panels to protect them from any sort of pollution and from people touching them with their hand.

Dear colleagues,

"Provando e Riprivando", "Trying and Trying over again" was the slogan that in the 16th century had been chosen by the Florentine learned Accademia della Crusca, and it is nigh possible that other means for better preserving silk tissues have been tried out and therefore I would be much obliged to learn from any of you something about them.

FLAGS OF THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

William G. Crampton

This survey is intended to cover the main events of the central period of the seventeenth century in Britain. This century could be called the Century of Revolution in our country, involving constitutional, religious, and social upheavals on an unprecedented scale.

The wars began, strictly speaking, in December 1638, when the Scots took up arms, and later invaded England. The first and second Scots Wars, or "Bishops Wars", lasted until September 1640. A number of private regiments were raised in England to resist them, but none of their colours are known. The flag most widely used on the Scots side is known however. It is a version of the national flag of Scotland with the motto For Christ's Croun (=crown) and Covenant inscribed thereon.[1] Another possible flag was a red one with St. Andrew's cross on a blue canton, and a motto in the field. Such a flag was added to the arms of the Scots commander, the Earl of Leven, in 1641,[2] and similar ones were later taken at Preston and Dunbar.[3] This, moreover, was the pattern of the colours of the new Scots Guards raised in 1662.[4]

The Civil War in England began with the hoisting of the Royal Standard at Nottingham on 22 August 1642.[+] This was a true heraldic standard, not an armorial banner. There are several contemporary accounts of the event, including that of Clarendon, the royalist historian of the "Great Rebellion".[5] These all mention the standard's falling down and subsequently having to be held up by two soldiers, the fewness of the royal supporters, and the absence of trained men.

The militia of Nottinghamshire were present, but what Colour, if any, they carried, is unknown. The design of the royal standard has been described and a replica is kept in Nottingham Castle. It carries the Cross of England, the Royal Arms, and the motto Give to Caesar his due. It also features the well-known device of the "Hand of God" emerging from a cloud, later used on many cavalry standards.

It is perhaps necessary to point out that England had no standing army of any kind at this time. Warfare relied on cavalry raised by local wealthy notables and on foot provided by the counties and the boroughs. The latter, especially the townsmen, were unreliable, and would not normally fight outside their own boundaries. The lords-lieutenant and the sheriffs had the duty of mustering and training them - hence the title of Trained Bands.[6] In fact the title should only be applied to those properly armed and trained men drawn from the whole muster. In London, and perhaps elsewhere, the rest of the muster were formed into reserve bands known as Auxiliaries. It is true that the King had some personal soldiers, the Yeomen of the Guard and the Gentlemen at Arms, both corps that are still extant, but then as now not a serious fighting force.[7] There was also the Honourable Artillery Company, a semi-professional corps which passed at an early date under the control of the City of London.[8]

The flags used by both sides in the civil war followed a common pattern, loosely based on the recommendations of contemporary military manuals and continental practice. Many commanders on both sides had gained experience abroad in the more frequent wars of our less fortunate neighbours. Cavalry units, or troops, carried a standard then known as a "cornet". This was a small flag, about

two feet (0.6m) square.[9] The field was usually of one single colour but fringed in two colours. On the field was painted a "device", and it is assumed, rather than known for certain, that both sides of the flag were the same. The field colour, and, or, the fringe colours could be common to all the troops forming a regiment, or else the device and the motto could be common, but there was not any specific way of distinguishing all the flags of a given regiment or army.

The devices on the flags fall into three categories:

a) scrolls with mottoes, eg the Virtutis Comes Invidia (Envy goes with Virtue) of the Earl of Essex.+

b) allegorical objects or scenes, including crowns, skulls, swords, wreaths, hearts, hands of God, knights in armour, cavaliers, castles, towns, ships, anchors,étc., as for example in Captain Browne's skull and wreath.+

c) political "cartoons", showing some political ideal in pictorial form, often with words coming out the mouths of the figures,as in Captain Kern's flag showing some bishops looking at a city from which is emerging the words Let us arise and build; God shall fight for us, and they are saying: Let us downe with it to the ground. Another striking example is that of a winged arrow flying towards a depiction of the King with the words Thus Charles Peace Flies to Thee.+

Hundreds of such flags are known from both sides. A few have actually been preserved, but most are known only from contemporary records, of which a summary is provided in the bibliography.

The King in the field appears to have been accompanied by the Royal Banner.+ This flag was taken at the Battle of Edgehill, the first major action of the war, on 23 October 1642, although it was recovered for him later in the day. Numerous stories, some legendary, surround this incident, but none of them describe

the banner. However, the medal given afterwards to the rescuer of it shows that the banner was a nearly square armorial banner of the royal arms. A contemporary account also says it was "His Mejesties Banner Royall, vulgarly called the Standard" (a confusion still with us today).[10]

The standard of the King's Lifeguard of Horse was taken at the Battle of Newbury on 20 September 1643. This was a square flag of red charged with the royal crown and initials, also crowned, all in gold.+[11] This regiment must have been re-equipped, for later we hear of it as having two troops, the King's and the Queen's, each with a colour.

Foot colours followed a completely different system from those used by the Horse. They were much larger flags, usually about six and a half feet square (1.95 m), and had no fringes.[12] They were nailed on to short staves with only a short carrying handle, but often with a decorative finial and ropes and tassels. They had to be light enough to carry in one hand,and were usually made of two thicknesses of taffeta. This is all in accordance with European practice of the day. There was one flag for each company, but at this date companies formed part of regiments, and the flags with their colours and devices formed part of a regulated system. By this system, as shown for example in the flags of the companies in the first or Red Regiment of the City of London Trained Band,+ the Colonel had a flag of a single plain colour, the Lieutenant Colonel the same with a cross of St.George in the canton, and the Sergeant-Major the same with the addition of a "pile wavy" or flame issuing from the canton. The captains of the subsidiary companies then had one or more devices in the field of the flag. In this case they were additional piles wavy, but they could be

something different, such as stars, lozenges discs, chevrons, or trefoils, somewhat reminiscent of playing cards. The devices were chosen by the colonels, who were often the raisers of the regiment, and sometimes reflected their armorial bearings. Colonel Pennington of the second or White Regiment of the London Trained Bands had red lozenges in his Captains flags.+ In civilian life he was Sir Isaac Pennington, Lord Mayor of London in 1643, and his arms were Or five fusils per fess azure.[13] Similarly Sir John Woolaston of the Yellow Regiment hat mullets in his arms and black stars on his Captains' flags.[14] +

Examples are known of flags with the emblems over the whole field. The example from the National Army Museum has three large piles wavy over the whole field,+ and a captured royalist colour consisted of nine stripes of red and white, very similar to a naval ensign.+ Another has stripes of blue and white,+ and another was plain white with a large device in the centre, of Jerusalem crosses.[15] +

Usually however the pile wavy did not extend any further than the flag, and the devices were on the small side. Heraldic devices as such were quite common, as for example in the Colour of Lord Saye and Seale's regiment, and in the flag in the National Army Museum charged with three paschal lambs - a flag with a curious subsequent history.[16]+

None of the colours bore anything to distinguish their side. In practice each side could and did have colours that were identical, which led to many mistakes since everything else about them was also identical - arms, uniforms, equipment. Their only distinguishing mark was a sash or scarf of their party colour - red for the royalists, orange for the parliament. The Levellers, when they operated as a group wore green favours, a colour later inherited by the Chartists.

The Colours of the King's Lifeguard of Foot did not wholly follow the usual pattern. These flags are of unusual interest in that they set the pattern for later military flags.+ The King's Company of the Lifeguard of Foot had a flag of which the first hoist third was given over to the Cross of St.George, and the fly contained a royal lion, with the royal crown and motto. The Lieutenant-Colonel's followed the same model, with a gold dragon rampant; the Major's colour has a crowned portcullis, and the Captains one or more crowned Tudor roses.+ All these flags were taken at Naseby on 14 June 1645, the last and decisive engagement of the first Civil War.[17] Prince Rupert's Lifeguard of Foot also had their colour taken on this occasion, but no adquate description or illustration of them is preserved.

Dragoons also had standards. Which then as now had a distinctive shape. Some royalist colours captured at Naseby followed the same pattern as the foot colours, with devices of purple crescents.+ A parliamentary set - Colonel Warley's regiment - were blue with a variety of mottoes. Those of the City of London were yellow with black discs.+ Although their shapes are somewhat different from those now in use these dragoon standards are clearly the ancestors of modern ones.

Between August 1649 and May 1650 Cromwell campaigned against Catholic royalists in Ireland. His opponents were linked in the Catholic Confederacy, formed in May 1642, and allied with King Charles in 1646. The Confederacy had a flag of white with a red cross of the type shown on coins they struck in 1643.[18+] It is also the kind used in the Order of Christ. Descriptions of eight regimental flags are known from this period, and they all had a common reverse side of green with an "Irish"cross within a red circle beneath the royal monogram and crown, and, underneath,

the motto Vivat Rex Carolus.[19+] The reconstruction of this flag is slightly different from that of Professor Hayes-McCoy. A number of Confederate flags were taken at Dungan's Hill in 1647. A cavalry guidon and a banner were found in Kilkenny in the last centura, and are thought to date from this period. The flags on the English side are better known than these, since pictures of the standards, or "cornets" appear in several sources. Cromwell's own flag was plain white, with a fringe of black and white, his livery colours.[20] Hayes-McCoy suggests that the flag known as the "Commonwealth Flag" was the reverse side of the parliamentary standards used in Ireland, but does not provide any evidence for this.[21] This flag was also described in Prestwich's Respublica.+ Many of the Parliamentary flags featured harps, as for example in Lord Inchiquin's Munster Army.+ His flag was red with a gold harp and St. George in the canton, and the motto Concordes resonem da Deus alme sonos (Grant, kindly God, that I may give forth harmonious notes).[22] Another regiment, Colonel Horton's, all had green flags with the favourite device of a hand emerging from a cloud with a sword, and in the lower fly corner a variety of devices, and above these a scroll with differing mottoes.[23] Cromwell also fought the Scots between June 1650 and the last battle at Worcester in September 1651. The Scots had also been in Ireland, and were soundly defeated by Owen Rose O'Neill in 1646 at Blenburb. Their "great standard of the cavalry" was taken on this occasion, along with several foot colours which were later sent to St. Peter's in Rome.[24] No specific description of them survives. The so-called "Bluidie Banner", the flag of the Scottish Covenanters, dates from this period. It was blue with inscriptions in Hebrew and English.+ This flag is now known only from a nineteenth century illustration.[25] The motto of the Covenanters had

now become Covenant for Religion, King, and Kingdoms, and this appeared on nearly every flag known from that time. A record was kept of the flags taken at Preston in 1648 and Dunbar in 1650.[25] Most of these were the design of the Cross of St. Andrew, but not all were a white cross on blue. Many had a different field colour, and some a different cross colour. All had the motto, and the badge of the commander or raiser of the regiment.

On 5 February 1649 King Charles II was proclaimed in Scotland, and new lifeguards of Horse and Foot were raised and equipped with standards and colours. These all reflected the purely Scottish character of the new Stewart realm, from which the king was to be driven in 1651.[+] These colours were perhaps present at the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, but do not feature in the records. Written descriptions of them do survice however from Scottish sources.[26]

After the execution of Charles I, the national heraldry changed in accordance with the prevailing policy in favour of a headless state, at any rate for the time being. The State Arms then consisted of the shields of England and Ireland set side by side within a wreath of laurel.[+] The naval jack was the conjoined flags of England and Ireland,[+] and the Admiral's standard a red flag with the State Arms thereon.[27+] On land there does also seem to have been a national flag for official use. This is the flag described in Prestwich. This could have been a cavalry standard of advanced design, but it could have been the landward equivalent of the royal standard. A flag very like this is seen in a contemporary allegorical picture of the Treaty of in. These arms preceded the constitutional union with Scotland in April 1654. After this union the emblems of England, Scotland, and Ireland were quartered, with Cromwell's own arms on an inescutcheon.These

new arms were also used as a flag, known to Prestwich as the "Great Banner of the Commonwealth".[+] Besides these there was also the "Great Banner of the Union" which showed the shields of England and Scotland on an ermine pavilion, like the first Union Jack, to symbolise the integration of England and Scotland in particular, whilst the "Commonwealth" flag was intended to symbolise the whole state, corresponding to the former Royal Banner.

It is worth looking at the arrangement of flags at the lying in state of Cromwell's body in 1658 to see the relative importance attached to these flags. On this occasion no less than 25 separate flags were placed round the corpse.[+] At the right by his head was the Standard of England and the Commonwealth flag. At the left of his head were the Great Banner of England (St. George) and the Standard of Scotland. The flags of Wales and of Ireland were at his feet. The standards were devised especially for the occasion, and are heraldically inept although bearing appropriate emblems. They are standards in the heraldic sense, and serve to indicate Cromwell's protectorate over the four parts of his realm. At his funeral after this, an enormous number of flags were employed, all described by Prestwich, who also tells us how much they cost.

This account has said nothing much about the flag used at sea during this period, although they do have a relationship with the flags used on land. The exact nature of the rank and command flags used during the Commonwealth has never been satisfactorily determined, despite Perrin's pioneering work on the subject.

The civil wars of the seventeenth century did not end with the Restoration. There was at least another thirty years of conflict still ahead in Britain, and another three centuries in Ireland, but this brief survey has perhaps outlined some areas of investigation,

and given some ideas for further research.

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Notes

1 McMillan and Stewart, p42

2 McMillan and Stewart ditto

3 McMillan +Stewart pp43-44 and Harl.MS 1460 (Fitzpaine)

4 Dawnay pp6,8-9

5 Clarendon § 449

6 Young, The British Army 1642-1970, p16

7 ditto

8 ditto, p17

9 Young, Edgehill 1642, p36

10 ditto, p297

11 Dawnay pp5,7, from Turmile f133

12 Young, Edgehill 1642, p36

13 Lucas, London in Armes Displayed, Ad.MS 14308

14 ditto

15 Turmile, f146

16 See Society for Army Historical Research XXXIV pp 184-5 and XXXV p93 for correspondence on the subject of this flag

17 Turmile f144

18 Hayes-McCoy Ch4 passim

19 ditto

20 Turmile f26 and other sources

21 Hayes-McCoy pp54-55

22 ditto p56 from Sloan MS 5247

23 Kightly and Barton

24 Hayes-McCoy pp56-57

25 Proceedings of the Society of Antiquities in Scotland iii (1857 - 60), plate xxvii

26 Dawnay pp6,8-9

27 Perrin pp63-64