



# THE CLARK NEWSLETTER

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## The Glorious Revolution of 1688-89: A Revolution Made or One Prevented?

[Harry T. Dickinson, Professor of British History at the University of Edinburgh, was at the Clark Library from September to December 1987, working on political ideas of the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. He has written or edited nine books, including *Bolingbroke* (1970), *Liberty and Property* (1977), and *Britain and the French Revolution* (forthcoming, January 1989).]

Public or official celebrations to mark the tercentenary of Britain's "Glorious Revolution" of 1688-89 will be far more muted than the large-scale and lavish celebrations of the bicentenaries of the American Declaration of Independence of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789. To some extent this is because the British feel inhibited about celebrating the political triumph of Protestantism over Catholicism and, especially, the establishment of an unqualified Protestant ascendancy in Ireland. There is also the regrettable fact that the British, unlike the Americans and the French (or the Russians and the Chinese), know little about their own revolution. Even when the events of 1688-89 are known, they are rarely perceived as having any profound significance. Too often the Glorious Revolution is seen as singularly inglorious; as a squalid palace coup, as the victory of an aristocratic oligarchy, or, at best, as an unheroic, if sensible and pragmatic, arrangement which slightly altered the succession to the throne in order to preserve the essential features of the constitution. It is often praised not as a revolution made but as one prevented.

In recent years a few scholars, however, have begun to regard the events of 1688-89 as having much greater long-term significance than the more dramatic events of the 1640s which are usually described as the "English Revolution." Angus McInnes and J. R. Jones, for example, have emphasized that it was 1688 that marked the end of the dangerous attempts of the Stuart monarchs to enlarge the authority of the Crown and reduce the influence of Parliament. Other scholars, notably Richard Ashcraft, Lois Schwoerer, and Mark Goldie, have gone on to stress that the radical dimension to the great political debate of 1688-89 has been unjustly ignored. What also needs to be borne in mind is that developments after the revolution soon showed that very profound changes indeed had been inaugurated by the rather cautious men of 1688-89.

There are, of course, good grounds for claiming that the

Glorious Revolution lacked the violence and heroics normally associated with major revolutions and that pragmatism, ambiguity, and even cynicism were the hallmarks of 1688-89. Few historians now doubt that James II came near to success, that the internal opposition to him was weak and divided, and that the success of 1688 depended heavily upon the courage and determination of William of Orange. It was William's invasion force that encouraged James II to flee the country, leaving a Convention Parliament with the task of negotiating a settlement with the Dutch invader. William was determined to have the crown, and the parliamentary leaders in England reluctantly agreed to offer it jointly to William and his wife, Mary. In reaching this decision the Convention Parliament did resolve that James II had broken the original contract and had violated the fundamental laws of the nation, but little emphasis was placed on these radical claims. Instead, the greater stress was laid on the assertion that James II had abdicated and had left the throne vacant. This had left the Convention Parliament with the task of filling the vacant throne.

Before the crown was offered jointly to William and Mary, the Convention Parliament drew up a Declaration of Rights which was designed to condemn James II's misdeeds and to reaffirm the traditional laws of the ancient constitution which he was accused of subverting. The offer



William and Mary. The illustrations for this article are from an untitled volume of plates on the theme of the Glorious Revolution. The engravings, by Adriaan Schoonebeek, most of them from designs by Pieter Pickaert, date from around 1689.





*James II fleeing from Whitehall on the night of 11-12 December (O.S.) 1688*

of the crown was not conditional on the two new monarchs' accepting the Declaration of Rights, however, though William and Mary were prepared to see these "ancient" and "undoubted" rights encapsulated in the Bill of Rights passed by Parliament later in 1689. Thus, the Revolution Settlement was achieved without reference by Parliament or Crown to such radical concepts as the original contract or the sovereignty of the people and without concession of any major new liberties to ordinary subjects. Most of the governing elite could accept the revolution as a conservative settlement which did not require them to endorse the notion of government by consent or the right of resistance. The revolution was defended by many Tories as an act of divine providence or as an act of political necessity in response to an emergency created by James II. Since William III was firmly in possession of the throne, the law of self-preservation decreed that subjects should obey him. Most Whigs went further in justifying the right of Parliament to resist a tyrannical monarch, but even they did not seek a democratic revolution which would enshrine the natural rights of subjects.

Nonetheless, while it is quite apparent that the Glorious Revolution had many conservative features, which have been praised by such Whiggish commentators as Burke, Lord Macaulay, G. M. Trevelyan, and David Ogg, it is a mistake to ignore the radical dimensions to the events of 1688-89. Richard Ashcraft, Lois Schworer, and Mark Goldie have recently shown us that a small coterie of radical Whigs strove throughout the 1680s and 1690s to carry through a much more profound restructuring of the constitution. While these Whigs failed to achieve all their aims, they enjoyed some successes, and they made a significant contribution to the lively ideological debate that followed the crisis of late 1688. Moreover, by focusing narrowly on the actions of the Convention Parliament in England, too many historians have ignored the more radical resolutions of the Scottish Convention and the scale of the violence in Ireland that entrenched a narrow Protestant minority in power and poisoned Anglo-Irish relations ever thereafter.

Even in England more radical decisions were taken in 1688-89 than has generally been recognized. Parliament did quite clearly breach the strict order of hereditary succession and did create a unique joint monarchy. It was implied that monarchs must in future govern according to the law or risk the consequences. The terms of the Declaration, and subsequently the Bill, of Rights were not, in fact, simply a reiteration of traditional rights recently threatened by James II. They were an assertion of several rights which critics of the Crown had long campaigned for but had not yet secured. Furthermore, the original draft of the Declaration of Rights had included many more clauses which would have further weakened the power of the Crown had they been incorporated in the final draft. While these clauses were dropped from the Declaration of Rights, that did not prevent the radical Whigs from getting their ideas into the public domain in a number of publications. These radical tracts put forward plans to restrict Crown revenues, to abolish the royal veto, to deprive the king of his prerogative to make peace and war, and to deny him the right to summon or dissolve Parliament at will. There were also proposals to take most appointments to high office out of the monarch's hands and to hold more frequent general elections, proposals for a redistribution of seats to larger constituencies and for the secret ballot. While none of these more extreme measures was passed, a number of reforms were carried through to weaken the power of the Crown and to strengthen that of Parliament. These included the Triennial Act of 1694, the exclusion of customs and excise officers from Parliament, and the various restrictions on the royal prerogative incorporated in the Act of Settlement of 1701, which was the copingstone of the Revolution Settlement.

The arguments of the radical Whigs in 1689 and beyond continued to influence critics of arbitrary authority and defenders of individual liberty well into the eighteenth century. This was particularly true of the ideas of John Locke, who is now clearly seen as one of the most radical Whigs of his day and not as a conservative defender of possessive individualism. Locke did not resort to the usual Whig arguments, both historical and legal, about traditional English liberties and the ancient constitution. Instead, he used rational arguments to defend the notion of the original contract, the natural rights of man, and the right to resist tyranny. While it was fashionable a decade or so ago to argue that these radical features in Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* did not prevent him from appearing to accept the limited, propertied franchise of his day, the work of Richard Ashcraft and others has done much to demonstrate the genuine radicalness of Locke's position. It now seems clear that Locke did indeed locate ultimate sovereignty in the whole community and did argue that the whole community could reclaim its original authority if its natural rights were threatened. Whereas Locke's radical contemporaries do appear to have had a restricted definition of "the people," Locke held a much more democratic view. They would certainly have restricted the franchise to the small freeholders in the counties and to merchants, shopkeepers, master craftsmen, and other men of similar rank in the boroughs, but Locke appears to have regarded all men,



including wage laborers and servants, as possessing the right to be considered as full and active members of civil society. While such a view was too radical for the mainstream Whigs of the revolution, it is a mistake to think Locke's position was consigned to oblivion. The radical wing of the Whigs kept his ideas alive, and by the later eighteenth century an entirely new generation of radicals was reviving interest in Locke's ideas on the original contract, the sovereignty of the people, and the natural rights of all men to life, liberty, and property.

The truly radical features of the Glorious Revolution are not discovered, however, unless we trace the longer-term and often unintended consequences of what was said and done in 1688–89 or what followed naturally from the events. We need to remember that neither the Whigs nor the Tories (nor William III) achieved the political settlement they had wanted, intended, or anticipated. Most members of the Convention Parliament had not wanted to create a more open political culture, but this proved to be the long-term consequence of the Toleration Act of 1689 and of the prolonged party strife after the Revolution Settlement: not only was it impossible to reimpose an effective system of press censorship, but a widespread and lively public interest in political matters was actively encouraged. In accepting the necessity of recognizing William III as their king *de facto*, the Tories had not wished to concede that the legislature, rather than the monarch, was the sovereign authority in the state, but their need to defend the Glorious Revolution, and to preserve political stability and aristocratic predominance

thereafter, ultimately led them to embrace the concept of parliamentary sovereignty. While the Revolution Settlement did not explicitly decree that sovereignty now rested with the combined legislature of the Crown, Lords, and Commons, this was indeed the practical consequence of the events of 1688–89, and it was soon an ideological position embraced by Whigs and Tories alike.

The steady enhancement of the prestige of Parliament after 1689 as it became an indispensable part of the sovereign legislature coincided with a continuous growth in its practical power. Parliament's power expanded to the point where it could seriously rival the authority of the king because Parliament controlled the financial resources needed to support the royal court and sustain the government's policies. It was not the precise terms of the Bill of Rights but his need for funds which made William III (and all succeeding monarchs) financially dependent on Parliament. While the king still retained considerable control over the executive and over government policies, he could exercise it only within broad limits set by Parliament.

The prime reason for this growth in Parliament's power stemmed from William III's determination to deploy England's resources in his struggle against Louis XIV of France. William's accession transformed Britain's relations with France and with the other powers in Europe. Sustaining this new role, however, was vastly expensive, and William III and his successors learned that it was not possible to formulate and execute foreign policy without consulting Parliament. It was the actual and prospective



William III appearing  
before Parliament in  
February 1689



costs of war which ensured that Parliament was summoned to meet every year after 1689. Britain was able to finance her extraordinary efforts against France because she learned to wage war on credit, without trying to balance income and expenditure every year. Nothing less than a financial revolution was carried through in the 1690s to establish a permanent machinery of public credit. At the center of this new financial system was the Bank of England, which, with other financial corporations, raised loans for the government at relatively low rates of interest. Each year Parliament earmarked specific taxes to meet the cost of funding these loans. The creation of this national debt reinforced Parliament's control of the revenue needed by government.

Paradoxically, the pressing needs of war also increased the power, especially the patronage, of the Crown. The expensive and large-scale wars after 1688 led to a striking growth in the number of men serving the Crown in the civil and military establishments. By the early eighteenth century the Crown was in the position to appoint men to thousands of posts, and this greatly increased the patronage at its disposal. At the same time the new system of public credit brought the leaders of England's financial network into a close working relationship with the government. Moneyed men, anxious to be on good terms with the Treasury, were usually prepared to advance the government's political interests.

Thus, while the political revolution of 1688-89 weakened the prerogative powers of the Crown, the administrative and financial changes which rapidly followed William III's accession greatly increased the patronage at the disposal of the Crown. This patronage was used to attach men more firmly to the court's interest in Parliament, but it was also a cause of friction because it antagonized a substantial number of backbenchers and alienated public opinion outside Parliament. Criticisms of the expense, the corruption, and the political dangers stemming from the lavish distribution of Crown patronage became a marked feature of Opposition propaganda for more than a century after the Glorious Revolution. Calls for the reform of the whole political system stemmed from the fear that corruption would undermine the independence of Parliament and ultimately subvert the liberties of the subject.

The most important long-term consequence of the Glorious Revolution therefore was a profound and fundamental alteration in the working relations of Crown and Parliament. The Crown's need for vast sums to wage war resulted in annual sessions of Parliament, in Parliament's control of the government's purse strings, but also in an increase in Crown patronage which could be deployed to influence the decisions of both houses of Parliament. Never before in English history had the relations between Crown and Parliament been so closely intertwined as they were after 1688. The need to make these relations work was a major factor in other significant political changes, such as the development of the Cabinet, the growth of political parties, and the spread of a free press. Although the electorate remained small, the whole political system was more open than ever before to influence and manipulation by a wide range of interests and pressure groups. The Glorious Revolution therefore marked a decisive turning point

in the constitutional and political history of England and, ultimately, of the whole British Isles and even of British dominions overseas.

HARRY T. DICKINSON

References: J. R. Jones, *The Revolution of 1688 in England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1972); Angus McInnes, "When Was the English Revolution?" *History* 67 (1982): 377-92; Richard Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics and Locke's "Two Treatises of Government"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) and *Locke's "Two Treatises of Government"* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987); Lois G. Schworer, *The Declaration of Rights, 1689* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981); Mark Goldie, "The Revolution of 1689 and the Structure of Political Argument," *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* 83 (1980): 473-564, and "The Roots of True Whiggism, 1688-94," *History of Political Thought* 1 (1980): 195-236. The Clark Library has a good collection of tracts from 1688-89, including some of the more radical pamphlets, such as *Some Remarks upon Government* (1689) and *A Brief Justification of the Prince of Orange's Descent into England* (1689).

## Clark Library Summer Fellowships for 1989

The Clark Library's twenty-third Summer Postdoctoral Fellowship Program, "The Artist as Hero, 1660-1800," will be directed by Robert Folkenflik, Professor of English at the University of California, Irvine. Six awards of \$2,500 each, plus a travel allowance, will be made for the program, which will run from 19 June to 28 July. Scholars not more than five years beyond their doctorate are eligible to apply, regardless of their field; those working in literature, art history, or social history should find the program particularly valuable.

Applicants must submit a curriculum vitae and a 500-word description of their research project; they should also arrange for three letters of reference to be sent directly to the Library. All materials are due by 1 February 1989 and should be addressed to Beverly Onley, Fellowship Secretary, Clark Library, 2520 Cimarron Street, Los Angeles, California 90018.

## Recent Seminar Publications

No. 75. *Literary Exiles and Refugees in Los Angeles*. Ehrhard Bahr, "Literary Weimar in Exile: German Literature in Los Angeles, 1940-1958"; Carolyn See, "The Mirrored Ball in the Hollywood Dance Hall: The English Expatriates." \$7.50.

No. 76. *Rochester and Court Poetry*. David M. Vieth, "The *Moriae Encomium* as a Model for Satire in Restoration Court Literature: Rochester and Others"; Dustin Griffin, "Rochester and the 'Holiday Writers.'" \$8.50.

Clark Seminar Papers may be purchased individually or by subscription. To order publications or to request catalogues and subscription information, please write to Fran Andersen, Publications, Clark Library, 2520 Cimarron Street, Los Angeles, California 90018.





Roy Porter, Clark Library Professor for 1988-89

## Research Reports, VI — Theology and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England

[Alan Rudrum, who was a Short-Term Fellow at the Clark earlier this year, is Professor of English at Simon Fraser University. He is the editor of the Penguin *Complete Poems* of Henry Vaughan, published in 1976 and reissued with revisions in 1983, and of the Oxford edition of Thomas Vaughan's *Works* (1984). He is the author of a book on Henry Vaughan published by the University of Wales on behalf of the Welsh Arts Council (1981).]

In an earlier phase of interest in Henry Vaughan, I was concerned with the influence of the so-called hermetic philosophers within the religious poems of *Silex Scintillans*. After I had explored that topic in my dissertation, and documented the hermetic sources of his twin brother Thomas's work, it occurred to me that the "history of ideas" approach was perhaps merely preliminary to what ought to be done. That is, it located Vaughan within a complex and eclectic intellectual tradition going back more than two thousand years but left unanswered the

question of why a young poet, whose work was almost all done between the outbreak of the Civil War and the mid-1650s, should have been attracted to that tradition and have found it valuable. What do the themes that run through Vaughan's verse have to do with what is known of his life and his position within the conflicts of his age?

We know that the Vaughan twins were "high" Anglicans, who considered both Archbishop Laud and Charles I to have been martyred for the true faith; we know that the area of South Wales in which Henry Vaughan lived was considered to be a hotbed of royalism and that the Vaughan family and their circle of friends were unwilling to conform to the demands of their conquerors. We know too that while literary censorship operated with varying severity through the years in which the Vaughans wrote, it did operate, and is therefore a factor to be considered when we attempt to understand the work of royalist authors. In the seventeenth century the phrase *hermetic philosopher* might refer indifferently to an alchemical practitioner or to the holder of a set of ideas not easily distinguishable from Neoplatonism. In dealing with Henry and Thomas Vaughan it is worth keeping both senses in mind: Thomas was certainly an alchemical practitioner of sorts, as well as a writer of several occultist prose works; and in Henry's poems we find both specifically alchemical imagery and related ideas associated with writers who were then thought of as hermetic philosophers, for example, Paracelsus, Cornelius Agrippa, Jacob Boehme, and Henry's brother Thomas. The fact of Henry Vaughan's interest in alchemy has long been recognized, but its possible relationship to his politics has not, to the best of my knowledge, been considered. In the context of the conflict of ideas between the "Arminians," who were predominant in the English church of the 1630s, and the strict predestinarians, who were dominant in the 1640s, it can be shown that the underlying philosophy of the alchemical enterprise is philosophically compatible with Arminianism, that is, with the concept of potential universal salvation, and difficult to reconcile with the strict predestinarian position that most human beings were to be condemned on the Day of Judgment. Alchemy is, after all, considered generally, about bringing things to their proper perfection; it involves, one might say, a Platonization of the Aristotelian concept of *entelechy*. A midcentury English Calvinist might apply it, as metaphor, to his personal spiritual development but could not with consistency accept the universalist implications of alchemical philosophy. One might argue, then, that Vaughan's use of alchemical ideas in his religious verse tends to undermine the prevailing religious philosophy of those who were his political enemies.

A related matter, discussed by biblical commentators from Calvin down to his midcentury English successors, and controversial in the late 1640s, was the question of the theological status of animals. Do they have souls? Will they inherit immortal life? Do they have inherent value or were they merely created for the use of human beings? Majority opinion was undoubtedly against the view that animals might inherit eternal life, just as it was against the view that all adults, including women, should have a vote, and against the view that women might preach and be ordained as priests. And just as other ideas thrown up in

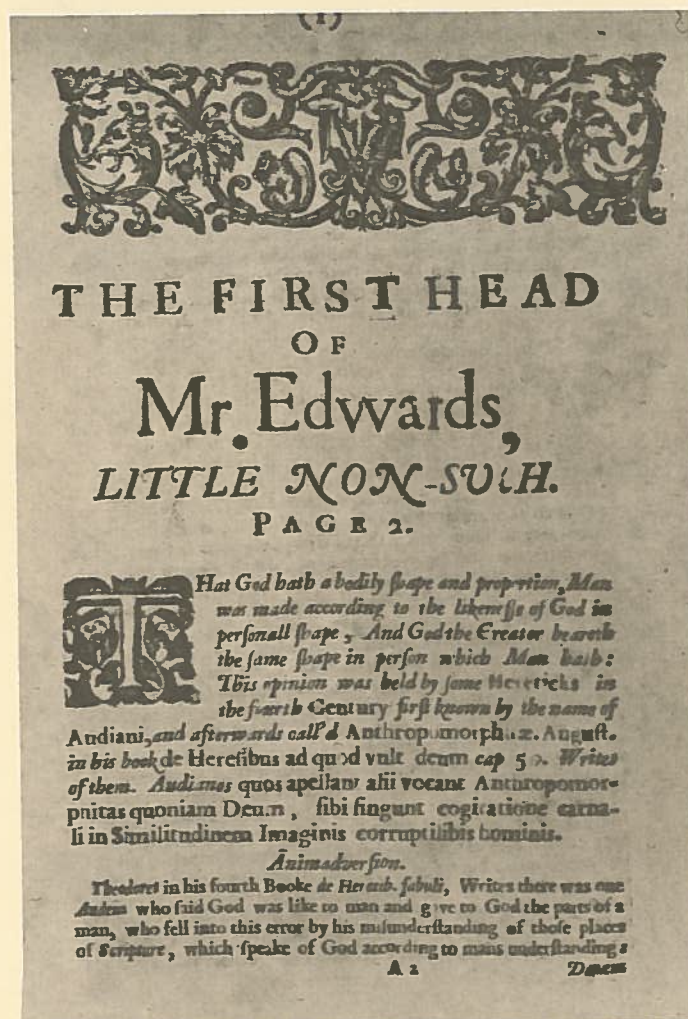


the ferment of revolution and considered radical have since gained acceptance (women might not yet have attained equality in the workplace but they do have the right to vote), the idea that sentient nonhuman forms of life might be considered apart from their role in providing humans with food, clothing, and so on is gaining favor: questions of "animal rights" are now discussed in a great many philosophy departments.

Henry and Thomas Vaughan were among those in the mid-seventeenth century who believed that the restitution promised after the Last Day was not to be confined to human beings. The clearest and most convenient expression of this in Henry's poems is in "The Book," which occurs near the end of the second part of *Silex Scintillans*. In earlier work I have argued that this poem is hermetic inasmuch as the notion of an immortality for the non-human part of creation is clearly approved by such as Paracelsus, the followers of Jacob Boehme, and Thomas Vaughan and opposed by the principal theologians of mainstream Western Christianity. More recently I have considered the poem in relation to the politico-religious situation of the late 1640s, when Calvin's midcentury English successors, the Presbyterians, were losing their grip on power, horrified at the Pandora's box of ideas which they had helped to open, extremely vocal in favor of their brand of orthodoxy, and utterly opposed to the toleration of opinions which differed from their own. In relation to this context, Vaughan's poem can be seen not merely as timeless religious lyric but as political opposition. Presbyterian opinion in the midcentury was very hostile to the concept of animal resurrection; the idea, put forward in "The Book," of a resurrection for "trees" and "beasts" as well as for "men" might be read as a slyly comic comment (in spite of the poem's grave tone) on the Presbyterian view that the majority of human beings were predestined to eternal damnation.

Much of my reading at the Clark related to the controversy in the late 1640s raised by one of the principal opponents of animal resurrection, Thomas Edwards, the author of *Gangraena* (London, 1646), which caused a publishing sensation. I was (and remain) anxious to find a copy of a work mentioned by Edwards, *A true Vindication of the generall Redemption of the second Adam*, said by Edwards to have been "made by one Batte, printed 1645" (*Gangraena*, pt. 1, p. 35, in relation to the errors numbered 169–71). According to Edwards, Batte argued that Christ's sacrifice was "not for all men only, but for . . . the whole creation of God." In search of clues I read two works by a Timothy Batt, the first on microfilm and the second held at the Clark: *A Treatise concerning the free grace of God* (London, 1643; UMI Wing series, 407:14) and *Christ's Gracious Message from the Throne of Grace* (1644), which was apparently privately printed. There is plenty of internal evidence that the author of these two works was one and the same person (there is no reason, apart from the name, to believe he was also the author of *The Waters of Marah Sweetened* [London, 1648]). Neither of the two works contains any argument for animal resurrection, although the 1644 work explains the spreading of death from Adam and Eve and their offspring to the other creatures in a way I don't recall seeing elsewhere. Batt argues

that it was the ceremonial law that "was the only cause of death to the beasts"; in other words, death had to enter the sentient nonhuman part of creation in order that animal sacrifice might be instituted to prefigure the redemptive sacrifice of Christ on the Cross. Such a view is certainly not incompatible with a belief in the final salvation of the "creatures," but as these two works suggest no interest on the part of their author in universal salvation in its widest sense, one would be surprised, should a copy of the work mentioned by Edwards come to light, to find by internal evidence that his "Batte" was this Timothy Batt. As so often in the course of historical research undertaken in the hope of enhancing literary understanding, I found in Batt much that was interesting without having apparent relevance to my particular critical purpose. One wonders, for example, why in both works so much attention is paid to the concept of being a prisoner for Christ. Is this metaphor, or was Batt a member of a persecuted sect? The 1644 volume ends with "A Confession of our Faith, According to the Order of the Gospel." While this contains nothing eccentric, it does suggest membership in a special group. If Batt did belong to a special group,



From *The Counter Buffe* (London, 1647), a pamphlet written in response to Thomas Edwards's *Gangraena*. The pamphlet, one of many at the Clark that were originally part of the Isaac Foot Collection, came to the Library in 1963.



subject to persecution, one wonders why, since in both works he expresses straightforward enough Reformation theology, very similar to that elucidated in Joseph McLelland's work on Peter Martyr, *The Visible Words of God* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957).

Since my own reading, and correspondence with a number of librarians and bibliographers, had led to no clear conclusion about Batte or his work, I wrote to a notable historian of the religious life of the period, Dr. Geoffrey F. Nuttall. While the actual text mentioned in *Gangraena* remains as elusive as ever, Dr. Nuttall was able to point to independent confirmation that it did once exist. It is included in the catalogue of Samuel Jeake's library. Dr. Nigel Smith of Keble College, Oxford, to whom Dr. Nuttall referred me in this connection, tells me that in this catalogue, held at Rye Museum, there is a reference to *Vindication of ye generall redemption &c* by "Wm. Batte" (London, 1645), with the number "16.P.i. Octavo.e." Dr. Smith adds that the library itself has been dispersed.\*

Dr. Nuttall considers that this William Batte "may be safely identified with the William Batty who was a member of the Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey-Eaton congregation in Southwark . . . and later of Thomas Lamb's congregation in Bell Alley, when he took part with Lamb in the dispute described in *Gangraena* ii. 14-15." (Dr. Nuttall's reference is to the third edition of *Gangraena*; in the first see pt. 2, pp. 17-18.) The identification seems likely enough in view of Edwards's reference to "one Overton that was to be the Moderatour one [sic] Batties side," and in view of the fact that "Battie" seems to have been arguing the mortalist position. (Murray Tolmie, describing this episode in *The Triumph of the Saints* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977], takes it that the Overton referred to is Richard Overton; see pp. 80ff.) "Wm Batty" is one of six people who "desiring to depart & not to be censured our interest in them was remitted wth Prayer made in their behalfe June 8th 1638. They having first forsaken Us & Joyned Mr. Spilsbury" (see "History of the Church in Southwark, Founded 1616," in *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* 2 [1905-6]: 359; and "Records of the Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church, 1616-1641," in *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society* 1, no. 4 [1910]: 221). The latter article says that "within five years an entirely different church came to light, clustering around John Spilsbury." In an article in the same journal, "Rise of the Particular Baptists in London," those who left the Southwark congregation in 1638 are described as having been "convinced that baptism was not for children, but for professed Believers" (p. 231), and Batty, having joined Spilsbury in 1638, is said to have "broken the church to pieces, Benjamin Cox disputing against him," by 1646. By 1668, he was a mask maker, on the roll of Devonshire Square (p. 250). It is relevant to the argument of my pro-

\*Nigel Smith, Michael Hunter, and Giles Mandelbrote are currently working on an edition of the library catalogue, which Samuel Jeake and his father originally produced for their collection. Samuel Jeake's diary, held at the Clark in manuscript, was recently published in an edition prepared by Michael Hunter and Annabel Gregory (*An Astrological Diary of the Seventeenth Century* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988]).

jected book that Lamb's church, with which Batty was associated by the time *Gangraena* was published, was identified with the preaching of free grace: "This Mr. Denne was sent forth by Lambs Church . . . to Preach universal Grace, and to Re-baptise"; "There is . . . a Church . . . in Colemanstreet called Lambs Church. . . . Many use to resort to this Church . . . especially yong youths and wenchies . . . and all of them Preach universal Redemption" (see pt. 1, pp. 76 and 92).

My two months of research at the Clark Library might be summarized by saying that I came away better informed about the arguments between predestinarians and proponents of free grace, about the furor created by *Gangraena*, and about those actions of Charles I and Archbishop Laud which led to the development of royal and ecclesiastical "legality" as a political issue that was to erupt into civil strife. This report cannot be closed without sincere thanks to the Library staff, who regularly underwent danger and difficulty in finding books for me during a major reshelving project that took place during my stay, and who enlivened many a lunch hour by their charm, wit, and sociability.

ALAN RUDRUM



Clark/Center staff (left to right): Beverly Onley, Patrick McCloskey, Marina Romani, Carol Sommer, John Bidwell, John Brewer, Roy Porter, Susan Green, Suzanne Wellman, Thomas Wright, Marion Smith, Fran Andersen, Raquel Escobar-Gomez, Nancy Shea, Nancy Weiss

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## NEH Grant to Support Center Program, Fellowships



The Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies has been awarded a grant of \$170,000 from the Division of Research Programs of the National Endowment for the Humanities for its three-year program of lectures, seminars, and workshops on "Consumption and Culture in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." (A schedule of the first year's sessions, devoted to the theme "Consumption and the World of Goods," is inserted in this *Newsletter*.) As part of its support, NEH has provided funds for resident fellowships at the Center for the years 1989-90 and 1990-91. The minimum period that a fellowship can be held is one academic quarter (twelve weeks); the maximum, a full academic year. The annual stipend is \$27,500.

Fellows for the year 1989-90 should be engaged in a research project broadly relevant to the year's topic, "Conceptions of Property in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." That program will include sessions on property and political theory, literary and artistic representations of landed property, property and the law, property and privilege, literary property, the property of empire, and property and the family. The fellows will be expected to attend the Center's lectures, seminars, and workshops and to present the results of their research. Further information about the fellowships may be obtained from the Fellowship Secretary, Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies, 2221B Bunche Hall, UCLA, Los Angeles, California 90024; (213) 206-8552.

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*Frontispiece to Richard Bradley's The Riches of a Hop-Garden Explain'd (London, 1729), currently on display at the Clark in an exhibit entitled "Homemade and Store-bought: Early Books on Domestic Goods: Their Manufacture, Sale, and Consumption." The exhibit is open during all Library and Center events and can be viewed at other times by appointment.*