

St Clement's.<sup>36</sup> Of course, it was more normal to install as Rectors recognized Huguenot ministers: that is what Amias Paulet had done in the 1560s, employing his prerogative as Governor, and enabling the establishment of a well-organized Reformed Church in Jersey, which began with the celebration of the Lord's Supper in a Calvinist fashion.<sup>37</sup>

David Bandinel was without any doubt one of the chief protagonists of the religious and political life of Jersey during the later Reformation and the Civil War—and his story is well known to scholars. He tragically died as a Parliamentarian leader in 1645—elderly and portly—after having fallen on the rocks surrounding Mont Orgueil castle as he tried to escape via a rope from his imprisonment. The first twenty-five or so years of his life remain rather a mystery.

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<https://doi.org/10.1093/notesj/gjad060>

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Advance Access publication 11 August, 2023

<sup>36</sup> Balleine, *A History of the Island*, 112.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

## THE DIGGERS' SONG

The Diggers had a handful of songs, although the most famous remained unprinted during their day. Only one version of this well-known song is extant, however, and it is anonymous, untitled and undated. It is preserved in the papers of the military administrator Sir William Clarke (1623/24–1666), who had served as an assistant secretary and then secretary to the Council of officers of the New Model Army. When the song was written down—most likely in March, April, or May 1650—Clarke was living in London and acting as a senior secretary to Sir Thomas Fairfax (1612–1671), commander-in-chief of Parliament's forces in England and Ireland.<sup>1</sup> The version that we have is in Clarke's handwriting.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Diggers' song is quoted here with the kind permission of The Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford. The song is preceded by letters dated 16 March 1650 and 1 April 1650. It is followed by several letters written between 27 May and 4 June 1650.

<sup>2</sup> Worcester College, Oxford, MS Clarke 18 folios 32r–33r.

Clarke had previously transcribed several documents relating to the Diggers, including letters and papers addressed to Fairfax. Moreover, the Digger leaders William Everard (1602–*fl.*1651) and Gerrard Winstanley (1609–1676) had been brought before Fairfax at Whitehall on 20 April 1649, while on 30 May 1649 Fairfax and his entourage had met a dozen Diggers—including Winstanley—on St George's Hill in the parish of Walton-on-Thames, Surrey. Indeed, on 9 June 1649 Winstanley delivered a letter to Fairfax and his Council of War on behalf of the Diggers.<sup>3</sup> Since evidently both Fairfax (who resigned his commission in summer 1650) and Clarke had an interest in the Digger movement, it is therefore unsurprising that Clarke also copied the Diggers' song.

The first scholar to notice the Diggers' song was Sir Charles Harding Firth (1857–1936), who would be appointed Regius Professor of History at the University of Oxford in 1904. Firth included it in the second volume of his selections from *The Clarke Papers* published by the Camden Society in 1894.<sup>4</sup> Besides entitling it *The Diggers Song*, Firth's published version contains several editorial amendments: spelling has sometimes been modernized, as has capitalisation; punctuation has occasionally been supplied; contractions have been expanded; a transcription error silently corrected; line breaks inserted to retain the rhyme; and words added where the original merely indicates repetition through the use of '&c.'

Thereafter Firth's published version of this song was reprinted in whole or in part by, among others, Eduard Bernstein, a German political figure and friend of Friedrich Engels then exiled in London (1895); the Scottish Unitarian, republican and journalist John Morrison Davidson (1899, 1904); the land reformer Lewis Berens (1906); the Christian socialist Joseph Clayton (1910); the Reverend E.A. White (1940), a committee member of the English Folk Dance and Song Society; George Sabine, a professor of philosophy who would become Vice President of Cornell University (1941); the Marxist historian Christopher Hill and Edmund Dell, a future Labour MP and minister (1949); the Australian-born writer Jack Lindsay (1954); Hill

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Corns, Ann Hughes and David Loewenstein (eds), *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley* (2 vols, Oxford, 2009) [hereafter *CWGW*], II, 43–58.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Firth (ed.), *The Clarke Papers*, Camden Society (4 vols, London, 1891–1901), II, 221–24.

again, then Master of Balliol College, Oxford (1973); the folklorist Roy Palmer (1979); the Socialist politician Fenner Brockway (1980); Andrew Hopton (1989); Alastair Fowler (1991); H.R. Woudhuysen (1992); Peter Davidson (1998); Stephen Duncombe (2002); and Carolyn Forché and Duncan Wu (2014). All the same, it appears that not one of these people consulted the original manuscript—even after it was available in microfilm.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, Berens and Hill modernized the spelling found in Firth, presumably to make the text more accessible, while Sabine carelessly omitted the final verse.

Here I present a transcription of the original manuscript, supplying line breaks so as to respect the original rhyme:

You noble diggers all stand up now  
 you noble diggers all stand up now  
 the wast land to maintaine seeing Cavaleirs by name  
 yo<sup>f</sup> digging does disdaine & persons all defame  
 Stand up now stand up now

Yo<sup>f</sup> houses they pull down: stand up now, stand up now  
 yo<sup>f</sup> houses they &c.  
 yo<sup>f</sup> houses the[y] pull down to fright poore men in town  
 but y<sup>e</sup> Gentry must come down, & the poor shall wear  
 y<sup>e</sup> crown  
 Stand up now diggers all.

With spades & hoes & plowes: stand up now stand up  
 now  
 w<sup>th</sup> spades & hoes &c.  
 yo<sup>f</sup> freedom to uphold seeing Cavaleirs are bold  
 to kill you if they could & rights from you to hold  
 Stand up now diggers all.

There selfwill is their law, stand up now stand up now  
 there selfwill &c.  
 Since Tyranny came in, they count it now no sin  
 to make a Gaole agin,<sup>6</sup> to sterue poor men therein  
 Stand up now stand up now

The Gentrye are all round, stand up now stand up now  
 the gentrye are all round &c.  
 the Gentrye are all round on each side they are found  
 there wisdomes so profound, to cheat us of o<sup>r</sup> ground  
 Stand up now stand up now.

The Lawyers they conjoyne, stand up now stand up now  
 the lawyers they &c.  
 To Arrest you they advise, such fury the[y] devise  
 the devill in them lies, & hath blinded both their eyes  
 Stand up now stand up now.

The Clergy they come in, stand up now stand up now  
 the Clergy they &c.  
 the Clergy they come in, & say it is a sin  
 that wee should now begin, o<sup>r</sup> freedom for to win  
 Stand up now diggers all

The Tiths they yet will haue, stand up now stand up now  
 the tiths they &c.  
 the tiths they yet will haue, & Lawyers their fees crave,  
 & this they say is braue, to make y<sup>e</sup> poor their slaue  
 Stand up now diggers all.

'Gainst Lawyers & y<sup>e</sup> Priests, stand up now stand up  
 now  
 'gainst Lawyers &c.  
 for Tyrants they are both, even flatt against their oath  
 to grant us they are loth, free meat & drinke & cloth  
 Stand uppe now diggers all.

The Club is all their Law, stand uppe now, stand up now  
 The Club is all their Law, stand uppe now,  
 The Club is all their Law to keepe men in awe,  
 but they noe vision saw to maintaine such a Law.  
 Stand uppe now diggers all.

The Cavaleers are foes, stand uppe now, stand uppe  
 now,  
 The Cavaleers are foes stand up now  
 The Cavaleers are foes, themselves they do disclose,  
 by verses nott in prose, To please the singing boyes  
 Stand uppe now diggers all.

To conquer them by Land,<sup>7</sup> come in now, come in now,  
 To conquer them by Love, come in now,  
 To conquer them by Love, as itt does you behove,  
 for hee is King above, & noe power like to Love.  
 Glory heere diggers all.

Firth suggested that Winstanley probably wrote this song. He did so because verses are found in several of Winstanley's printed works.<sup>8</sup> Hence on pages fifteen and sixteen of Winstanley's *A Watch-Word to The City of London* (September 1649) we find:

*The work of digging still goes on, and stops not for a rest:*

*The Cowes were gone, but are return'd, and we are all at rest.*

*No money's paid, nor never shall, to Lawyer or his man  
 To plead our cause, for therein wee'll do the best we can.  
 In Cobham on the little Heath our digging there goes on.  
 And all our friends they live in love, as if they were  
 but one.<sup>9</sup>*

<sup>5</sup> White, however, did correspond with the librarian of Worcester College.

<sup>6</sup> That is again. Hill, following Firth's reading of 'a gin' interpreted gin to mean 'trap'.

<sup>7</sup> Presumably, a transcription error for 'Love'.

<sup>8</sup> *CWGW*, I, 188–9, 453–4; II 79, 89, 99, 107, 128, 147–9, 161, 167, 171, 255, 257–8, 278, 309, 312, 378–9.

<sup>9</sup> *CWGW*, II, 99.

Similarly, the conclusion of Winstanley's *The Law of Freedom in a Platform* (1652) has:

*Here is the righteous Law, Man, wilt thou it maintain?  
It may be, is, as hath still, in the world been slain.  
Truth appears in Light, Falshood rules in Power;  
To see these things to be, is cause of grief each hour.  
Knowledge, why didst thou come, to wound, and not to cure?  
I sent not for thee, thou didst me inlure.  
Where knowledge does increase, there sorrows multiply,  
To see the great deceit which in the World doth lie.  
Man saying one thing now, unsaying it anon,  
Breaking all's Engagements, when deeds for him are done.  
O power where art thou, that must mend things amiss?  
Come change the heart of Man, and make him truth to kiss:  
O death where art thou? wilt thou not tidings send?  
I fear thee not, thou art my loving friend.  
Come take this body, and scatter it in the Four,  
That I may dwell in One, and rest in peace once more.*<sup>10</sup>

Clearly Winstanley may have penned what Firth called *The Diggers Song*. Yet there is another possibility. This was Robert Coster, whose name appears as a signatory to several Digger documents between December 1649 and April 1650.<sup>11</sup> Sometimes referred to by modern scholars as the 'Digger poet', Coster was the author of *A Mite Cast into the Common Treasury* (December 1649). This eight-page pamphlet contains ten lines of verse signed by Coster, followed by eight stanzas each consisting of twelve lines. Here are the third and eighth stanzas:

*The Poore long  
have suffered wrong,  
By the Gentry of this Nation,  
The Clergy they  
Have bore a great sway  
By their base insultation.  
But they shall  
Lye levell with all  
They have corrupted our Fountaine;  
And then we shall see  
Brave Community,  
When Vallies lye levell with Mountaines.*

*The glorious State  
which I do relate  
Unspeakable comfort shall bring,*

<sup>10</sup> *CWGW*, II, 378–79.

<sup>11</sup> Someone named Robert Coster married Isabell Lenny at St Bartholomew the Less, London on 2 May 1653. Moreover, Andrew Coster, trunk maker of St Andrew Hubbard, London, bequeathed money to his 'loving Brother Robert Coster' in September 1658. See TNA, Prob 11/282 fol. 8r.

*The Come will be greene  
And the Flowers seene  
Our store-houses they will be fill'd  
The Birds will rejoyce  
with a merry voice  
All things shall yield sweet increase  
Then let us all sing  
And joy in our King,  
Which causeth all sorrowes to cease.*<sup>12</sup>

A further work, without indication of authorship or publisher, appeared about April 1650. This was entitled *The Diggers Mirth* (1650). This sixteen-page pamphlet began with 'The Diggers Christmas Carol', a composition of twenty-five stanzas, each containing six lines, sung to the tune of 'The Spanish Gypsy'. As E.A. White pointed out more than seventy-five years ago, 'The Spanish Gypsy' was included in *The English Dancing Master*, a collection acquired by the London-based book collector George Thomason on 19 March 1651.<sup>13</sup>

According to White, the words of 'The Diggers Christmas Carol' 'exactly fit the tune'.<sup>14</sup> Here are the first and twenty-fifth stanzas:

You people which be wise,  
Will Freedom highly prise;  
For experience you have  
What 'tis to be a slave:  
This have you been all your life long,  
But chiefly since the Wars begun.

But Freedom is not wonn,  
Neither by Sword nor Gunn:  
Though we have eight years stay'd,  
And have our Moneys pay'd:  
Then Clubs and Diamonds cast away,  
For Harts & Spades must win the day.<sup>15</sup>

Clubs and diamonds may refer to relinquishing force and wealth, whereas freedom will be won through hearts that provide the strength to dig the earth with spades. Moreover, as Angela McShane suggests, the four playing cards suits could link the twenty-fifth stanza with *A New game at Cards: Or, The three Nimble Shuffling Cheaters* (c.1650), a ballad attributed to Laurence Price.<sup>16</sup>

Lewis Berens thought that 'The Diggers Christmas Carol' was probably by Coster and

<sup>12</sup> Robert Coster, *A Mite Cast into the Common Treasury* ([1649]), 6, 8.

<sup>13</sup> Anon., *The English Dancing Master* (London, 1651), 23.

<sup>14</sup> E. A. White, 'The Diggers' Song', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 4 (1940), 25.

<sup>15</sup> Anon., *The Diggers Mirth* (London, 1650), 3, 11.

<sup>16</sup> Private communication.

I agree.<sup>17</sup> It was followed by a further composition consisting of eighteen stanzas, each containing four lines. Here are the first and last stanzas:

A hint of that FREEDOM which  
shall come,  
When the Father shal Reign alone  
in his Son.

The first that which this Stone shall smite,  
shall be the head of Gold;  
A mortal wound he shall them give  
now minde thou hast been told.<sup>18</sup>

The statue with a head of gold alludes to a dream by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, in which a statute made of different materials—including feet part of iron and clay—was struck by a stone and broken into pieces (Daniel 2:32–34). Significantly, together with other biblical passages and numerological speculation, this was sometimes interpreted as foretelling the imminent coming of a Fifth Monarchy which would be ruled by King Jesus.

Berens suggested that this second set of verses was penned by Winstanley rather than Coster. This is plausible, although they may have been written by Coster as well. What is certain is that both *A Mite Cast into the Common Treasury* and *The Diggers Mirth* were published while the Diggers were active on the Little Heath in Cobham, Surrey between roughly 24 August 1649 and 19 April 1650. Moreover, it seems to me that the Diggers' song is stylistically closer to Coster's compositions than Winstanley's.

But regardless of whether the Diggers' song was by Coster or Winstanley, it is possible to narrow down when it was written through examining its allusions. Thus the 'wast land' of the first stanza corresponds to the 'Waste Land' found on the title-pages of Winstanley's *A Declaration from the Poor oppressed People of England* (c. May 1649) and *An Appeal To the House of Commons* (c. July 1649) as well as the 'Waste and Common Land' in *A New-years Gift for the Parliament and Armie* (c. December 1650).<sup>19</sup> The second stanza bemoans the Diggers' houses being pulled down, most likely referring to an event that happened on 28 November 1649.<sup>20</sup> The 'spades & hoes & plowes' of the third stanza are similar both to the

'spade and plow' in *A Letter to the Lord Fairfax* (June 1649) and the 'Spades and Howes' in *A New-years Gift*.<sup>21</sup> The fourth stanza's 'there self-will is their law' resembles 'their self-will and murdering Lawes' in *An Appeale to all Englishmen* (26 March 1650).<sup>22</sup> The sixth stanza relates how lawyers had been persuaded to prepare arrest warrants for the Diggers. This matches arrests that had been made in mid-October as well as, to quote John Gurney, 'further prosecutions initiated in Kingston's Court of Record in October, November and December' 1649.<sup>23</sup> The tenth stanza's 'The Club is all their Law' is mirrored in *A New-years Gift*, where Winstanley argues that if equity be denied 'then there can be no Law, but Club-Law'.<sup>24</sup> Elsewhere in the same tract there is condemnation of the 'Lawyers trade' as well as 'Tithing Priests' and the 'Cavaleers cause', not to mention the Lords of the manors who sent men to beat the Diggers and 'pull down' their houses.<sup>25</sup> And just as the Diggers' song concludes with a call to conquer their enemies by love, so Winstanley declares in his *New-years Gift* that 'we will conquer by Love and Patience'.<sup>26</sup>

All of this points to two possible dates of composition. Either the Diggers' song was devised in December 1649; i.e. about the same time as 'The Diggers Christmas Carol' was written. Or it was composed around March 1650, at roughly the same time as the second poem in *The Diggers Mirth*. If the latter suggestion is correct then 'stand up now' from the chorus partially echoes 'stand up for freedom' in *An Appeale to all Englishmen*.<sup>27</sup> But whatever the precise dating, Clarke most likely transcribed the song shortly before or just after the Digger community on the Little Heath in Cobham was destroyed on 19 April 1650. How Clarke obtained the song is unknown. Yet the question invites speculation: was the song circulating in manuscript and perhaps intended for publication?

<sup>20</sup> *CWGW*, II, 412, 413. It should be noted, however, that a Digger house had previously been pulled down on St George's Hill; see *CWGW*, II, 48, 146.

<sup>21</sup> *CWGW*, II, 49, 146, 243, 244.

<sup>22</sup> *CWGW*, II, 246.

<sup>23</sup> J. Gurney, 'Gerrard Winstanley and the Digger Movement in Walton and Cobham', *Historical Journal* 37 (1994), 785.

<sup>24</sup> *CWGW*, II, 128; cf. *CWGW*, II, 271, 285, 305, 358.

<sup>25</sup> *CWGW*, II, 117, 119, 120, 143.

<sup>26</sup> *CWGW*, II, 133; cf. *CWGW*, II, 214.

<sup>27</sup> *CWGW*, II, 247, 248.

<sup>17</sup> Lewis Berens, *The Digger Movement in the Days of the Commonwealth* (London, 1906), 129.

<sup>18</sup> Anon., *Diggers Mirth*, 12, 16.

<sup>19</sup> *CWGW*, II, 31, 65, 111, 114, 126, 285.

Another challenging aspect of the song has been identifying the tune. It consists of twelve stanzas, each containing four lines together with a fifth shortened line; i.e. sixty lines. Relying on the work of Miss A.G. Gilchrist, White suggested that the metre could be traced to a song mentioned in *The Complaynt of Scotlande* (1549). This contains the lines:

My lufe is lyand seik, send hym ioy, send hym ioy,  
fayr luf lent thou me thy mantil ioy.<sup>28</sup>

In all, White enumerated seventeen songs in this metre, stretching from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. They included Captain Kidd (c.1701), ‘Oh my name is Captain Kidd, as I sailed, as I sailed’; and Admiral Benbow (c.1702), ‘Come all ye sailors bold, and draw near, and draw near’. Whether or not ‘Stand up now stand up now’ from the Diggers’ song can be connected with ‘Send him joy send him joy’, not to mention ‘as I sailed, as sailed’ as well as ‘and draw near, and draw near’, is difficult to judge. But it has not been noticed that the twelve stanzas of the Diggers’ song may have had symbolic significance, alluding to the twelve tribes of Israel. For Winstanley had addressed his *The New Law of Righteousnes* ‘To the twelve Tribes of Israel that are circumcised in heart, and scattered through all the Nations of the Earth’ (26 January 1649).<sup>29</sup>

Turning to the purpose of the Diggers’ song, it was likely to raise morale and instil a sense of community. Clearly it had a non-violent message, anticipating the Diggers’ ultimate triumph as they stood up to their assorted enemies—Cavaliers, gentry, lawyers and clergy—while brandishing their agricultural implements. Perhaps, as White proposed, it also functioned ‘as a labour song, to help them to break up their waste ground’.<sup>30</sup>

Finally, the Diggers’ song has had an interesting legacy since Firth first published it. Consequently, it was performed on 1 April 1939 (possibly on the 290th anniversary of the Digger movement’s foundation) as part of a three-day ‘Festival of Music for the People’ at a moment when there was international attention on the Spanish Civil War and Nazi Germany. Organised by the Popular Front

<sup>28</sup> James Murray (ed.), *The Complaynt of Scotlande* (London, 1872), 65.

<sup>29</sup> *CWGW*, I, 473; cf. Romans 2:29; Revelation 7:4, Zechariah 7:14.

<sup>30</sup> White, ‘Diggers’ Song’, 30.

(a group of left-leaning intellectuals and politicians), this festival opened at the Royal Albert Hall with a historical pageant spanning from ‘Feudal England’ to a finale ‘For Peace and Liberty’. The Diggers appeared in the fourth episode, ‘Soldiers of Freedom’, with music by Christian Damton. Afterwards, the Diggers’ song featured in the 35 mm black and white film *Winstanley* (1975). Directed on a limited budget by Kevin Brownlow and Andrew Mollo, with a cast consisting almost entirely of amateurs, the film is notable for its historical details. There are also recordings of the Diggers’ song by Leon Rosselson and Roy Bailey (1979); Chumbawamba (1988); Attila the Stockbroker (1996); Lady Maisery (2016); Windborne (2017); and Farrell Family (2020).

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<https://doi.org/10.1093/notesj/gjad040>

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Advance Access publication 7 July, 2023

### MORE ABOUT MOORE: THE CELEBRATED WORM DOCTOR AND HIS PRACTICE IN LONDON, 1699–1737

John Moore (d. April 1737), apothecary, is probably best known as the retailer of powders and ointments for treating tapeworm and other worm infections, which he advertised in London papers with formulaic attestations by satisfied customers and announcements of worms of sensational size and conformation. One such ad, for example, informs readers of the worms ‘to be seen at the said Mr Moor’s, viz. one 30 Foot long, another 5 and an half, being part of one of 16 Yards odd Inches; another 6 Yards and half, another 50 Foot, and another in form of a Bird, but very small’.<sup>1</sup> If Moore’s fame did not arise singlehandedly from his own prodigious volume of peculiar and graphic advertisements, it was undoubtedly enhanced by the publication of satires such as Alexander Pope’s ballad *To the Ingenious Mr Moore, Author of the Celebrated Worm-Powder* (1716). No doubt readers could locate precisely where Moore vended his

<sup>1</sup> *Post Boy*, 26–28 April 1715.