

when such a serious rising as Wyatt's had less than 3,000 followers (p. 88). With such frequent lapses in the judicious use of evidence in a single chapter, one may well question the interpretations built upon it. In the case of this chapter, Clark's treatment does little to dispel the growing suspicion that the "mid-Tudor crisis" may have been more apparent than real after all.

Despite patches such as this, however, and the unavailability to Clark of such very recent works as Hoak on the Edwardian Council, Hirst on the electorate, and Guy on Wolsey, the breadth of this work, and new ground which it breaks, will make *English Provincial Society* a required starting point for future attempts to examine either provincial society itself, or trends of national politics from the provincial point of view.

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MURRAY TOLMIE. — *The Triumph of the Saints: The Separate Churches of London 1616-1649*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977. Pp. xii, 251.

Murray Tolmie has illuminated an important aspect of the English Revolution. Clearly and comprehensively, he has described the morphology of the religious separatists in the earlier seventeenth century, and he has also provided a thought-provoking re-interpretation of the failure of the Leveller movement.

The separatists were those English Protestants who boycotted the parochial system of the Established Anglican Church. Beginning with Henry Jacob in 1616 they founded voluntary, 'gathered' churches in which the congregation normally chose, ordained and paid its own pastor, unless he supported himself by working at a secular occupation. The following groups come within the purview of Tolmie's study: Independents, Particular and General Baptists, and Separatist churches with lay pastors. The more exotic sects — the Fifth Monarchy Men, the Seekers, Ranters, Quakers and Socianians — fall outside the scope of the book. How historically significant were the separatists? Numerically, not very. In 1641 there were perhaps 1,000 or so of them in London, though they multiplied rapidly in the next few years. Most of them were drawn from the 'industrious sort of people', to use Christopher Hill's phrase, hardworking artisans and shopkeepers. It must be noted, however, that the Independents were accused of having 'scummed the parish congregations of most of their wealthy and zealous members' (p. 102).

The crisis of the spring of 1647 forged the unity of London radicals, when political Independents and radical sectaries found themselves driven together by a resurgent, socially conservative Presbyterianism. The anchor of their support was the New Model Army. Late in 1646, fearing an intolerant Presbyterian church settlement, sectaries had flocked to join the Army, at the very time that it was being denounced (correctly) as a haven of sectarianism by the conservative London Common Council. With the departure of the Presbyterian officers in May and June of 1647, the religious radicals were promoted to positions of power within the Army. Tolmie points out that the political organization of the lower ranks from March 1647 onwards had been essentially a sectarian, not a Leveller achievement. It was not till the summer of that year that the Levellers, under John Lilburne,

Richard Overton, John Wildman and William Walwyn, were able to assume the leadership and act as an umbrella for both civilian separatists in London, and army sectaries in the New Model. Their hegemony over both groups did not last long, however. When the Army marched on London in August 1647, its commanders conspicuously failed to liberate Levellers like John Lilburne from prison. This failure drew bitter criticism from Leveller pens. However, the steady advancement of sectarians in the officer corps diminished their community of interest with the Levellers, and drew them closer to Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton and the other Army grandees.

A similar split between Levellers and sectarians occurred in the City, though not till the end of 1648, over the issue of Pride's Purge and the King's trial. Again, the London separatists were more drawn to the Army grandees, with their promise of saintly rule and religious toleration, than they were to the Levellers, with their secular brand of radical politics. Thus it was the loss of sectarian support — most notably that of the Particular Baptists — that cost the Levellers their chance of political success. Most previous writers have seen the Levellers' failure in terms of their being 'ahead of their time', of their failure to appeal to the agrarian lower classes, and of their having no answer to the charisma and military genius of Oliver Cromwell. However, Tolmie's re-interpretation will have to be taken into account in any future examination of the Leveller movement.

The Triumph of the Saints is based chiefly on the pamphlets and books (but not the newspapers) in the British Library's Thomason Collection. This is an extremely rich source of material, but a search of the Society of Genealogists' Index of seventeenth-century Londoners, as well as the manuscripts in the Guildhall and other archives, might have uncovered additional information about some of the tantalizingly elusive separatist congregations. It is also puzzling to note the absence of any reference to some important recent works like Brian Manning's *Religion, Politics and the English Civil War* (1973), as well as some not-so-recent ones, like D. B. Robertson's *The Religious Foundations of Leveller Democracy* (1951).

These reservations apart, however, one cannot but admire Tolmie's lucid and coherent treatment of London religious separatism before and during the English Revolution. Perhaps he is right in asserting that the separatists' twin achievements were the destruction of the political theory of the divine right of kings, and the creation of that remarkably long-lived and influential cultural phenomenon known as English nonconformity.

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LAWRENCE STONE. — *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977. Pp. xxxi, 800.

Lawrence Stone's preference for the grand scale and his talents for synthesis are both abundantly clear in this massive book. It is a striking and original piece of work. There will be objections without question to various aspects of the argument, but stripped of its excess and restated in its essentials the central theme is likely to hold up and to be important in stimulating and clarifying further work.

Stone's argument is that fundamental changes in human relationships occurred in the three centuries he is concerned with and that these can be seen most