Charles II (89 percent). The Commonwealth and Protectorate also awarded peerages to some its diplomats. Out of the fifteen Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats, five received a peerage or knighthood (33 percent), including Belayse, Lockart, Meadow, Strickland and Whitelocke.

¹⁶⁵ For a list of the diplomats' titles, see Appendix C.

In differences of religion the Commonwealth and Protectorate predictably sent one hundred percent Protestants. The majority of the Royalists were also Protestant, with six Protestant Royalists and three Catholics. Bard, Bennet, and Cottington died Catholics. Of those who were Catholic, Bard had travelled extensively throughout Europe, Bennet served in Spain and enjoyed the Spanish court. Cottington spent many years as a young man in Spain as a secretary in the diplomatic service, and eventually died there in 1652.



Different clothes and hairstyles also helped to identify allegiance to either the Royalist side or to the Commonwealth and Protectorate. The Royalists looked to the Cavaliers as the ideal, with Prince Rupert as the model. The engravings of the time show Prince Rupert with long flowing hair and a considerable mustache. The Cavaliers often dressed the part to add a heroic flair. To the Parliamentary supporters, or Roundheads as the Royalists often called them, they appeared as early as 1628 to be “effeminate, proud, Lascivious, Exorbitant,” with “fantastique haire, or lockes” which were a product of the “degeneours, unnaturall and unmanly times.”¹⁶⁶ Despite the Cavaliers’ hairstyles, many Englishmen, regardless of religion or political affiliation, disapproved of long hair. Even Archbishop Laud agreed with the Puritans on this issue and opposed long hair styles. William Prynee wrote *The Unloveliness of Love Locks* (1628), in reference to the single ringlet of hair brought over a man’s shoulder and tied with a ribbon or bow.¹⁶⁷ As late as 1650 an anonymous author proclaimed “they walk not in the shame of nature, in wearing a Womanish length of hair.” In their clothing style, the Cavaliers aimed to impress as well. The Flemish artist Van Dyck, (22 March 1599 – 9 December 1641) who returned to England after seven years in Italy, influenced style. Men wore clothes “with shoulder wide collars, plumed hats, and boot-toppings brimming with a froth of lace.”¹⁶⁸ The poetry and plays of the time demonstrate this style as well. One poem concerning the Cavaliers and Parliament states “What take yee pepper in your noses to see King Charles his Coloures worne in Roses ‘twas but an ornament to greace the hatt yet must wee haue an oridinance for that.”¹⁶⁹ The poem demonstrates the importance of the Cavalier manner of dress in mocking Parliament. The courtiers of the time sported such lavish costumes that even Sir Henry Cotton, a diplomat who spent the majority of his time on the continent, and who most considered highly intelligent, witty and extremely knowledgeable, remarked “that at Whitehall he felt like an owl among the gay

¹⁶⁶ Jerome de Groot, *Royalist Identities* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004),102.

¹⁶⁷ Elizabeth Burton, *The Pageant of Stuart England* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1962), 347.

¹⁶⁸ Geoffrey Trease, *Portrait of a Cavalier: William Cavendish, First Duke of Newcastle* (London: Macmillan Limited, 1979), 65.

¹⁶⁹ de Groot, 101.

birds.”¹⁷⁰ Ever conscious of appearances, Charles II employed the services of a French tailor, Claude Sourceau, while in exile. Sourceau would also start work on Charles II’s coronation robes, later finished by London tailors.¹⁷¹ During this time Charles looked to the French King, Louis XIV, and his magnificent style of dress, for as soon as Charles II received his crown, he impressed people with his clothes. As Pepys later wrote, “it is impossible to relate the glory of that this day - expressed in the clothes of them that ride - and their horses and horse clothes... Embroidery and diamonds were common among them. The King, in a rich imbrodered suit and cloak, looked most nobly.”¹⁷²

Contrast the display of the Cavaliers to the advice given by Puritan divines, John Dod and Robert Cleaver. “Wantonnesse in things belonging to the bodie is shewed in costly apparell. Not but that there is diversitie of degrees to be regarded, and every one may be apparellled as it meete and seemely for their estate: but in no estate or degree may one be so excessive as to forget holinesse and Christian sobrietie.”¹⁷³ Harbottle Grimston, in his *A Christian New-Year’s Gift* advised his readers to “Flie riot in clothes and feasting and all vain pomp and gaudinesse in familie or householdstuff...let thy garments be neither too gay nor yet beggardly.”¹⁷⁴ Another author of the time, John Harrington advised his readers to “Be sober... in the use of meat, drink apparel, recreation.”¹⁷⁵ People of the time placed a great deal of importance on displays of wealth and status and despite Puritans trying to live a godly life, many dressed well and dressed to suit the occasion. Styles could change from the Sabbath to the meeting of ambassadors. Puritans who dressed well in public to avoid ridicule would have pictures painted in plainer

¹⁷⁰ Trease, 65.

¹⁷¹ Phillip Mansel, *Dressed to Rule, Royal and Court Costume From Louis XIV to Elizabeth II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 12.

¹⁷² Mansel, xv.

¹⁷³ Cliffe, 54.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 51.

dress. Opinions varied on what constituted plain clothes, a wealthy Puritan might wear less severe clothing, but still look plain next to other wealthier Englishmen.¹⁷⁶

Other areas of distinction amongst the diplomats centered on their service once appointed. How many died, were killed, were recalled, or were refused an audience? Who served both as a Royalist and a Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomat? For the diplomats who died in diplomatic service, only the Royalists died of natural causes while serving, Henry Bard and Francis Cottington. Cottington had reached the age of seventy when appointed, though Bard was only thirty-eight at his appointment. No reason is given for Cottington's death but Bard died of heat apoplexy while in India at the age of forty-one. No Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats died from natural causes. The Commonwealth and Protectorate did lose two diplomats, Isaac Dorislaus, who was murdered by Royalist agents in the United Provinces, and Anthony Ascham, who was murdered by Royalists in Spain.¹⁷⁷ The Republic recalled Jephson from Sweden and Lawrence from Turkey. The only diplomat for the Republic to be refused an audience was Richard Lawrence, because of the influence of the previous ambassador in Turkey, Thomas Bedyshe. After the restoration Charles II also sent two Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats, George Downing and William Lockhart, back to their old embassies in the United Provinces and France.

Comparing how Cromwell and Charles II chose diplomats reveals that both sent men of ability. Cromwell did not generally send men with the most prestigious peerages, instead he sent men much like himself, those who had served in the House of Commons and often had strong religious convictions. Cromwell sent men who could help the cause of the Protestant religion, as this issue was never far from Cromwell's primary goals. Cromwell was pragmatic in carrying out his diplomatic efforts and sent men he trusted to get the job done. Essentially a military dictator, Cromwell could pick whom he wanted. As a monarch, Charles was able to hand pick his men as well, but being in exile, he had a much smaller pool from which to choose. Unlike

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 56.

¹⁷⁷ Frey and Frey, *Diplomatic Immunity*, 244.

the religious Cromwell, the libertine Charles II did not send men who followed his example rather he chose those he thought could succeed. After analyzing the two groups of diplomats Bulstrode Whitelocke and Henry Bennet stand out, though perhaps not the most significant. Whitelocke, however, was sent by Cromwell on the first formal embassy and Bennet was sent to the most valuable ally Charles had while in exile, Spain. Whitelocke and Bennet are however, the most representative of their group of diplomats and because of that and the existence of vital correspondence the two have been selected.

Chapter 3 - Whitelocke And Bennet: Roundhead And Cavalier

Bulstrode Whitelocke epitomizes diplomats chosen by the Commonwealth and the Protectorate while Henry Bennet incarnates those selected by Charles II.¹⁷⁸ The primary sources for this study include Whitelocke's *A Journal of The Swedish Embassy in the Years 1653 and 1654*, *Memorials of English Affairs* and his autobiography, *The Improbable Puritan, A Life of Bulstrode Whitelocke 1605-1675*. For Bennet, a wider variety of primary sources were used, many scattered through the British Historical Manuscripts Commission. Both studies were supplemented by the standard biographies and accounts of the period. In matters of age at appointment, Whitelocke was forty-nine, slightly older than the average Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomat at forty. His education differed from his fellow diplomats as he attended Oxford as opposed to Cambridge. Whitelocke was trained as a lawyer, as were almost a third of the Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats. A larger percentage did not serve in the military, and Whitelocke did not serve in the military but a larger percentage did have Parliamentary service, as did Whitelocke. Looking at Whitelocke's place of birth puts him in the slightly smaller percentage that came from the south. Almost half of the Commonwealth diplomats were the eldest sons, as was Whitelocke. During the Commonwealth and Protectorate a small percentage received peerages, Whitelocke was part of the group that did not. He was also part of the larger group of Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats that was Protestant. Looking at all the different categories Bulstrode Whitelocke typifies the Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomat.

¹⁷⁸ H.C.G. Matther and Brian Harrison ed., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 58: 694-699; Henry Reeve, ed., *A Journal of The Swedish Embassy in the Years 1653 and 1654* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1855); Ruth Spalding, ed., *The Improbable Puritan, A Life of Bulstrode Whitelocke 1605-1675* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975); Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908), 21: 110-116; and Bulstrode Whitelocke *Memorials of the English Affairs* (London: Nathaniel Ponder, 1682).

Like many Puritan families, such as the Cromwells, the Whitelockes came from modest, landed gentry with a history of court service and successful marriages. The Whitelocke family traced their fortunes to 1453 when John Whitelocke married into the de la Beche family, who had served Edward II and had lived at the Beeches Manor at Bearwood near Wokingham as early as 1231. The Whitelockes continued to live at the Manor through the years as a solid, yet ordinary gentry family. Whitelocke's grandfather, Richard died at the young age of thirty-seven leaving his wife Joan and four sons. The youngest two were twins William, and Whitelocke's father, James. Joan Whitelocke remarried but preserved the boys' inheritance for their sons. The boys learned to sing, dance, play the lute and speak Latin, Greek, Hebrew and French. A pragmatist, Joan Whitelocke trained her boys in each of their strongest areas. The boys earned a reputation for the family. The oldest son, Edmund attended Christ's College, Cambridge but also studied at the Universities of Rostock, Rome, Prague, Paris and Wittenberg.¹⁷⁹ Whitelocke's uncle Richard earned a living, like his father, as an importer and another uncle sailed as a buccaneer with Sir Francis Drake. Bulstrode's father James chose a different path.

James attended Oxford and studied law as a member of the Middle Temple. He married well to Elizabeth Bulstrode, whose family had earned a degree of influence but not wealth through court service. With family money the couple established their own household on Fleet Street in London. On 6 August 1605 they announced the birth of their son and at the baptismal ceremony, when asked the name of the child, Edmund Whitelocke, the boy's uncle and godfather, named the child Bulstrode. With the suggestion from the vicar that the child deserved a different name, perhaps one from scriptures, his uncle boldly stated the boy would receive one of his mother's names, either Elizabeth or Bulstrode, he could choose. With these two choices, they named the boy Bulstrode.

The Whitelockes raised Bulstrode in an affectionate home with his mother teaching him French and history as early as his fourth year. Whitelocke had two sisters and four other siblings

¹⁷⁹ Spalding, 25.

who died in infancy. Whitelocke's father enjoyed a successful career moving from posts as steward at Eton, Oxford, and Westminster School until he, at age forty, entered Parliament for Woodstock. He made enemies at court and faced subsequent abuse for challenging the power of the king. At this time Lord Chief Justice Edward Coke, a man he knew from his time as a steward, mentored him. Justice Coke, who believed in the supremacy of law, even over the king, greatly influenced James Whitelocke. James raised Whitelocke in a house that often questioned the king and the Anglican Church. In addition to his father's influence, Bulstrode's mother raised the child with strict Puritan beliefs. His father had achieved success because of his own hard work and demanded the same from Bulstrode.

At the age of six Whitelocke's parents sent him to his first school where he stayed for three years until he entered the Merchant Taylor's School, as his father had, and learned Greek, Latin and Hebrew in addition to music, dancing and fencing. He also learned shorthand, which he used to take the enormous quantities of notes for his later writings. At fifteen he attended St. John's College at Oxford. William Laud, who served as the president, exerted a strong orthodox influence. Whitelocke, however, retained his Puritan upbringing and rejected Laud's ideas

Whitelocke did not receive his degree at St. John's because of an accident. Despite his father's wealth, Whitelocke did not keep a horse at school. Because Bulstrode's father had grown up poor, and did not want to spoil his son, he provided no money for a mount. As a consequence Bulstrode often walked when hunting. On one occasion, he injured his leg, fell asleep and woke unable to walk. After his rescue he returned home for a one-year recovery, which required him to use a cane. Whitelocke did not finish at Oxford but instead attended the Middle Temple where he made many friends, including Edward Hyde, the future Earl of Clarendon. Both had attended Oxford, which was typical for Royalists, entered Middle Temple and both of their fathers served in Parliament.¹⁸⁰ They remained friends for almost twenty years until political

¹⁸⁰ Richard Ollard, *Clarendon and His Friends* (New York: Atheneum, 1998), 20.

differences separated them. Edward Hyde followed Charles II overseas and became one of his closest advisors.

While Whitelocke studied at the Middle Temple, his father received his knighthood and an appointment to the King's Bench. Bulstrode asked his father for permission to travel abroad and his father, having never left England, suggested that Bulstrode should see England first. Whitelocke traveled throughout England accompanied by a groom. After his travels, Whitelocke represented Stafford as a Burgess in the Second Parliament in February of 1626. Although he received his position because of his father's influence he took the duties seriously and attended the debates and committees. His father advised Whitelocke to vote according to his conscience and to avoid the pressures from the king or the people. Whitelocke acknowledged that he did so and tended to vote against the wishes of court.

Whitelocke did not attend the next Parliament and returned to his travels in western England including a thousand-mile ride. During the trip he took notes on all things of interest. His father wrote letters of introduction to the mayors of England and Whitelocke met many of England's most influential men who flattered him in order to win his father's favor. While Whitelocke travelled, his father tried and failed to find him a wife. Whitelocke, now twenty-two, had earned an education, sat in Parliament and within a year had received the appointment as Master of the Revels in the Middle Temple. Having not worked outside of Parliament he found himself at the mercy of creditors. He admitted his problem to his father, who agreed that Bulstrode should work as a lawyer, though his father warned him he would receive no special favor. Despite the warning, Whitelocke discovered a judge's son could make a fine living, earning over one hundred fifty pounds his first year.

As Whitelocke entered the working world, his father arranged a marriage for him to Rebecca Bennet. Sir James knew her uncle from his days as a student at St. John's and the Middle Temple. Rebecca's widowed mother arranged the wedding ceremony to take place in June 1630 in her private chapel. After the wedding his mother died, this grief was compounded by another, the attitude of his wife. Rebecca proved highly nervous, fearing the consummation

of their vows and when Bulstrode climbed into bed with her, Rebecca burst into a fit of hysteria. Whitelocke commented that the night was “so different from that which new married men look for and enjoy.”¹⁸¹ He turned to books and discovered a phrase from Epictetus: *Quodcumque evenierit optimum*. He adapted it as his motto, “whatever happens is best -if I make it so.” With a patient attitude towards his nervous wife Rebecca, she responded to him and they found much satisfaction in each other’s company. Whitelocke and Rebecca announced the birth of their son, James, on 13 July 1631. Whitelocke’s father took great pleasure in his grandchild but within the year, Sir James caught cold and died. Whitelocke inherited his father’s estate and goods. With the passing of his father, Whitelocke forced himself to deal with his wife’s depression. He placed her in the care of a physician named Dr. Bartlett, a man with a reputation for treating mental illness. Whitelocke arranged for a servant to watch over her, and following the doctor’s advice, left his wife for six months.

In order to avoid the temptation of visiting his wife, Whitelocke sailed for France with a young lawyer, Robert Cole, and two servants. He enjoyed his tour of the French countryside and during this time wrote many letters to his wife’s doctor and friends, including Henry Hyde. During this time Whitelocke’s mother-in-law believed that he abandoned his wife. Whitelocke learned that his mother-in-law visited his wife, and shortly thereafter his wife died. Whitelocke returned home and looked to the future. Whitelocke realized that his adventures had slowed the progress of his career and with his father dead and unable to help his law practice, he would need to work harder. Now single, he took the advice of his friends and courted Frances Willoughby, a young lady who lived in the next village. Although he had only been a widower for a few months a romance developed. Whitelocke’s three-year-old son James approved of her and despite objections from her family, Whitelocke married Frances in his private chapel. Whitelocke and Frances soon had two children, a boy and a girl just as England headed towards war. The Scots were angry about Archbishop Laud’s prayer book and his “popish” reforms.

¹⁸¹ Spalding, 39.

They threatened invasion. With war with Scotland on the horizon, Charles I called for Parliament. Friends encouraged Whitelocke to stand for Abingdon, but another contested the seat. It did not matter as the king allowed Parliament to meet only one month. With the inevitability of war, Whitelocke purchased arms to protect his family. As the Scots occupied the north, Charles I called another Parliament.

In the next Parliament Whitelocke agreed to stand for Oxfordshire and demonstrated his abilities to his peers. Once again, the election presented difficulties with other candidates trying to gain the seat. After a disputed election, the House of Commons voted to have Whitelocke take his seat on 5 January 1641. The first business of Parliament involved a forced loan that had been in his father's court. Defending his father's reputation, Whitelocke earned the reputation as a clear and effective speaker. Despite older, more experienced members, the committee picked Whitelocke to chair the select committee to handle the evidence of the Earl of Strafford's impeachment. The committee also included older, more experienced members of Parliament such as John Pym, John Selden and Oliver St. John. Whitelocke earned a reputation for moderation and Strafford himself thought Whitelocke treated him like a gentleman. Queen Henrietta Maria commented that "she never heard any man speak so audibly and clearly and with so little gaping."¹⁸² Whitelocke believed the evidence could not prove Strafford's guilt and recommended they drop the matter. Despite Whitelocke's advice, many in Parliament held the opinion that Stafford should die as they viewed him as the king's evil advisor. Parliament chose to use the Bill of Attainder, an old law establishing guilt that did not need to be proved by a court. With the matter under vote, Whitelocke was instructed to draw up a bill that Parliament could not adjourn without its approval. The king agreed to the bill, hoping to save his minister, though Parliament executed him on 12 May 1641. Whitelocke disliked the use of brutality. Shocked by this violent action, Whitelocke never again participated in a capital case.

¹⁸² Ibid., 74.

During the recess Whitelocke spent the summer with his wife and family, which now numbered six children. After a brief illness Whitelocke returned to Parliament in November, when the final debate on the Grand Remonstrance began. The Grand Remonstrance listed grievances against the king and attempted to wrest control of the militia from the king. The bill passed narrowly with Whitelocke not voting as he went home early with a cold. Whitelocke, a moderate, saw validity in both sides' arguments and hoped for a compromise between the king and Parliament. Whitelocke warned Parliament in a speech that

“It seems to me to set us at the pit’s brink, ready to plunge ourselves in an ocean of troubles and miseries . . . It is strange to note how we insensibly slid into this beginning of a Civil War by one unexpected accident after another, as waves of the sea which have brought us thus far and we scarce know how, but from paper combats, by declarations, remonstrances, protestations, votes, messages answers and replies we are now come to the question raising forces and naming a general and officers of an army . . . What the issue of it will be no man alive can tell. Probably few of us now here may live to see the end of it.”¹⁸³

Cromwell did not include Whitelocke in the 139 members of the Barebones Parliament. Nonetheless, Whitelocke still held the Great Seal as Lord Commissioner, but lost his position of the Chancery after he urged Cromwell to come to an agreement with either Charles II or his brother, James the Duke of York. Whitelocke fell from favor, despite the respect of many, including Cromwell.¹⁸⁴ Because Cromwell desired to send Whitelocke into exile, he nominated him to an embassy with Sweden on 4 September 1653. Parliament approved the appointment and ten days later he received his instruction as the English Extraordinary Ambassador to the Queen of Sweden. It was the first embassy sent with a complete entourage from the Commonwealth.¹⁸⁵ Cromwell’s choice of Whitelocke demonstrated Cromwell’s policy of “choosing men for places, and not places for men.”¹⁸⁶ He left England on the 6 of November,

¹⁸³ Spalding, 82-83.

¹⁸⁴ Howat, 77.

¹⁸⁵ Fraser, *Cromwell*, 444; and Howat 76.

¹⁸⁶ Howat, 82.

arriving in Gothenburg on the 15 of November 1653.¹⁸⁷ Cromwell gave Whitelocke the command: “Bring us back a Protestant alliance.”¹⁸⁸ Cromwell wanted to keep the Baltic open to English trade, retain a secure entry into Swedish ports and maintain equality in trade with the Dutch.¹⁸⁹ To achieve such an alliance, Whitelocke first had to contend with two issues. The first was his personal safety. Remembering what happened to two other diplomatic agents, Isaac Dorislaus and Anthony Ascham, both murdered, Whitelocke brought with him a “retinue of a hundred persons, choosing eight lacqueys out of the General’s regiment of foot, ‘proper, stout, and civil men.’”¹⁹⁰ Whitelocke also had the assurance from Israel Lagerfeldt, the Swedish Minister, in England that the queen would prevent such acts in Sweden and he could feel as safe in Sweden as he did in his own homeland.¹⁹¹ With his security arrangements taken care of, the Swedish monarch presented his next problem. Although Queen Christina possessed a sharp mind and the ability to handle any problem she faced, she did not enjoy her position as Queen and planned to abdicate, naming her cousin, Charles Gustavus, as her successor.¹⁹² Although a Lutheran, she preferred Catholicism and its dignified treatment of the unmarried. Christina herself never married in part because she did not want a man to exploit her position for his advantage.

Whitelocke received his formal audience with the Queen on 23 December, 1653. Because Whitelocke was held in high regard by his peers, the following day he met the French and Dutch Residents, the Spanish Envoy and the King of Denmark’s ambassador. The day after Christmas he received a private audience with the Queen. They discussed an alliance between

¹⁸⁷ Faith Compton Mackenzie, *The Sibyl of the North: The Tale of Christina, Queen of Sweden* (London: Cassell and Company LTD., 1931), 86; and Georgina Masson, *Queen Christina* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1968), 197.

¹⁸⁸ Gardiner, 7; Hill, 164; and Montague, 420.

¹⁸⁹ Hill, 165.

¹⁹⁰ Gardiner, 74.

¹⁹¹ Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Sweden in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 71, Robert Michaels, ed., *Sweden As A Great Power 1611-1697. Government: Society: Foreign Policy* (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd., 1968) 101 and Reeve, 54.

¹⁹² Carsten, F.L., ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History The Ascendancy of France 1648-88* (Cambridge: University Press, 1961), 5: 521; and Masson, 199.

England and Sweden, one the queen favored. She also mentioned the popular opinion that she should marry Charles II but told Whitelocke that would not happen.¹⁹³ After the first of the year, the queen met Whitelocke for another private audience in which she stated Cromwell would make himself king as her ancestor had done after deposing a king.¹⁹⁴

The queen proved to be insightful about Cromwell taking more power and a title. Cromwell dispatched Whitelocke's new credentials and instructions on 23 December 1653. A few weeks after Whitelocke departed, Parliament surrendered its power and made Cromwell the Protector of England. Whitelocke received the news on 13 January 1653 that he served as an ambassador extraordinary despite the change in government. He had served for Parliament and now served at the pleasure of Cromwell. Cromwell stated he "made no change in the good intentions on this side toward her Majesty and her dominions" and that Whitelocke should renew and contract "an alliance and confederation with that Queen and Crown."¹⁹⁵ Queen Christiana approved of Cromwell's change of status and looked forward to his friendship but she still held the conviction that Cromwell would take the title of king, just as her ancestor had done.¹⁹⁶ She also mentioned her disapproval of his harsh treatment of Catholics in England, although Whitelocke ingenuously assured her the new government tolerated them more than the monarchy had.¹⁹⁷ Whitelocke displayed his Puritanism in his refusal in drinking toasts. He had learned of the Northern proactive of excessive drinking and toasts known as healths. Whitelocke thought this drunkenness was a sin against God and warned his family and entourage against it. Whitelocke excused himself from toasts, even toasts in honor of the Commonwealth and Cromwell.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ Mackenzie, 124.

¹⁹⁴ Morley, 49.

¹⁹⁵ Reeve, 314.

¹⁹⁶ Morely, *Cromwell*, 389.

¹⁹⁷ Reeve, 315.

¹⁹⁸ Reeve, 224-226; and Mackenzie, 94.

Whitelocke enjoyed dealing with this intelligent monarch. Cromwell had sent Whitelocke to gain an alliance with the Swedes against Denmark in an effort to open the Sound. Sweden had signed the peace treaty of Bromsebro in 1645 with Frederick III of Denmark allowing the Danes exemption from dues paid by others. Although the Swedes relished the idea of breaking the Danish monopoly on both coasts of the sound, they disliked the possibility of an English fortress in the region. The queen and her chancellor waited to hear the results of the ongoing English negotiations with the King of Denmark. Cromwell had wanted a treaty with Denmark because it was on the south side of the Sound and it also controlled a strip on Sweden's southern coastline to the north in Scania allowing it to control the entrance to the Sound.¹⁹⁹ With an agreement at Westminster between England and Denmark, the need for an alliance between Sweden and England disappeared. In meeting with Queen Christiana, she revealed her intention to abdicate her throne.²⁰⁰ As a woman she believed that she suffered under greater inconveniences than a man would. She had converted to Catholicism and it would not be possible for her to stay on the throne of a Protestant country. She looked forward to a private life without the cares and concerns of government.²⁰¹ Despite the impending change in monarchs, Whitelocke and the Swedish ministers finished negotiations of the treaty and signed it on 28 April 1654.²⁰² Following the signing of the treaty, Whitelocke attended Queen Christiana's abdication ceremony on 11 May 1654. After meetings with the future king, Whitelocke began his journey home on 20 May 1654. Whitelocke left before the coronation of Charles X, but he left with a treaty of the friendly regulation of commerce between England and Sweden.²⁰³

Leaving Sweden, Whitelocke sailed to Germany before arriving in England. He had a private meeting with Cromwell to give his thoughts on his embassy on 3 July and gave a report to the council on 6 July 1654. After this meeting, he retained his title as First Commissioner of

¹⁹⁹ Howat, 78.

²⁰⁰ Carsten, 521; and Montague, 420.

²⁰¹ Reeve, 350.

²⁰² Parry, 3: 277-280.

²⁰³ Gardiner, 75.

the Great Seal and on 4 August he accepted the position as one of the Commissioners of the Exchequer. He also served as the Recorder of Bristol. Cromwell's second Parliament met and he represented the county of Bucks and the boroughs of Oxford and Bedford. Speaking before the House, he recalled his embassy to Sweden, where the House thanked him and paid his expenses from his time as an ambassador. Whitelocke later served as one of Commissioners of the Treasury and was recommended to serve again as the Ambassador Extraordinary to Sweden in 1656, an embassy which he refused. With the third Parliament of Cromwell, Whitelocke served as a knight for the county of Bucks. When Parliament ended, he served on the Committee for hearing appeals from Guernsey and Jersey in 1658. During this year, he refused a warrant to make him a Viscount and the offer to make him governor of Dunkirk. On the death of Oliver Cromwell, Richard Cromwell made him one of the keepers of the Great Seal, an office he retained until Richard left power. After Richard left power, Whitelocke served on the Council of State. Whitelocke tried and failed to limit the power of the king before Charles II returned. With the king restored, he received a full pardon under the Act of Pardon and Oblivion. King Charles received Whitelocke and then dismissed him with the command to "go into the country; do not trouble yourself anymore about State affairs, and take care of your wife and sixteen children."²⁰⁴ Whitelocke's retirement was one of only two among all the diplomats that Charles forced. Whitelocke spent the next fifteen years at Chilton Park in Wiltshire and died on 28 January 1676.

In contrast to the Commonwealth diplomat, Bulstrode Whitelocke, Henry Bennet, later the first Earl of Arlington personifies the group of diplomats sent by Charles II. Bennet was thirty-nine years old when first appointed to diplomatic service with the average age of Charles II's diplomats being forty years old. The Bennet family lived in the south of England in Berkshire, as did two thirds of Charles II's diplomats. For diplomats who attended college, Oxford proved to be the popular choice for Royalists diplomats and Bennet was no exception. A third of the royalists diplomats studied law, as did Bennet and almost a third had masters degrees

²⁰⁴ Howat, 81 and Reeve, xxxvi.

which Bennet earned as well. Over half of Charles diplomats served in the military and again Bennet personifies this group. Over half of the Royalist diplomats had no parliamentary experience and neither did Bennet. Two thirds of the Royalist diplomats were not the eldest sons, and neither was Bennet. A third of the diplomats were Catholic, as was Bennet. Eight of the nine diplomats Charles sent received a peerage of their own, as did Bennet.

Although the family was financially successful, they were not distinguished. At the beginning of the 1600s John Bennet, a lawyer, strengthened the family position as a politician and courtier. Under James I, Bennet served as a judge of the prerogative court of Canterbury, as a member of Parliament, and on the Council of the North, as well as Chancellor to Queen Anne of Denmark. Although he refused an appointment as Secretary of State and Keeper of the Seals, Bennet accepted a diplomatic mission to Flanders. At the conclusion of the mission, he returned to his practice of the law. During an impeachment in the House of Lords and the House of Commons, it was discovered that Bennet had received countless bribes, often from both sides. He had also stolen from charities. The Star Chamber fined him and imprisoned him in the Fleet Prison. Although later pardoned, his career ended and he died three years later.

Sir John Bennet's eldest son, John, studied at Oxford, law at Gray's Inn and was knighted in 1616. As the son of an influential and wealthy judge, the young John Bennet was sworn into Charles, the Prince of Wales, Privy Chamber the following year. His father's status also made him an eligible bachelor and a marriage was arranged for him with Dorothy Crofts, son of Sir John Crofts, a family at court, one related to many other influential families. After his father's public embarrassment, John retired with his family to Harlington, Middlesex, twenty miles from London. He had four sons and a daughter and remained content to live the life of a country gentleman.

Henry Bennet was the second oldest and the second son. Henry attended Westminster School, which few of the diplomats did, and later Christ Church, Oxford where both his father and grandfather had studied. The following year, Henry received a fellowship. Henry showed an appreciation for classical literature and gained a reputation as a poet. He was known for his

reading of Latin and English poems celebrating royal births and marriages, with some revealing his ideas about the supremacy of the monarchy. “We must not Question: What Gods and Kings doe Silence commands t’our Actions, and Thought too.”²⁰⁵ His aunt had married a famous playwright, Thomas Killigrew who used two of Bennet’s poems in his dramas. Bennet remained true to his views of the monarchy through his over thirty years of royal service.

Bennet’s loyalty to the crown partially stemmed from attending Oxford under the instruction of William Laud, bishop of London and the influence of Christ Church’s dean, Samuel Fell, who received his position based on Laud’s recommendation. Both were strong Loyalists. Under their guidance, Henry Bennet earned a Master of Arts on 26 May 1642 but he displayed little interest in taking divinity orders. At the opening of the civil war, Henry’s brother John joined the king’s army and his father donated horses to the cause. Despite the Bennet family’s desire to join in the fighting, Henry himself chose to enter the service of George Digby, then Secretary of State. Joining Digby indirectly led Bennet to see a brief period of action when in 1644 Digby followed the king on campaign. After success at Lostwithiel a fight unfolded at Andover. During the ensuing fighting, Bennet took a saber slash to his nose, giving him a prominent scar he would carry and exploit for his benefit for the rest of his life.²⁰⁶ He was known for wearing a strip of black plaster across the bridge of his nose, not to hide the scar, but to emphasize it.²⁰⁷ When the army returned to Oxford in November 1644, Bennet’s military career ended.

Although Bennet’s brief military career was over, his service abroad soon started. Bennet left England and would not return until after the Restoration. He carried the king’s letters to Queen Henrietta Maria in Paris and then went on to Rome along with Kenelm Digby, the

²⁰⁵ Violet Barbour, *Henry Bennet Earl of Arlington Secretary of State to Charles II* (Washington: American Historical Association, 1914), 7.

²⁰⁶ Ashley, *James II*, 125.

²⁰⁷ Andrews Allen. *The Royal Whore Barbara Villiers, Countess of Castlemaine* (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Company, 1970), 95; Maurice Ashley, *James II* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1977), 47; and Ashley, *Charles II*, 128.

secretary of state's cousin. Bennet, however, wished to return to England. Word of the king's defeat at Naseby ensured that he would not be recalled. Bennet remained in Rome until he returned to Paris with Digby's cousin in January 1646. Lord Digby arrived in Paris and soon sent Bennet on missions to Ireland. Bringing letters from Digby to the queen, Bennet received the post of Secretary of State to the James, Duke of York.²⁰⁸

Bennet entered the service of the teenager James, who had only reached his sixteenth birthday.²⁰⁹ The queen held Bennet in high regard and this trust worked against Bennet in the rebellious teenager James' mind. In September of 1649, Bennet followed James when he joined Charles II on the island of Jersey, where they remained until the following fall when they joined the queen in France.²¹⁰ In Paris, Bennet grew closer to Charles II's advisors, although he soon left when James joined the French Army.²¹¹ Bennet would stay with James in camp during the summers and in Paris during the winters for the next three years.²¹² When Cromwell and Mazarin started negotiations, Charles II left for Cologne, but instructed his brother to trust Bennet and to communicate freely with him. Charles also told James that "Bennet was full of duty and integrity" to him.²¹³ James obeyed his brother but disliked Bennet and viewed him as a spy in his camp. James did not appreciate Bennet's service to him, saying "All the said Sir Henry Bennet's comportments towards me were so void of respect, as they made me conclude he had no affection for me, but was rather a spy, and was by the effects I have found a misrepresenter of my words and actions and inclinations."²¹⁴ Charles II instructed James to favor Bennet, especially in dealing with the Spanish ministers. Henry Bennet's unhappy service to James ended on 2 January 1657.²¹⁵ Charles had intended to make Bennet his Secretary of State and

²⁰⁸ Turner, 42.

²⁰⁹ John Miller, *James II A Study in Kingship* (East Sussex, Wayland Publishers, 1977), 13.

²¹⁰ Ashley, *James II*, 27.

²¹¹ Higham, 35.

²¹² Barbour, 19.

²¹³ Ashley, *James II*, 47; and Turner, 43.

²¹⁴ Barbour, 25.

²¹⁵ Ashley, *James II*, 54; and Turner, 53.

Lord Digby his representative in Spain. Instead, Charles II made Digby, the Earl of Bristol, Secretary of State, the post he had held under Charles I. The switch occurred because the French minister Mazarin refused to allow Digby passage through France to Spain. To help Bennet accomplish his mission in Spain, Charles II knighted him and made him a gentleman of the Privy Chamber.

Despite Bennet's work, he accomplished little to help the Royalist cause. He himself said: "I will not flatter my employment so much as to saye I have obtained any thing here to my satisfaction my Masters business."²¹⁶ The Spanish could do little to help Charles. While in Madrid, Bennet noted that although the Spanish were sympathetic to the Royalists at that time, they faced a rebellion in Portugal, problems defending Spanish shipping against Cromwell's fleet and protecting the Spanish Netherlands, all of which severely drained the Spanish Treasury. Although the Spanish had agreed to send troops to England to fight, Charles II could not meet the stipulations of the treaty, especially the provision for a safe port where the Spanish could land.²¹⁷

Bennet remained in Spain until January of 1661 although he disliked Hyde as the Lord Chancellor. He desired to leave the Foreign Service and to go home to England. The king agreed and letters of revocation were sent and Bennet returned to London in April. Leaving the diplomatic service Bennet arrived in London, and served as a gentleman of the bedchamber, which did not pay him enough to live the lifestyle he enjoyed in Spain. His father had died three years before his return and had left his estate to Bennet's older brother. Well regarded, even by those who hated Henry Bennet, the king arranged for him to serve in the new Parliament in June 1661 for Callington in Cornwall. The next year, on October 15 1662, Bennet became the Secretary of State. During his time as Secretary, in April of 1666, Bennet, married Isabella, daughter of the United Provinces' ambassador, Louis of Nassau, Lord of Beverwaert.²¹⁸ The

²¹⁶ Wormald, 211.

²¹⁷ Parry, 4, 71-78.

²¹⁸ Barbour, 98-99.

marriage shows Bennet's stature at court and among the diplomatic community. The same year, he became Postmaster, which provided him with a large portion of the post's profits. Bennet remained the Secretary of State for twelve years, retiring in September of 1674 to become Lord Chamberlain. In the fall of the same year Charles II sent Bennet on a second diplomatic post, a secret mission to the United Provinces to speak to Prince William of Orange concerning a possible marriage to Princess Mary, daughter of James, the Duke of York and to find out what contact William had within Scotland.²¹⁹ The mission did not persuade William (although he later would change his mind and marry Mary) and Bennet returned to England in January. In 1685, Charles II died. James II confirmed Bennet as the Lord Chamberlain, but Bennet became ill in July. Knowing he had little time, Bennet requested a priest, when those around him questioned this, Bennet replied that "Yet I will not have it knowne untill I am dead."²²⁰ On July 25, 1685, Bennet confessed his sins to his priest and died.

Henry Bennet personified the Royalist diplomats during the Interregnum. Not only did his personal background exemplify other Royalist diplomats, his lack of success in his mission to Spain typifies the difficulties Charles confronted in dealing with foreign powers during his exile. Although Bennet accomplished very little in aiding Charles' return to his throne, Charles rewarded Bennet for his service and made him the first Earl of Arlington. Charles also granted Bennet several lucrative posts after the Restoration. Bennet and Whitelocke exemplify the diplomats chose by Charles and Cromwell during this tumultuous time.

²¹⁹ Ashley, *James II*, 114.

²²⁰ Barbour, 261.

Chapter 4 - Conclusion

This prosopographical study has concentrated on analyzing the differences between two different groups of diplomats: the Commonwealth and Protectorate compared to the Royalists and examining the missions of two of them, Bulstrode Whitelocke and Henry Bennet.²²¹ Key differences become apparent. In matters of religion, Cromwell predictably sent Protestants. Charles sent Protestants, but was not opposed to sending Catholics, especially to a Catholic court. Despite the age difference between Cromwell and Charles II, age did not separate their diplomats as the average age was forty for both groups. In matters of education, a higher percentage of Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats attended a university. The Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats favored the Puritan influenced Cambridge while the Royalists chose Oxford. The Royalists, however, who had attended a university as a group were better educated than the Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats because a higher percentage of the Royalists went on for further study, often at the Inns of Court. The diplomats' origins show that the northern diplomats chose the side of the Commonwealth and Protectorate while

²²¹ Ludwig Bittner, *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter all Länder seit dem Westfälischen Frieden 1648* (Oldenburg: Gerhard Stalling, 1936); and Gary M. Bell, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives 1509-1688* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1990); Phyllis Lach, *The Diplomatic Corps under Charles II & James II* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1965); Henry Snyder, "The British Diplomatic Service During the Godolphin Ministry" in Ragnhild Hatton and M. S. Anderson eds., *Studies in Diplomatic History* (1970); D.B. Horn, *The British Diplomatic Representatives of 1689-1789* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1961); Raymond Jones, *The British Diplomatic Service 1814-1914* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1983); Lamar Cecil, *The German Diplomatic Service, 1871-1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976); Edward A. Whitcomb, *Napoleon's Diplomatic Service* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979); Ivan Roots, *The Great Rebellion* (London: Batsford, 1966), 62; G. E. Aylmer, ed., *The Levellers in the English Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell Paperbacks, 1975); Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution* (London: Nelson, 1961); Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (Harmondsworth: Penguin books, 1975); J.S. Morrill, *The Revolt of the Provinces: Conservatives and Radicals in the English Civil War, 1630-1650* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1976); Robert S. Paul, *The Lord Protector: Religion and Politics in the Life of Oliver Cromwell* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1955); Valerie Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961); Lawrence Stone, *The Causes of the English Revolution 1529-1642* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972); C.V. Wedgwood, *The King's Peace 1637-1641* (London: Collins 1955); and *The King's War 1641-1647* (London, Collins, 1958); A.H. Woolrych, *Battles of the English Civil War* (New York: Macmillan, 1961); and Blair Worden, *The Rump Parliament 1648-1653* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

those from London and the south chose the Royalist side. Royalists had a higher percentage of military service with a lower percentage of parliamentary service than those sent by the Commonwealth and Protectorate. When looking at a diplomat's position in a family, this study shows that the Commonwealth and Protectorate diplomats had a greater chance of being the oldest son, while the Royalists tended to be younger sons. Both groups received peerages for their efforts from their leaders. This study highlights the differences between these groups and is important because it contradicts the commonly held historiographical views that Royalists tended to come from the north and were members of the oldest, most prestigious families.²²² It shows that the society of the time was more nuanced and complex than historians have traditionally portrayed it. A society riven by civil war underscores difficult questions.

²²² Roberts, *A History of England*, 359.

Appendix A - List of Diplomats

Commonwealth and Protectorate

Belayse, Thomas, First Earl Fauconberg, (1627/8-1700), Envoy to France, June 8, 1658 - June 15, 1658.

Bendyshe, Thomas, Baronet, (1607-1674), Ambassador to Turkey, September 26, 1647 - February, 1661.

Bradshaw, Richard, (1610 -1685), Resident to Hamburg. April 29, 1650 - May 12, 1650, May 1652 - May 24, 1657, March 30, 1658 - June 4, 1658.

Dorislaus, Issac, (1595-1649), Resident to the United Provinces, October 10, 1648 - (stabbed to death) May 12, 1649.

Downing, George, (1623-1684), Envoy to France, August 31, 1655 - September 4, 1655.
Envoy to the Nether lands January 29, 1658 - July 3, 1659.
Envoy to Switzerland September 11, 1655 - September 22, 1655.

Jephson, William, (1609/10-1655), Envoy to Brandenburg-Prussia, April 30, 1658 - May 11, 1658.
Envoy to Sweden, October 19, 1657 - July 13, 1658.

Lawrence, Richard, (1618-1684), Envoy to Turkey Instructions, August 26, 1653, recall, December 27, 1655. Bedyshe didn't recognize his instructions.

Lockhart, William, (1621-1675), Resident to France, May 18, 1656 - December 10, 1656.
Ambassador to France, January 25, 1657 - April 1658, October 1658 - February, 1659, July 1659 -October 1659.

Meadowe, Phillip, (1626-1718), Ambassador to Denmark (also for Sweden) September 30, 1657 - May 12, 1658.
Envoy to Portugal, April 7, 1656.
Envoy to Sweden July 13, 1658 - August 19, 1658.

Morland, Samuel, (1625-1695), Envoy to France, June 18, 1655.
Envoy to Savoy, June 2, 1655 - July 29, 1655.

Prideaux, William, (1604/5-1660), Ambassador to Russia, February 16, 1655 - July 12, 1656.

Rolt, Edward, (1629-1698), Envoy to Sweden, (Charles X in Poland), November 16, 1655 - February 9, 1656.

St. John, Oliver, (1598-1673), Ambassador to the Netherlands, March 30, 1651 - June 30, 1651.

Strickland, Walther, (1598? - 1671) Resident to the United Provinces July 20, 1648 - July 1, 1650.

Ambassador March 30, 1651 - June 30, 1651.

Whitelocke, Bulstrode, (1605-1675), Ambassador to Sweden January 34, 1654 - May 23, 1654. (The diplomat studied for Cromwell in this thesis.)

Royalists

Bard, Henry, first Viscount Bellomont (1615/16-1656), Envoy to Persia 1653. Died on June 20, 1656 from heat apoplexy.

Bennet, Sir Henry, later Earl of Arlington. (1618-1685), Agent then Resident to Spain, April 4 1657 - 1661. (The diplomat studied in this thesis for Charles II.)

Brown, Richard, (1602 -1669), Ambassador to France, August 2, 1641 - 1660.

Colepeper, John, Baron, (1600-1660), Ambassador to Russia, May 17, 1650 - May 31, 1650.

Cottington, Francis, Baron, (1579-1652), Ambassador to Spain, December 28, 1649 - February 4, 1651.

Crofts, William, Baron, (?-1677), Envoy to France, June 7, 1660 - September 1660.

Hyde, Edward, (1609-1673), Ambassador to Spain December 28, 1649 - March 4, 1651.

Killgrew, Thomas, (1612-1683), Envoy to Venice and North Italy. Resident in Italy, February 19, 1650 - June 22, 1652.

Wilmont, Henry, Earl of Rochester, (1613-1658), Ambassador to Brandenburg Prussia, September 25, 1654.

Appendix B - Place of Birth

Commonwealth and Protectorate

Belayse, Yorkshire.

Bendyshe, Essex.

Bradshaw, Lancashire

Dorislaus, United Provinces.

Downing, Ireland

Jephson, Hampshire.

Lawrence, Unknown.

Lockhart, Scotland.

Meadow, Suffolk.

Morland, Berkshire.

Prideaux, Devon.

Rolt, Bedfordshire.

St. John, Bedfordshire.

Strickland, Yorkshire.

Whitlocke, London.

Royalists

Bard, Lincolnshire.

Bennet, Suffolk

Brown, London.

Colepeper, Sussex.

Cottington, Sommerset.

Crofts, Suffolk.

Hyde, Wiltshire.

Killgrew, London.

Wilmont, Westminster.

Appendix C - Age at Appointment and Title

Commonwealth and Protectorate

Belayse, 31, 1st Earl Fauconberg. Upgraded from Viscount to Earl. Grandfather was the 1st Viscount.

Bendyshe, 40, 2nd Baronet, father was the first.

Bradshaw, 40, no title.

Dorislaus, 52, no title.

Downing, 32, Knighted by Charles at the restoration, 1st Baronet in 1662.

Jephson, 49, no title.

Lawrence, 35, no title.

Lockhart, 35, made Sir under Protectorate.

Meadow, 31. Knighted under Charles II.

Morland, 30, 1st Baronet, Knighted by Charles II at the restoration.

Prideaux, 51, no title.

Rolt, 26, no title.

St. John, 53, no title.

Strickland, 50 Lord Strickland under the Protectorate.

Whitelocke, 49, Lord Whitelocke under the Protectorate

Median, 39

Royalists

Bard, 38, 1st Viscount Bellomont 1645.

Bennet, 39, 1st Earl of Arlington, created 1665.

Brown, 39, Baronet created 1 September 1649 by Charles II.

Colepeper, 50, 1st Baronet Colepepper 21 October 1644.

Cottington, 70 1st Baronet Cottington created 10 July 1631.

Crofts, Unknown. Baron Crofts on 18 May 1658.

Hyde, 40, 1st Earl of Clarendon after the restoration, knighted in 1643.

Killgrew, 38, no title.

Wilmont, 41, 1st Earl of Rochester under Charles II in 1652.

Median, 51, without Cottington, 41.

Appendix D - Eldest Son

Commonwealth and Protectorate

Belayse, No Mention of other siblings. Eldest, received title from Grandfather

Bendyshe, Eldest

Bradshaw, Unknown, unknown parents.

Dorislaus, 2nd of 3.

Downing, No mention of other siblings.

Jephson, No mention of others, heir.

Lawrence, Family rank unknown.

Lockhart, Eldest

Meadow, 5th son.

Morland, 2 other brothers, no mention who was older.

Prideaux, Family rank unknown.

Rolt, Eldest

St. John, Eldest surviving.

Strickland, 2nd Son.

Whitelocke, Eldest.

Eldest, 7, Not eldest 3, Unknown or questioned 5.

Royalists

Bard, Not Eldest.

Bennet, 2nd son.

Brown, Eldest.

Colpeper, eldest surviving.

Cottingham, 3rd son.

Crofts, Eldest

Hyde, 6 of 9.

Killgrew, 4th

Wilmont, 3rd but heir.

Eldest, 3.

Appendix E - Parliamentary Service

Commonwealth and Protectorate

Belayse, Yes (Protectorate)

Bendyshe, None

Bradshaw, None.

Dorislaus, None

Downing, Yes (Protectorate)

Jephson, Yes

Lawrence, Yes (Restored Rump)

Lockhart, Yes

Meadow, None

Morland, None

Prideaux, None

Rolt, None

St. John, Yes

Strickland, Yes

Whitelocke, Yes

Total -8 Yes, 7 No of 15

Royalists

Bard, None

Bennet, None

Brown, None

Colepeper, Yes

Cottingham, Yes

Croft, None

Hyde, Yes

Killigrew, None

Wilmot, Yes.

Total 4 Yes, 5 No out of 9.

Appendix F - Education

Commonwealth and Protectorate

Belayse, Trinity College, Cambridge.

Bendyshe, St. Johns College, Cambridge (1624). Middletemple (1626).

Bradshaw, None listed.

Dorislaus, University of Leiden.

Downing, Harvard.

Jephson, Brasenose College, Oxford (B.A.)

Lawrence, None Listed.

Lockhart, None listed.

Meadow, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, (B.A.) Queens College, Cambridge (M.A. 1649).

Morland, Winchester College, Magdallen College, Cambridge, (B.A. and M.A.).

Prideaux, Exeter College, Oxford.

Rolt, None listed.

St. John, Queens College, Cambridge. Lincoln's Inn.

Strickland, Queens College, Cambridge. Grey's Inn.

Whitelocke, St. John's College Oxford, Middle Temple.

Royalists

Bard, Eton College. King's College, Cambridge (B.A. 1637, M.A. 1641).

Bennet, Westminster School. Christ's Church, Oxford, (B.A. 1639, M.A. 1642).

Brown, St. Albans Hall, Oxford, (B.A.), Merton College, (M.A.) Gray's Inn.

Colepeper, Hart Hall Oxford. Middle Temple.

Cottington, Educated in Spain under Sir Charles Cornwall, England's Ambassador to Spain.

Crofts, None listed.

Hyde, Magdalen Hall, Oxford. Middletemple.

Killgrew, Educated at court.

Wilmont, None Listed.

Appendix G - Military Service

Commonwealth and Protectorate

Belayse, Yes

Bendish, No

Bradshaw, Yes (Quartermaster)

Dorislaus, No

Downing, Yes (Chaplain) (Before Commonwealth)

Jephson, Yes, (Before Commonwealth)

Lawrence, Yes (Before Commonwealth)

Lockhart, Yes, (Before Commonwealth)

Meadow, No

Morland, No

Prideaux, No

Rolt, Yes (Cromwell's Lifeguard)

St. John, No

Strickland, No

Whitlocke, No

Royalists

Bard, Yes

Bennet, Yes

Brown, No

Colepeper, Yes (Foreign Military)

Cottington, No

Crofts, Yes (Captain of the Guards)

Hyde, No

Killigrew, No

Wilmot, Yes

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