

THE ADMINISTRATION AND ITS PERSONNEL UNDER THE
PROTECTORATE OF OLIVER CROMWELL, 1653-1658

by

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ABSTRACT

The administrative history of the Civil Wars and Interregnum has been largely ignored and dismissed as an aberration in the main stream of development. Yet the administrative history of the period is of great interest and significance both in itself, as an integral part of one of the most vibrant periods of English history, and as a part of the general development of the nation's administrative history. However, the period of the Civil Wars and Interregnum is too large a subject to be dealt with in its entirety. Consequently, the study limits itself to a consideration of only one part--the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell.

The administration of the years 1653 to 1658 will be dealt with in three inter-related parts. The first section sets out to establish what administrative machinery existed in these years. The preceding period of the Long Parliament, 1642-1653, discontinued the use of and even abolished some of the traditional machinery and created other new departments. This part of the paper establishes what existed under the Protectorate, when it was created, what its purposes were, and what officials were concerned with it. The dual nature of the administration of these years is established--the old traditional machinery, in various stages of use, and the new machinery organized on a Committee and Commission basis.

The second part of the paper deals with the terms of employment of the office-holders under the Protectorate. Changes from conditions of entry and service prevalent under the monarchy are noted. It is found that in general there is a marked alteration in means of payment, the exaction of fees and the nature of tenure under the Protectorate. In fact, the administration under the Protectorate can be called far more tightly controlled or centralized, and somewhat more honest and efficient.

The third and last part of the paper concerns itself with the personnel of the administration. A group of fifty-eight office-holders were found to have been particularly significant under Cromwell's administration. This Key group, selected from the ranks of the extremely important but secondary level of officials, is then analyzed to see if the nature of the group can add to an understanding of Cromwell's rule. The Key officials were found to be essentially a group of Cromwellian placemen. Analysis of geographical distribution, social origins and other factors determines that a large number of them represent a "lesser" and minor social class of men, originating from the backwaters of the English countryside.

The Cromwellian administration is found to be a transitional phase between the Republicanism of the Rump and the Restoration of the Monarchy. It was tightly controlled from the centre, by Cromwell and the Council of State, and was fundamentally efficient and free from corruption.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF THE PROTECTORATE OF OLIVER CROMWELL

In recent years several important studies have been made of the Parliaments of the years of the Civil Wars and Interregnum, 1642-60.¹ Members of the Parliaments of the period, especially of the Long Parliament (1640-53), have been identified and subsequently categorized into family, geographical, economic, religious, social and even age groups. Christopher Hill, in an article in History (1956), having first commented upon the value of such studies, nevertheless noted the limited validity of interpretations of events of the English Revolution based on an exclusive study of some five hundred Members of Parliament at Westminster.² He goes on to suggest that studies of other groups should be undertaken in order to present a more balanced view. Yet among his suggestions for study, mention of the Central Administration is conspicuous in its absence.³ With this in mind, the Central Administration of the period presents itself for consideration as an important "group" of people whose history has largely been ignored.

Why has this subject received so little attention from historians? There is, of course, the obvious yet important explanation that with the wealth and variety of interesting and valuable themes in the Civil Wars and

Interregnum period, other problems have captured the attention of historians to the virtual exclusion of administrative history. The subject has therefore found itself low on the list of priorities. Furthermore, studies dealing essentially with other subjects, such as Parliament, the armed forces, financial affairs, law reform, and the many biographies of Interregnum personalities, have often uncovered considerable detail concerning the administration. Consequently, it can seem, if only in a somewhat fragmentary way, as if most of what is worth knowing about the administration has already been uncovered. For example, the Life of Milton, by D. Masson, contains much, if not most, of what is known about the Council of State under the Protectorate.⁴ Yet even though it is by no means an adequate substitute for a proper study of that body, little has been added to its information in the seventy years since its publication. In another example, Abbot's Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell brings to light many details concerning the administration without being, or pretending to be, a study of the subject.⁵ It seems then as if the great deal of fragmentary information extant concerning the Administration has been allowed to take the place of a more complete examination and has misled historians about the necessity of such a study. A further reason for the neglect of administrative studies should be mentioned. It seems to be generally accepted that the changes and developments

within the administration in the years 1642-60 were essentially brought to an end with the return of Charles II and that at the same time the old, pre-1640 system was substantially restored. According to this view the innovations and experiments of the administrative history of the period were an aberration, a departure from the norm that bears no obvious relation to future English history. Such a view detracts from the value of a study of the subject.

Nevertheless, a study of the administrative history of the Civil Wars and Interregnum could be of great value. Apart from the fact that the subject is of considerable intrinsic value in its own right as a chapter in the development of British administrative history, the subject would perhaps also throw light upon some of the other problems of the English Revolution from a fresh point of view. For example, in a very general sense, knowledge of the personnel of the administration would perhaps help to explain the nature of the body of men who controlled the fortunes of the country in the period concerned. In a more particular sense, the study of, say, the administration of the Navy in its personnel and in its form, could help to explain how the English Navy in the years 1642-60 came to be as feared and respected as it most certainly was. Such a study then would help to explain how the state managed to mobilize the necessary resources, both in men and materials, to undertake

successfully such a large project. This example could, of course, be extended to the Army, the Customs and Excise and several other departments.

Can a study of the administration of the period be justified on a larger scale--as a study that would throw light on the greater sweep of English history? Here one is again confronted with the argument that the period was an aberration that came to a sudden end in 1660 and that therefore all of the experiments and innovations were wiped from the board; in 1661 it was as if nothing had happened since 1642. This argument, if true, would certainly detract from the significance of a study of the administrative history of the Interregnum. However, it is not hard to point out that in many cases developments of the Interregnum, while not carried over into the post-1660 era in a concrete form, were carried on in principle. An excellent example of this can be seen in a brief examination of the legislation of the Civil Wars and Interregnum. From 1642-60 more than 1300 Acts and Ordinances were passed by the various Parliaments and Councils of State exercising legislative authority. By an Act of Parliament in 1661, all legislation between 1642 and 1660 was declared invalid.⁶ However, as C. H. Firth points out in some detail in his Introduction to Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660, vol. III,

Several Acts passed in 1661 and in subsequent years are also based on measures passed during the Long Parliament of the Protectorate.....Some later statutes are also closely related to enactments of the Interregnum period.⁷

Mr. Firth then proceeds to cite several examples. This whole question of the fate of the legislation of the Interregnum is similar to that of the fate of the administrative developments of the same period. In the case of the legislation, while the specific enactments were rejected, the aims of the legislation and even the methods by which it was put into operation can be seen to reoccur in later times.⁸ In the case of the administration, the end which the Interregnum rulers wished to attain, an efficient, centralized regulated governmental machinery, was to have an effect on later history. The extraordinary demands of the Interregnum period upon the administrative system brought about new levels of efficiency. Consequently, the administration made an important step forward in the development of the true Civil Service as opposed to the old concept of a body of King's Servants.

The following study will seek to throw some light upon one part of the administrative history of the Interregnum--the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, 1653-58. This particular period has been chosen for several reasons. These years, lying as they do towards the end of the Interregnum, offer themselves as a vantage point; one is able to look back over the developments of the past decade, to trace their progress and their fate. In relation to the years immediately preceding, the period is one of comparative peace and stability, a condition which permits an easier examination of any administrative development. Furthermore, the study of

the Administration of this period will perhaps help us to increase our understanding of the nature and methods of the personal government of Oliver Cromwell, especially when viewed from this practically unused angle. Also the years 1653-58 can be seen as forming a transitional phase between the Republic at its most extreme and the Restoration of the Monarchy. Increased knowledge of this period may be able to throw some light upon the phenomenon of the Restoration. Finally, the period presents itself as a somewhat obvious division for study if only for the fact that it imposes a reasonable limit within an era noted for its complexity.

In order to make the following study more manageable, further limits and conditions have been imposed. First, it will only be concerned with the Central Administration. By this is meant those departments, principally found in London, which deal with matters affecting the whole nation. Local, community government, county government and the purely local representatives and officials of the Central government, will not be included. The administrative departments of Scotland and Ireland will not be dealt with except insofar as individual officials in these areas are also involved in the Central government in England. Purely military and naval administration, that is, the official hierarchy of the Army and Navy, will be omitted; however, the essentially civilian departments concerned with the

armed forces, such as the Army Committee and the Admiralty Commissioners, will be dealt with.

In the latter part of the paper considerable emphasis will be placed upon the personnel of the administrative departments and upon the conditions of their entry and service rather than upon the departments themselves. This course is taken as one object of the study is to find out something about the group of men who controlled England through their position in the Central Administration and, furthermore, to see what this group of men can show about the nature of the years 1653-58. As the personnel will be dealt with directly and indirectly in a large part of the paper, some comments must be made about the "level" of official with which we are mainly concerned. By "level" is meant the rank or position of an official in the hierarchy. Thus the lower level of official, the minor clerks, messengers, doorkeepers, porters, and others of the menial type, will often be no more than noted as having existed. Similarly, the highest level of officials, the Councillors of State, will also be passed over quickly. What will be dealt with here is the administrative officer in the purest sense--the official below the level of policy-maker and above the level of menials, servants, and the lower echelons of the official class--that is, those officials who put into execution government policy and who were responsible for making things function as smoothly as possible.

However, the personnel of the Administration will by no means be dealt with to the exclusion of all else. The paper will open with a survey of the Administrative Departments operating in the years 1653-58 and with a brief account of their history and function during the period. This will be followed by a discussion of the conditions of office-holding, means of appointment, terms of service and salaries and fees of office-holders in general. From the ranks of these men will then be identified a group of the "key" Administrative Personnel who seem to warrant special attention because of their fundamental importance during these years.

CHAPTER II

SURVEY OF THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION,

PART I

The first task in this paper is to undertake a survey of the Central Administration. The survey will attempt to determine what administrative bodies were in existence during the Protectorate, what their main functions were, and what developments took place within them during this period. Discussion will be broken down into two rough divisions. The first will deal primarily with the permanent administrative entities such as the Household, the Customs, and the Exchequer; here will be found most of what remained of the old, traditional pre-1642 machinery. The second will deal with the more temporary or extraordinary administrative machinery that existed during the Protectorate, such as that dealing with confiscated lands; here will be found most of the new Committees, Commissions and groups of Trustees. However, as the division of this survey is primarily intended for convenience rather than for definite classification, exceptions will perhaps occur.

The Central Executive

An examination of the departments or "divisions" of the Central Administration should necessarily begin with the Council of State. This body had been in existence since February, 1649. Under the Protectorate it was to

continue with much added importance. From Pride's Purge until the dissolution of the Long Parliament, the Council had consisted of forty-one men elected more or less annually by Parliament. All of the actions of the Council of State were subject to approval by Parliament. In fact, the Council under the Rump was little more than an important Committee.¹ From the dissolution of the Rump in April, 1653 to July of the same year, England was ruled by Cromwell in his position as Commander-in-Chief. He was assisted by a truncated Council of State composed of himself and twelve others, mainly army officers.² With the calling of the "Barebones" Parliament a seventh and eventually an eighth Council of State were formed, each composed of thirty-one rather than forty-one members. It could be said that from July to December, 1653 the system used in the time of the Rump was restored.

An important change came with Cromwell's assumption of the Protectorate on December 16, 1653. On this day a new Constitution called the Instrument of Government was published, a document prepared by Lambert and the Council of Officers. According to the Instrument, Article II,

The exercise of the chief magistracy, and the administration of the government . . . shall be in the Lord Protector, assisted with a Council, the number whereof shall not exceed twenty-one nor be less than thirteen.³

Thirteen members of the Council were named in the Instrument.⁴ Periodic elections or nominations, resulting in a rotation of membership such as that seen in the Councils under the

Rump, were not provided for under the Protectorate. Appointment under the Instrument was for life; councillors could not be removed by the Protector but only by a commission appointed by Parliament and Council working with the Lord Chancellor and Lord Keeper or the Commissioners of the Great Seal. On the death or removal of any councillor, Parliament would nominate six persons for every vacancy. From among these nominees, the Protector would choose one. In the event that Parliament was not sitting at the time, the Protector and the major part of the Council could add such persons as they thought fit. The thirteen men named in the Instrument, with the addition of seven more, formed the total number of Councillors of State during Oliver's Protectorate.⁵ There were never more than nineteen nor less than fifteen persons at one time sitting on the Council of State. The Council was therefore a very compact body and enjoyed great continuity of membership.

The above developments formed the core of the change brought about by the Instrument of Government--in effect, the limitation of the authority of Parliament and the creation of a very strong executive power. The new Council of State had become much stronger than its predecessors under the ~~Rump~~ or the Privy Council of King Charles. Some minor changes were again to occur in the new constitution of May, 1657, known as the Humble Petition and Advice.⁶ Under this document the Council of State was henceforth to be called the Privy Council, a change well in tune with the

creation of an hereditary Protectorship. There was also instituted, in the Humble Additional and Explanatory Petition and Advice of June, 1657, an oath of fidelity to the Protector obligatory to all councillors.⁷ Some held back, but all eventually gave in and took the oath. The one notable exception was Lambert. The effect of the changes under this new constitution was to weaken the position of the Council. Much more, of course, could be said about this important group. However, for the present purpose it is enough to note their formation, composition and position at the head of the Administration.⁸

More to the purpose in this paper is the history and development of what can be called the Secretariat of the Council of State. At the head of this important administrative body was the secretary of the Council. In December, 1653 John Thurloe, Secretary to the Council of State of the Rump since March 30, 1652, was confirmed as Secretary to the new Protector's Council.⁹ Before long Thurloe was being referred to as Secretary of State.¹⁰ As he was beginning to handle business formerly managed by the Secretary of State, such as correspondence with foreign powers, this development came as no surprise. In this capacity he was frequently ordered to attend committee meetings of the Council even though he did not formally occupy a seat at the Council table until July 13, 1657.¹¹ Just previous to the commencement of the Protectorate, Thurloe had as assistants William Jessop and Gualter Frost.

Other important officers under Thurloe were Latin Secretary Milton and his assistant Philip Meadows. Thurloe also exercised a general authority over the Clerks of the Signet whose numbers had been reduced from four, as under the monarchy, to two under the Lord Protector.¹² There were also a number of under-officers such as eight clerks, twelve messengers, a sergeant-at-arms with nine deputies and various other menial servants.¹³ Several changes took place in the two months following the beginning of the Protectorate.¹⁴ Gualter Frost was given a new post as Treasurer for Council's Contingencies, his old place as assistant to Thurloe being taken by Henry Scobell, who was also Clerk of Parliament (1649-58). By this time Milton, incapacitated by almost complete blindness, had been given the honorary title of Latin Secretary Extraordinary. His place as Latin Secretary was taken by his former assistant Philip Meadows. The rest of the establishment remained the same. The total cost of the Council's Secretariate was estimated at £3,500 per annum.¹⁵ This figure, however, is somewhat increased by the addition of several charges not strictly relating to Council work; for example, Marchmont Needham's salary as a state-supported journalist was paid out of Council funds. In April, 1655, an attempt was made to economize.¹⁶ Some offices were done away with; Henry Giffard, an assistant to Frost with a salary of £45 12s. 6d. per annum, was removed, as was another extraordinary official,

John Hall, who was paid £100 per annum. Some salaries were removed from the responsibility of the Council Secretariat while the offices themselves remained; for example, René Augier's salary as an intelligencer was henceforth to be paid out of money reserved for the intelligence service. Furthermore, some salaries were decreased. Frost's was reduced from £400 to £300 per annum, Milton's from £288 to £150 per annum. These reductions, however, probably resulted from a reassessment of their functions rather than as an economy move, for at the same time Scobell and Jessop received a raise from £365 to £500 per annum in recognition of the increased amount of work assigned to them.

The organization of the Secretariat was to remain substantially the same for several years with only minor changes. For a while Meadows, absent on a diplomatic mission, was replaced temporarily by Andrew Marvel.¹⁷ Also an extraordinary official of some importance, Gabriel Beck, appears with a salary of £200 per annum in May, 1656. He was to be under Thurloe's authority and was to perform, " . . . such public business as he shall receive direction for from Council or Mr. Secretary" ¹⁸ Under the Protectorate the organization of the Council Secretariat was a much more compact and efficient body than its counterpart under the monarchy; more work was achieved with fewer officials and, consequently, with less expense.

Under the general heading of the Central Executive several miscellaneous but highly important offices should be

mentioned. During the Protectorate the office of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal was suspended. Instead the office was executed by three Commissioners. In December, 1653, these Commissioners were Bulstrode Whitelock, Sir Thomas Widdrington and Richard Keeble. When Cromwell became Protector, Keeble was replaced by John Lisle. On June 6, 1655, following their refusal to put into execution the Ordinance for the reformation of Chancery, Whitelock and Widdrington were forced to resign.¹⁹ Lisle retained his position and was given Nathaniel Fiennes as a colleague. From this time on until January, 1658, these two men acted as sole Commissioners of the Great Seal. Fiennes also occupied the position of Lord Privy Seal. Under his authority were the four clerks of the Privy Seal and the four Masters of Requests. These latter offices and others in the Central Administration which have not been dealt with, such as the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the clerk of the Hanaper, and the clerks of the Petty Bag, remained in existence and performed much the same tasks as they had before 1642.²⁰

The Household of the Lord Protector

The Household of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector was only a shadow of its existence under the monarchy. As specific, detailed information on this aspect of the Protectorship is scarce, one must rely mainly upon annual expenditure to give a guide to the size and complexity of

the Household. In February, 1655, John Maidstone, Steward of His Highness' Household, was allowed £64,000 per annum, payable quarterly, for the necessary charges of the Household.²¹ Later that year the sum allowed was increased to £80,000 and then reduced in February, 1656 to the old figure of £64,000.²² Later yet, the yearly allowance was again put up to £80,000 and then to £100,000 per annum. Exactly what expenses these yearly allowances were intended to cover is not at all certain. Were they intended, for example, to cover the cost of maintenance and repairs to His Highness' houses? In this case the answer is probably no. John Embree, the Surveyor of his Highness' houses, was paid separate irregular sums to cover the cost of his operations. In any case the cost of the Household was somewhere in the range of £80,000 to £100,000 per annum. This amounts to only a fraction of the cost of Charles I's household where in an average year in the late 1630's Royal diet alone cost £107,000 per annum.²³

Complete information on the exact number and type of Household offices in existence under the Protectorate is lacking in any available printed sources. However, a few basic facts that illustrate the nature of Cromwell's establishment can be pieced together. At the beginning of the Protectorate the Household must have been quite simple.²⁴ However, it soon began a gradual process of elaboration. In early mid-1654, a Steward of the Household, a Keeper of the Wardrobe, His Highness' Waterman and his Highness' Avenor

all appear.²⁵ In August, 1655 considerable additions took place. Sir Gilbert Pickering was appointed Chamberlain to the Household, and Philip Jones was appointed Comptroller.²⁶ Also four Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, the first heard of this group, were appointed, namely: Sir Thomas Billingsley, Mr. Rolt, Mr. Barrington and Mr. Harvey.²⁷ John Cleypole was also referred to as a Gentleman of the Bedchamber.²⁸ Another group, more loosely connected to the Household, was the Protector's Life-Guard. Its development also demonstrates gradual elaboration. In August, 1654 it was decided to settle the number of the guard at forty-five besides officers; the Commander, at 20s. per day, was to be Charles Howard.²⁹ By 1656 this number was found to be insufficient both for purposes of guarding the Protector and for supplying the necessary dignity due him. In February of that year, the number of the Life Guard was increased to 174 consisting of a captain, Richard Beake at 28s. per day, a Lieutenant, coronet, quartermaster, six subordinate lieutenants, four trumpeters, and 160 soldiers.³⁰ Certainly, whatever the elaboration, the Household was far from what it had been under the late King Charles. Yet instead of being praised for the resulting reduction in cost, the Protector was often criticized for his frugality and was charged with failing to support his office with the proper dignity.³¹

Revenue Departments

During the years of the Commonwealth the Exchequer had not been in use. Instead the Long Parliament had created a multiplicity of funds of receipt to handle the revenues. In 1650 there were as many as ten of these treasury funds active at once.³² In 1652, just before the dissolution of the Rump, attempts to find a remedy for this confusing and wasteful condition were undertaken. An Ordinance of December 10, 1652, appointed Dennis Bond, Francis Allen, John Downes and Cornelius Holland to investigate the existing state of affairs and furthermore to inform themselves,

. . . how the severall receipts and issues of the Revenue and Treasuries of this Commonwealth may be brought with all Convenient Speed into one Channell and managed with Least Charge and best Advantage to the Commonwealth. . . .³³

On July 28, 1653, another Ordinance appointed six different men to undertake a similar task.³⁴ On December 31, 1653, an Order of the Council of State again restated the task in a more formal manner and appointed eight men as Commissioners for Inspecting the Treasuries.³⁵ Something concrete seems to have been achieved by this latter group for their work resulted in the recommendation that the Exchequer be restored. On June 21, 1654, "An Ordinance for the bringing the Publique Revenues of this Commonwealth into one Treasury" was published.³⁶ This Ordinance re-established the Exchequer, effective June 24, 1654.

According to the wording of the Ordinance it was to be known as, "The Receipt of the Exchequer of His Highness the Lord Protector" and was to be, " . . . kept and executed in the usual and accustomed Places, Method, Maner [sic.] and Way of Receipt as formerly."³⁷ There were only to be a few minor alterations between the operation of the Exchequer under the monarchy and its operation under the Protectorate. From this time on English instead of Latin was to be used in Exchequer transactions. Fees were to be allowed but were to be, " . . . such moderate Fees, Wages, Rewards and Allowances onely, as His Highness the Lord Protector, with the advise and consent of his Council . . . shall think fit to limit and appoint."³⁸ Any violations of this order were to be severely punished. Although the Ordinance stated that all moneys should be paid into the Exchequer, this was never fully enforced. The monthly assessments, for example, continued to go through the hands of the treasurers-at-war. Revenues from Ireland and Scotland did not go into the Exchequer, nor did some of the revenues from land sales.³⁹ Officers for the revived Exchequer were to be appointed by the Lord Protector by Letters Patent under the Great Seal. They were to enjoy all of the powers and privileges that had been enjoyed by their predecessors.⁴⁰

This Ordinance of June 21, 1654 was not fully carried out as soon as it was passed. Full implementation of the

plan was not to occur until Parliament met in September, 1654. At this time another amplifying Ordinance was issued to put the Exchequer under the management of the Treasury Commissioners. The Ordinance stated that all Officers,

. . . shall observe and conform unto all such rules, orders and directions, as they shall from time to time receive from the Commissioners of the Treasury.⁴¹

The Treasury Commissioners were appointed by Letters Patent on August 3, 1654. They were Bulstrode Whitelocke, Sir Thomas Widdrington, and John Lisle (the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal); Henry Roole and Oliver St. John (Lords Chief Justices); and Edward Montague, William Sydenham, and William Masham (Commissioners of the Treasury). These Ordinances and regulations were therefore to determine the existence and management of the Exchequer for the years of the Protectorate.

One of the most reliable and rewarding forms of revenue available to seventeenth century governments was the customs. F. C. Dietz has estimated that the farm of the customs in the two years before the outbreak of the Civil War brought in £177,836 in 1640 and £169,388 in 1641.⁴² The average gross receipts during the years of the Interregnum have been estimated at roughly twice the above sums.⁴³ During the Protectorate the collection of the customs was administered on a commission basis. Small groups of men handled the collection of these revenues during the short periods of time for which they were appointed,

usually from a year to eighteen months. The Commissioners were to pay the moneys collected weekly into the Exchequer, having first deducted salaries and operating costs.⁴⁴ For this task they received 4d. on the pound plus interest on money paid in advance of receipt. On, or by July, 1655, this was reduced to 3d. on the pound.⁴⁵ In order to keep a close eye on the dealings of the Customs Commissioners, a Committee for the Preservation of the Customs existed. This group, created before the establishment of the Protectorate, seems to have lapsed about mid-1654, the time of the revival of the Exchequer. However, it was to be renewed in the following year. Among the State Papers is an order of February 23, 1655 instructing a group of six men to act as a Committee for the Preservation of the Customs as they were before September 2, 1654.⁴⁶ The membership of this Committee was made up of experienced Exchequer and financial experts headed by Sir William Roberts, auditor of the receipt. By November, 1655 this Committee had come across irregular dealings among some of the Customs Commissioners. Early in this month one of the Commissioners, Colonel Edmund Harvey, and the cashier-general, Captain Henry Langham, were committed to the Tower for embezzlement.⁴⁷ Furthermore, it seems that the other Commissioners lost their appointments as new men were soon being treated with to be Customs Commissioners.⁴⁸ Shortly after this scandalous state of affairs some attempt at reform seems to have been made. An

Accountant-General for the Customs was to be appointed by and be responsible to the Protector. This official was to be wholly dependant on the State for his salary and to be answerable for the conduct of his clerks. It was intended that he act as a check on the Customs Commissioners and their officers. Furthermore, the Cashier-General and receivers in the Port of London and all of the collectors in the out-ports were to be nominated by the Customs Commissioners, but approved by the Committee for the Preservation of the Customs. Also the Customs Commissioners, recently appointed, were to present to the Protector the names of all the present officers in their service in order that those of honesty and integrity could be approved and continued, and those excepted to, discharged.⁴⁹

During the early years of the Civil Wars a new tax was brought into effect in England.⁵⁰ This was the Excise.⁵¹ The collection of this tax was administered by a group of Excise Commissioners similar to their counterparts in the Customs. By an Act of September 20, 1650, six men had been appointed Excise Commissioners with an allowance of 3d. on the pound.⁵² The next group of appointees mentioned by Ashley did not take office until March, 1654.⁵³ This, however, is not a complete picture. An Ordinance of December 24, 1653 appointed Luke Hodges, Thomas Bulstrode and William Parker to be Excise Commissioners. It is fairly evident that this group was intended as a stop-gap; they were appointed for three months only, their salary was

reduced to 1d. on the pound and they were not allowed, as their predecessors had been, to let out to farm any of the Excise.⁵⁴ After the secure establishment of the Protectorate a more permanent body was appointed. This group, appointed March 17, 1654, was five in number and had an allowance of 2d. on the pound.⁵⁵ As has been mentioned above, parts of the Excise were let out to farmers, starting about 1650. By the end of the Interregnum over half the Excise was administered by farmers.⁵⁶ The supervision of this sectionalized excise farming was undertaken by a body known as the Commissioners for Appeals and Regulating the Excise. They were first appointed March 17, 1654 and were, for the most part, experienced Treasury officials such as Sir William Roberts, John Stone, Gervas Bennet and Adam Baines.⁵⁷ In the initial Ordinance creating the body a salary was not mentioned, but in August, 1654 they were given £300 per annum each payable from the previous March.⁵⁸ One other administrative group concerned with the Excise should be mentioned. On December 29, 1653 a group known as the Commissioners for Inquiring into Arrears of Excise was appointed. These men had considerable power over the Excise Commissioners for the purpose of conducting inquiries and settling complaints. They also had power to let out portions of the Excise to farm and to supervise payment of salaries and expense money to the Commissioners and their under-officers.⁵⁹ Whether or not these Commissioners were to be permanent officials is not clear as their initial appointment was to last only until March 25, 1654.

Perhaps it was only a temporary body intended to straighten out complications existing at the beginning of the Protectorate.

A new department of the Administration created in 1653, which provided a lucrative source of revenue, was the Court of Probate. Until the abolition of the episcopacy by the Long Parliament the management of testamentary affairs had belonged to the realm of ecclesiastical justice. By an Act of April 8, 1653 a commission of twenty men was set up, " . . . to hear, sentence and decree all matters touching Wills, Administration and Inventories."⁶⁰ These men held the position of judges and in most respects exercised the functions of the old ecclesiastical judges. Of the group of men initially appointed all but one had previously sat on the celebrated Committee of the Long Parliament for Law Reform.⁶¹ The initial Act was only to last until October 1, 1653 but it was revived in its entirety after a lapse of nearly three months, on December 24, 1653.⁶² In this Ordinance nine additional judges were appointed. The Act was continued on April 3, 1654 and confirmed on June 26, 1657.⁶³ Salaries for the judges are not mentioned in any of the Acts and Ordinances. However, a salary of £300 per annum seems to have been given them at first.⁶⁴ This appears to have been reduced at a later date to £200 per annum each.⁶⁵ The two principal under-officers were the Registrar and the Keeper of the Seal and Treasurer of the Profits. There also were at least twenty or more clerks associated with the Court. In 1656 it was stated that fees

exacted by the clerks were excessive and that the registrar made as much as £2,000 per annum mainly by this means. A suggestion was made that half the number of officers could do the same job.⁶⁶ Whatever the inefficiency the Court of Probate provided a considerable source of revenue. After payment of its officers all profits from the permitted fees were to be sent to the Exchequer; the average annual revenue from this source was approximately £6,250.⁶⁷

National Defence

Associated with the Army was an important civilian administration. This administration consisted of three main parts,

. . . the Committee of the Army took charge of the men, the Office of Ordnance of the weapons and stores, and the Treasurers at War of the finance. . . .⁶⁸

Early in the Civil War, the Army Committee seems to have enjoyed only an intermittent existence. In later years, especially under the Protectorate, it became permanent. The Committee was appointed by Parliament and was made up of Members of Parliament. Its duties consisted of a general oversight of Army affairs, the supervision of the Monthly Assessment, and the management of recruitment.⁶⁹ Earlier Army Committees tended to be very large; for example, the Committee appointed in January, 1652 had fifty-seven members.⁷⁰ The Committee appointed during the Barebones Parliament was considerably smaller; it had seventeen

members.⁷¹ However, the Committee that sat during the Protectorate consisted of a compact nine men. This group of men was first appointed on January 28, 1654, at a time when a general administrative settlement was taking place. It is not surprising that its members were a new breed of men in comparison to the older Committees. The new men were without a doubt administrators, not a group of important political personages, or strictly military men. The same Committee was continued on June 29, 1654 and again on July 10, 1656.⁷² Five of the nine men had sat on the Committee appointed by the Barebones Parliament.⁷³ Although all nine members sat in Protectorate Parliaments and their initial appointment was by Parliament, their continuance in office was due to the Protector and his Council. No mention of a salary for Army Committee members is made in the Acts and Ordinances appointing them. However, an order of the Council of State in May, 1656 gave James Philips, who had no other public employment, and Colonel John Clerk, the chairman, £300 each per annum. Whether or not all members were to have an allowance is not clear, but it does seem as if only the two special cases mentioned were included in this order.⁷⁴

The two Treasurers at War were appointed at the same time as the Army Committee. Their task, overlapping that of the Army Committee, was to supervise all financial matters, to act as receivers for the Monthly Assessment and

to take care of disbursements. During the Protectorate these posts were held by John Blackwell (the younger) and Richard Dean. Blackwell seems to have been a Treasurer since 1651; Dean's first appointment was in July, 1653. The department of the Ordnance will be dealt with under the Navy.

Under the Protectorate the highest level of officials in the Administration of the Navy were the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy. The first group of Admiralty Commissioners, as they were known, consisted of eleven men and was appointed December 3, 1653.⁷⁵ These men were primarily experienced field officers and Parliamentary committeemen. The Admiralty Commissioners were involved mainly in the determination of policy, the rendering of advice to Parliament and the Council of State, and in general supervisory capacities. The greater part of the administrative work and responsibility fell on the shoulders of the Navy Commissioners. Under the Protectorate there were generally seven Commissioners operating at a salary of £250 per annum each. Their tasks were manifold, including the purchase and distribution of stores, the management of the dockyards, and the supervision of shipbuilding and repairs.⁷⁶ Perhaps the most notable post in the Administration of the Navy was that of the Navy Treasurer, Richard Hutchinson.⁷⁷ His work consisted of the supervision of all Navy funds, and while this was a somewhat onerous task,

the talent and effort involved bore no relation to the salary he received, which at times exceeded £2,000 per annum.

Oppenheim has the following to say about the administration of the Navy of the Interregnum,

Never, on the other hand, so far as administration was concerned, had England been better prepared for war. Instead of officials who, as in the preceeding half-century, owed their posts to court influence, to purchase, or to seniority, the work was in the hands of men chosen for business aptitude and who, in most instances, had given proof of higher qualifications on the field of battle or in parliamentary committees.⁷⁸

Several other subordinate departments were associated with particular problems in the administration of the Navy. These are Victualling, Sick and Wounded, Prize Goods and Ordnance. The first, the Department of Victualling, came into existence during the Protectorate, in 1655. Previously victualling had been handled by contract. Colonel Thomas Pride and an associated syndicate handled the task; however, they had decided to resign the contract in October, 1654. To replace this private syndicate a department was set up under the authority of the Navy Commissioners. The head of this new creation was to be Thomas Alderne at a salary of £500 per annum.⁷⁹ Alderne died in early 1657 and his place was taken by three Navy Commissioners who were given £250 per annum each extra salary.⁸⁰ No further changes took place until the Restoration.

Care of the Sick and Wounded was an important task for the Navy administrators. In September, 1653 a new

department was created to handle the problem and was put under the care of four "Commissioners of sick and wounded at Little Britain"; they had fifteen subordinate officers to aid them.⁸¹ Other charity organizations did exist that assisted in the care of sick and wounded sailors, such as Chatham Chest, but the only official body extant was the one mentioned above. Whether or not Army patients were also under the care of these Commissioners is not clear but a remark in C. H. Firth's Cromwell's Army would lead one to believe that this was the case.⁸² Whatever the case, the Department of Sick and Wounded was under the authority of the Admiralty.

During the Civil Wars and Interregnum the continuous conflicts at sea brought about a need for a permanent department to administer the sale of Prize Goods. On April 17, 1649 a group of nineteen men were appointed Commissioners for the sale of Prize Goods.⁸³ These men, however, were only a supervisory body of Members of Parliament. The actual sale of prizes and the collection and distribution of the moneys obtained was placed in the hands of three "Treasurers and Collectors of prize-goods."⁸⁴ They were to have 12d. on the pound for wages and expenses. On March 8, 1653 three more treasurers were appointed.⁸⁵ These six men were to remain in control of the sale of Prize Goods until at least mid-1657. The Treasurers apparently had a staff of twenty-six under-officers.⁸⁶ In the "Act for Indemnifying of such persons as have acted for the Service of the Public"

of June 26, 1657 the above six men are called the "late Commissioners for Prize-Goods."⁸⁷ Exactly who replaced them is unknown.

The Department of Ordnance operated much as it had done before 1642 until an important change occurred in 1653. In this year the Ordnance lost its old independence and became a department of the Admiralty.⁸⁸ However, it operated much as before supplying both Army and Navy with the necessary artillery and large ordnance.

Other Departments of State

On August 10, 1642 the Tower Mint was seized by Parliamentary forces.⁸⁹ Most of the highest officials, such as the Master, the Warden and the superintendant of the melting house, fled to the King, while the majority of the other under-officers seemed to have remained at their places. A new Master was appointed in the person of Sir Robert Harley who had previously occupied this post from 1626 to 1635. Harley was eventually replaced on May 16, 1649 by Dr. Aaron Guerdain who occupied this position until the Restoration. Parliament appointed John St. John, brother of the more famous Oliver, as sole Warden of the Mint; he held the post from 1643 to 1660.⁹⁰ The position of Chief Graver of the irons and seals was first held by Edward Greene, who had continued from the King's service and who died in 1645. He was replaced by Edward Wade and Thomas Simon

acting jointly. Wade died in 1648, but Simon did not succeed to sole command until 1655.

For the first year and a half of the Protectorate the Posts were farmed out to John Manley at a yearly rent of £10,000. His initial appointment as Farmer of the Posts was on June 30, 1653 and was to last for two years.⁹¹ This appointment was confirmed in September, 1654 when Manley is referred to as Postmaster-General.⁹² Manley's offer in the original bidding for the farm of the posts had only been fifth highest, at £8,259 per annum. It was suspected that a "deal" had been made between Manley and the Council of State supervising the appointment.⁹³ On June 30, 1655 Manley's contract expired and was not renewed. Instead, control of the posts was given to Secretary of State Thurloe, who was to pay the same annual rent of £10,000. In 1657 an Act was passed, the first of its kind in England, establishing set prices for the conveyance of letters. It was stated that there would only be one general Post Office and one supreme officer entitled the Postmaster General of England the Comptroller of the Post Office.⁹⁴ Accordingly, the Lord Protector appointed Thurloe to fill the office. The control of the Posts thus given to Thurloe enabled him to use it to the benefit of his renowned intelligence service. Furthermore, the profits to the State because of Thurloe's management more than paid for the cost of the intelligence system.⁹⁵

During the Interregnum the Court of Chivalry did not cease to exist. On March 19, 1646, a Parliamentary Ordinance was published entitled, an "Ordinance, appointing Commissioners for the Herald's Office, to prevent abuses and offences."⁹⁶ By this Ordinance forty-five Commissioners were appointed to take care of all matters concerning Heraldry; in effect, they were to act as Earl Marshall. During initial meetings in April, a number of subordinate officers were nominated. On April 14, 1646 a Register, an Advocate of the Court, a Serjeant-Marshall and a Messenger were appointed, and on April 21, four proctors and Garter and Clarencieux Heralds were added.⁹⁷ At some undetermined time in the future a Norroy Herald must have been appointed as there are traces of his activity in 1655.⁹⁸ Of the seven or eight Pursuivants, little is known of the state of their existence. The only trace of these officials is the appointment of a Bluemantle Pursuivant in October, 1646.⁹⁹ During the period September, 1646 to April, 1648 the Commissioners themselves sat on the occasion of any litigation. But on April 28, 1648 Dr. John Exton, formerly Court Advocate, was made Lieutenant and was in future to take the place of the Commissioners. Government of the Court of Heraldry seems to have remained in this condition until the Restoration. G. D. Equibb, in his work The High Court of Chivalry, says that after 1649, "No later causes before the Commissioners have been found, but the Commission seems to have remained in being

until the Restoration. . . ."100 However, it is quite certain that the Heralds, for example, continued to function throughout the period. In February, 1655, information concerning a family's arms was given by Norroy Herald; in December, 1656 a decision on a claim to arms mentions Garter, Clarencieux, and Norroy Heralds; in 1657 Garter Herald made a grant of arms.¹⁰¹

The Tower of London remained an important part of the Central Government under the Protectorate as it had been under the monarchy; as a prison for state and political enemies, as an important defence position, as a control over the vital City of London, and as a home for several governmental departments, particularly the Mint, always in need of first class security, and the Ordnance. The establishment of the Tower circa in November, 1654, only slightly different from that under the monarchy, can be found in a document included in the Calendar of State Papers, entitled "The State of the Tower."¹⁰² The paper mentions some fifty-two under-officers not including the Lieutenant, Sir John Barkstead. The total annual cost for salaries and "materials" was estimated at £1,750 lld. This list, however, is not quite complete as it fails to mention, for example, the Keeper of the Tower Records, William Ryley. However, this and other exceptions which occur result from the fact that their salaries were not charged to the Tower establishment.

Justice Departments

In the early months of the Long Parliament the ancient Court of Chancery and the newer prerogative courts of High Commission and Star Chamber came under a great deal of criticism. In 1641 the two latter courts, along with the Court of Requests, the Council of the Marches, and the Council of the North were abolished.¹⁰³ Chancery, however, remained untouched except that the functions of the Lord Chancellor were now to be exercised by a Commission of three. During Barebones Parliament several attempts were made either to reform or to abolish Chancery.¹⁰⁴ None of the various proposals put forward were accepted by Parliament as a whole and Chancery remained. It was not until Cromwell assumed the Protectorate that any scheme for Chancery reform was translated into legislation. On August 21, 1654 an "Ordinance for the better regulating and limiting the Jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery" was published on the authority of the Protector and his Council.¹⁰⁵ This Ordinance made several important changes in the personnel of Chancery which should be considered here. The greatest administrative change was made in the Six-Clerks Office. According to the Ordinance, " . . . in stead of the six Clerks in Chancery, there shall be three chief Clerks, and no more."¹⁰⁶ These three chief Clerks were put in charge of a number of attorneys, not to exceed sixty, whose fees were stated. " A further personnel change concerned

the Office of Register in Chancery. From this time the office was not to be executed by deputy and furthermore there were to be four registers in the Court. On the second issuance of the Ordinance in May, 1655, the number of Masters in Chancery was reduced to six.¹⁰⁷ Other regulations in the Ordinance concerned conditions of employment. Fees payable to the various officers in Chancery were strictly regulated; a long table of permissible fees was appended to the original Ordinance. The sale of offices by any official from the Master of the Rolls down was forbidden on pain of loss of office and a fine of twice the amount received by the guilty party.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the Commissioners of the Great Seal were charged with overseeing all Chancery operations to ensure complete honesty and lack of corruption.

The extensive reforms promulgated in this Ordinance do not seem to have been put into effect immediately on publication. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that the first Parliament of the Protectorate was to assemble in the following month, September. Therefore, the Protector and Council would wait for Parliament's approval. However, when at last the Parliament did discuss the new Chancery regulations it decided to suspend the Ordinance until Christmas.¹⁰⁹ This Parliament was not to complete any designs it had upon the subject of Chancery reform for it was dissolved on January 22, 1655. In the following

April, the Protector and his Council issued a revised form of the original Ordinance.¹¹⁰ A crisis occurred over the reforms proposed in this new document which resulted in the resignation of Whitelock and Widdrington from their appointments as Commissioners of the Great Seal. The Protector, however, insisted on reform and would not give in to complaint; evidently the Ordinance of 1654 was enforced.

The Court of Common Pleas, like Chancery, was also criticized. However, in its case the point of legislation was not reached. For example, a proposal was made that any qualified attorney be allowed to practise within this court. This was intended to bring to an end the monopoly enjoyed by the state-appointed serjeants-at-law of practising within this court.¹¹¹ However, this proposed reform came to nothing and the Court of Common Pleas continued as it had done under the monarchy. The same can also be said of the Court of Upper Bench. No fundamental changes occurred in this Court except the alteration of its name from King's Bench. As these departments did not undergo any important changes during the Protectorate, no more need be said of them at this time.¹¹²

Under the monarchy, the Duchy of Lancaster acted as a revenue department, an estate office and a court of law. Under the Protectorate, the Duchy still existed but to what degree it exercised its old jurisdiction is unsure.

It is most likely that its only real function in this period was as a court of law. The confiscation and sale of Crown lands must have taken away most of its other business. The question of the total abolition of the Duchy jurisdiction came up many times during the Commonwealth. A number of conflicting resolutions were adopted by Parliament. One, of November 26, 1651, determined that the court of the duchy and county palatinate of Lancaster should continue no longer than April 1, 1652.¹¹³ However, on April 1, 1652, the jurisdiction was continued for a further six months.¹¹⁴ This procedure was followed until, on April 8, 1653, on petition of the Justices of Peace and two grand juries assembled at the assizes, the abolition of jurisdiction was postponed sine die.¹¹⁵ During the Protectorate two Ordinances concerning the Duchy were published. The first, of February 28, 1654, revived the jurisdiction of the county palatine of Lancaster. All actions before the Duchy Court were to continue. Also the Ordinance appointed Matthew Hale and Hugh Wyndham justices of Assize and Goal-delivery for the county. Their commissions were to be given to them in the accustomed manner, under the seal of the Duchy, by the Commissioners for keeping the Duchy seal, Thomas Fell, who was also appointed in the Ordinance.¹¹⁶ The second Ordinance involving the Duchy was published on June 9 of the same year. This decree revived once more the Duchy jurisdiction but only for causes depending. For

this purpose two judges were appointed who were also to hold jointly the Seal of the Duchy; they were John Bradshaw and Thomas Fell.¹¹⁷ Nothing further is heard of the court. As new causes were not allowed to begin, according to the Ordinance of June, 1654 it must be assumed that its jurisdiction ceased when all depending causes were finalized.

CHAPTER III

SURVEY OF THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION,

PART II

During the Civil Wars and Interregnum a great many new administrative bodies were created. Most of them were much different from the older, more traditional bodies that have just been examined. The majority of the new creations were in the form of Committees or Commissions set up to manage a specific, and usually it was hoped, a temporary problem. However, because of the short duration of the Commonwealth and Republic, many of these administrative bodies remained in existence throughout the entire period. An example can be found by examining any one of the several administrative groups charged with the sale of confiscated property; for instance, the body for the sale of Episcopal lands. This body, created in 1646, remained in existence until 1660. Its activities diminished as the years passed and eventually its task would have been completed with the sale of all the lands and the collection of all moneys owing. However, it was still operating under Oliver Cromwell and indeed was not finished by 1660. Thus many "temporary" bodies of officials can actually be considered permanent for present purposes as they were in operation for the entire period under consideration. Most of the significant administrative bodies of this sort will be considered below.

Each one is a case by itself. They will be considered separately and an outline of their administrative organization will be given.

Land Sales

The most numerous and probably the most important of these newly created bodies were those set up to administer the sale of lands and goods confiscated from the Crown, the Established Church, and the defeated Royalists. This section will outline the formation of the administrative units set up to handle this vast task. As the form of each of the related bodies was similar, comments can be quite brief. All of the following bodies were in operation during the Protectorate. Even though sales of lands were heaviest during the years preceding the Protectorate, the groups were still operative.

The first lands to be put up for sale were those of the Archbishops and Bishops. In an Ordinance of October 9, 1646, the name and title of "Bishop" and "Archbishop" were abolished and the legal possession of all their properties was placed in the hands of a group of twenty-four Trustees.¹ The lands were not formally put up for sale until a further Ordinance of November 17, 1646 was passed.² The Trustees had several responsibilities to perform. They were to act as receivers for all rents and revenues attached to the properties; they were to collect and safeguard all charters, deeds, accounts and writings pertaining to the

lands; they were to appoint stewards and manors and other officials to oversee the properties; they were to see that a complete survey of the lands was carried out and were responsible for the appointment of surveyors and other officials necessary for this task. Finally, of course, the Trustees were given full power to convey the premises to qualified purchasers. In an additional Ordinance of March 5, 1647 the number of Trustees was reduced by four, to twenty, Thomas Adams, Sir George Clark, John Langham and John Jones pleading insufficient time for the work.³ The only mention of a salary given these Trustees is a sum of £2,000 provided for in the Ordinance mentioned above, to be divided among the twenty Trustees.

The actual sale of the premises was to be handled by a group of eleven Contractors. These men had power to deal with prospective purchasers, agree on a price, and draw up the necessary documents. For their pains they were to have an allowance of 2d. on the pound.⁴ None of the Contractors were allowed to purchase land. Also appointed in the Ordinance of November, 1646 were three Treasurers. They were to receive all money connected with the possession and sale of the episcopal lands and were, on direction from the Trustees, to make any necessary payments. They were also Treasurers for a loan of £200,000 for the use of the Commonwealth.⁵ Their salary was to be 1d. on the pound. Other officials appointed were a Keeper

of the Records of Register, at £100 per annum plus writing fees, a Register-Accomptant, at £200 per annum for himself and clerks, and a Comptroller of Entries, Receipts and Payments, at £200 per annum. Instructions for the various officials were included in the Ordinance. The personnel appointed to administer this sale has been dealt with at some length here as other bodies for the sale of confiscated lands are quite similar in their organization; repetition can be avoided by using the episcopal lands as a model.

The sale of the lands of the Deans and Chapters was provided for in an Act of April 30, 1649.⁶ The machinery and regulations for the sale of these lands paralleled that of the Bishops' Lands. A body of fifteen Trustees was named, and the lands were vested in their possession until sold. The Trustees were to appoint surveyors who were placed under the supervision of a Surveyor-General. Also appointed by the Act were twelve Contractors, three Treasurers, a Register, a Register-Accomptant and a Comptroller. The Act stated what salaries were to be enjoyed; the Trustees, Contractors and Treasurers were to have a poundage while the other individual officers had a set salary.⁷ This body of officials was extant throughout the Protectorate; their Accounts for the period can be seen in W. A. Shaw's History of the English Church.⁸

In July, 1649 the goods, personal estate and lands of the King, Queen and Prince were put up for sale. The

first Act of July 4, 1649 provided for the sale of the Crown goods.⁹ Once again administration of the sale was to be similar to that of the Episcopal lands. A group of eleven Trustees, six Contractors and two Treasurers were appointed. All were allowed poundage.

Later in the same month, on July 16, 1649, an Act was passed for the sale of the Crown lands.¹⁰ Thirteen Trustees, twelve Contractors and four Treasurers were named in the Act.¹¹ All were to have poundage. Also a Surveyor-General, Comptroller, Register, and Register of Debentures were appointed, all with stated salaries.

The Act of July 16, 1649 putting the Crown lands up for sale had specifically stated that the Act shall,

. . . not extend to any Fee-farm Rents, or other Rents now due and payable to the Commonwealth out of any such Manors, Lands, or other Hereditaments, where there hath not been reserved in the Crown any Right or Propriety in or to such Manors, Lands or Hereditaments, other than [sic.] the Rents reserved. . . .¹²

These Fee-farm Rents were not to remain exempt for long.

An Act of March 11, 1650 entrusted the sale of these Rents to the same officials handling the sale of Crown lands.

For this extra work the Trustees, Contractors and Treasurers and the under-officers received additional wages. In an Additional Act of February 6, 1651 another new official, the Register-Accomptant, was appointed.¹³ His work involved only the sale of Fee-Farm Rents; he was allowed a salary of £200 per annum.

The next properties to be put up for sale were those belonging to Royalists who had either refused to pay composition fines or who were not allowed to do so.¹⁴ The first Act for the sale of these lands was passed on July 16, 1651.¹⁵ This Act, placing on the market a large group of forfeited estates, named seven Trustees to perform the task. Contractors were not used in the sale of these lands but other officials, similar to those in use by the other bodies for sale of confiscated properties, were appointed. Thus the Act named two Treasurers, a Surveyor-General, a Register, Register-Accomptant, and a Comptroller. A second Act for sale of further estates was passed on August 4, 1652.¹⁶ The same officials were entrusted with this sale. A third Act, of November 18, 1652, brought minor changes in the officers.¹⁷ One of the Trustees was replaced by another man and The Register-Accomptant was replaced by three other men.

Fee-Farm Rents were not the only exception stated in the Act for the Sale of Crown Lands; the other was the royal timber growing in the woods and forests of England. This omission was remedied when, on November 22, 1653 an Act was passed, "for the Deafforestation, Sale and Improvement of the Forests and of the Honors, Manors, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments . . . heretofore belonging to the late King, Queen and Prince."¹⁸ To administer this Act seven Trustees were appointed. They were the first Trustees.

to have regular salary, £300 per annum, instead of the usual poundage. The other officials appointed were a Surveyor-General, Register-Accomptant and two Treasurers.

A number of forests exempt from the foregoing Act were put up for sale in 1654. The proceeds from the sale of these four reserved forests were to be used for the payment of soldiers. A group of ten new Trustees was appointed to oversee the sale. They were to be assisted by the Contractors appointed in 1649 for the sale of Crown Lands.¹⁹

Two further administrative entities connected with the sale of confiscated property should be mentioned here; the Commissioners for Removing Obstructions and the Commissioners for naming Discoveries.

Since November, 1648 various committees had been appointed by Parliament to see to the removing of any obstructions and impediments to the sale of the lands. The first committee of forty-three members had been appointed to remove obstructions to the sale of episcopal lands.²⁰ Another committee of forty-seven had the same task in regards to capitular lands. By 1652 there were several of these committees in existence. On April 1, 1652 the powers and responsibilities of these bodies were taken away and placed in the hands of seven Commissioners for the Removal of Obstructions.²¹ Thus several large parliamentary committees were at a stroke replaced by a small

group of paid officials, most of them experienced administrators.²² By March, 1656 the group seems to have been dissolved.²³

In April, 1656 a new body was created called the Commissioners for naming Discoveries. Reference to their activities is extremely rare; therefore, it is difficult to determine what their functions were apart from the fact that they were concerned with supervision over discoveries of concealed lands. The Commissioners were six in number; they had a Register and an Assistant-Registrar.²⁵

The Cromwellian Church Establishment

Three administrative groups will be considered under this general heading; the Trustees for the Maintenance of Preaching Ministers, the Commissioners for the Approbation of Preachers, and the Commissioners for Ejecting Scandalous Ministers. The first, the Trustees for Maintenance, were appointed in June, 1649.²⁶ By this Act, "all tithes appropriate, vicarages, churches, chapels, donatives, and fee farm rents issuing out of parsonages, vicarages, and tithes were transferred from the trustees for the sale of bishops' lands and the trustees for the sale of capitular lands to the thirteen trustees for maintenance. . . ." ²⁷ That is, the control of income from specified lands to be used for the supply of the ministry were vested in a group of thirteen trustees. In September, 1654 a further

Ordinance brought about a change in the trustees administering the Act; five original trustees were retained and five new ones were named.²⁸ These men, who acted throughout the Protectorate, were appointed for life and were to have a yearly salary of £100.

The Commissioners for the Approbation of Preachers, also known as the Triers, were initially appointed in March, 1654. These men, thirty-eight in all, were authorized, " . . . to judge and take knowledge of the ability and fitness of any person so presented, nominated, chosen or appointed, according to the qualifications above-mentioned, and upon their approbation . . . to grant unto such a person admission to such Benefice or Lecture. . . ."²⁹

On September 2, 1654 four additional Commissioners were appointed. No salary was mentioned, or intended at first, but in August, 1655 an order of the Protector and Council stated that they were to have £200 each per annum.³⁰

A third body which should be mentioned was the Commissioners for Ejecting Scandalous Ministers, often known simply as the Ejectors. These Commissioners, first appointed in August, 1654, were instituted to exercise control over incumbents of Church livings. As this body operated on a local level, it is beyond the scope of this paper to say much more than this.

New Departments of Justice

Two important new additions to the apparatus for dispensing justice were initiated during the Interregnum, both of which were in operation under the Protectorate, namely, The Court of Admiralty and the High Court of Justice.

The Court of Admiralty was created by an Ordinance of April, 1648. This Ordinance determined the cases in which this Court was to have jurisdiction and settled its method of procedure. It also allowed for the appointment of three judges. The Ordinance was to last for three years. In April, 1651 it was continued, and again in June, 1654.³¹ Three judges were appointed by another Ordinance of July, 1653; they were Dr. John Godolphin, Dr. William Clark and Charles George Cock.³² The judges continued sitting under the Protectorate. During 1655 two new judges are mentioned. John Clerke and Thomas Kelsey were added as Admiralty judges on May 4, 1655.³³ Dr. Walter Walker is called an Admiralty Judge earlier in the same year.³⁴ Whether or not the total number of judges sitting at the same time was thus increased from three to five or six, or whether these new men were replacements, is not clear. The salaries of Admiralty judges seems to have been £500 per annum.³⁵

The High Court of Justice does not really fall within the scope of a study of the Central Administration. However, it does require mention because of its great

importance and power, and because many of its members were part of the Central Administration. Thus, the various High Courts appointed within the Cromwellian period formed to a degree an extension of the influence of some of the important administrators. In the Appendix membership in the High Courts by administrators will be noted.

Other Administrative Bodies

During the Rump the number of committees concerned in some way or another with sequestered estates multiplied and their authority became confusingly interwoven. After February, 1654 some order was brought to this chaos and a new Committee for Sequestration at Goldsmiths' Hall took over the authority formerly exercised by the Commissioners for Compounding with Delinquents, Commissioners for Indemnity, and various other groups.

The Commissioners at Goldsmiths' Hall were concerned with the management of sequestered estates. The Commissioners in operation under the Protectorate were appointed on February 10, 1654 and exercised the powers of the older committee for compounding.³⁶ Their prime function was to manage or lease any of the estates under sequestration for delinquency or recusancy, and to oversee local sequestration officials. They also had a wide range of authority over various matters touching the composition of delinquents. At first salaries were not given but in 1655 a recommendation

was made. Acting on this advice the Protector and Council allowed them £300 each for the period from June 24, 1654 to March 25, 1655.³⁷ Whether the Commissioners were paid at this rate after March 25, 1655 is not known.

In October, 1653 seven men were appointed Commissioners for the receipt of lists of public debtors and creditors. Their job was to act as receivers and examiners of certain lists of debts due to the State that had been ordered to be made up and submitted by an "Act for Accompts and Clearing of Public Debts; And for discovering Frauds or Concealments of anything due to the Commonwealth."³⁸ This group of men was also known as the Committee for Accounts. From a petition for payment by members of this Committee, their salary appears to have been £200 each per annum.³⁹

A semi-administrative body of great influence in commercial and financial matters was the famous Committee for Trade and Navigation. The twenty original members were named in July but in November the Committee was increased to forty-five.⁴⁰ Later, others were added until it numbered more than seventy. Its duty was essentially to act in an advisory capacity on general policies towards trade and commerce.⁴¹ The Committee had a staff of six at an annual cost of £280.⁴²

One last group of administrators should be mentioned. At various times the Council of State appointed groups of men to perform a specific task, to investigate a pressing

problem, or perhaps to act as referee in a dispute. These various groups did not belong to a particular department, usually they did not have a salary, and were appointed only until the particular job was completed. They were, then, a type of temporary committee. Many such committees were utilized by the Council of State to perform miscellaneous, but often important jobs. For example, in October, 1655, five men were delegated to investigate charges made against the Commissioners of Prize Goods.⁴³ In November of the same year eight financial officials were appointed with power to examine all receivers of State money since 1642. What their specific task was on this occasion is not known. On October 16, 1656 a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the late King's goods was allowed a clerk, a doorkeeper, and a messenger, at a total cost of £80 per annum, plus rooms in Worcester House.⁴⁴ While these miscellaneous committees are almost impossible to classify and sometimes even more difficult to identify, their importance must not be underestimated. The officials who composed most of these Committees were usually important administrators; their activity on such bodies is most surprising. If these bodies were ignored in a study of the administration under Cromwell, a great deal of the work of some of the most important Cromwellian officials would be overlooked.

CHAPTER IV

ENTRY TO OFFICE AND CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

Having completed a survey of the administrative departments in operation during the years 1653-58, it is time to consider those people who composed the administrative personnel. Before looking at the men themselves, the means of their appointment to office and the conditions of their service will be examined. A later chapter will discuss the method of their payment.

Appointment to Office

Under the monarchy a complex but usually well-defined system of right to appoint to office existed.¹ That is, certain offices traditionally lay within the sphere of influence of a particular official. The Crown had the greatest rights of nomination to office extending from the most elevated ministerial position to a humble clerkship in the Ordnance Office. But the rights of the Crown to appoint to office were by no means unlimited. Quite the reverse; many other persons enjoyed this right. For example, the Lord Chamberlain of the Household controlled appointment to offices in the bedchamber; the Lord Chancellor had similar power in the Exchequer. Perhaps the best way to explain the system under the monarchy is to look at a particular department. In Chancery the two most important officials were appointed by the King. These two officials in turn

controlled appointment to the other under-offices, the Chancellor naming some, the Master of the Rolls others. The resulting division of the right to appoint created the somewhat unusual situation of the second in command, the Chancellor, appointing officers independently of the first in command, the King. Similarly, the third in command, the Master of the Rolls, could appoint independently of either the King or the Chancellor. The right to appoint thus resembled a sort of complex "sub-infeudation." The King appointed all of the highest level of officials, some of the second level and some of the lowest level; the most important officers controlled some secondary and some third level appointments. Sometimes the chain of command would go through several stages, each level controlling the appointment of the level below it. Thus a third level official, such as a minor clerk in Chancery, would have two or more superiors between him and the King. However, in other cases, a third level official could be appointed directly by the King.

What was the case under the Protectorate? The Instrument of Government, the constitution under which the Protector was to govern, had little to say about the control of appointments to office. Article XXV named the first thirteen Councillors of State and provided an intricate method of appointing additional members. The actual power of appointment to these important positions was in effect shared among Parliament, the Council and the Protector.²

The appointment of other great Officers of State, "the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Treasurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the Chief Justices of both the Benches, shall be chosen by the Approbation of Parliament; and in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Approbation of the major Part of the Council, to be afterwards approved by the Parliament."³

Nothing was said concerning appointment to other offices but as J. P. Kenyon noted in his commentary on the Instrument,

" . . . in the absence of any statement to the contrary it must be assumed that all other appointments were in the hands of the Protector."⁴ In order to find out to what

extent this is true perhaps the best course would be to ascertain how the various Protectorate officials had come to be appointed. First, it must be kept in mind that a

fairly large percentage of the office-holders during this period had been appointed either in the earlier years of the Civil Wars and Interregnum or even in the time of the King. Officers originally appointed by the King somewhat

naturally formed only a small percentage of those serving under the Protectorate.⁵ However, a few notable exceptions

can be found. Sir Henry Croke, clerk of the Pipe, was

originally appointed by James I in 1615.⁶ By making certain that he remained innocuous he managed to hold this office throughout all changes of government until his death in 1659; even then he was able to pass on the office to his

son. Clement Kinnersley, who had been Chief Officer to the

King's wardrobe of beds, acted as Wardrobe Keeper to the Protector.⁷ He also acted as a Contractor for the sale of the King's Goods, and was a purchaser of Crown lands.⁸ Other officers dating from pre-1642 were Sir George Courthope, Deputy Commissioner for alienations;⁹ Thomas Simon, Mint worker par excellence; William Ryley, Clerk of the Tower Records, and Norray King at Arms;¹⁰ John Embree, Serjeant Plumber to King Charles and late Surveyor of the Lord Protector's Houses,¹¹ and William Drake, chirographer of the Court of Common Pleas. An examination of the majority of those officers who had survived the changes leads one to the conclusion that the offices held in this way were not key administrative positions but were ones with limited influence on the administration as a whole. Office-holders either exhibited a pro-Government outlook, as did Clement Kinnersley, or remained quiet and unobtrusive, as did William Ryley or William Drake. Officers dating from pre-1642 who gave the slightest suspicion of opposition or lack of cooperation, particularly if the office was at all important, were soon replaced. For example, Sir Robert Pye, Auditor of the Receipt since 1620, was removed from this position on Cromwell's rise to the Protectorship.

A greater number of office-holders under the Protectorate were, of course, appointed during the years 1642-53. A few occupied important positions such as the Masters of Requests, Francis and Nathaniel Bacon, the Attorney-General, Edmund Prideaux, the Lieutenant of the

Tower, John Barkstead, and Henry Rolle, Chief Justice of the Upper Bench. Of this group it can be said once again that they retained office primarily because of their political outlook as government supporters or, at least as neutrals. Other officials of whom the new government had cause to doubt were almost without exception dismissed. For example, Richard Keeble, a Commissioner of the Great Seal, was replaced shortly after the ascendancy of the Lord Protector; Robert Reynolds, Solicitor-General since 1650, was also replaced; John Wilde, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, was removed in December, 1653. Several judges of the Upper Bench and of the Common Pleas received similar treatment. However, as is to be expected, many minor or secondary officials appointed between 1642 and 1653, especially those positions were of no political significance, remained in office. Officials for the sale of confiscated estates were appointed mainly before the time of the Protectorate; they remained in office. In the Mint, the officials were not altered; similarly, the Commissioners of the Navy, the Admiralty Judges, and the Prize Goods Commissioners.

The most important, though perhaps not the largest numerical group of office-holders were those appointed during the Protectorate. Shortly after the appointment of Cromwell as Lord Protector, an extensive reorganization of the administrative personnel took place, particularly in the higher ranks. Because of the importance of this reorganization, it will be looked at in some depth in an attempt to

give a clear picture of its extent. Immediate changes in the days and weeks following December 16, 1653 were not extensive. Some time was permitted to pass before major changes were attempted, to allow for a period of smooth transition. Nevertheless, a beginning was made. On December 29, 1653 a new Committee to inquire into arrears of excise was organized, and on December 31 a new Committee for inspecting the treasuries was named. During the next eight months extensive but gradual changes took place. In January, 1654 a new Baron of the Exchequer was named, Robert Nicholas; another, Richard Pepys, followed in June. The patent of Francis Thorpe, also a Baron of the Exchequer, was renewed in February. Later, in August, 1654, the reorganization of the Exchequer took place. In the Upper Bench, the patents of Chief Justice Henry Rolle and of puisne justice Richard Aske were renewed in February. A new justice, Richard Newdigate, was appointed in June. In the Court of Common Pleas, two new justices, Matthew Hale and Hugh Wyndham, were appointed in the early months of 1654. Two new Commissioners of the Great Seal, Sir Thomas Widdrington and John Lisle, were named in April. A new Army Committee was named in January; a new Sequestration Committee, in February; new Commissioners for the approbation of ministers, in March; a new organization for the maintenance of ministers, in September. Other innovations included the establishment of the customs on a commission basis and the attempted reorganization of Chancery. Important

individual appointments included a new Solicitor-General, a new Clerk of the Pells, three new Exchequer Tellers, and two new Auditors.

Before Cromwell had been in office a single year, the personnel of the administration had thus been extensively reorganized and staffed by large numbers of Cromwellian supporters. How was this important job accomplished? The answer seems to be quite straightforward; Cromwell and his Council controlled the entire system of appointment. According to the Instrument of Government, the great Officers of State were to be appointed by the Protector and Council and be approved by Parliament. The wording of the clause specifying the "Approbation" of Parliament was sufficiently vague to leave virtually all the power of appointment with the Protector and Council. In practise these appointments were always approved with little, if any, difficulty. What about the appointment of the host of other secondary officials? Article II of the Instrument of Government stated, "That the Exercise of the chief Magistracy, and the Administration of the Government . . . shall be in the Lord Protector, assisted with a Council."¹² This could, if taken in its widest sense, mean that all patronage now lay in the hands of the Protector and Council. In practise, this seems to have been the case. Numerous officials were appointed in Acts and Ordinances specifically passed for this purpose.¹³ Other officials were appointed in Ordinances concerned mainly with the creation or regulation

of a certain department.¹⁴ These Acts and Ordinances were drawn up under the direction of the Protector and his Council. All appointments in these documents were thus controlled by the Protector and his Council. Specific appointments sometimes seem to have been made by Cromwell himself, as in the case of the appointment of Abraham Barrington as an auditor of the prebends, in January, 1657 and of Thomas Dunne as Registrar for appearances in London in December, 1655.¹⁵ More frequently the Council made a recommendation to the Protector, "to advise his Highness to appoint Robert Griffith a Commissioner for Discoveries."¹⁶ The Council did not appoint in its own right but usually made a "recommendation" to the Protector.¹⁷ The Protector was often present at Council meetings and frequently approved appointments in person. There is very little, if any, doubt that both the Lord Protector and the Council took a surprisingly great interest in small administrative detail such as the appointment of various minor officials. In cases where others were to oversee the appointment the approbation of the Protector or the Council was usually needed; for example, in March, 1656 the Customs Commissioners were ordered to, "present to His Highness the names of all present officers, that those of honesty and integrity be continued and those excepted, discharged."¹⁸ Nevertheless, the Council of State or the Protector could not be expected to oversee the appointment of all officials of the Central government. Department heads or other important officials

made recommendations to the Protector or the Council who would then "rubber-stamp" the choice.¹⁹ With this generally strict oversight of appointments by the Protector and the Council most of the undisputed rights of the higher officials to appoint to office disappeared. Patronage therefore became more indirect; recommendations could still be made but direct appointments, by-passing the Central Executive, would probably not have given secure title to an office. An excellent example of the problem of patronage in this period can be seen in the case of John Lenthall. At some unknown date in the mid-1640's John Lenthall had been appointed one of the six clerks of Chancery by his father, William Lenthall, Master of the Rolls. In 1654 the Ordinance reforming Chancery stated that the Six Clerks were to be reduced to three; John Lenthall was not one of the three named. Petitioning the Protector and Council was of no avail.²⁰ His case illustrates that even the son of an important official and Government supporter was not irremovable, and that what little power and opportunity for the exercise of patronage existed under the Protectorate was, without a doubt, subordinate to the wishes of the Protector and Council. Private and direct patronage perhaps existed in lower levels of the administration, but at the higher levels the Protector and his Council exercised complete authority.

Tenure and Sale of Office

The nature of the tenure of office under the monarch could differ greatly from one to another. An office could be granted for a number of years, for life, or even for a number of lives. It could also be granted on the agreement that it be held during the pleasure of the patron, or during the good conduct of the person appointed. A discussion of tenure under the Protectorate must first take note of the dual nature of the administration. The largest part of the administration was composed of the new machinery such as the various committees and commissions governing the Army, the Navy, the land sales, Excise, Customs and Prize Goods. The officials staffing these departments were mainly nominated by Ordinance; the length of their appointment was often given. The Army Committee, the Admiralty Commissioners and the Customs and Excise Commissioners were named for a stated period, usually a year or less.²¹ More frequently, the length of time of the appointment was not stated. The officials for the sale of the various confiscated properties, for example, remained in office for however long it took to complete the assigned task. The appointment of the Commissioners for the Approbation of Public Preachers is a typical case. A specific term of appointment was not given. Successors were to be nominated upon the "death or removal of any of them."²² In other words, officers were appointed until they resigned, died,

or were replaced; they were substantially at the mercy of the Protector and Council. Although at first this seems a perfectly normal way of making an appointment, it must be remembered that under the monarchy officers had, after their nomination to office, a definite legal right to their places. Even the King would have extreme difficulty replacing them, especially for solely political reasons. The conflict of this older view with that in existence under Cromwell is easily seen in the case of John Lenthall. In 1655, the Ordinance regulating Chancery displaced him from his position as one of the Six-Clerks. In a petition to the Protector Lenthall said,

The property of people in freeholds and estates is confirmed by the law of God, Magna Charta, Acts and Statutes of Parliament, and by your oath on taking government. King James, in his reformation, compensated those who suffered loss thereby, as other Kings have done, and as I fear not but you will do.²³

Even though Lenthall had a grant of the office for life and even though he regarded the office as his property, he found himself without any employment.²⁴

In the remaining part of the administration, the surviving traditional departments, such as Chancery and the Exchequer, tenure seems to have remained much as it had been before 1642. The few examples of the sale of offices that exist would indicate that at least something of the old concept of the ownership of an office continued to exist. However, these notions were without a doubt subordinate to any requirements of the Protector and Council. Their

decision on any question concerning the appointment or dismissal of an official did not necessarily take into account any of the traditional ideas of office-holding.

Partly as a result of this condition, sale of Offices did not take place to any great degree under the Protectorate. Among the State Papers can be found the draft of an "Act against the sale of office."²⁵ It is quite possible that this draft was prepared either in the later months of the Barebones Parliament or in the first few weeks of the Protectorate. However, as the document is undated the precise date of its origin is unknown. Clauses in the draft Act provided that henceforth offices would not be granted for life, or in reversion, nor would they be bought and sold. Severe penalties were to be provided for offenders. The Act did not proceed beyond the draft stage. Perhaps the inherent conservatism of the Cromwellian regime thought the Act too drastic.

Nevertheless, the government made a fair attempt to do away with, or at least to limit and discourage any traffic in offices. In the Ordinance regulating Chancery any officer accepting money or gratuities " . . . for nominating or admitting of any person or persons to any office or place within his or their disposition" was to lose his place and pay a fine of twice the sum received.²⁶ Instructions to Exchequer officials in the Ordinance re-constituting that department could also be interpreted as

having the same meaning.²⁷ Yet, some sale of offices did take place. In August, 1658 the Remembrancer's office in the Exchequer was sold; what the terms were or any other information regarding this sale remains unknown.²⁸ In 1654 Edmund Squibb purchased the office of Teller of the Exchequer from his brother, Arthur. His case is interesting in that it throws light both upon the sale of office under the Protectorate and upon the closely related subject of tenure. Originally the Tellership had been granted by King Charles to Arthur Squibb who seems to have remained in office until 1653. Edmund, upon his purchase of the office, petitioned the Protector for admittance. Cromwell promised to consider the case but Edmund was not admitted to the office, at least in the life of Cromwell.²⁹ Whether or not Edmund Squibb was prevented from entering the office of Teller because the sale was not recognized as valid, is unknown. Probably the case centred more upon the question of the validity of the original King's patent than upon the sale of the office. Apparently the Protector and Council decided to overlook the original grant.³⁰ This decision was primarily one of expediency. It was more convenient that the Tellership be kept from Squibb, whose family had royalist connections. Several other examples exist to support this interpretation of the government's "policy of expediency." William Legg had been granted the office of wardrobe keeper by Charles I. He had continued to exercise this function as

is evidenced by his receiving payment as late as June, 1654.³¹ In January, 1655 Legg's patent had been declared "useless" and the office had been given to Clement Kinnersley who had lately proven himself of some value by preserving and discovering some of the late King's goods.³² There was little other justification for this act than pure preference. Similarly, Lawrence Squibb had exercised his place as a Teller, granted by the King, until 1653. His petition for confirmation of his place in the early months of the Protectorate was "laid aside" and he never regained his office.³³ Robert Bowyer, appointed by King James to be Usher of the Exchequer, petitioned the Council for confirmation of his patent and seems to have been denied.³⁴ Sir Robert Pye asked for confirmation of his patent as auditor of the Exchequer; he was told that the place was already disposed.³⁵ Those that did not have their patents confirmed were either not desired by the government or their places were given to government supporters. Cromwell preferred freedom of action in the staffing of government offices to any consistent system of recognition of Royal patents.

Oaths

During the seventeenth century the use of oaths in connection with appointment to office was very frequent. Oaths had several important uses. They could be utilized as

an expression of loyalty, as a symbolic act on entering office, as a test to screen people, as a means of swearing to secrecy and as a means of stating and agreeing upon the duties which accompanied an office. In other words, in the seventeenth century the oath was almost the equivalent of the modern-day Contract, in which are stated the obligations one assumes on undertaking a certain responsibility or task. Three centuries ago, in a more religious age, an oath was often held to be far more binding than it would be today.³⁶ It is therefore not surprising that in the days of the "Puritan Revolution" frequent use was made of oaths in connection to office-holding. One of the most famous Oaths of the Commonwealth was that known as the Engagement. Promulgated on February 2, 1650, the Engagement stated,

I Do declare and promise, that I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is now Established, without a King or House of Lords.³⁷

This Oath was to be taken by every person that occupied at the time, or who would come to occupy, an office of Trust or Profit under the Commonwealth; that is, any and all office-holders were obliged to subscribe to the Engagement before they could continue in office.³⁸ This Act remained in force until Cromwell became Lord Protector. Then, in January, 1654, an Ordinance was passed for repealing the taking of the Engagement. The reasons given in this Ordinance were that,

. . . many general and promissory Oaths and Engagements, in former times imposed upon the People of this Nation have proved burthens and snares to tender Consciences. . . .³⁹

Although Cromwell and his advisors saw fit to do away with the more general use of such an oath as the Engagement, they certainly did not abandon the use of an oath in more specific instances. The Instrument of Government provided for the taking of an oath by the Protector, the members of his Council and the Commissioners of the Great Seal, although it did not provide the oaths themselves.⁴⁰ However, in the second Constitution in use under the Protectorate, the Petition and Advise, an oath was provided. The Protector was to swear to uphold the Christian religion, to preserve the Peace and to maintain the Rights of the nation; the Councillors swore to uphold religion and to be faithful to the Lord Protector.⁴¹ Oaths were also used on the appointment of officials of lower ranks. These oaths differed in the ends which they were meant to achieve. The one to be subscribed to by the clerks of the Protector's Council was designed primarily as an attempt to insure secrecy; its single clause stated,

. . . . I will be faithful in the trust committed to me, and not reveal anything in whole or part, directly or indirectly, that shall be debated in Council, and ordered to be kept secret, without permission.⁴²

The Commissioners for the sale of Crown Forests appointed in August, 1654 were to take an oath faithfully to discharge the duties outlined in the Ordinance and to do this without,

" . . . Favour or Affection, Reward or Gift, or Hope of Reward or Gift. . . ." ⁴³ This type of Oath was common to the numerous groups of Trustees, Contractors, Surveyors and Commissioners named to attend to the sale of confiscated estates. ⁴⁴ During the Protectorate Oaths were used when extraordinary positions of trusts were involved, such as in the various temporary groups for the sale of confiscated estates, and where regular means of appointment to established departments did not exist. However, the use of Oaths as a test for political loyalty, such as in vogue under the Long Parliament, was substantially diminished.

Deputies and Pluralism

The use of a deputy to perform the duties of an office was quite common under the monarchy. Usually this practise did little to affect the general level of administrative efficiency. However, in some cases it could lead to a decrease in efficiency if, for example, the deputy was not properly qualified for the office or if he was remiss in his duties knowing that final responsibility did not rest with him. Abuses such as these led at times to complaint about the use of deputies. Under the Protectorate there were cases where serious abuses resulted in the prohibition of the use of deputies. In the Ordinance regulating Chancery the Registrars were strictly forbidden the use of deputies; none of the other officials were affected. ⁴⁵

Other than this case and a few others, deputies were tolerated. John Wheatley acted as deputy for Henry Colbron, Registrar for the sale of Crown Lands and Fee-farm rents; Wheatley eventually succeeded to the position.⁴⁶ Similarly, Edward Fauconberg acted as deputy for his brother in the latter's position as Chamberlain of the Exchequer; he also succeeded to the office.⁴⁷ Some officials for the sale of confiscated properties were allowed to use a "sufficient deputy."⁴⁸ In the administration as a whole it would appear as if a more efficient selection and supervision of under-officers resulted in less use being made of deputies under the Protectorate than under the King.

Pluralism, the holding of more than one office by one man, was quite common under the Protectorate. Pluralism could be seen as an abuse if it meant that the various positions held by the one person did not each receive adequate attention. On the other hand, if all of the offices were properly cared for a great degree of centralization and continuity could be the result. Some of Cromwell's most important officers were pluralists. One of the best-known was Sir William Roberts. This man was a Commissioner for Appeals and Regulating the Excise, a Commissioner for the Preservation of Customs and Excise, a Judge for Probate of Wills, a Contractor for the sale of Crown Lands, Fee-Farm Rents and Deans' lands, and the Auditor of the Receipt in the Exchequer. He also had other offices

and was an important member of a great many temporary committees appointed by Council to look after avrious extraordinary problems. His connection with a great many financial matters must have brought a great continuity and intercommunication to the various financial departments with which he was involved. Furthermore, the sheer number of offices to which he was appointed must have meant that he exercised them in a supervisory capacity using under-officers or deputies to do the routine work. Pluralism of this type was an important factor in Cromwell's administration. Sir William was by no means the only example; many others will be dealt with in a later chapter.

CHAPTER V

PAYMENT OF OFFICERS

Under the Monarchy government officials were paid in a variety of ways. Salaries, in the usual present day sense of the word, as fixed money payments representing the total monetary value of the employment made at regular intervals by the employer, were not at all common. The closest equivalent was known as a Fee. While this was indeed a fixed annual money payment, it was usually only a part of the total earnings of a particular official. By the seventeenth century these Fees, most of which had been set in the Middle Ages, bore little relation to the importance or true value of the office. Key officials, high in the administrative hierarchy, often received smaller Fees than lesser officials. To add more inconvenience to these Fees as a means of receiving payment, they were often irregularly paid and were frequently in arrears for a number of years. There were, however, several other sources of additional income available to the office-holder. Officials who were in favour with the King often received income in the form of pensions or annuities given either for life or for a stated number of years. A few of the highest officials received a payment of this kind by virtue of the position they held; that is, the office carried with it a pension or annuity. Most such benefits, however, were given to individuals, not attached to an office.

Another form of supplementary payment was an allowance for Diet. Certain offices, particularly in the Household, had a specific Diet assigned to them. For example, the Master of the Household was allowed a "seven dish" diet; the nine officers of the Compting house shared a three dish Diet. These were commutable to a money payment, a three dish diet being worth about £390 per annum, a seven dish diet about £850 per annum.¹ An alternative to Diet was an allowance called Bouge. Originally it provided officers with an amount of bread, ale, firewood and candles but also came to be commutable. Other "fringe benefits" could take the form of a Royal grant of property, the use of a house, immunity from taxation, the granting of a monopoly, or extraordinary allowances for travelling or for livery. However, perhaps the most important method of supplementing an income was by the taking of fees. By "fees" are meant sums of money, usually small, paid to certain officials for a service which it was their right to perform, such as payment for a document processed. Thus, fees with a small "f" were usually paid by the public, or sometimes by another official, while stipendary Fees, with a large "F", were paid by the Crown.²

During the 1640's and 1650's attempts were made to remedy some of the abuses arising out of the system of payment of officials under the King. The insufficiency of the stipendary Fees attached to many offices encouraged

corruption and discouraged efficiency; nor would low payment attract the best candidates for a position. The need to gain a supplementary income, and the existence of so many ways in which to do so, often encouraged extortion and bribery. The system was full of injustice; some important officials received inadequate payment, other sinecurists enjoyed tremendous profits for very little service performed. Considerable reform was achieved under the Long Parliament; however, this cannot be dealt with at this time. The approach to the subject taken under the Protectorate will be discussed, in particular, what reforms were made or attempted, what abuses remained, and to what extent the system existing under the Monarchy began to reappear.

The general approach to reform under the Protectorate was to adjust and regularize stipendary allowances or salaries and to reduce incidental fees to a minimum. First, let us examine the matter of salaries. Under the Monarchy the Clerks of the Signet had no salary; they depended entirely on fees, diet and gratuities for their wages.³ Under the Protector they were given a regular allowance of £150 per annum.⁴ Similarly, the Auditors of the Imprest received a salary increase from £67 to £500 per annum;⁵ the Clerk of the Pells from £172 to £350 per annum;⁶ the Surveyor of the Ordnance from £92 10s. to £194 per annum;⁷ the Clerk of the Ordnance from £105 to £215 per annum;⁸ a Teller of the Exchequer from £33 per annum to £400 per annum.⁹

Yet while it is true that annual salaries or Fees were in general raised considerably above the pre-1642 standard, is it also true that the total value of an office increased? There does not seem to be any simple answer to this question. The yield of some offices seems to have actually decreased. For example, the clerks of the Signet did not have an annual salary under the Monarchy but their office was worth from £150 per annum plus gratuities and writing fees for a junior clerk, to £300 per annum plus gratuities and writing fees for the Senior clerk.¹⁰ Under the Protectorate they were given a salary of £150 per annum but lost their diet, gratuities and fees. On September 19, 1655 the four clerks of the Signet and Privy Seal petitioned the Protector and Council for "Competent" salaries. They stated that the business from which they derived the most benefit had been taken away and that the public business, for which they were allowed no fees, had much increased; as a result they received little recompense for their labour.¹¹ A Committee of Council delegated to investigate the petition recommended that each of the clerks receive £100 per annum with fees sufficient to guarantee £200 per annum. The Council raised the basic salary to £150 per annum and permitted the clerks to take fees to raise their total income to £200 per annum.¹² Comparing this sum to the annual value of the office under the Monarchy, it would seem that the Signet clerks under

the Protectorate were probably not as well paid. The yield of other offices remained about the same. For example, the office of Keeper of the Tower Records was worth between £160 to £200 per annum under the King; under Cromwell it was endowed with an annual salary of £200 per annum.¹³ Some officers seem to have been better paid. The Auditors of the Imprest had previously received a salary of only £67 per annum but their total earnings were boosted approximately £180 per annum by the addition of fees, making a rough total of £250 per annum. Under the Protectorate these officials were given a salary of £500 per annum.¹⁴ Even though the individual auditors were to pay for their own clerks out of this sum they were considerably better off under Cromwell.

The progress of salaries seems at first glance to have been quite uneven; some officials received larger salaries, some smaller, some the same. Was this an indiscriminate development or was there a pattern or explanation behind it? Probably it represents an attempt to distribute wages more efficiently and rationally. A great many sinecure offices were removed; pensions and annuities as a means of paying state officials all but disappeared; diet and bouge seem to have been abandoned. On an initial survey it appears as if officials were deliberately given what could be called fair and adequate salaries on the one hand, rather than overly generous or inadequate salaries on the other.

This subject cannot be separated from the question of fees. During the rule of the Long Parliament many attempts were made not only to curtail the taking of fees but also to do away with them altogether. It was hoped that regular annual salaries would take their place and thereby rid the nation of a great many annoying exactions. Under the Protectorate a modified form of this policy was attempted. In a few cases fees were prohibited; for example, clerks under the Masters of Requests were forbidden to make any exactions.¹⁵ Complaints were still made of excessive fees being taken.¹⁶ Far more frequently, however, remarks were made about the need for at least a partial restoration of the system of fees or for other action to combat inadequate salaries. In April, 1654, the four cursitors of Chancery for London and Middlesex petitioned for the return of fines amounting to £500 per annum among them. They suggested that a return of these fees would be beneficial for all.¹⁷ Henry Middleton, serjeant-at-arms in Chancery, complained about the loss of profits he had suffered since losing the fines paid on default of appearance. By the patent of his original appointment in 1648, he was to have £18 5s. per annum plus the above fines. In a petition to the Council in April, 1656 he asked permission to surrender his office and have a new grant with increased salary.¹⁸ A reference from the Commissioners of the Great Seal enclosed with his

petition recommended £365 per annum; the Council, however, decided on £200 per annum plus a return of some of the fees. In this instance, then, fees were thought necessary. A similar case was that of the three clerks in Chancery appointed by the Ordinance for the better regulation of Chancery.¹⁹ In this Ordinance the fees originally belonging to the Six-Clerks had been seriously reduced and given in this revised form to the three new clerks. In February, 1656 the new clerks petitioned the Council of State pleading that these fees were so lessened they would not cover the expenses and pains of the work.²⁰ From an examination of these three examples the dilemma becomes evident. The government would no doubt have preferred to eliminate the fee system. The numerous attempts made under the Long Parliament attest to this desire as well as the attempts, even though less frequent, under the Protectorate. But in order to achieve this end sufficient salaries had to be given to the officials. It has been seen that attempts were made to raise basic annual salaries. However, these raises did not in many cases provide the officers with a total annual income as high as it had been under the Monarchy; nor could the government of the Lord Protector afford to make annual salaries match the various salary plus fringe benefit opportunities under the Monarchy. Furthermore, the offices to which fees and other fringe benefits were most important were located in such departments as Chancery, the Exchequer, and the Household. It was

precisely these departments that were beginning to return to full operation under the Protectorate. Other newer bodies of officials, such as those on the multifold committees and commissions concerned with the Cromwellian Church, the sale and management of confiscated property, and customs and excise, had no long-established traditions or customs to refer back to in regard to wages. Their salary, once agreed to, was established as a firm precedent. But the older departments had a long history to look back upon. When current conditions failed to match up to those of former years, complaint could be made and pressure exerted. In the face of demands for salary increases to match pre-1642 levels, especially when in most cases more work was being done, and in view of the desperate condition of State finances, a return to fees offered itself as a simple solution.

By the fourth year of Cromwell's rule the extent of the return of fees was considerable. In May, 1655 a report of a Committee of Council examining the salaries and fees of the Exchequer officials recommended salaries for the Auditors, Clerk of the Pells, Tellers, Chamberlains, tally cutters, serjeant-at-arms, and ushers; all of these officials were to be allowed to take the "fees anciently allowed."²¹ In January, 1656 complaint was made of large fees being taken by the officers under the Judges for the Probate of Wills. According to the report there were, "more than twenty-one clerks who have very large fees."²² These

fees had originally been allowed in an Act of April 8, 1653 for the Probate of Wills and granting administrations although it is suspected that the officers concerned were somewhat stretching their rights.²³ In February, 1657 an argument arose over the right of possession of money collected in fees by registrars of the Admiralty Court. These fees were not insignificant amounting to £987 for a period of two years four months, or about £423 per annum.²⁴ Some of the officials conducting the sale of confiscated lands were allowed to take fees. The Register for the sale of Deans' and Chapters' lands was allowed writing fees as was his counterpart for the sale of Crown Lands.²⁵ Officials for the sale of confiscated property also received another form of payment that can be classed as a type of fee--poundage. By this it is meant that the official receives a percentage or commission on all money handled by him. The trustees and contractors for the Deans' lands received 3d. on the pound of revenue from the sale of land, the trustees for the sale of Crown goods received 7d. on the pound and the contractors, 5d.²⁶ Contractors, trustees and treasurers for the sale of forfeited properties also received poundage, as did Commissioners for the Customs, for the Excise and for Prize Goods.²⁷

The return of fees was not allowed to get out of hand. The key word in the government's attitude towards fees was to be moderation. In the Ordinance for the

regulation of Chancery a long list of permitted fees was included. However, officials were warned that to,

. . . demand, take or receive any other Fees than what are contained in the Table annexed. . . shall be and is hereby adjudged and declared to be extortion, and shall be punished as extortion.²⁸

Similarly, the Ordinance bringing the Revenues into one Treasury allowed only such "moderate fees" as his Highness and the Council would see fit to include in the Letters Patent appointing to office.²⁹ On July 31, 1656 the Council of State sent out an order to the officers of the Exchequer forbidding them to take any fees on the payment of charitable pensions or on debts due from the State on penalty of offending officials losing their places. Moreover, it is evident that this order came upon the heels of complaints about the same problem.³⁰

In summary, one can say that although those in power may have wished to abolish fees in entirety, and there is no conclusive proof that this was indeed the case, the economic straits in which the government of the Protectorate found itself would not permit the replacement of fees with a simple annual salary. Although many salaries were increased, they often did not equal the total annual income of officers paid in part by fees.

Salaries were paid in a variety of ways under the Protectorate. Usually a salary would be assigned to a particular treasury.³¹ Most of the Secretariate for the Council of State, for example, were paid from funds at the

disposal of the Treasurer for Council Contingencies; the staff of the Household were paid by the Steward of the Household. The officials for the sale of confiscated property, both those on poundage and those with fixed salaries, were paid from money which they collected. The source of payment was an important factor, both for government administrators supervising the payments and for the individuals waiting for their salaries. In order to lessen the strain on available funds, department heads sometimes tried to remove the responsibility of paying a certain salary from themselves to someone else. For example, in April, 1655 the salaries of several officers were removed from the responsibility of the Council of State. The Keeper of the Paper Office and the Keeper of the Tower Records were in future to be paid by the Exchequer; an Admiralty Solicitor was to be paid by "some other treasury arising by Admiralty proceeds"; and various officials concerned with the maintenance of Whitehall had their salaries transferred to the Household.³² In May of the same year five officers of Dover Castle, whose salaries had also been paid by the Council, were notified that in future their salaries were to be paid from the revenues of Kent.³³ For the individuals hoping to collect their salaries, the treasury or fund to which it had been assigned was of considerable importance. Some sources, such as the treasury for the Council of State,

were more reliable and involved a shorter waiting period. Also a convenient treasury was that of the Household. In August, 1657 at a time when the government was extremely short of funds, it was ordered that the Household be given priority, that it receive for its use the first funds that became available.³⁴ The Customs was one of the most reliable sources of public revenue and, frequently, important salaries, such as those of the Judges, were assigned to it.³⁵ Anyone lucky enough to have a salary assigned to a treasury with priority stood a far better chance of being paid on time. Furthermore, in the years when expenditures far exceeded revenue it was important to receive order for payment of wages as early as possible. This situation created the opportunity for a form of indirect patronage. In a system where "first come, first served," was often the rule, officials with friends or influence had less trouble in obtaining their salaries. Less fortunate individuals could encounter man-made delays in receiving the order for payment or in having the order processed. Sometimes, there would be insufficient funds left in the assigned treasury to cover the amount due.

With the great burdens placed upon the revenues during the Protectorate, wages often fell into arrears. The State Papers of the period abound with requests for the payment of arrears. Having waited for many months after the termination of their employment, three hundred surveyors

and clerks employed under the Act for the sale of traitors' estates petitioned for payment. The council replied with an order for an initial sum of £10,000 to be distributed proportionately among them.³⁶ It is doubtful that they ever received full payment. Salaries in arrears of two to three years were not at all uncommon.³⁷ Sometimes it was worse. Richard Clarke, surveyor and keeper of the stores in the Tower Armoury, petitioned the Council for wages in arrears six years; he added that he was in "Desperate condition."³⁸ Even this was not unusual. In April, 1656 John Greensmith and six other members of the Committee for receiving the accounts of the Commonwealth petitioned Council for arrears. By a former petition of November, 1652 they had been awarded arrears for three years; having not yet received these wages they asked again for arrears now totalling six and a half years, approximately £9,100. The Council recommended that they be paid for the initial three years arrears in Irish lands and that for the other three and a half years and for future wages, they receive payment from the Exchequer.

CHAPTER VI

THE ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL

In previous chapters the administrative personnel has been discussed in a general sense in relation to methods of entry to office and terms and conditions of service. However, little has yet been said about the men as individuals. The present chapter will concern itself with this subject, particularly with these men. But first something will be said about the administrative personnel in Parliament.

Office-Holders in Parliament

In April, 1645, the famous Self-denying Ordinance was passed which stated that,

. . . all and every of the Members of either House of Parliament shall be, and by Authority of this Ordinance are discharged . . . of and from all and every Office or Command Military or Civil. . . .¹

The aim of this Ordinance, as stated above, was achieved to only a very limited extent. By the time of the Rump it was as if such an Ordinance had never existed. Certainly nothing of this nature was in evidence under the Protectorate. Office-holders were frequently elected to Parliament in this period. As this is a topic of considerable importance an analysis of the number of office-holders sitting in the two Protectorate Parliaments of 1654 and 1656 was undertaken.² All members of both Parliaments who can be identified as having occupied one or more posts in the Central government were included in the study. Office-holders who sat in

Parliaments other than those of 1654 and 1656 were not dealt with. Nor were those in Parliament who were not office-holders in the strictest sense, such as those with military positions. Thus Major Richard Beake, Captain of Cromwell's Life Guard, who sat for a Scottish seat in 1656, was not included even though his position could be interpreted as something more than a military office. Nor was Sir John Trevor included even though he was important as a leasee of the coal monopoly and sat in 1654 and 1656. However, civil government administrators whose offices were in Scotland or Ireland were included; in any case their number is small. The study then set narrow boundaries for inclusion, far more so than the list of members of Parliament included in The Narrative of the late Parliament, published in 1657, which encompassed Places of Profit, Salaries and Advantages.³ If errors have occurred in those listed in Appendix II of this paper, they will be errors of omission rather than of wrong inclusion.

An analysis of the results of the study showed 136 members of both Parliaments held one or more positions in the Central government. Eighty-five sat in both 1654 and 1656, seventeen sat only in 1654, and thirty-four sat only in 1656. These figures indicate that the government had 101 office-holders sitting in Parliament in 1654, and 113, not including five who were excluded, in 1656. By far the greatest percentage of these office-holding Parliamentarians were Cromwellian supporters. This was only to be expected,

expecially after having examined the methods by which Cromwell and the Council controlled appointments. Other evidence supports this view. Only 5 of the 118 identified office-holders sitting in 1656 were excluded; furthermore, 45 voted for Cromwell as King. The membership of these men in Parliaments called after the end of the Protectorate indicated that they had been Cromwellians. In 1660, only 25 of the above 136 men were elected to Parliament; 3 of the 25 were excluded. The overthrow of the Protectorate therefore meant the end of a Parliamentary career for over eighty percent of the Cromwellian office-holders. Thus, the large number of members of Parliament over whom Cromwell had some control seems to emphasize the assertion that the failure of the Parliaments of 1654 and 1656 was not due to a lack of government supporters but rather to a lack of leadership and management.⁴

"Key" Office-Holders

Part of the original aim of this paper was to investigate the administrative personnel to determine the nature of the men who controlled England under the Protectorate. The administration as a whole, even at a secondary level, would have proven too large to handle; it was therefore decided to limit this part of the study to more manageable proportions, while trying to ensure that the "sample" selected was still as significant as possible. Accordingly,

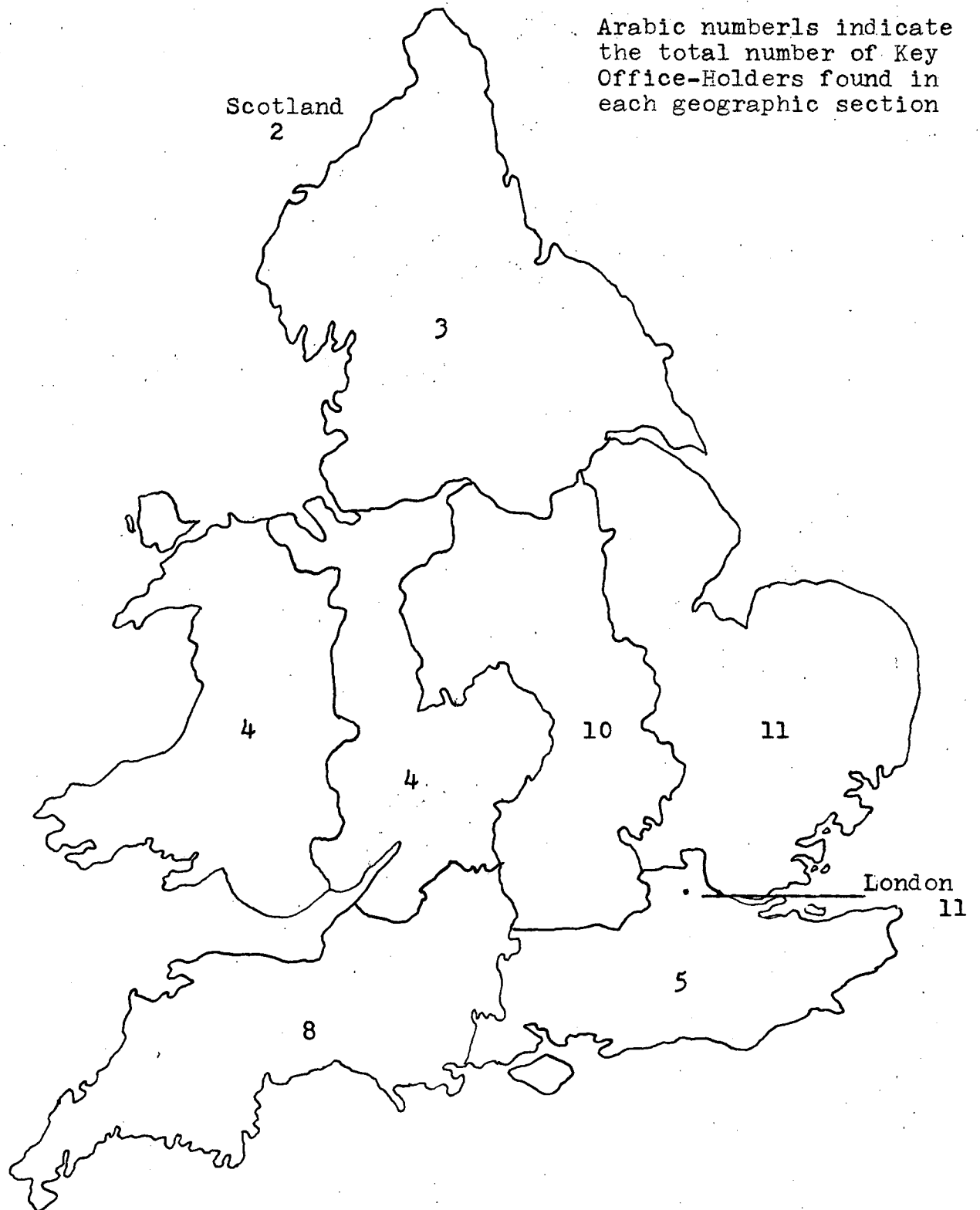
a group of fifty-eight office-holders has been isolated for study.⁵ The men selected represent the "Key" office-holders who founded the core of the administration under Cromwell. What were the criteria used to determine the composition of this group of men? Basically, all of the most important civil officials of the Central Government below the ranks of the Council of State and above the levels of clerks and minor functionaries were considered. Some of the men were chosen because they occupied an office of great importance, such as Edmund Prideaux, the Attorney-General or John Glynn, Lord Chief Justice of the Upper Bench. Others were chosen because they occupied several lesser positions that, taken in combination, gave them great influence, such as John Stone, Teller in the Exchequer, Comptroller of the Customs, Commissioner for Appeals in Excise and other offices. Also considered in making the selection were factors such as local importance, family connections and membership in Parliament. In effect, an individual assessment was made of each office-holder and his importance judged. The resulting collection of men forms what can truly be called a Key administrative group. Among them they occupied and controlled virtually all of the important administrative offices plus a great proportion of the secondary offices. Inevitably other men could have been included in this group. The "cut-off" line for inclusion at the lower end of the administrative scale was

difficult to define. Without doubt the importance of some of the officials not included in the study has been underestimated. However, it is felt that all of the fifty-eight men included are essential for such a study. Those chosen make up a large percentage of the most important office-holders under the Protectorate. Furthermore, in case of mistakes, the large number of men considered, fifty-eight, increases the probability of the group being truly representative of the Protector's administration and decreases the possibility of a loaded sample. Having established the means by which the men were selected, they will now be examined first, as a group and second, as individuals.

Who were these Key officials? Where did they come from and what was their background? Available sources for biographical information on most of the men were limited. However, enough information has been collected to permit a few tentative conclusions to be drawn. Perhaps the most complete information available was in regard to geographical distribution of the office-holders. In order to determine this the following procedure was utilized. The map of the British Isles, exclusive of Ireland, was divided into nine parts.⁶ Each official was then assigned to one of these divisions. The assignation of each subject was determined by taking into account his origin and residence, and the place of his primary activity

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and influence. In a great majority of cases the subject could be assigned to one geographical division and still satisfy most, or all, of the above requirements. In the few remaining cases where all of the facts were not available, or when the facts conflicted, an individual judgment had to be made. For example, Thomas Kelsey was born in London but his military activities and his parliamentary seats were in Surrey and Kent. In this instance it was felt that his place of origin was of primary significance; he was therefor assigned to London. Distribution was worked out for all fifty-eight men. The results were interesting but not startling. They correspond quite closely to the geographical distribution worked out by Aylmer for the office-holders under Charles I.⁷ The counties of the East and South-East were the best represented by office-holders with approximately the same proportions as before 1642. London, perhaps, was slightly better represented in the Protectorate. The North's representation remained about the same as did that of the Western counties and Wales combined. Wales itself increased somewhat accounting for four out of the fifty-eight office-holders under the Protectorate opposed to only two out of one hundred seventy-two under Charles I.⁸ Cornwall, Devon and the South-West increased their representation under the Protectorate while the South-East suffered a decrease. The main difference between the distribution of office-holders under the Protectorate and under Charles I was that the

outlying areas, such as Wales and the South-East, accounted for a larger proportion of the office-holders. These findings alone are not of great importance but when considered with the social origins of the office holders they are of more interest.

A comprehensive analysis of the social origins and background of the group of Key office-holders is far more difficult to arrive at. However, information to varying degrees was found for most of them. Results indicated that members of the group could be found in most of the recognized social divisions. Some, such as Nathaniel Fiennes and Oliver St. John came from the Upper gentry; others, such as Miles Corbet, the Bacon brothers and Richard Lucy came from what has been called the "lesser" gentry. Important merchants were represented by such people as Martin Noel and Christopher Pack; small merchants and tradesmen by Thomas Pury and John Stone. Similarly, there can be found both men from London and men from small provincial towns, men of considerable landed wealth and men of no income. Is there, then, no significant pattern to the social background of this seemingly varied group? On the contrary. While individual examples can be drawn to fit almost any category, when considered as a whole a few important conclusions can be made. Trevor-Roper, in his article The Gentry, 1540-1640, argued that the English Civil War

was primarily caused by the decline of a part of the gentry.⁹ Lesser gentry, prevented from improving their financial and social position by exclusion from court and office, became welded into a party of "outs" in direct opposition to the greater or "rising" gentry who composed the court party, or the "ins."¹⁰ In a later article on the subject Trevor-Roper called the men who grasped power after 1642, "the backwoods gentry," "plain, conservative, untravelled country-gentlemen."¹¹ Furthermore, he added,

These were the men who became, in time, the "Independents"; and Cromwell, though he transcended them in personality and military genius, was their typical, if also their greatest, representative.¹²

One, then, might expect to find members of this "party" in office when Cromwell came to power. Although Trevor-Roper's argument may need serious modification in many of its particular aspects, evidence from an analysis of the group of Key administrators under the Protectorate would tend to support his general thesis.

Trevor-Roper was essentially concerned with the gentry. Perhaps thirty of the group of fifty-eight Key office-holders could be called gentry. Of these thirty probably only six were what could be called substantial men of land or intimately connected to the landed interest. The other twenty-four were lesser, though not necessarily "declining" gentry.¹³ These figures are stated with caution. Only for some of the thirty men labeled "gentry"

is information adequate. Yet even among those for whom the information is reliable, the number of lesser gentry is striking.¹⁴ Furthermore, as one would expect information to be more readily accessible for members of substantial families, such as the St. Johns, Fiennes, Widdringtons and Whitelockes, so also would one expect information to be scarce for members of small undistinguished families. This helps explain the lack of information for such a large percentage of the Key group. Although negative evidence, such a consideration adds to the general impression of the "lesser" origins of the majority of Protectorate officeholders. Other more positive evidence can be found to increase this impression. At least thirteen of the Key men were merchants; only two of these could really be called very substantial, namely, Martin Noell and Christopher Pack.¹⁵ Men such as these small merchants, though not discussed to any extent by Trevor-Roper, were in a similar situation to the lesser gentry. Lack of office or friends and influence at court could easily prevent them from elevating themselves in either the business or the social world. An ambitious, but minor merchant such as Adam Baynes, was able to make tremendous profits while in office under the Protectorate though opportunities would probably have been denied him in other times. He must have been typical of many others. A further group can be distinguished that also adds to the general impression of backwoods

provincialism--those men who originate from the small country towns and who are involved in local politics and office. Perhaps twenty-nine out of the fifty-eight men have been identified as having held important local positions under the Protectorate.¹⁶ For some these town connections were of long standing. Robert Nicholas had been Recorder of Devizes and legal advisor to the town since before 1642. Similarly, Edmund Prideaux, John Parker and Thomas Pury also had long standing local connections. Many others became influential in local county and town affairs after 1642, but before they came to office under Cromwell. Men in this category include Robert Aldworth, the Bacon brothers, Charles George Cocke and numerous others.

The findings concerning the social origins of the Key officials fit quite well with the findings concerning their geographical distribution. Together they demonstrate that the "backwoods" areas were better represented. Furthermore, the findings on the social origins of Cromwell's administration, while agreeing in a very general sense with the thesis put forward by Trevor-Roper, suggest a few modifications. First, more than the gentry need be considered in any explanation of events during the Civil Wars and Interregnum.¹⁷ Under the Protectorate perhaps half or less of the office-holders could be called gentry.¹⁷ Furthermore, Trevor-Roper includes country lawyers and other local officials in the ranks of the "court" and "office" party.¹⁸ Of the fifty-

eight Protectorate officials thirty-four can be identified either as lawyers or as occupying an office which suggested legal training or experience.¹⁹ Some of these lawyers, such as William Steele, Oliver St. John and William Lenthall were very successful and wealthy. But the majority were small provincial lawyers such as William Sheppard, Nathaniel Bacon and Nicholas Lechmere. Perhaps, then, in the face of this evidence, the position of lawyers in general could be re-assessed.

The question--Why were these men in office under the Protectorate?--is closely connected to the above discussion of social origins and background of the group of Key administrators. It has been pointed out that the men composing this Key group were drawn predominately from the ranks of the lesser gentry, small merchants and tradesmen, and country lawyers and officials, almost exactly the same class of men that Trevor-Roper suggests as those responsible for the Civil War. But do facts solely about their social origins explain why these men took part in the administration during the Protectorate?

The answer is a definite no. Christopher Hill has already pointed out that Trevor-Roper and others do not place enough emphasis, for example, on religion as an explanation of political allegiance during the years of the Civil War and Interregnum.²⁰ In some cases religious opinions probably were a more important factor in deciding

which political side a man would take than were social background. Sir William Roberts, for example, who can be seen as a member of the lesser gentry, fled from England to Holland just prior to the calling of the Long Parliament apparently "for fear of Bishops."²¹ It is quite possible that his religious outlook played an important part in explaining his political outlook. Dennis Bond could also be described as a man whose religious views played an important part in determining his allegiance as he was said to be "very severe and resolved against the Church and Court," and was noted for his lack of speculation.²² Far too little evidence is available to give a complete view of the religious feelings of the group of Key men. Information for only twenty-one out of fifty-eight men has been discovered. Six could be classed as strict Puritans, six as Presbyterians, seven as Independants and two as Baptists.²³ However, these figures do include the religious leanings of some of the most outstanding men within the Key group, notably some whose comfortable social condition suggests that religious feelings rather than social dissatisfaction played a definite part in their political decisions.

Did the administrators take office under Cromwell for the opportunities it would provide them for self-advancement? Undoubtedly some of them did. Adam Baynes made a fortune trafficking in forfeited estates. John

Blackwell made considerable investments in Episcopal lands, as did Roger Hill, John Barkstead and Lislebone Long. In all at least eighteen men purchased varying amounts of forfeited estates.²⁴ Notorious profiteers, however, are not at all common. Other ways existed to increase ones economic and social position besides investments in land. Thurloe increased his wealth through his position as Postmaster-General as had Edmund Prideaux before him. Others obtained lucrative positions as representatives of various towns and boroughs. Nathaniel Bacon became Recorder of London, as had Lislebone Long and John Glynn before him. John Parker was Recorder of Gravesend; Daniel Blagrove, Recorder of Reading. A few men were given sinecure offices. Under the Protectorate William Jessop had the office of ballasting of ships, a form of disguised monopoly. He surrendered the office in 1657 for £200 per annum. A few men received "gifts" of one sort or another. William Sheppard was given a pension of £100 per annum to compensate him for the loss of his country legal practise through the necessity of his residence in London to advise the Protector. After the completion of his diplomatic mission to Denmark, Philip Meadows was given an allowance of £100 per annum to last for a period of ninety-nine years. He later surrendered this grant for a settlement of £1000 cash. The merchants undoubtedly received considerable benefit by being in office, close to the centre of power. Robert

Tichborne made tremendous fortunes through positions open to him as an office-holder and supporter of the Protectorate. It should be added here that a number of the important Key officers received less tangible but important rewards in the form of knighthood and advancement to Cromwell's House of Lords. Among the fifty-eight men the following honours were distributed; two were made baronets; six were knighted; twelve were nominated to the House of Lords as members and four as assistants.²⁵ Taking into consideration the bestowal of dual honours, nineteen men were socially advanced in this way.

Probably the most significant factor in an explanation of why these men were in office under the Lord Protector is that they were almost to a man "Cromwellians." By this is meant that they were essentially "party followers." Some, as has been implied above, were active in the government because of the very obvious means for self-advancement which presented themselves. However, it is thought that this motive was not as widespread as has sometimes been imagined. It is extremely difficult to judge whether a man made money because he occupied a position or whether he wanted a position in order to advance himself. In any case, notorious profiteering by office-holders under the Protectorate was not common. Consequently, it does not seem as if a large percentage of the Key men were Cromwellians for their own profit. A number of these men were undoubtedly

supporters of Cromwell because he represented the de facto power. Men such as John Glynn, Griffith Bodurda, George Downing and even William Ellis could turn with the wind if need be and when in 1660 the need arose they managed to turn their allegiance to the Crown and survived profitably. Others such as Bulstrode Whitelocke, Nathaniel Bacon and Sir Thomas Widdrington probably supported Cromwell because at the time he represented the best chance for a secure, non-military government short of the return of the King. Finally, some men were Cromwellians, at least partly, through admiration of and loyalty to Cromwell. Among these can be numbered John Thurloe, John Barkstead, Thomas Kelsey, Christopher Pack and James Philips. An indication of the number of the Cromwellians can be found by looking at those who voted for Cromwell as King in 1656 and those who were nominated to the Committee for the Security of the Protector in the same year. In all, twenty-one of the fifty-eight men voted for Cromwell as King; nineteen were appointed to the Committee for Security. Taking account of men satisfying one or both criteria, a total of twenty-nine Cromwellians are discovered.²⁶ Of course, the fact that a man does not appear in connection with either of these two items certainly does not eliminate the possibility that he was a Cromwellian. Only a few of the main reasons accounting for the presence of these men in office have been dealt with. Other reasons are as varied as the number of

men involved. For a full study considerable individual biographical treatment would be needed to assess adequately the part of each man. Only local sources in England could provide the necessary materials.

What happened to the Key officials upon the return of the King in 1660? Twelve of the men had been nominated to the High Court that tried and sentenced Charles I.²⁷ Only four of them, John Barkstead, Daniel Blagrove, Miles Corbet and Robert Tichborne signed the death warrant. Barkstead and Corbet were executed, Tichborne died in prison and Blagrove died abroad. Of the others, six died before the return of the King, two fled abroad and for nine there is no information. Eighteen men lost their offices and probably some of their lands although only three lost their offices as a result of exclusion from the Act of Indemnity. A further eight survived and almost certainly lost their employment. The remaining eleven out of fifty-eight survived and continued in office, though not necessarily the same office.

The results thus show that thirty-two men suffered considerably by the Restoration. How much does this indicate the radical nature of the Cromwellian office-holders? Perhaps not as much as might be thought. The return of the King was bound to involve extensive administrative changes. For nearly twenty years Charles I and Charles II had been promising offices to loyal supporters who now

had to be satisfied. Furthermore, a large body of public opinion had to be placated by at least the dismissal of the Cromwellians from all positions of trust and profit. Of course, pro-Royalist feelings such as these grew at an increasing rate as the return of Charles drew near.

To conclude this section dealing with the Key administrative officials as a group, one further observation must be made. A close examination of these men brings to light two distinct divisions among them. On the one hand, there are a number of very prominent, well-known figures whose involvement in the politics of the Civil Wars and Interregnum goes back to the early 1640's. These include men such as William Steele, John Glynn, Bulstrode Whitelocke and Dennis Bond. On the other hand, a large number of previously unknown men appear. These men usually occupy the lower secondary offices. They staff many of the miscellaneous committees and commissions created on either a permanent or on a part-time basis. Furthermore, they were often used by the Protector and Council of State to investigate particular problems, to carry out a specific task or to make recommendations. These men made up about half of the fifty-eight Key officials. Their importance is not easy to grasp as information on any of them is minimal. It is particularly with this group of men in mind that we look at a few individual biographical sketches.

Biographical Sketches

In view of the fact that many of the officials who have been included in the group of Key officials discussed in the pages immediately above are almost totally unknown and have received little or no notice in any other studies, biographical sketches of some of the most important of them will be presented. In many cases, little more than the office they held and functions they performed can be given. Nevertheless, it is thought that the information which has been collected is worthwhile presenting in that these men are so significant to the administrative history of the period.

RICHARD ALDWORTH²⁸ - was a prominent Bristol merchant noted for his introduction of the first sugar refinery in Bristol. He first became an active parliamentarian in the early 1640's and at one time in the same years became Mayor of Bristol. In 1657 he was appointed Sheriff of Bristol. He sat for the same city in 1654 and 1656 and in the latter year supported the movement for Cromwell as King. In November, 1656 he was appointed to the Committee for the Security of the Protector. In the Central Administration he occupied positions as a judge for poor prisoners, a Trustee for the sale of Crown Forests, and a Commissioner for Removing Obstructions. At the restoration he lost his offices and shortly after disappears from view.

GERVAS BENNET²⁹ - an alderman from Derby, Bennet first came to national prominence as a member of the Barebones Parliament in 1653 and as a member of the eighth Council of State. In the same year he was appointed a Commissioner of the Excise, a Judge for the Probate of Wills and a Commissioner for Inquiring into Arrears of Excise. In 1654 he was appointed to the Committee of the Army and to the Committee for Appeals in Excise. He sat in the Parliaments of 1654 and 1656 and in the latter year voted for Cromwell as King. He was active on many local assessment and militia committees in Derby and London. At the Restoration he lost his offices but otherwise survived.

JOSIAS BERNERS³⁰ - first became active circa 1649. In this year he became a contractor for the sale of Capitular Lands, was appointed to the London militia committee and to the assessment committees for Surrey and Middlesex. He was also appointed to the High Court of Justice in the same year. During the Protectorate his official positions were as follows: A Judge for Probate of Wills; A Trustee for Sale of Crown Forests; A Commissioner for Removing Obstructions; A Commissioner for Managing Estates under Sequestration. He sat for Middlesex in 1654. In religion he was a Baptist. Berners died in 1660 just before the return of the King.

JOHN BLACKWELL³¹ of Moreclack, Surrey. Blackwell first appears on the assessment committee for Surrey in 1648. He was appointed to the important position of Treasurer-at-War in 1651, sat in the Parliament of 1656 for Surrey. He was elected an alderman of London in 1659. Probably could be described as a small merchant. Invested in Bishops' Lands. At the Restoration he was excepted from office by the Act of Indemnity.

GRIFFITH BODURDA³² of Carnarvonshire, Wales. Was brother-in-law to John Glynn, and was probably a Royalist sympathizer in the 1640's. Under the Protectorate he had an office under the Excise Commissioners, was Keeper of the Records of the Common Pleas and receiver of First Fruits. He sat in Parliament for Anglesey in 1656 and for Beaumaris in 1659, 1660 and 1661. He survived the Restoration and took office under Charles II. Was still alive in 1675. Could be classed as of the lesser gentry.

JOHN CLARKE³³ origins are obscure. Was a captain under Skippon and later, in 1649, became a major. He saw active service in Ireland in 1652. In 1653 he was appointed to the Committee of the Army and as a Commissioner of the Admiralty. He sat in the Parliaments of 1654 and 1656 and in the latter voted for Cromwell as King. Clarke married a sister of John Thurloe. In 1660 he was imprisoned. What became of him is unknown.

EDWARD CLUDD³⁴ - described as a wealthy landed proprietor of Nottinghamshire. In 1653 was appointed to the Committee of the Army, as a Judge for Probate of Wills and as a Commissioner for Inquiring into Arrears of Excise. Sat in the Parliaments of 1653 and 1656 for Nottinghamshire. He was appointed to the Committee for the Security of the Protector in 1656. Sat on various assessment and militia committees for Nottinghamshire. Was a member of the New England Committee. What happened to him in 1660 is unknown.

JOHN GLYNN³⁵ - Glynn does not appear in either the Dictionary of National Biography or in the works by Yule, Keeler and Brunton and Pennington. However, a useful treatment of him appears in Hexter's The Reign of King Pym. On Cromwell's becoming Protector he was created a serjeant-at-law. Went on the Oxford Circuit as a Judge in 1654. In April, 1655 he presided at the trial of Penruddock. On July 15, 1655 he was appointed Chief Justice of the Upper Bench. He also enjoyed the position of Chamberlain of Chester. He was Recorder of London at the time of the Long Parliament's first sitting; he was elected to this assembly for Westminster. He also sat in the Parliaments of 1654 and 1656; in the latter year he voted for Cromwell as King. Glynn was one of those elevated to Cromwell's House of Lords. He survived the Restoration profitably and enjoyed high position under Charles II.

RICHARD LUCY³⁶ - The third son of Sir Thomas Lucy of Chalcot, Warwickshire. Sat on various assessment and militia committees for Warwick and other counties from 1649 to 1660. In 1653 he was made a Judge for Probate of Wills, appointed to the Committee for the Army, and as Commissioner for Inquiring into Arrears of Excise. In 1654 he was appointed a Commissioner for the Preservation of Excise, and to the High Court of Justice. He sat for Warwickshire in 1653, 1654 and 1656, in which latter year he voted for Cromwell as King. In 1656 he was also placed on the Committee for Security of the Protector. He was pardoned at the Restoration.

SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS³⁷ - (1605-1662) Attended Queens College, Cambridge and Gray's Inn. Fled to Holland "for fear of Bishops," before the calling of the Long Parliament. Sided with Parliament at the opening of the Civil War. Active in minor capacities until 1650 when he was made head of the Middlesex Militia. In 1652 was made a Commissioner for Removing Obstructions. He acted also in the sale of Crown Lands and Forfeited Estates. In November, 1653 he was appointed to the eighth Council of State. Under the Protectorate he enjoyed several offices. He was a Commissioner for Appeals in Excise, a Commissioner for Inquiring into Arrears of Excise, on the Committee of the Army, a Commissioner

for the Preservation of the Excise and Auditor of the Receipt of the Exchequer. He sat for Middlesex in 1653, 1654 and 1656 and voted for Cromwell as King. He was elevated to Cromwell's House of Lords in 1656. Although he had been named to the High Court of Justice to try King Charles I, he had refused to sit, thus he was able to be pardoned at the Restoration. Nevertheless, he lost all of his offices.

JOHN STONE³⁸ - First appears as a Commissioner for the assessments in London in 1649. In the same year he was appointed a Trustee for the sale of Capitular Lands. In the next year he was appointed Auditor of London, a position he held until 1652. In 1651 he became an alderman of London. In 1653 he rose to prominence as an Admiralty Commissioner and as a member of the Committee of the Army. In the same year he was appointed a Commissioner for Inquiring into Arrears of Excise. The following year he was appointed a Commissioner for Appeals and Regulating the Excise. Other offices he held in the Central government were Comptroller of the Excise and Customs, a Teller in the Exchequer and Receiver-General of the Taxes in London. He sat in the Parliaments of 1653, 1654, 1656 and 1659. In 1656 he voted for Cromwell as King and was also placed on the Committee for the Security of the Protector. Stone was probably a small merchant. He was also a member of the New England Society. He lost his offices at the Restoration but what became of him is not known.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Cromwell's Protectorate is often seen as a period of transition between the Republicanism of the Rump and the return of the Monarchy. The years 1653-58 saw the return of government by a single person, although one surrounded by more "limits" than King Charles. The Instrument of Government which created the Protectorate was an attempt to place Cromwell's power, derived from his position as the most important man in the nation, on a constitutional basis. But the Protector was not able to work with the partner provided by the Instrument--Parliament. The assembly of 1654 was a failure. Following this grave disappointment Cromwell placed England under the government of the Major-Generals.¹ However, in 1656 a new Parliament was called and another attempt made to get back on the path to constitutional government. This Second Protectorate Parliament saw a marked turn to the right. During this Parliament the rule of the Major-Generals was ended, the offer of the Crown was made to Cromwell and the Humble Petition and Advice was brought forward as a new Constitution. The Humble Petition and Advice was a more conservative document than its predecessor. By its terms the Protector assumed the Kingship in virtually all but the name itself. The Protectorship was made hereditary. If Cromwell had lived a few more years perhaps a new dynasty would have been created in England after all.

Developments in the administration paralleled those in politics. Some of the old administrative machinery crept back in the years 1654-58. The Exchequer made its re-appearance in 1654, a year which also saw the revival of Chancery. ~~Altho~~As it has been pointed out, neither of these departments were completely in use as they had been under the monarchy. Another of the most obvious revivals of royal forms was the Lord Protector's Household. In 1658 a sum of £100,000 was allowed for Household expenses. While this was still far from the cost of that department under the monarchy, it represented a sizeable increase from the sum originally allotted.² Elaboration of the administrative personnel of the Household proceeded apace, as did a general elaboration of procedure surrounding the figure of Cromwell.³ Rather than money being allotted for "troops of horse," in 1657, one finds the sum of £650 13s. 6d. being allowed for a "sceptre."⁴ Not only the old departments returned; newer creations underwent modification. Bodies such as the Committee of the Army changed from a parliamentary Committee with as many as thirty-seven members under the Rump, to a virtually permanent body of nine paid men under the Protectorate. Similarly, but on a higher level, the Council of State changed from forty-two men elected annually by Parliament to fifteen or sixteen permanent well paid appointees. This development can be seen in several other departments

and can be interpreted in two ways. First, as a concentration of power into the hands of a few privileged people. Second, as an attempt at administrative centralization and simplification. A Committee of nine is more manageable than one of thirty-seven. Thus, the old Committee system of the Rump was replaced under the Protectorate by paid bodies of professional administrators. Another interesting but seldom mentioned symptom of the return of the old "ways" was the movement for the abolition of purveyance. The return to public life of a wider section of the landed classes at the same time as an increase took place in the cost of the Household set in motion a desire for the formal abolition of an instrument of exaction, that, while it had not been used recently, might possibly return to threaten the landed interests.⁵

Accompanying the return of the old traditional departments was a general movement back to some of the old administrative practises. For example, incidences of the use of fees began to become more numerous as the government found that it could not afford to pay for reform. Such older practises as those involving fees, deputies and the sale of offices became slightly more common as the years wore on even though Cromwell's tight supervision kept all of these practises in a state of moderation. In the administration as in other facets of national life the "swing to the right" under the Protectorate

inevitably brought a return of the old procedures. Furthermore, as the years wore on and office-holders enjoyed years of secure tenure they began to become increasingly conservative. As they approached the actual social and economic position and encountered the same problems and desires as officials had under the monarchy, the Protectorate office-holders began to slip into the pattern of the old system. When the majority of "outs" rose on the scale to become "ins" they began to change their attitudes. Nothing struck contemporaries quite as much as seeing Thomas Pride, the once lowly brewer's assistant, turn into Lord Thomas Pride, gentleman and aristocrat.

But in spite of a gradual general return to the older established machinery and administrative procedures, the Cromwellian administration remained substantially different from that under the King. It was considerably more centralized and under a far tighter control from above. It probably suffered less from corruption and dishonesty than any administration England had seen for a great while. At least partly by the use of his efficient Central administration, Cromwell was able to make England feared and respected abroad as she was not to be again for many years.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

¹ The most important and extensive works dealing with the Parliaments of the years 1640-60 are: M. F. Keeler, The Long Parliament (1954); H. R. Trevor-Roper, "Oliver Cromwell and his Parliaments," in Essays Presented to Sir Lewis Namier (1956); D. Brunton and D.H. Pennington, Members of the Long Parliament (1954). Many other articles on more particular aspects of the same subject have also been written in recent years. On the Long Parliament there are articles by D. H. Pennington in Past and Present (VI) and by Brian Manning, Past and Present (VI). Articles on other Parliaments are: Austin Woolrych, "The Calling of Barebones Parliament," Eng. Hist. Rev. (1965); P. J. Pinckney, "The Scottish representation in the Cromwellian Parliament of 1656," Scot. Hist. Rev. (1967); G. Davies, "The Election of Richard Cromwell's Parliament, 1658-9," Eng. Hist. Rev. (1948). On Committees and other groups in the Long Parliament there are articles by Lotte Glow, in Historical Journal (VIII) and in Journal of British Studies (1965), and one by V. Pearl in Eng. Hist. Rev. (1966). V. F. Snow also has an article on "Parliamentary Reapportionment Proposals in the Puritan Revolution" in Eng. Hist. Rev. (1959).

² Christopher Hill, "Recent Interpretations of the Civil War," in Puritanism and Revolution (London, 1958), p. 23.

³ Ibid., pp. 25-9. Unless one includes the Administration in his, "... relation of individuals and groups to the state power. . . .," p. 28.

⁴ D. Masson, The Life of Milton, 6 vols. (London, 1859-94).

⁵ W. C. Abbott, The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1937-47).

⁶ Statutes of the Realm. V, 305. 13 Car. II. c. 1.

⁷ C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660, 3 vols. (London, 1911), III, xxxiii.

⁸ Ibid., xxxii-iii.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER II

¹ E. R. Turner, The Privy Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1927), I, 306.

² Ibid., I, 302. Turner calls this the Sixth Council of State.

³ Firth and Rait, 813.

⁴ Turner, Privy Council, I, 308.

⁵ The complete list of Councillors is as follows:
R. Cromwell, A. D. Cooper, J. Desborough, N. Fiennes, C. Fleetwood, P. Jones, J. Lambert, H. Lawrence, Viscount Lisle, H. Mackworth, R. Major, E. Montague, Earl of Mulgrave, G. Pickering, F. Rous, P. Skippon, W. Strickland, W. Sydenham, J. Thurloe, C. Wolsley.

⁶ Firth and Rait, II, 1048-56.

⁷ Ibid., II, 1182-86.

⁸ The Council of State was extremely interested in administrative affairs. A brief glance at the Order books of the Council, contained in the Calendar of State Papers, will reveal the great number and variety of small details with which they were concerned.

⁹ Masson, Life of Milton, IV, 427.

¹⁰ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1649-1660, ed. M. A. E. Green, 13 vols. (London, 1875-86), VIII (1655), 127-128. Hereafter this is referred to as C. S. P. D.

¹¹ Turner, Privy Council, I, 317.

¹² A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, ed. Thomas Birch, 7 vols. (London, 1742), VII, 788. Hereafter referred to as Thurloe.

¹³ As complete a list as is possible will be found in the Appendix, part I.

¹⁴ C. S. P. D., VI (1653-54), 386.

- 15 Loc.cit.
- 16 C. S. P. D., VIII (1655), 127-128.
- 17 Masson, Life of Milton, V, 375.
- 18 C. S. P. D., IX (1655-56), 312.
- 19 S. R. Gardiner, History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate 1649-1660, 3 vols. (London, 1901), III, 154-155.
- 20 See a list of these offices in the Appendix, part I.
- 21 Calendar of the Laing Manuscripts (London Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1914), I, 298.
- 22 Firth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (London, 1844), Appendix II, p. 248, p. 250.
- 23 G. E. Aylmer, The King's Servants (London, 1961), p. 27.
- 24 Abbot, Writings and Speeches, III, 371.
- 25 The list of Household Officers in the Appendix adds more details.
- 26 Clarke Papers, ed. C. H. Firth, 4 vols. (Camden Society, 1891-1901), III, 47.
- 27 Loc. cit.
- 28 M. Urwick Smith, "Cromwell's Master of the Horse," Northamptonshire Past and Present, I, no. 4 (1951), 23-33.
- 29 C. S. P. D., VII (1654), 290.
- 30 Ibid., IX (1655-56), 203. Charles I had about 210 men in his body-guard. See Aylmer, King's Servants, p. 473.
- 31 Abbot, Writings and Speeches, III, 371.
- 32 These ten Treasury funds were: Goldsmith's Hall, Old Ordinances for Ireland, Public Revenue, Delinquent Estates, Deans' and Chapters' Lands, Ordinances for Ireland, Army Treasury, Excise, Council of State, and Prize Goods. For further information see W. O. Scroggs, "English Finances under the Long Parliament," Quarterly Journal of Economics, XXI (1907), 463-487.
- 33 Firth and Rait, II, 652-3.

- 34 Ibid., II, 711-712.
- 35 C. S. P. D., VI (1653-54), 317.
- 36 Firth and Rait, II, 918-921.
- 37 Ibid., II, 919.
- 38 Ibid., II, 920.
- 39 See R. D. Richards, "The Exchequer in Cromwellian Times," Economic History, II (1931), 213-233.
- 40 Firth and Rait, II, 920.
- 41 Ibid., II, 1016-19.
- 42 F. C. Dietz, English Public Finance 1558-1641, cited in Ashley, Financial and Commercial Policy, p. ix.
- 43 M. P. Ashley, Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate (London, 1962), p. 60.
- 44 Firth and Rait, II, 919.
- 45 C. S. P. D., VIII (1655), 232.
- 46 Ibid., IX (1655-56), 51. Also see Firth and Rait, II, 1127.
- 47 C. S. P. D., IX (1655-56), 18.
- 48 Ibid., IX (1655-56) 189.
- 49 These reforms, in the shape of amendments to the Customs Commissioners' contracts, are found in C. S. P. D., IX (1655-56), 241. (March 26, 1656).
- 50 The Excise, although a Civil War innovation, has been included in this section because of its close relation to the Customs.
- 51 The first Ordinance for the levying of Excise was to take effect on July 22, 1643. See Firth and Rait, II, 202.
- 52 Ibid., II, 422.
- 53 Ashley, Financial and Commercial Policy, p. 63
- 54 Firth and Rait, II, 823.
- 55 Ibid., II, 845.

56 Ashley, Financial and Commercial Policy, p. 65.
Also see Charles Wilson, England's Apprenticeship 1603-1763
(London, 1965), p. 130.

57 Firth and Rait, II, 851.

58 C. S. P. D., VII (1654), 343.

59 Firth and Rait, II, 828-829.

60 Ibid., II, 702-703.

61 See Appendix, part I.

62 Firth and Rait, II, 824.

63 Ibid., II, 1131.

64 C. S. P. D., VII (1654), 455.

65 Ibid., IX (1655-56), 107-108. Also see Thomas
Burton, Diary of Thomas Burton, Esq., ed. J. T. Rutt,
4 vols. (London, 1828), I, 226.

66 C. S. P. D., IX (1655-56), 107. This suggestion was
made on January 9, 1656.

67 This figure was computed from the yearly figures
given in Ashley's Financial and Commercial Policy, p. 86.

68 J. W. Fortescue, A History of the British Army,
2 vols. (London, 1910), I, 220.

69 Ibid., I, 219.

70 Firth and Rait, II, 562.

71 Ibid., II, 703.

72 Ibid., II, 939-940. For the Committee of July 10,
1656 see C. S. P. D., X, (1656-57), 16.

73 Firth and Rait, II, 703.

74 C. S. P. D., IX (1655-56), 320.

75 Firth and Rait, II, 812-813.

76 Information on this subject is drawn from
M. Oppenheim, A History of the Administration of the Navy
(London, 1896), pp. 346-352.

77 He was first appointed on January 1, 1651. Oppenheim, Administration of the Navy, p. 351.

78 Ibid., pp. 305-306.

79 C. S. P. D., VII (1654), 377; VIII (1655), 279.

80 Oppenheim, Administration of the Navy, p. 326.

81 Ibid., p. 322.

82 C. H. Firth, Cromwell's Army (London, 1962), p. 261. Firth says, "The management of the military hospitals . . . were placed in the hands of the Commissioners who governed these two [Ely House and the Savoy]." The commissioners seem to be the same as the ones whose creation is mentioned.

83 Firth and Rait, II, 75-78.

84 Ibid., II, 76.

85 Oppenheim, Administration of the Navy, p. 309.

86 C. S. P. D., VII (1654), 170. (May, 1654).

87 Firth and Rait, II, 1181.

88 Oppenheim, Administration of the Navy, p. 361.

89 I am indebted in this paragraph to Sir John Craig, The Mint (Cambridge, 1953), 00. 150-153.

90 There were usually two Wardens of the Mint. Only one, however, appears in the Interregnum. See Aylmer, King's Servants, p. 479.

91 Firth and Rait, II, 1008.

92 Ibid., II, 1007-13.

93 J. C. Hemmeon, The History of the British Post Office (Cambridge, Mass., 1912), p. 22.

94 Firth and Rait, II, 1110-13.

95 C. H. Firth, "Thurloe and the Post Office," English Historical Review, XIII (1898), 527-533. An excellent article on the relationship between Thurloe and the Posts.

96 Firth and Rait, I, 838-839.

97 G. D. Squibb, The High Court of Chivalry (Oxford, 1959), p. 69.

- 98 C. S. P. D., VIII (1655), 60.
- 99 Squibb, Chivalry, p. 70.
- 100 Ibid., p. 72.
- 101 C. S. P. D., VIII (1655), 60; X (1656-57), 215, 229.
- 102 This paper is dated November 4, 1654. C. S. P. D., VII (1654), 390.
- 103 The Statutes of the Realm (London, 1819), V, 1110-112.
16 Chas. I. c. 10, 11.
- 104 Stuart E. Prall, "Chancery Reform and the Puritan Revolution," The American Journal of Legal History, VI (1962), 34-37.
- 105 Firth and Rait, II, 949-967.
- 106 Ibid., II, 950.
- 107 Abbot, Writings and Speeches, III, 704.
- 108 Firth and Rait, II, 963.
- 109 Burton, Diary, I, xcvi, 1.
- 110 This Ordinance is not included in Firth and Rait, presumably because it was not put into practise.
- 111 F. A. Inderwick, The Interregnum (London, 1891), p. 230.
- 112 A list of judges and officials appears in the Appendix, part I.
- 113 Journals of the House of Commons (London), VII, 43.
Hereafter referred to as C. J.
- 114 Ibid., VII, 112.
- 115 Ibid., VII, 277.
- 116 Firth and Rait, II, 844-845.
- 117 Ibid., II, 916.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER III

- 1 Firth and Rait, I, 879-883.
- 2 Ibid., I, 887-904.
- 3 Ibid., I, 921-924.
- 4 Ibid., I, 890.
- 5 Ibid., I, 892.
- 6 Ibid., II, 81-104.
- 7 Complete information will be found in the Appendix, part I.
- 8 2 vols. (London, 1900), II, Appendix VII, 514-557.
- 9 Firth and Rait, II, 160-168.
- 10 Ibid., II, 168-191. This subject has received very full treatment in Sidney J. Madge, The Domesday of Crown Lands (London, 1939).
- 11 See Appendix, part I.
- 12 Firth and Rait, II, 171. For a discussion of Fee-farm Rents see Madge, Domesday of Crown Lands, pp. 96-101; 231-238.
- 13 Firth and Rait, II, 498-500.
- 14 Joan Thirsk, "The Sales of Royalist Land During the Interregnum," Economic History Review, 2nd series, V (1952), 188-207. p. 190.
- 15 Firth and Rait, II, 520-545.
- 16 Ibid., II, 591-598.
- 17 Ibid., II, 623-652.
- 18 Ibid., II, 783-812. For a discussion of the sale of Crown Forests see Madge, Domesday of Crown Lands, pp. 107-115; 239-246.
- 19 Firth and Rait, II, 993-999.

- 20 Under the Ordinance of November 21, 1648.
- 21 Firth and Rait, II, 581-582.
- 22 For example, Sir William Roberts and Josias Berners. Their salary was £200 per annum. See C. S. P. D., VII (1654), 397.
- 23 C. S. P. D., IX (1655-56), 203-207.
- 24 Ibid., IX (1655-56), 278.
- 25 Ibid., IX (1655-56), 279.
- 26 Firth and Rait, II, 142-148.
- 27 G. B. Tatham, "The Sale of Episcopal Lands During the Civil Wars and Commonwealth," English Historical Review, XXIII (1908), 91-108. p. 96.
- 28 Firth and Rait, II, 1000-06. Also see Shaw, History of the English Church, II, Appendix VI, 496-513 for a report made by these trustees in 1655.
- 29 Firth and Rait, II, 856. However, the Commissioners for the Approbation of Preachers had no power over incumbents. See E. W. Kirby, "The Cromwellian Establishment," Church History, X, no. 2 (June, 1941), 144-158.
- 30 C. S. P. D., VIII (1655), 304.
- 31 Firth and Rait, II, 510, 902.
- 32 Ibid., II, 712-713.
- 33 C. S. P. D., VIII (1655), 152.
- 34 Ibid., VIII (1655), 1. However, it seems quite likely that Dr. Walker was not a Judge but a Judge-Advocate of the Admiralty Court. See A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company, 1655-1659, ed. E. B. Sainsbury (Oxford, 1913), p. v.
- 35 Inderwick, The Interregnum, p. 182; C. S. P. D., VII (1654), 144.
- 36 Firth and Rait, II, 839-842.
- 37 C. S. P. D., VIII (1655), 97.
- 38 Firth and Rait, II, 765-767.

39 C. S. P. D., IX (1655-56), 299.

40 Ibid., IX (1655-56), 54.

41 Background material for this Trade Committee and its predecessors can be found in C. M. Andrews, British Committees, Councils and Commissions of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1678, (Baltimore, 1908).

42 C. S. P. D., IX (1655-56), 113.

43 Ibid., VIII (1655), 372.

44 Ibid., X (1656-57), 133.

45 Some of these officials will be looked at below.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER IV

¹ For material used in the following paragraph I am indebted to G. E. Aylmer's The King's Servants, particularly pp. 69-96.

² Firth and Rait, II, 819.

³ Ibid., II, 821

⁴ J. P. Kenyon, The Stuart Constitution (Cambridge, 1966), p. 334.

⁵ Aylmer, King's Servants, p. 417.

⁶ M. F. Keeler, The Long Parliament, 1640-1641 (Philadelphia, 1954), O. 147.

⁷ C. S. P. D., X (1656-57), 179.

⁸ Firth and Rait, II, 163.

⁹ Aylmer, p. 391.

¹⁰ Masson, Life of Milton, V, 287.

¹¹ C. S. P. D., VII (1654), 393.

¹² Firth and Rait, II, 813

¹³ Ibid., II, 828, 946, 1025.

¹⁴ Ibid., II, 949, 1007, 1016.

¹⁵ C. S. P. D., X (1656-57), 237; IX (1655-56), 75.

¹⁶ Ibid., X (1656-57), 247.

¹⁷ For further examples of this procedure see C. S. P. D., VII (1654), 337; IX (1655-56), 220, 224.

¹⁸ Ibid., IX (1655-56), 241.

¹⁹ For such recommendations see C. S. P. D., VIII (1655), 279, 289.

²⁰ Ibid., VIII (1655), 230 - July 4, 1655; IX (1655-56), 102 - January 8, 1656.

21 For further examples see Firth and Rait, II, 812-813, 823, 829, 835.

22 Ibid., II, 856.

23 C. S. P. D., VIII (1655), 230.

24 Ibid., IX (1655-56), 102.

25 Ibid., VI (1653-54), 339.

26 Firth and Rait, II, 963.

27 Ibid., II, 920.

28 Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, (The Duke of Sutherland MSS), V, part I, p. 146.

29 C. S. P. D., VII (1654), 272.

30 Shortly after Edmund Squibb's petition to the Protector, a judgment was made by Justice Matthew Hale that a King's grant was good. His decision is recorded in C. S. P. D., VII (1654), 334. Apparently it had no effect on the determination of this case.

31 Ibid., VII (1654), 449.

32 Ibid., VIII (1655), 13.

33 Ibid., VII (1654), 272.

34 Ibid., VIII (1655), 140.

35 Op. cit.

36 This point, however, should not be over-emphasized. As many "legal" contracts are broken today, so oaths and promises were probably broken in the seventeenth century.

37 Firth and Rait, II, 325.

38 The Engagement was by no means limited to the use of office-holders but was intended to be taken by all men over the age of eighteen.

39 Firth and Rait, II, 830-831.

40 Ibid., II, 818, 822.

41 Actually, the oath itself is in the "Humble Additional and Explanatory Petition and Advice" in Firth and Rait, II, 1182-86.

42 C. S. P. D., XI (1657-58), 27.

43 Firth and Rait, II, 949.

44 Examples of oaths can be found in Firth and Rait, II, 86, 172, 177, 528.

45 Ibid., II, 960.

46 C. S. P. D., IX (1655-56), 105, 168.

47 Ibid., IX (1655-56), 190.

48 For example, the Keeper of the Records of Bishops' lands, the Registrar for Deans' lands, and the Comptroller for Deans' lands; Firth and Rait, I, 894; II, 89, 103.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER V

- 1 Aylmer, King's Servants, p. 169.
- 2 The subject of fees is dealt with below.
- 3 Aylmer, King's Servants, p. 204. The information in the following paragraph concerning salaries under the monarchy is extracted from Aylmer.
- 4 Abbot, Writings and Speeches, III, 784.
- 5 C. S. P. D., IX (1655-56) 212.
- 6 Ibid., VIII (1655), 172.
- 7 Oppenheim, Administration of the Navy, p. 361.
- 8 Op. cit.
- 9 C. S. P. D., VIII (1655), 172.
- 10 Aylmer, King's Servants, p. 204.
- 11 C. S. P. D., VIII (1655), 342.
- 12 Ibid., IX (1655-56), 62.
- 13 Ibid., VIII (1655), 128.
- 14 Ibid., VIII (1655), 172.
- 15 Ibid., X (1656-57), 182. Similarly, the Judges for the Probate of Wills were forbidden from taking any fees. Ibid., X (1656-57), 374.
- 16 Ibid., IX (1655-56), 107.
- 17 Ibid., VII (1654), 136. A similar case appears in VIII (1655), 105.
- 18 Ibid., IX (1655-56), 281.
- 19 Firth and Rait, II, 963.
- 20 C. S. P. D., IX (1655-56), 149.
- 21 Ibid., VIII (1655), 172.
- 22 Ibid., IX (1655-56), 107.

- 23 Firth and Rait, II, 702-703.
- 24 C. S. P. D., X (1656-57), 268.
- 25 Firth and Rait, II, 89, 175.
- 26 Ibid., II, 96, 163, 166.
- 27 See Appendix for the rates at which they were paid.
- 28 Firth and Rait, II, 963.
- 29 Ibid., II, 920.
- 30 C. S. P. D., X (1656-57), 47.
- 31 The Letters Patent appointing a particular officer often stated where his salary would be paid. As these patents have not been available for study specific information is very limited.
- 32 C. S. P. D., VIII (1655), 128.
- 33 Ibid., VIII (1655), 177.
- 34 Ibid., XI (1657-58), 83.
- 35 Firth and Rait, II, 1133.
- 36 C. S. P. D., VI (1653-54), 314; VII (1654), 104.
- 37 Ibid., VII (1654), 397; VIII (1655), 37; IX (1655-56), 15, 126.
- 38 Ibid., VIII (1655), 315.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER VI

- 1 Firth and Rait, II, 664-665.
- 2 See Appendix II for a complete list of office-holders in Parliament.
- 3 Printed in the Harleian Miscellany, III, 448-469.
- 4 This thesis is presented by H. R. Trevor Roper in his "Oliver Cromwell and his Parliaments," Essays Presented to Sir Lewis Namier, ed. R. Pares and A. J. P. Taylor (London, 1956), pp. 1-48.
- 5 The complete list of these men is contained in Appendix III.
- 6 See the map on page 89.
- 7 Aylmer, King's Servants, pp. 267-272.
- 8 Ibid., p. 268.
- 9 Economic History Review Supplement, I.
- 10 This brief summary can hardly do justice to Trevor-Roper's article not to mention the vast literature occasioned by the disagreement it uncovered.
- 11 Trevor-Roper, "Cromwell and his Parliaments", p. 3.
- 12 op. cit.
- 13 F. Bacon, N. Bacon, J. Berners, D. Blagrove, G. Bodurda, G. Fenwick, M. Corbet, R. Lucy, R. Nicholas, J. Price, W. Roberts, J. Hildesley, J. Philips, A. Rous, W. Ellis, E. Clud, N. Lechmere, L. Long, W. Sheppard, J. Glynn, R. Hill, G. Downing, W. Lockhart, W. Steele — these men can be called "lesser" gentry. The upper gentry were represented by — N. Fiennes, O. St. John, T. Widdrington, B. Whitlocke, W. Lenthall, E. Prideaux.
- 14 Reliable information leads one to believe that the following 13 men can be called "lesser" gentry without serious doubt; F. Bacon, N. Bacon, D. Blagrove, J. Berners, G. Bodurda, M. Corbet, R. Lucy, J. Price, W. Roberts, J. Hildesley, J. Philips, A. Rous, E. Clud.

15 Those that could be called "lesser" merchants were; J. Barkstead, R. Aldworth, A. Baynes, E. Hopkins, J. Blackwell, D. Bond, T. Pury, H. Robinson, J. Stone, R. Tichborne, T. Wood.

16 These twenty-nine men were; R. Aldworth, F. Bacon, N. Bacon, J. Barkstead, G. Bennet, J. Blackwell, D. Blagrove, G. Bodurda, W. Burton, C. G. Cocke, M. Corbet, W. Ellis, J. Glynn, J. Hildesley, T. Kelsey, L. Long, R. Nicholas, M. Noel, C. Pack, J. Parker, J. Philips, E. Prideaux, T. Pury, W. Robinson, J. Sadler, W. Steele, R. Tichborne, B. Whitelocke, T. Widdrington.

17 Christopher Hill makes this suggestion in his article "Recent Interpretations of the Civil War," Puritanism and Revolution (London, 1962), p. 8.

18 Trevor-Roper, Gentry, p. 18.

19 These thirty-four men were; F. Bacon, N. Bacon, G. Bennet, J. Berners, D. Blagrove, G. Bodurda, E. Clud, C. G. Cocke, M. Corbet, W. Ellis, J. Glynn, M. Hale, J. Hildesley, R. Hill, N. Lechmere, W. Lenthall, L. Long, R. Lucy, R. Nicholas, M. Noell, J. Parker, E. Prideaux, W. Roberts, A. Rous, J. Sadler, O. St. John, W. Sheppard, J. Sparrow, W. Steele, J. Thurloe, R. Tichborne, B. Whitelocke, T. Widdrington, T. Wood.

20 Hill, Interpretations, p. 11-12.

21 H. A. Glass, The Barebone Parliament (London, 1899), p. 83.

22 Clarendon, quoted in G. E. Yule, The Independants in the English Civil War (Cambridge, 1958), p. 89.

23 The six Puritans were; D. Blagrove, D. Bond, N. Fiennes, J. Glynn, M. Hale, O. St. John. The six Presbyterians were; N. Bacon, F. Bacon, W. Ellis, R. Hill, L. Long, E. Prideaux. The seven Independants were; J. Barkstead, M. Corbet, E. Hopkins, M. Noell, T. Pury, R. Tichborne, B. Whitelocke. The two Baptists were; J. Berners, W. Steele.

24 The eighteen men who purchased lands etc. were; J. Barkstead, A. Baynes, J. Blackwell, D. Blagrove, J. Glynn, R. Hill, W. Lenthall, L. Long, C. Pack, J. Philips, T. Pury, W. Roberts, H. Robinson, A. Rous, W. Steele, J. Thurloe, R. Tichborne, T. Widdrington.

25 Men who were advanced by Cromwell were as follows. Knights (6); C. Pack, J. Barkstead, W. Lockhart, R. Tichborne, B. Whitelocke. The Baronets (2); E. Prideaux, W. Ellis.

Lords (12); N. Fiennes, B. Whitelocke, W. Roberts, J. Glynn, O. St. John, W. Lockhart, C. Pack, R. Tichborne, J. Barkstead, J. Clarke, W. Steele, W. Lenthall, Assistants (4); M. Hale, R. Nicholas, J. Parker, R. Hill.

26 For those on the Committee for the Security of, the Protector see Firth and Rait, II, 1038-42. For those who voted for Cromwell as King see Parliamentary History, XXII, 3-23.

27 For those nominated to the High Court of Justice see Firth and Rait, I, 1253-55.

28 References used for Robert Aldworth were; C. S. P. D., Firth and Rait, and P. McGrath, Merchants and Merchandise in Seventeenth-Century Bristol. (Bristol Recors Society, vol. XIX).

29 Sources consulted were; C. S. P. D.; Firth and Rait; and the Parliamentary History.

30 Sources consulted were; C. S. P. D.; Firth and Rait; and L. F. Brown, Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men (Washington, 1912).

31 Sources used were; C. S. P. D., Firth and Rait; the Parliamentary History; and A. B. Beaven, The Aldermen of the City of London (London, 1908-13).

32 The sources used were; C. S. P. D.; Firth and Rait; Parliamentary History; W. R. J. Williams, ed. The Parliamentary History... of Wales (Brecknock, 1895); A. H. Dodd, Studies in Stuart Wales (Cardiff, 1952).

33 The sources used were; C. S. P. D.; Firth and Rait; Firth and Davies, The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army; H. A. Glass, The Barebone Parliament.

34 The sources used were; C. S. P. D.; Firth and Rait; H. A. Glass, The Barebone Parliament.

35 Sources used were; C. S. P. D.; Firth and Rait; Foss, Judges of England; Dodd, Studies in Stuart Wales; Hexter, The Reign of King Pym.

36 Sources used were; C. S. P. D.; Firth and Rait; H. A. Glass.

37 Sources used were; C. S. P. D.; Firth and Rait; Venn, Alumni cantabrigiensis; Glass, Barebone Parliament; Dictionary of National Biography.

38 His sources are C. S. P. D.; Firth and Rait; H. A. Glass.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER VII

¹ The oppressiveness of the rule of the Major-Generals has been over-estimated and over-emphasized in many of the popular accounts of their actions. Although indeed they were a form of military government. Their contact with civilians was not extensive.

² C.S. P. D., XI (1657-58), 113.

³ Abbott, The Writings and Speeches, III, 433.

⁴ C. S. P. D., XI (1657-58), 109.

⁵ See G. E. Aylmer, "The Last Years of Purveyance," Economic History Review, 2nd series, X, No. 1, 81-93.

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APPENDIX I
TABLE OF OFFICERS

The object of this Appendix is to present as complete a list of the officers staffing the individual administrative departments as is possible. This is not intended to be a list of "offices" but rather of "officers"; as a result only the most significant positions have been included. Minor officers have usually been omitted. However, a substantial body of information has been collected about those levels of the administrative hierarchy which are of particular concern in this paper. Information on these levels is fairly complete but there are exceptions. Sources available did not permit the accumulation of complete lists of officials for departments such as the Exchequer and Chancery. However, it is hoped that the use of the main sources available for the period, most of which are given below, has at least provided the great majority of the significant officers.

Information on annual salaries and allowance has been included when known, as has data such as the date of appointment, replacement and so on. The tables of administrative departments are placed in the same order as they appear in the text. Sources have been given in an abbreviated form for added convenience. A Key is provided below.

- Abbott Abbott, W. C. The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell.
- A&O Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660, ed. C. H. Firth and R.S. Rait
- Burton Burton, Thomas. Diary of Thomas Burton, Esq., ed. J. T. Rutt.
- CSPD Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1649-1660, ed. M. A. E. Green.
- Clarke Papers Clarke Papers, Selections from the Papers of William Clarke, ed. C. H. Firth.
- DKPR Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records
- DBN The Dictionary of National Biography, ed. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee.
- Foss Foss, Edward. The Judges of England.
- Lords House of Lords MSS, Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.
- Madge Madge, Sidney J. The Domesday of Crown Lands; a study of the legis, surveys, & sales of Royal Estates under the Commonwealth.
- Masson Masson, David. The Life of John Milton.
- Noble Noble, Mark. Memoirs of the Protectorate-House of Cromwell. . . .
- Oppenheim Oppenheim, M. A History of the Administration of the Royal and of Merchant Shipping.
- Parl. Hist. The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England.
- Round Round, J. H. "Colchester under the Commonwealth," English Historical Review.
- Shaw Shaw, W. A. A History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth.
- Thurloe A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, ed. Thomas Birch
- Whitelocke Whitelocke, Bulstrode. Memorials of the English Affairs.

COUNCIL OF STATE, December, 1653 to September, 1658

The principal sources for the following were the tables of attendance of the Councils of State given in the introductions to the Calendar of State Papers, 1649-1660. Salary was £1000 per annum except for the President, Henry Lawrence, who seems to have received £1200 per annum.

Cromwell, Oliver	- Dec., 1653	to Sept., 1658
Cromwell, Richard	- July, 1657	Sept., 1658
Cooper, Anthony A.	- Dec. 16, 1653	Dec., 1654
Desborough, John	- Dec. 16, 1653	Sept., 1658
Jones, Philip	- Dec. 16, 1653	Sept., 1658
Lambert, John	- Dec. 16, 1653	June/July, 1657
Lawrence, Henry	- Dec. 16, 1653	Sept., 1658
Lisle, Viscount	- Dec. 16, 1653	Sept., 1658
Mackworth, Humphrey	- Feb. 7, 1654	Dec., 1654
Major, Richard	- Dec. 16, 1653	mid-1654
Montague, Edward	- Dec. 19, 1653	Sept., 1658
Pickering, Gilbert	- Dec. 16, 1653	Sept., 1658
Rous, Francis	- Dec. 16, 1653	Sept., 1658
Skippon, Philip	- Dec. 16, 1653	Sept., 1658
Strickland, Walter	- Dec. 16, 1653	Sept., 1658
Sydenham, William	- Dec. 16, 1653	Sept., 1658
Wolsley, Charles	- Dec. 16, 1653	Sept., 1658
Mulgrave, Earl of	- June 30, 1654	Sept., 1658
Fiennes, Nathaniel	- April 26, 1654	Sept., 1658
Fleetwood, Charles	- Dec. 16, 1653	Sept., 1658
Thurloe, John	- July 13, 1657	Sept., 1658

SECRETARIAT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE

The basic format of the Secretariat can be found in a document of January 30, 1654 presented for approval to the Protector and Council (CSPD, VI, 383). Further additions or changes have mainly been extracted from the Calendar of State Papers and from Masson's Life of Milton.

Secretary of the Council of State	- John Thurloe (£800 p.a.)
Treasurer for the Council's Contingencies	- Gualter Frost (£400 p.a.)
Latin Secretary	- Philip Meadows (£200 p.a.)
Latin Secretary Extraordinary	- John Milton (£288 p.a.)
Serjeant-at-Arms	- Edward Dendy (£365 p.a.)
Minor Under-Officers:	
Under-clerks	- seven at 6s. 8d. per day
Messengers	- twelve at 5s. per day plus 6d. per mile travelling expenses
Serjeant-deputies	- ten at 3s. 4d. per day plus 8d. per mile travelling expenses
Usher of the Council Chamber	- Richard Scutt at 7s. per day with two assistants
Keeper of the Council Chamber	- Thomas Bennett at 4s. per day

Not mentioned in the document presented to Council in January, 1654 were the two assistants to Thurloe

- William Jessop (£365 p. a.)
- Henry Scobell (£365 p. a.)

Also attached to the Secretariat were:

Master of His Highness' Barge	- Richard Nutt (£80 p. a.)
Assistant	- Thomas Washborne (£20 p.a.)
Watermen	- twenty-five at £4 p. a. each

In April, 1655 Frost's salary was reduced from £400 to £300 p. a.; Milton's salary was also reduced from £288 to £150 p. a. (CSPD, VIII, 127).

OTHER OFFICES IN THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE

- Commissioners of the Great Seal - information from Foss, VI, 401-402. Salary was £1,000 p.a.
- February 8, 1649 - Bulstrode Whitelocke
John Lisle
Richard Keeble
(continued until Cromwell became Protector)
- April 5, 1654 - Bulstrode Whitelocke
John Lisle
Sir Thomas Widdrington
(the Protector removed Whitelocke and Widdrington and appointed the following)
- June 15, 1656 - John Lisle
Nathaniel Fiennes
(who retained their position until Cromwell's death)
- Keeper or Lord of the Privy Seal - Nathaniel Fiennes (£1,000 p.a.)
- Clerks of the Privy Seal (2) - Miles Fleetwood
Thomas Smithsby (until late 1656)
- Their salary was £150 p.a. each (CSPD, IX, 62)
- Masters of Requests (4) - Francis Bacon
Nathaniel Bacon
John Sadler (appointed January 20, 1654 - Abbott, III, 167)
Lislebone Long (until early 1657 - DKPR, V, 262)
- Their salary was £500 p.a. each (CSPD, X, 182)
- Clerks of the Signet (2) - Samuel Morland
Philip Nuttley
- Their salary was £150 p.a. each (Abbott, III, 784)

OTHER OFFICES IN THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE (continued)

- Solicitor-General - William Ellis (from May, 1654 - DNB)
- Attorney-General - Edmund Prideaux (from April, 1649 until his death in 1659 - DNB)

THE HOUSEHOLD

- Chamberlain to the Household - Sir Gilbert Pickering (appointed Aug, 1655 - Clarke Papers, III, 47)
- Comptroller - Philip Jones (appointed August, 1655 - Masson, V, 324)
- Auditor - Mr. Barrington
- Steward - John Maidstone
- Keeper of the Wardrobe - Clement Kinnersley (appointed early 1654 - CSPD, VII, 394; his salary was £600 p. a. - CSPD, IX, 71)
- Gentlemen of the Bedchamber - Mr. Harvey (1655-1656)
Mr. Rolt
John Barrington
Sir Thomas Billingsley (appointed in August, 1655 - Clarke Papers, III, 47)
- Knight-Marshall of the palace - Philip Meadows (appointed in 1658 - DNB)
- Clerk of the Green Cloth - Abraham Barrington (Round, p. 658)
- Private Secretary to His Highness - William Malyn (Thurloe, II, 224)

THE HOUSEHOLD (continued)

- | | |
|--|--|
| Solicitor to His Highness | - Sir William Willis
(Noble, II, 532) |
| Master of Ceremonies | - Sir Oliver Fleming
(Whitelocke, IV, 234;
his salary was £200 p.a. -
DKPR, V, 258) |
| Surveyor to His Highness' Houses
and Serjeant-Plumber | - John Embree
(appointed January, 1653
with a salary of £300 p.a. -
CSPD, VII, 393) |
| Master of the Horse | - John Cleypole
(Noble, II, 249) |
| Bailiff of Cromwell's lands
in Wales | - Sir Edward Herbert
(Parl. Hist., XXI, 10) |
| Steward of Cromwell's lands
in Wales | - Philip Jones
(Parl. Hist., XXI, 19) |
| His Highness' waterman | - Thomas Redriff
(CSPD, VII, 451) |
| His Highness' avenor | - Charles Rich
(CSPD, VIII, 257) |
| His Highness' Life Guard | - In August, 1654 the Guard
numbered forty-five, besides
officers, under the command
of Lord Howard (CSPD, VII, 290)
In early 1656 it was increas-
ed to 173 under the command
of Captain Beake (CSPD, IX,
203; Clarke Papers, III, 62) |

THE EXCHEQUER

- Commissioners of the Exchequer - Appointed August 3, 1654
 (Whitelocke, IV, 128)
 Bulstrode Whitelocke
 Sir Thomas Widdrington
 John Lisle
 Henry Rolle
 Oliver St. John
 Edward Montague
 William Sydenham
 William Mascham
- Chief Baron of the Exchequer - William Steele
 (from May, 1655 to
 August, 1656 - DNB)
- Sir Thomas Widdrington
 (appointed in June, 1658 -
 DNB)
- Barons of the Exchequer (Puisne) - In mid-1654 the personnel
 was as follows:
 Francis Thorpe
 Robert Nicholas
 Richard Pepys
- In 1655, Thorpe, was
 replaced by:
 John Parker
- In 1656, Pepys was
 replaced by:
 Roger Hill
- (Information from Foss, VI)
- Baron of the Exchequer (Cursitor) - Appointed September, 1645;
 Richard Tomlins
 (Foss, VI)
- Auditors of the Imprest (2) - Bartholomew Beale
 William Scott
 (CSPD, VIII, 369)
- In January, 1657 Scott
 was replaced by:
 Abraham Barrington
 (CSPD, X, 237-238)
- Their salary was £500 p.a.
 (CSPD, VIII, 172)

THE EXCHEQUER (continued)

Auditors of the Revenue (??)

- Mr. Shadwell (CSPD, VII, 213)
- Henry Broad (CSPD, VIII, 112)
- Mr. Hill (CSPD, X, 248)
- Thomas Fauconberge
(appointed August 31, 1654 -
DKPR, IV, 189-198; died
in May, 1655 - CSPD, VIII, 169)
- Sir William Roberts
(Appointed August 31, 1654 -
DKPR, IV, 189-198)
- Mr. Wingfield

Salary was £300 p. a. plus fees.

Exchequer Remembrancer
(Old King's Remembrancer)

- Thomas Coke
(CSPD, IX, 212)

Clerk of the Pipe

- Sir Henry Croke
(DKPR, II, App. II, 216)

Clerk of the Pells

- Dennis Bond (Appointed
August 21, 1654 - Abbott,
III, 417)
- Salary was £350 p. a. plus fees

Tellers (4)

- In September, 1654 the following three were appointed:
Christopher Lister
John Stone
Edward Horseman
(CSPD, VII, 367)

George Downing
(Appointed in 1656 -
Parl. Hist. XXI, 5)

Salary was £400 p. a.
each plus fees

Auditor of the Receipt

- Sir William Roberts

Salary was £500 p. a.
plus fees
(CSPD, VIII, 172)

COMMISSIONERS FOR INSPECTING THE TREASURY

The following were appointed on December 31, 1653 (CSPD, VI, 317).

- Sir William Roberts	William Sydenham
Edward Cresset	Gervas Bennet
Robert Tichborne	Edward Montague
William Goffe	Hezekiah Haynes

COMMISSIONERS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE CUSTOMS

In February, 1655 the following men were ordered to continue as they had been before September 2, 1654 (CSPD, VIII, 1655).

- Sir William Roberts	John Stone
Adam Baynes	John Price
Gervas Bennet	John Bocket

COMMISSIONERS FOR INQUIRING INTO ARREARS OF EXCISE

These Commissioners were appointed on December 29, 1653 (A&O, II, 828).

- Sir William Roberts	John Stone
Gervas Bennet	John Hildeslèyy
Richard Lucy	Edward Cludd
Thomas Wood	Anthony Rous
James Phillips	Nathaniel Barton

COMMISSIONERS FOR APPEALS AND REGULATING THE EXCISE

The Commissioners were first appointed March 17, 1654 (A&O, II, 851). A salary of £300 p. a. each was given to them in August, 1654 (CSPD, VII, 343).

- Sir William Roberts	John Stone
Henry Elsing	Gervas Bennet
Adam Baynes	John Bocket

In March, 1655 John Price was appointed to replace Henry Elsing, deceased (CSPD, VIII, 66).

COMMISSIONERS OF THE EXCISE

The following were appointed on December 24, 1653.
Their allowance was 1d. on the pound (A&O, II, 823).

- Luke Hodges	Thomas Bulstrode
William Parker	

The following were appointed on March 17, 1654.
Their allowance was 2d. on the pound (A&O, II, 845). They
were continued on February 28, 1655. (A&O, II, 1035).

- Thomas Allen	Richard Bury
George Langham	Thomas Wood
George Foxcraft	

Comptroller of the Excise and Customs

- John Stone

Salary was £400 p. a.
(Parl. Hist. XXI, 7)

PROBATE OF WILLS

The original Judges were appointed in an Act of April 8, 1653 (A&O II, 702). Additional Judges were added on December 24, 1653 (A&O II, 824).

- | | | |
|---|---|---------------------|
| Judges | - Salary was at first £300 per annum (CSPD, VII, 455). It was later reduced to £200 per annum (Burton I, 226; CSPD, IX, 107-108). | |
| | Sir Anthony A. Cooper | Samuel Boyer |
| | Sir Henry Blount | Matthew Tomlinson |
| | Matthew Hale | John Fountain |
| | William Steele | John Fowk |
| | John Sadler | William Packer |
| | Charles G. Cock | Hugh Peters |
| | Thomas Manby | Sir William Roberts |
| | Thomas Blount | John Mansel |
| | Josias Berners | John Rushworth |
| | John Desborough | John Sparrow, Jr. |
| Additional Judges | - Richard Lucy | Joachim Matthewes |
| | John Hildesley | Edward Clud |
| | Nathanial Barton | Thomas Wood |
| | Gervas Bennet | Robert Tichborne |
| | Anthony Rous | |
| Registrar | - Mark Cottle (CSPD, I, 183) | |
| Keeper of the Seal and Treasurer of Profits | - Richard Sankey (CSPD, VII, 89) | |

COMMITTEE OF THE ARMY

The Committee that sat during the Protectorate was composed of the following men. They were first appointed January 28, 1654 (A&O, II, 835-839). They were continued on June 29, 1654 (A&O, II, 939-940) and on July 10, 1656 (CSPD, X, 16).

- John Clerk	Edward Clud
Richard Lucy	Edward Horseman
James Phillips	Edward Gill
John Hildesley	Gervas Bennet
Adam Baynes	

TREASURERS-AT-WAR

These two officials were appointed and continued in the same Ordinances as the Committee of the Army.

- John Blackwell, Jr.	Richard Dean
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THE NAVY

The Admiralty Commissioners in office at the beginning of the Protectorate were appointed on December 12, 1653 (A&O, II, 812-813). Their salary seems to have been £400 p. a. each (CSPD, VIII, 155).

- Robert Blake	George Monk
John Desborough	William Penn
Philip Jones	John Clerke
John Stone	Edward Horseman
William Burton	Vincent Gookin
Thomas Kelsey	

Anthony Rous (was added March 31, 1654 - CSPD, VII, 67)

A new Committee appointed August 28, 1654 did not include John Stone, Edward Horseman, William Burton and Vincent Gookin (Abbott, III, 426).

THE NAVY (continued)

A further body of Admiralty Commissioners was appointed in November, 1655 (CSPD, IX, 10).

- John Lambert	Edward Montague
William Sydenham	George Monk
John Desborough	Robert Blake
Philip Jones	John Clerke
Thomas Kelsey	Edward Hopkins
Edward Salmon	

Commissioners of the Navy

Seven Commissioners active in the Protectorate were appointed before 1653. Additions are noted. Their salary was £250 p. a. each. (CSPD, VI, 351; Oppenheim, p. 347).

- John Holland	Thomas Smith
Peter Pett	Robert Thompson
Francis Willoughby	Nehemiah Bourne
Edward Hopkins	

George Payler (replaced Holland in 1654 - CSPD, VII, 76)

Nathan Wright (replaced Hopkins in 1657 - Oppenheim, p. 347)

Treasurer of the Navy

- Robert Blackbourne

His salary was £250 p. a.

Treasurer of the Navy

- Richard Hutchinson
(appointed in January, 1651 at a salary of £1000 p. a., which was eventually raised to more than £1500 p.a.- Oppenheim, p. 351-352; CSPD, IX, 24, 44)

DEPARTMENT OF VICTUALLING

A new department was set up in 1654. Its head was Captain Thomas Alderne at a salary of £500 p. a. (Oppenheim, p. 326). On his death in April, 1657 he was replaced by three Navy Commissioners who were then to be styled Commissioners of the Navy and Victualling. They received an additional £250 each.

- Robert Thompson	Nehemiah Bourne
Francis Willoughby	

COMMISSIONERS OF PRIZE GOODS

The only operative officers in this department were the Treasurers and Collectors of Prize Goods. The six officers active during the Protectorate were all appointed before December, 1653 (Oppenheim, p. 309).

- John Sparrow	Richard Blackwell
Humphrey Blake	Richard Hill
Samuel Wilson	Robert Turpin

Their Comptroller was Clement Oxenbridge (CSPD, VII, 349).

ORDNANCE OFFICE

Information from CSPD, VII, 331.

Surveyor	- George Payler (£194 p.a.)
Clerk	- Jonathan White (£215 p.a.)
Storekeeper	- Jonathan Falkner (£216 p.a.)
Clerk of the delivery	- William Billers (£166 p.a.)
Master Gunner	- Richard Wollaston (DKPR, V, 250)

COURT OF CHIVALRY

Information from G. D. Squibb, High Court of Chivalry, pp. 68-72.

Register	- John Watson
Lieutenant	- Dr. John Exton
Garter Herald	- Edward Bysshe
Clarenceaux Herald	- Arthur Squibb

COURT OF CHIVALRY (continued)

Windsor Herald	- Edward Norgate
Norroy Herald	- William Ryley (CSPD, VIII, 60)
Advocate of the Court	- Dr. Walter Walker

THE TOWER

In CSPD, VII, 390 is a paper dated November 6, 1654 and entitled, "The State of the Tower". It lists the officers as follows:

Lieutenant of the Tower	- Sir John Barkstead
	Salary was £200 p.a.
Other minor offices - Yeoman Warders (40)	at 1s. 2d. per day
Gentleman Porter	at 1s. 4d. per day
Minister	at 3s. 5 ¹ / ₂ d. per day
Gaoler	at 1s. 1-3/4 d. per day
Clockkeeper	at 3d. per day
Pumper	at 8d. per day
Scavenger	at 6d. per day
Gunners (6)	at 2s. per day each

Offices not mentioned above:

Keeper of the Tower Records	- William Ryley
	Salary was £100 p.a. (Masson, V, 287)
Keeper of the Paper Office	- Mr. Randolph
	Salary was £160 p. a. (CSPD, VIII, 601)

CHANCERY

The officers mentioned below are in accordance with the Ordinance for the regulation of Chancery of August 21, 1654 (A&O, II, 949-967).

Master of the Rolls

- William Lenthal
(from 1649 to 1660 -
Foss, VI, 403)

Masters in Chancery (6)

- William Lenthal
John Sadler
Nathaniel Hubart
Arthur Barnardiston
Thomas St. Nicholas
Robert Aldworth
(Abbott, III, 704)

Chancery Clerks (3)

- Lawrence Maidwell
Matthew Pindar
Robert Hales
(A&O, II, 950)

Registrars (4)

- Jasper Edwards
William Goldisborough
(the above two men
served from 1654 to
1658 - Lords, I, 79)

John Goodwin (?)
Walter Long (?)

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS

Chief Justice

- Oliver St. John
(from 1649 to 1660 -
Foss, VI, 407)

Justices

- John Puleston
Peter Warburton
Edward Atkins
(the above three were
appointed in 1649;
the first two were
replaced in 1654 -
Foss, VI, 407)

Matthew Hales
Hugh Wyndham
(replaced Puleston
and Warburton in 1654 -
Foss, VI, 407)

COURT OF UPPER BENCH

Chief Justice

- Henry Rolle
(from 1648 to June,
1655 - Foss, VI, 405)

John Glynne
(replaced Rolle.
Appointed June 15,
1655 - Foss, VI, 405)

Justices

- Philip Jermyn
Robert Nicholas
Richard Aske
(the above three were
appointed in 1649;
Nicholas was replaced
in 1654 and Jermyn
in 1655 - Foss, VI, 406)

Richard Newdigate
(appointed June 2,
1654; removed in 1655
and restored in 1657 -
Foss, VI, 406)

Peter Warburton
(appointed in June,
1655 - Foss, VI, 406)

BISHOPS' LANDS

The Trustees were appointed in the Ordinance of October 9, 1646 (A&O, I, 879-883). The Contractors and other officials were named in the Ordinance of November 17, 1646 (A&O, I, 887-904). Those Trustees marked by an asterisk left the employment in March, 1647 (A&O, I, 921-924).

Trustees - An Ordinance of March 5, 1647 (A&O, I, 921-924) gave them £2000 to be divided among them.

*Thomas Adams	Thomas Arnold
Sir John Wollaston	Richard Glide
*Sir George Clark	William Hobson
*John Langham	Francis Ash
John Fawk	John Babington
James Bunce	Laurence Bromfield
William Gibbes	Alexander Jones
Samuel Avery	*John Jones
Thomas Noel	Richard Venner
Christopher Pack	Stephed Estwick
John Bellamy	Robert Mead
Edward Hooker	James Story

Contractors - Their allowance was 2d. on the pound

John Blackwell, Sr.	William Prin
Sir William Roberts	Robert Fenwick
Thomas Vyner	Timothy Middleton
Col. Richard Turner	Edward Cresset
James Russel	
William Methold	
Thomas Ayres	

Register and Keeper of Records - £100 p. a. and writing fees
Henry Elsyng

Register-Accomptant - £200 p. a.
Robert Manwaring

Comptroller - £200 p. a.
John Fowk

Treasurers - Their allowance was 1d. on the pound
William Gibbs
Thomas Noel
Francis Ash

DEANS' AND CHAPTERS' LANDS

The Act of April 30, 1649 appointed all of the main officers (A&O, II, 81-104).

Trustees - Their allowance was 3d. on the pound.

Sir John Wollaston	John White
Thomas Arnold	William Rolf
Stephen Estwicke	William Hobson
Mark Hildesley	George Langham
Daniel Tayler	John Stone
Thomas Noel	William Wyberd
Owen Roe	Rowland Wilson
Robert Tichborne	

Contractors - Their allowance was 3d. on the pound.

Sir William Roberts	John Blackwell, the elder
James Russel	Thomas Ayres
Robert Fenwick	Edward Cressit
John Heyling	Nathaniel Whetam
Roger Smith	Dr. William Parker
Josias Berners	Clement Oxenbridge

Treasurers - Their allowance was 2d. on the pound.

Thomas Noel
Stephen Estwicke
William Hobson

Register - £100 p.a. and writing fees

Henry Scobel

Register-
Accomptant - £200 p.a.

Robert Manwaring

Surveyor-
General - £150 p.a.

Col. William Webb

Comptroller - John Fowk

A further Ordinance of May 4, 1654 (A&O, II, 890-897) appointed James Noel as a Treasurer in place of Thomas Noel (deceased).

CROWN GOODS

The Act of July 4, 1649 appointed all of the main officers (A&O, II, 160-168).

Trustees - Their allowance was 7d. on the pound.

John Humphreys	Philip Cartwright
George Withers	Henry Creech
Anthony Mildmay	John Foach
Ralph Grafton	David Powel
Michael Lampier	Edward Winslow
John Belchamp	

Contractors - Their allowance was 5d. on the pound.

Daniel Norman	John Price
John Hales	Henry Parre
Clement Kinnersley	William Allen

Treasurers - Their salary was 2d. on the pound

Humphrey Jones
John Hunt

CROWN LANDS

The major officials were appointed in the initial Act of July 16, 1649 (A&O, II, 168-191). Additional minor officers and various replacements have mainly been extracted from Sidney Madge's The Domesday of Crown Lands, particularly Appendix III, part IV, pp. 342-344.

Trustees - Their allowance was 3d. on the pound

Thomas Coke	William Steele,
William Boseville	Silvanus Taylor
John Sparrow	Dr. Thomas Hubbard
William Kenrick	Cornelius Coke,
Ralph Harrison	John Hunt
William Scott	Sir Edward Barkham
Sir Henry Holcroft (until Dec. 31, 1652 - Madge, p. 343)	

Contractors - Their allowance was 3d. on the pound

Sir William Roberts	Daniel Searl
Thomas Ayres	Nicholas Lempriere
John White	Nicholas Bond
James Stockal	Richard Sidenham
Edward Cresset	Robert Fenwick
Sir Richard Saltonstal	
John Humphreys (resigned Dec. 31, 1652)	

Treasurers - Their allowance was 1d. on the pound

Thomas Andrews	John Dethick
Sir John Wollaston	Francis Allen

Registrar - £100 p. a. and writing fees

Henry Colbron	On his death, sometime before Feb., 1656, he was replaced by John Wheatley (CSPD, IX, 168).
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Record Clerk - William Ryley (Madge, p. 343)

CROWN LANDS (continued)

Surveyor-General - £150 p. a.

Col. William Webb

After the Act of December 31, 1652 (A&O, II, 691-696), Silvanus Taylor, a Trustee, was appointed Assistant Surveyor-General.

Comptroller - £300 p. a.

Henry Robinson

Madge also names a Deputy, Henry Sefton, and a further Comptroller, Henry Smith (Madge, p. 343). However, it seems certain that Robinson kept his position until the Restoration (Jordan, p. 65). With the similarity of names--Henry Sefton and Henry Smith--it is possible that they are one and the same man.

Registrar of Debentures - William Potter (Madge, p. 343)

Secretary to the Trustees - Michael Lea (Madge, p. 343)

Examiners	- Jegon Mandeville	William Jessop
	John Caser	John Light
	John Collins	

(Madge, pp. 342-344)

Auditors	- William Jugh	Mr. Powell
	William Hall	

(Madge, pp. 342-344)

Counsel for Sale and Conveyancing	- Ralph Darnall	Richard Graves
	(Madge, p. 343)	

FORFEITED ESTATES

All of the main officials were named in the first Act for the sale of forfeited estates of July 16, 1651 (A&O, II, 520-545). A second group of estates was put up for sale in an Act of November 18, 1652 (A&O, II, 623-652). Minor changes in personnel in the second Act have been noted below.

Trustees - Their allowance was 2d. on the pound

William Skinner	Sampson Sheffield
William Robinson	(until Nov., 1652)
Samuel Gooking	
Henry Sealy	Matthias Valentine
William Lisle	(from Nov., 1652)
Arthur Samuel	

Treasurers	- Sir John Wollaston	John Dethick
	Thomas Andrews	Francis Allen

Surveyor-General	- £100 p. a.
	John Baker

Register	- £100 p. a.
	Ralph Darnal

Comptroller	- £200 p. a.
	Randal Manwaring

Register-Accomptant	- £100 p. a.
	Robert Manwaring

In the Act of November, 1652, the Register-Accomptant was replaced by three officials who were to have £200 p. a. each.

Philip Tandy	William Benson
Edward Green	

FEE FARM RENTS

The initial Act of March 11, 1650 (A&O, II, 358-362) named the same Trustees and Contractors as those appointed for the sale of Crown Lands. Furthermore, the same four Treasurers were also named as was the same Registrar and Comptroller.

The salaries of the Trustees, Contractors, Treasurers, Comptroller and Registrar were given in an additional Act of February 6, 1651 (A&O, II, 498-500). All were to have 2d. on the pound divided among them in a proportion to be decided by the Committee for Obstructions. However, this poundage was allowed only when doubling occurred in the contract. This was a reduction from the salary allowed in the original Act, 3d. on the pound on the straight sales.

CROWN FORESTS

The main officials were appointed in the initial Act of November 22, 1653 (A&O, II, 783-812).

Trustees - Their salary was £300 p. a. each

Edward Cresset	Henry Pitt
William Webb	Robert Aldworth
John Parker	Francis Mussenden
Josias Berners	

Treasurers - Their salary was £200 p. a. each

Charles Doyly	Matthew Sheppard
---------------	------------------

Surveyor-General, - His salary was £100 p. a.

and Register Ralph Hall

Register-Accomptant - His salary was £150 p. a.

William Benson

SALE OF FOUR FORESTS RESERVED FOR SOLDIERS

An Act of August 30, 1654 (A&O, II, 993-999) vested the sale of four forests reserved for soldiers in the hands of the same body of Trustees and Contractors, still surviving, that were named in the Act for the sale of Crown Lands.

COMMISSIONERS FOR REMOVING OBSTRUCTIONS

These officials were appointed in an Act of April 1, 1652 (A&O, II, 581). The same Commissioners remained in power at least until March, 1656 when they were called "dissolved" (CSPD, IX, 203-207). Their salary was £200 p. a. each (CSPD, VII, 397).

- Josias Berners	Henry Pitt,
Francis Mussenden	Matthias Valentine
Sir William Roberts	Robert Aldworth
John Parker	

COMMISSIONERS FOR NAMING DISCOVERIES

This seems to be a new body appointed April 6, 1656 (CSPD, IX, 278).

- Ralph Hall	Mr. Griffith
Edward Carey	Mr. Wilsby
Mr. Elliston	Major Bridges

Registrar - Ferdinando Packhurst (CSPD, IX, 279)

TRUSTEES FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PREACHING MINISTERS

The Trustees in office under the Protectorate were appointed in an Ordinance of September 2, 1654 (A&O, II, 1000-06). Their salary was £100 p. a. each.

- William Steel	Ralph Hall
Sir John Thorowgood	Richard Sydenham
George Cowper	Edward Hopkins
Richard Young	John Humphrey
John Pocock	Edward Cresset

Under the Trustees for Maintenance were several officials for the supervision of First Fruits and Tenths (Shaw, II, Appendix IX, 570-6000).

Remembrancer - James Rogers

Deputy Remembrancer - Thomas Baker

Receiver of First Fruits and Tenths and Treasurer to the Trustees for Maintenance
- Lawrence Steele

COMMISSIONERS FOR THE APPROBATION OF PREACHERS

The original Commissioners were appointed in an Ordinance of March 20, 1654 (A&O, II, 855-858).

Commissioners - They do not seem to have been paid until August, 1655 when they were given £200 p.a. each (CSPD, VIII, 304).

- Francis Rous	Dr. Thomas Goodwin
Dr. John Owen	Mr. Thankful Owen
Dr. Arrowsmith	Dr. Tuckney
Dr. Horton	Mr. Joseph Caryl
Mr. Philip Ny	Mr. William Carter
Mr. Sidrach Simpson	Mr. William Greenhill
Mr. William Strong	Mr. Thomas Manton
Mr. Samuel Slater	Mr. William Cowper
Mr. Stephen Marshal	Mr. John Tombes
Mr. Walter Cradock	Mr. Samuel Faircloth
Mr. Hugh Peters	Mr. Peter Sterry
Mr. Samuel Bamford	Mr. Thomas Valentine
Mr. Henry Jessee	Mr. Obadiah Sedgewick
Mr. Nicholas Lockier	Mr. Daniel Dyke
Mr. James Russel	Mr. Nathaniel Campfield

(cont.)

Robert Tichborn
 Thomas Wood
 William Goffe
 William Packer

Mark Hildesley
 John Sadler
 Thomas St. Nicholas
 Edward Cresset

Additional Commissioners - Appointed in an Ordinance of September 2, 1654
 (A&O, II, 1025-26).

John Row
 Mr. George Griffith
 Godfrey Bosvile

Mr. John Bond
 John Turner

COURT OF ADMIRALTY

The Admiralty Judges in office during the Protectorate were appointed in an Ordinance of July 30, 1653 (A&O, II, 712-713). Other judges appear to have been added later.

Judges - Their salary was £500 p. a. each
 (CSPD, VII, 144).

Dr. John Godolphin
 Dr. William Clark
 Charles-George Cock

Additional Judges - Dr. Walter Walker (mentioned CSPD, VIII, 1;
 January, 1655)
 John Clark (added May 4, 1655, CSPD, VIII,
 Thomas Kelsey (152)

Marshal of the Admiralty Court - Solomon Smith (CSPD, VII, 189)

Registrars - John Rushworth (appointed mid-1654,
 William Roe CSPD, VII, 374)

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE

The only High Court of Justice appointed during the Protectorate was initiated in an Ordinance of June 13, 1654 (A&O, II, 917-918).

Commissioners -	John Lisle	Edward Atkins
	Richard Ask	Robert Nicholas
	William Steele	John Corbet
	Robert Tichborn	Stephen Estwick
	Thomas Andrews	Mark Hildesley
	William Underwood	Thomas Allen
	Matthew Sheppard	George Langham
	Maurice Thompson	Richard Shute
	Daniel Taylor	Edmund Waring
	Sir William Roberts	George Cooper
	Edward Cresset	William Webb
	Sir John Thorowgood	William Ligon
	Anthony Rous	Richard Lucy
	James Phillips	Edward Winslow
	John Stone	Thomas Fauconberge
	Alban Cox	John Bocket

President - John Lisle (Abbott, III, 351)

Clerk of the High Court - John Phelps (Abbott, III, 351)

COMMISSIONERS FOR MANAGING ESTATES UNDER SEQUESTRATION

The officers in power under the Protectorate were appointed on February 10, 1654 (A&O, II, 839-842).

Commissioners - Their salary was £300 p. a. each (CSPD, VIII, 97).

	Josias Berners	Edward Winslow
	Richard Moor	John Upton
	Edward Cary	Rice Williams
Treasurers -	Richard Sherwin	John Leach

Registrar - £150 p. a.
Martin Dallison (CSPD, VIII, 97)

Auditors - £175 p. a. each
Thomas Browne Dancer Hancock
(CSPD, VIII, 97)

Examiner - £100 p. a.
John Birkenshaw (CSPD, VIII, 97)

COMMISSIONERS FOR RECEIPTS OF LISTS OF PUBLIC DEBTORS AND CREDITORS

The following Commissioners were appointed in an Act of October 7, 1653 (A&O, II, 765-767).

Commissioners - Their salary was £200 p. a. each (CSPD, IX, 299)

Major William Bridges	John Greensmith
Simon Cressy	Mark Coe
Robert Perwich	Philip Tandy
William Maddison	

TRADE AND NAVIGATION COMMITTEE

Some were named in an Order of July 12, 1655 (CSPD, VIII, 240).

- Edward Montague	William Sydenham
Sir Charles Wolsley	Sir Gilbert Pickering
Philip Jones	Bulstrode Whitelocke
Sir Thomas Widdrington	Oliver St. John
Thomas Grove	Christopher Pack
Andrew Riccard	Maurice Thompson
Dennis Bond	Sir Henry Blount
Mr. Snow	John Upton
George Foxcraft	Nathaniel Wright
Martin Noel	Captain Henry Hatsell

Others were added November 1, 1655 (CSPD, IX, 1).

- Lord Richard Cromwell	John Lisle
John Glynn	Thomas Dickenson
Mr. Cullen	Joseph Jackson
John Trevor	William Berry
William Ashurst	Nathaniel Fiennes
William Steele	Robert Tichborne
Mr. Toll	Francis Drake
Col. John Bright	Sir Gilbert Gerrard
John Crew	Justice Hale
John Stone	Thomas Bonner
Mr. Dunne	Richard Norton
Mr. Legay	Sir John Hobart
William Pierpoint	

TRADE AND NAVIGATION COMMITTEE (continued)

Others were added from time to time.

John Thurloe	Dec. 12, 1655	(CSPD, IX, 54)
Francis Dincke	"	"
William Wheeler	"	"
Edmund Waller	"	"
George Downing	Dec. 25, 1655	(CSPD, IX, 73)
John Ireton	Jan. 4, 1656	(CSPD, IX, 100)
William Purefoy	"	"
Godfrey Bosville	"	"
Edward Lawrence	Jan. 11, 1656	(CSPD, IX, 114)
John St. Barbé	"	"
John Claypole	Jan. 15, 1656	(CSPD, IX, 115)
John Barnard	"	"
Sir John Reignolds	Jan. 30, 1656	(CSPD, IX, 141)
Col. Arthur Hill	"	"
George Berkeley	"	"
Thomas Whitegreave	"	"
Francis St. John	Feb. 5, 1656	(CSPD, IX, 162)
Col. John Jones	"	"
Henry Wright	"	"
Mr. Frederick	Feb. 15, 1656	(CSPD, IX, 188)
Richard Ford	"	"
Nehemiah Bourne	"	"
Charles Howard	April 3, 1656	(CSPD, IX, 252)
Robert Berwick	April 15, 1656	(CSPD, IX, 272)
Richard Ingoldsby	May 20, 1656	(CSPD, IX, 327)
Edmund Thomas	"	"
Thomas Banks	June 19, 1656	(CSPD, IX, 382)
Christopher Lister	July 8, 1656	(CSPD, X, 10)

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT FOR LAW REFORM

Sat from January 1652 until the dissolution of the Long Parliament in 1653. Information from F. A. Inderwick, The Interregnum, p. 206.

- Matthew Hale, Chairman	William Steele
Charles George Cock	Thomas Manby
John Sadler	Col. Thomas Blunt
Josias Berners	John Desborough
Samuel Moyer	John Sparrow, Jr.
Col. Matthew Tomlinson	John Fountain
Alderman J. Fowk	Mr. Hugh Peters
Major W. Packer	Sir William Roberts
Mr. W. Methwold	John Mansel
John Rushworth	Sir Anthony A. Cooper
Dr. Walker	Dr. Turner

APPENDIX II

OFFICE-HOLDERS IN PARLIAMENT

The following comprises a list of all known civil office-holders who sat in the Parliaments of 1654 and 1656. The method of selection used to determine inclusion in the list is discussed above on pages 84 to 86.

Abbreviations used in the tables are as follows:

- R = Recruiter
- I = Rumper
- P = Purged from Long Parliament
- K = Voted for Cromwell as king
- E = Excluded from sitting in 1656,
or 1660
- * = Elected but didn't sit
- L = Sat in the House of Lords

The main sources used to determine the membership of the Parliaments dealt with were:

Burton, Thomas. Diary of Thomas Burton, Esq., ed. J. T. Rutt.

Brunton, D. and D. H. Pennington. Members of the Long Parliament.

Cobbett, William, ed. The Parliamentary History of England.

Davies, Godfrey. "The Election of Richard Cromwell's Parliament, 1658-9," English Historical Review.

Glass, Henry A. The Barebone Parliament.

Jones, C. F. Trevallyn. "The Composition and Leadership of the Presbyterian Party in the Convention," English Historical Review.

Keller, M. F. The Long Parliament, 1640-1641.

"A Narrative of the late Parliament. . . ." (Printed in The Harleian Miscellany.)

"A Mystery of the Good Old Cause. . . ." (Printed in The Parliamentary History of England, ed. William Cobbett.

The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England.

Pinckney, Paul J. "The Scottish representation in the Cromwellian parliament of 1656," Scottish Historical Review.

Williams, W. R. J., ed. The Parliamentary History of the Principality of Wales, 1541-95.

Yule, G. The Independents in the English Civil War.

	L. P.	1653	1654	1656	1658	1660
ALDWORTH, Robert			x	xK	x	x
AUDLEY, Lewis				x		
BACON, Francis	xRI		x	xK	x	x
BACON, Nathaniel	xRI		x	xK	x	x
BARKSTEAD, Sir John			x	x	x	
BARTON, Nathaniel		x	x			
BAYNES, Adam			x	x	x	
BEDFORD, Samuel			x	xK		
BEKE, Richard				xK		
BEKE, Robert			x	xK	x	
BENNET, Gervas		x	x	xK	x	
BERNERS, Josias			x			
BLACKWELL, John				x		
BLAGRAVE, Daniel	xRI			x	x	
BLAKE, Alexander			x	x		x
BODURDA, Griffith				xK	x	x
BOND, Dennis	xI		x	xK		
BURTON, William		x		x	x	
BUTLER, Edward				x		
BROGHILL, Lord			x	xK		L
BYSSHE, Edward	xP		x		x	
CAREY, Edward				x		
CHADWICK, James			x	x		
CLAPTHORNE, George			x*			
CLERKE, John		x	x	xK	x	
CLEYPOL, John			x	xK	x	
CLUD, Edward		x		x		

	L. P.	1653	1654	1656	1658	1660
COCK, Charles George				x		
COKE, Thomas			x			
COOPER, Anthony A.	x*	x	x	xE	x	x
CROMWELL, Henry			x	xK	x	x
CROMWELL, Richard			x	x		
DESBOROUGH, John			x	x	x	
DESBOROUGH, Samuel			x	x	x	
DOWNING, George			x	xK	x	
DUNNE, Thomas			x			
EDWARDS, Richard	xRI			x		
ELLIS, William	xI		x	x	x	xE
FAUCONBERGE, Thomas			x			
FENWICK, Robert		x	x	x		
FENWICK, William	xRP		x	x	x	x
FIENNES, Nathaniel	xP		x	xK	x	
FLEETWOOD, Charles	xRI		x	x	x	
FLEETWOOD, Miles				xK	x	
FOOT, Thomas			x	xK		
GIBBS, William			x	xE		
GILES, Edmund				x		
GILL, Edward			x	x		
GLYNN, John	xP		x	xK	x	x
GOFFE, William			x	x	x	
GOODWIN, John	xI		x	xEK	x	x
GOODWIN, Robert	xI		x		x	

	L. P.	1653	1654	1656	1658	1660
GOOKIN, Vincent		x	x	x	x	
GORGES, Thomas			x	x	x	x
HALE, Matthew			x		x	x
HARVEY, Edmund			x	xE		xE
HATSEL, Henry			x	x	x	
HAYNES, Hezekiah			x	x		
HERBERT, Sir Edward				xK		
HILDESLEY, John		x	x	x	x	x
HILL, Roger	xI			x		
HOPKINS, Edward				x		
HORSEMAN, Edward		x	x		x	
HOSKINS, Bennet	xRP		x	x	x	
HOWARD, Charles		x	x	xK	x	x
JEPHSON, William	xP		x	xK		
JONES, Philip	xRI	x	x	xK	x	
KEELING, Edward			x	x		
KELSEY, Thomas			x	x		
KING, Ralph			x	x		
KING, Sir Robert		x	x	x		
LAMBERT, John			x	x	x	xE
LAWRENCE, Henry	xRP	x	x	xK	x	
LAWRENCE, William				x		
LECHMERE, Nicholas	xRI		x	x	x	
LENTHALL, William	xI		x	xK	x	
LISLE, John	xI		x	xK	x	

	L. P.	1653	1654	1656	1658	1660
LISLE, Viscount	xI	x	x	x	x	
LISTER, Christopher			x	x		
LLOYD, Charles			x	xK	x	
LOCKHART, William		x	x	xK	x	
LONG, Lislebone	xRI		x	xK	x	
LUCY, Richard		x	x	xK		
MacDOWEL, Sir James			x	x	x	
MACKWORTH, Humphrey			x			
MACKWORTH, Thomas	xRP		x	x		
MAIDSTONE, John			x	x		
MARGETS, Thomas				x	x	
MARKHAM, Henry				xK	x	
MASHAM, Sir William			x			
MATTHEWES, Joachim			x	x	x	
MONTAGUE, Edward	xRP	x	x	xK	x	x
NICHOLAS, John				x	x	
NOELL, Martin				xK		
PACK, Christopher				xK	x	
PARKER, John			x	x	x	
PEDLEY, Nicholas				x	x	x
PHILIPS, James		x	x	xK	x	
PICKERING, Sir Gilbert	xI	x	x	x	x	
PRICE, John			x	x		
PRIDEAUX, Edmund	xI		x	xK	x	x
PURY, Thomas Sen.	xI		x			
RHODES, Sir Edward				x	x	

	L. P.	1653	1654	1656	1658	1660
ROUS, Anthony		x	x	x		
ROUS, Francis	xI	x	x	x	x	
ROBERTS, Sir William		x	x	xK	x	
RUSSEL, Sir Francis	xRI		x	xK	x	
ST. AUBIN, John				x		x
ST. NICHOLAS, Thomas		x		x	x	
SALMON, Edward				x	x	
SHAPCOT, Robert	xRP		x	x		x
SKIPPON, Philip	xRI		x	x	x	
SMITH, Anthony			x	xK		
SMITH, George			x	x		
SMITH, Thomas				xK		
STEELE, William			x			
STONE, John		x	x	xK	x	
STRICKLAND, Walter	xRI	x	x	x	x	
SWINTON, John		x	x	x	x	
SYDENHAM, William	xRI	x	x	x	x	
TEMPLE, Sir John	xRP		x			
THOROWGOOD, Sir John				x		
THORPE, Francis	xRI		x	xE		
THURLOE, John			x	xK	x	
UPTON, Arthur			x	x		
UPTON, John			x	xK	x	

	L. P.	1653	1654	1656	1658	1660
WARCUPP, Robert			x			
WARING, Edward				x		x
WATERHOUSE, Nathaniel				x		
WEMYSS, Sir John				xK		
WHALLEY, Henry				x		
WHETAM, Nathaniel			x	x	x	
WHITELOCK, Bulstrode	xi		x	xK	x	
WIDDRINGTON, Sir Thomas	xi		x	x		x
WINGATE, Edmund			x			
WOLSELEY, Sir Charles			x	xK	x	x

APPENDIX III

THE KEY MEN

Robert Aldworth
Francis Bacon
Nathaniel Bacon
Sir John Barkstead
Adam Baynes
Gervas Bennet
Josias Berners
John Blackwell
Daniel Bladgrave
Griffith Budorda
Dennis Bond
William Burton
John Clarke
Edward Clud
Charles George Cocke
Thomas Coke
Miles Corbet
Edward Cresset
George Downing
William Ellis
Robert Fenwick
Nathaniel Fiennes
John Glynn
Matthew Hale
John Hildesley
Roger Hill
Edward Hopkins
Edward Horseman
William Jessop

Thomas Kelsey
Nicholas Lechmere
William Lenthall
William Lockhart
Lislebone Long
Richard Lucy
Philip Meadows
Robert Nicholas
Martin Noell
Christopher Pack
John Parker
James Philips
John Price
Edmund Prideaux
Thomas Pury, Sen.
Sir William Roberts
Henry Robinson
Anthony Rous
John Sadler
Oliver St. John
William Sheppard
John Sparrow, Jr.
William Steele
John Stone
John Thurloe
Robert Tichborne
Bulstrode Whitelocke
Sir Thomas Widdrington
Thomas Wood