

*Lucy Hutchinson, 1620-81:
The English Revolution and Women's Writing*

Paper Abstracts

David J. Appleby (University of Nottingham)

“There was about twenty of them”: naming the nameless in Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs*'

Lucy Hutchinson occasionally commented on the conduct of the ordinary soldiers serving in the Nottingham garrison, but never to the point of identifying any by name. In this she was entirely typical of commentators from Julius Caesar to Margaret Cavendish. At the same time, her writing often displays a keen sense of the suffering and heroism of her husband's 'stout men', and the sacrifices of their families. This paper will draw on the work of the *Civil War Petitions* project to flesh out some of the episodes recorded in Hutchinson's memoirs, by recovering the experiences of maimed soldiers, war widows and orphans affected by these incidents, and some of their royalist enemies. In the course of this, it will be possible to provide a positive identification for at least one nameless individual specifically commended in the *Memoirs* for his defence of the Trent Bridges, and the authorities' treatment of the dead man's widow. The paper will move on to discuss the role of the Nottinghamshire parliamentary county committee in providing succour and relief to the wounded and bereaved, and will argue (contrary to the impression given in the *Memoirs*) that despite their myriad disagreements the committee members were reasonably effective.

Alexandra G. Bennett (Northern Illinois University)

'Neighbours, Fellow Writers, and Enemies: Lucy Hutchinson, Jane Cavendish, and Women Writing in Civil War England'

During Lucy Hutchinson's married life and early writing career at Owthorpe during the Civil War and Interregnum, less than fifteen miles away a woman almost exactly her age was writing and co-writing a striking variety of work under remarkably trying conditions. Though Lucy Hutchinson and Jane Cavendish passionately supported opposite sides in the war, read side by side their works demonstrate some remarkable parallels. Each woman avows her allegiance to, and support of, family members who had been declared *persona non grata* by the current authorities, each depicts the depth and conviction of her own religious beliefs in the face of opposition, and each shows remarkable canniness in not only being aware of the political implications of her writing but also in articulating sharp (if coded) criticisms of contemporary power structures and ideologies. Though there is no unified group of "women writers" in seventeenth-century England to which either writer might belong, a brief exploration of Jane Cavendish's life and work in conjunction with Hutchinson's reveals some of the wider contexts in which Hutchinson's remarkable writing was created and might be read.

Martyn Bennett (Nottingham Trent University)

‘The Glass Ceiling: John Hutchinson and Sir John Gell – Limited Commands?’

Without John Hutchinson there would have been no parliamentarian anchor in Nottinghamshire and without Sir John Gell there would perhaps have been no parliamentarian presence in the whole of the north Midlands. The importance of these two men seems obvious. Without their actions in late 1642 the royalist general, Henry Hastings might well have overrun the region – his meteoric appearance and his ‘over-sized regiments’ suggest an unstoppable dynamism. However, Hutchinson and Gell blocked the royalists and Gell and two partners were given almost unlimited regional command late in 1642 to try and prevent Hastings even getting to his home.

So given this pivotal role in barring a royalist take over, why were Hutchinson and Gell denied further advancement? Whilst Gell in particular continued to roam over a large areas for much of the first civil war he lost the regional responsibility once given to him by the Earl of Essex, whilst his two colleagues were promoted to general officer rank. Both Hutchinson and Gell were placed under command of a teenager with no military experience and remained officially in the roles of governor of Derby and Nottingham respectively with the rank of colonel. Even when the teenager, Thomas Lord Grey of Groby, proved inadequate neither man progressed further in terms of rank. This paper explores the nature of leadership and discusses the reasons why Hutchinson and Gell could not break through the glass-ceiling into regional command roles.

Liza Blake (University of Toronto)

‘Non-Atomic Atomism: The Epistemologies of Lucy Hutchinson’s *De Rerum Natura* Translation’

My paper investigates the use of atomic philosophy and atomism in the works and thought of Lucy Hutchinson, in the wider context of women writing about atomism in the seventeenth century. Though there has been an explosion of recent scholarship on the reception of Lucretius in seventeenth-century England, I trace, in the larger project from which this paper comes, the way that authors like Hutchinson, Margaret Cavendish, and Hester Pulter are less interested in the reception of Lucretius’s poem *per se*, and more interested in the different epistemological opportunities that atomism offers.

This claim may seem especially counter-intuitive for Lucy Hutchinson, whose engagement with atomism comes in the form of the first full English translation of Lucretius. But I will show that what she takes from Lucretius—and what she maintains in her Biblical epic *Order and Disorder*, even as she eschews her earlier engagement with the “atheist” Lucretius—is not his theory of atoms, but his epistemology, his insistence on and modeling of indexical reasoning. This has consequences that reverberate through her other texts as well, including her biblical epic and her theological writings. Hutchinson, that is, uses atoms as an excuse to undertake non-atomic philosophical modes of thought.

Hero Chalmers (Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge)

‘Old Delights’: Pastoral, Nostalgia, and Royalist Poetics in Hutchinson’s Elegies

This paper aims to draw further attention to ways in which Hutchinson’s elegies and her poem, ‘All sorts of men through various labours press’, deploy tropes of pastoral retirement in a manner which illustrates the complex interactions between poetics and political allegiance in her period. The elegies’ approach to such tropes shows Hutchinson drawing on the affective potency of modes often associated with courtly or royalist poetics even as she subjects them to Puritan critique. These tensions seem consistent with David Norbrook’s observation (à propos her *Memoirs*) that, in the 1650s, she became ‘skillful in adopting a literary idiom that could appeal to royalists and republicans alike’. Given the fact that her elegies are unlikely to have been read by anyone beyond her immediate family circle, they may not have needed to ‘appeal to royalists’. However, their multi-layered literary texture indicates a poet receptive to the emotional impact of what could be read as cavalier tropes in articulating the pathos and moral intricacy of her situation. In highlighting this aspect of Hutchinson’s verse, the present study builds on Sarah Ross’s assertion that she ‘revises royalist forms’. It also owes a significant debt to Elizabeth Scott-Baumann’s deft reading of the elegies as Puritan reworkings of both Donne’s amatory verse and the country house poems of Jonson and Lanyer. Scott-Baumann contends that Hutchinson may have seen in Donne’s songs and sonnets, as in Jonson’s ‘To Penshurst’, ‘the seeds of her own anti-courtly poetics.’ This paper revisits a notion of the ‘anti-courtly’ dimension of Hutchinson’s verse by suggesting that her impetus towards a spiritually reformed poetics is delicately balanced against a sympathetic recognition of the persuasiveness of courtly or royalist poetic tropes in dramatizing experiences of personal and political loss. In doing so, it expands on Norbrook’s contention that ‘the “elegies” provide further evidence that the country house poem was not merely a royalist tradition’ and highlights fresh ways in which we might situate Hutchinson’s elegies as drawing on the pastoral verse of Herrick, Marvell, and Philips.

Julie Crawford (Columbia University)

‘Cavendish and Hutchinson, Secretaries’

In this paper I argue not only for the surprising range of concerns shared by Lucy Hutchinson and Margaret Cavendish in their respective lives of their husbands – local governance, included – but that we can profitably understand the two women as secretaries in the practically activist humanist tradition. Both women served as keepers of (family and political) secrets, and as readers, writers, and record keepers of papers. Hutchinson calls herself “the faithful depository of all [her husband’s] secrets,” and alludes to her facility with his signature, or “character,” throughout the *Memoirs*. In many ways, the *Memoirs* themselves are a vindication of his belief in her capacities. Margaret Cavendish similarly presents herself as her husband’s secretary, including in her *Life* not only a robust and notably politic account of William Cavendish’s expenditures on behalf of the monarchy – what she calls “a Computation of My Lord’s Losses” – but also a record of “some Essayes and Discourses of My Lords, together with some Notes and Remarques of mine own” (10). In doing so, Cavendish remarshalls the consiliary wisdom of William Cavendish’s own advice to princes – notably the letter of advice he wrote to the future Charles II in 1659 – as ballast for his continued political relevance and for her own secretarial and advisory competency.

Carme Font Paz (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

“Life Among These Unknown Revolutionaries”: Traces of Lucy Hutchinson’s *Memoirs* in the Spanish and Italian Historiography of the English Revolution’

Translations of Lucy Hutchinson’s *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* seem to be limited to the French, thanks to François Guizot’s translation *Mémoires de Mistriss Hutchinson* included in volumes X and XI of Guizot’s *Collection des mémoires relatifs a la révolution d’Angleterre* (1827). French readers of the time were further acquainted with the Hutchinsons through Guizot’s “sketch” of Lucy in his *Études biographiques sur la révolution d’Angleterre*, printed in 1851 both in the original French and the English translation. Guizot praises the “pictures of life” that she depicts, which constitute “an essential part of history” even though “history says very little about them”. “True types of the age” emerge out of “unknown revolutionaries” and Hutchinson’s incursion into their families, although Guizot regrets the Puritan “presumption” permeating the memoirs as an inescapable mark of revolutionary writing, compared to the “modest character” of Madame de Mornay’s memoirs of her husband. While much of Guizot’s work was published in Spanish in the 19th century and more recently in the 1980s, his whole *Historia de la revolución de Inglaterra* (1856, 1985) does not include Hutchinson’s memoirs. Her presence is absent for Spanish readers were it not for the meticulous Spanish translation of Lord Macaulay’s *Literary Studies* in 1879 by Mariano Juderías Bender. Macaulay refers somewhat dismissively to the romantic relationship of the Hutchinsons, but he nevertheless defines the *Memoirs* as the best chronicle of the revolution for its “charming” narrative. Italian readers would get to know Lucy Hutchinson in 1955 also through Guizot in his *Studi Biografici e di Documenti Storici sulla Rivoluzione d’Inghilterra*, a faithful rendering of the original text published in Milan together with *Storia della Repubblica Inglese*. My paper will examine the traces of Lucy Hutchinson’s authorial presence in Spanish and Italian historiography of the English Revolution. However scarce, mediated by the French, and subject to diverse political agendas and gender biases, I will argue that these accounts represent Lucy Hutchinson as an apt historian that captures the nuances of microhistory in one of the most convoluted episodes in European revolutionary past.

Claire Gheeraert-Graffeulle (University of Rouen)

‘Tragedy, Defeat and Hope: Lucy Hutchinson’s Vision of History in the *Memoirs*.

This paper aims to highlight two competing views of history in the *Memoirs*: first, a disenchanting, tragic vision of the English Revolution, associated with the defeat of the Good Old Cause and the death of Colonel Hutchinson; second, a millenarian perspective epitomized throughout the *Memoirs* by the latter’s heroic martyrdom. Not only did the martyr-Colonel’s last words to his children offer a source of spiritual consolation, but they also aroused political hopes in his family and nonconformist friends. In this sense, the *Memoirs*’ commemoration of the Colonel’s Christlike sufferings offers a way out of the historical tragedy, mitigating the deep sense of defeat and despair that permeates the Restoration section of the *Memoirs*. From this perspective, Lucy Hutchinson’s account of her husband’s martyrdom can be construed as a polemical attempt to resist the Stuart monarchy’s plan to cast into oblivion the memory of the “great rebellion” and of its Puritan heroes.

Catharine Gray (University of Illinois)

‘Lucy Hutchinson’s “Particular Collection” and Everyday War’

Recent scholars of post-colonial trauma and contemporary social crises have stressed that violent events do not emerge in conceptual and material distinction to the social relations and structures of everyday life but as amplifications of aspects of them that in turn impact day-to-day existence. In the case of the British Civil Wars, the ubiquity of a war without a front line, coupled with a news culture formatted to "simulate dailiness," only compounded the sense of war violence as permeating readers' everyday: the news produced warfare as both sublime event and repetitive presence—a mundane organizing feature of public and private life as it was lived and read. During the 1640s, Hutchinson produced an untitled manuscript fragment on recent events that both engages and moves beyond news culture's framing of conflict. In her narrative the extraordinary and ordinary, heroic and quotidian collide and merge. War is a time of repeated crises, the “daily perils” of political plot and heroic military attack that fill the news. It is also a form of business as usual, organized around local bureaucracies and reliant not only on canons and powder, but blankets, bellows, and butter. Hutchinson's manuscript gathers these messy materials bit-by-bit to create what she calls her “particular collection”: a catalogue of parts or contemporary history-in-process of a war that is “everyday” in the sense that it is not so much a singular event as an episodically structuring feature of the routine life of town and household that suffers from but also actively reproduces collective violence.

Angus Haldane (Haldane Fine Art)

‘Robert Walker’s Portrait of Lucy Hutchinson’

In her *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, Lucy Hutchinson recalled that “the only recreation he had during his residence in London was in seeking out all the rare artists...and in considering their works...insomuch he became a great virtuoso and patron of ingenuity”.

Circa 1650, this ‘patron of ingenuity’ commissioned Robert Walker to paint portraits of himself and his wife, a pair of canvases which represent a high point of interregnum portraiture.

This short paper will illustrate how these two portraits should be interpreted as a touching testament from appreciative husband to loyal wife and as an acknowledgement by the great defender of Nottingham Castle that perhaps it was his wife who was the conductor and he the workaday instrumentalist.

Robert Walker employed symbolism, imagery and compositional tropes from the 16th and early 17th centuries to create these companion works which aggrandise his sitters, in particular Lucy, whilst also illustrating the elegant emotional dynamic between husband and wife.

Robert Walker was the preeminent portraitist of the Parliamentarians during the Civil Wars who would have liked to be regarded as the natural successor to Anthony van Dyck. These portraits are amongst his finest professional calling cards and the iconography deserves greater investigation as part of the history and biography of the mid seventeenth century.

Ann Hughes (Keele University)

‘The Governor’s Wife: Women and Garrisons in the Civil War’

In her *Life of John Hutchinson*, Lucy Hutchinson gives a detailed, mostly conventional political and military account of her husband’s zealous service for the parliament, beset by royalist enemies, reluctant townspeople and parliamentarian rivals. There are only glimpses of what we might, simplistically, think of as the more ‘domestic’ aspects of garrison life in Nottingham Castle: the disputes over the Governor’s ‘table’; the opposition to Lucy Hutchinson’s care for wounded royalist prisoners, and the public nature of the Hutchinsons’ doubts and ultimate rejection of infant baptism. Garrisons - whether fortified towns of particular castles and great houses (and Nottingham was both) were places of urban sociability and domestic life as well as centres of military power. Women were present in them and active in military affairs, medical and domestic support, and, sometimes, as literary scholars have noted, writing. This paper will attempt to ‘gender’ garrison warfare, assessing and contextualising Lucy Hutchinson’s activities and her account of the war in Nottingham, and offer comparisons with the roles of women in other garrisons including Warwick and Liverpool, and, of course, the Cavendish sisters at Welbeck.

Stuart Jennings (University of Warwick)

‘The Friendship of John Hutchinson and Francis Thornhagh as seen through Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs*’

Written around 20 years after the event, the poignancy of Lucy's narrative about Thornhagh's death at the battle of Preston in 1648 and her eulogy about his character comes as a departure from what the reader has come to expect about her barbed commentaries on other individuals who interact with her beloved husband John. Yet she writes of Francis 'A man of greater courage and integrity fought not, nor fell not, in this glorious cause; he had also an excellent good nature, but easy to be wrought upon by flatterers, yet as flexible to the admonitions of his friends'.

Even in her praise, Thornhagh's light was not going to overshadow that of John, for even Francis had faults.

John and Francis became lifelong friends whilst at Lincoln Grammar School, though John was nearly four years older than Francis. John Hutchinson's deep affection for Francis is acknowledged in the *Memoirs* but not without caveats on the part of Lucy. This paper explores the ambiguity of this non-romantic 'eternal triangle' of friendships as recorded in the *Memoirs*

Paula McQuade (De Paul University)

‘Lucy Hutchinson’s “On the Principles”, Catechisms, and Women Writing

This paper will argue that Hutchinson models her unpublished manuscript, ‘On The Principles,’ upon a largely forgotten genre: ministerial guides to domestic catechesis. But Hutchinson elaborates and expands the genre to reflect her own concerns and experience as a catechizing mother, just as she adapts the epic genre in *Order and Disorder*. By composing a

guide to domestic catechesis for her daughter, Hutchinson draws upon a tradition of women's catechetical writing while at the same time emulating ministerial authority.

By considering Hutchinson's manuscript in this context, we are better able to understand her as participating within an established tradition of women's writing, one which extends from the early sixteenth century to the late nineteenth. Hutchinson is unique among both women writers and ministerial guide authors, however, in reflecting critically upon the relation between her experience as a domestic catechist and her compositions in other genres.

Erin Murphy (Boston University)

“Who's there?": Hutchinson's Ghost Writing and the Civil War Subject'

From political questions of allegiance, to genre questions of “life writing,” to gender questions about “the woman writer,” questions of identity have often framed scholarly discussions of *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*. This paper discusses how these “identity questions” place Hutchinson in broader conversations about writing and the “experience” of the English civil wars. In particular, I will examine Hutchinson's interpretive and representational strategies in relation to various models of wartime subjects, from Margaret Cavendish's “singularity” to the women Levellers' “hermeneutics of collectivity.” This analysis aims to illuminate why Hutchinson's war writing remains essential to feminist and queer debates about the intersections of gender, liberalism, and disciplinary method in early modern studies.

Nigel Smith (Princeton University)

“The blood of Noble Patriots Shed': The Formation of Lucy Hutchinson's Poetics'

The commentary on Lucy Hutchinson's verse is becoming well advanced, with extensive accounts of debts to ancient verse and the Bible, to theology, garden and estate poetry, epic, love and funerary elegy, themes of retirement and contemplation (of nature), loss and sinfulness. I want in this paper to look at the lesser-known shorter poems in the context of country house poetry production in the period, and across confessional and political divides with a view to having a sharper view of the distinctive nature of Hutchinson's poetry and its origins. Comparisons with Donne, Milton, Pulter and Vaughan immediately come to mind.

I'll take the further step of comparing Hutchinson's verse with other European verse in Latin or other vernaculars, particularly by Protestants, and in form including the song and the role of echo. Hutchinson may be placed in a line of militant, martyr verse that goes back to Agrippa d'Aubigné and other Huguenot and Spanish Protestant lament, and the tracing of the reception of this verse in England is a necessary part of my argument. I'm also interested in the degree to which Hutchinson's poetry may be said to be a formative component of Restoration Puritan poetic, and the extent to which it may be seen to be part of the literature of continental Pietism.

Mihoko Suzuki (University of Miami)

‘Lucy Hutchinson’s *Memoirs*, François Guizot’s *Histories of the English Revolution*, and Henriette Guizot de Witt’s *Women’s History*’

François Guizot, who served as prime minister under Louis Philippe’s July Monarchy, established himself among his contemporaries as the foremost historian not only of France but also of England, where he took refuge after his ouster during the Revolution of 1848. Already in 1827 he had published a 25-volume collection of memoirs “relative to the English Revolution,” including those by May, Ludlow, Hutchinson, Clarendon, and Burnet. While in his introduction to her memoirs, Guizot praises Hutchinson as a wife and mother, he also cites her in his multi-volume history of the English Civil Wars. Because Guizot’s histories were published in English translation, his citation of Hutchinson affirmed her authority for the English readership. Guizot’s daughter, Henriette Guizot de Witt, who not only assisted her father in his historical scholarship, but also produced over 100 editions and histories in her own right, included Hutchinson in *Les femmes dans l’histoire* (1888). While Guizot de Witt, like her father, praises Hutchinson’s memoirs for centering on her husband rather than more broadly on the English Revolution, Guizot de Witt’s history nevertheless anticipates its recovery in our own time as an important example of women’s *political* writing in response to civil war and political crisis.

Anna Wall (University of East Anglia)

“‘The little Church and the World’s larger state’”: Articulations of Ecclesiology in Hutchinson’s post-1660 Manuscript Texts’

This paper will explore the various expressions of ecclesiological belief articulated in Hutchinson’s *Memoirs*, religious notebook, and finally *Order and Disorder*. It highlights the importance of considering Hutchinson’s later texts as a body of work; while generically and formally diverse, these texts are united by their preoccupation with defining correct forms of associative practice. Yet, I will also argue that these works are not monolithic in their expression of dissent. Rather, this paper will trace discontinuities in Hutchinson’s later writing, exploring how she often articulated contradictory notions of the church in manuscript texts which were shaped by a precise, and determinable, set of socio-cultural influences. Finally, this paper will revisit the question of *Order and Disorder*’s composition date, viewing the poem as the culmination of over fifteen years of textual engagement with the ecclesiastical debates of later-seventeenth century England. As such, this paper will be of interest to not only those who study Hutchinson’s theological commitments, but also those whose research is focused on her poetic texts and the materiality of her manuscripts.

George Yerby (Author, *The Economic Causes of the English Civil War*)

‘The People of West Nottinghamshire and the English Revolution’

Some of the most cogent and illuminating assessments of the forces and motivations behind the English Civil War came from residents of West Nottinghamshire. This probably reflected the fact that the area was a parliamentarian stronghold. There are three principal commentators cited

here, offering a balanced perspective. Lucy Hutchinson was from the county gentry, and wrote an extended account of the struggle in the local region. Her associate Henry Ireton was of yeoman stock, but served the cause in the national arena, as a commander in the parliamentary field armies, for whom he eventually became a political spokesman. William Pierrepont was the son of an Earl, and possessed vast estates, including a magnificent park in Sherwood. He became a leading parliamentarian politician, and was lauded as such by Lucy Hutchinson. In the latter stages Pierrepont combined with Ireton in the search for a settlement that confirmed parliament's supremacy, without completely discarding the monarchy.

The statements and observations that they made along the way display some clear common features, and there are other less obvious connections that can be revealed. From this we can derive a coherent picture of the most important concepts and aspirations that lay at the heart of the Civil War struggle and the Revolution. It is also possible to suggest how the aims and ideas identified by these leading figures relate to the position of the less prominent, and less published core of parliamentarian supporters on the ground in West Nottinghamshire. This might give some expression to their hopes and desires of the parliamentary cause.