# UCLA UCLA Historical Journal

# Title

Paul S. Seaver. *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985. ix + 258 pp. Appendix, notes and index. \$29.50 (cloth).

## Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5cm5z9m6

### Journal

UCLA Historical Journal, 7(0)

#### Author Robertson, James C.

Publication Date

1986

# **Copyright Information**

Copyright 1986 by the author(s). All rights reserved unless otherwise indicated. Contact the author(s) for any necessary permissions. Learn more at <u>https://escholarship.org/terms</u>

Peer reviewed

serious regional problems of steady population growth, limitations of land area and land quality, steadily falling prices for major commodity exports, and Central America's potential inability to compete in the important manufacturing export arena with such countries of the Pacific Rim as Taiwan and Korea. The extent to which the revolution of 1979 was a product of these forces, and how it has coped with them since then are areas left entirely unexplored by Christian.

Barring any major disaster, estimates are that Nicaragua's population will double in the next thirty years. How will Nicaraguan leaders find employment, food, and housing for *seven million* Nicaraguan citizens? In terms of just this one long term structural issue, changes of government, even such dramatic and attractive revolutionary changes as have occurred in Nicaragua since 1979, may prove less important than Christian seems to believe, if not entirely insignificant.

David Lorey University of California, Los Angeles

Paul S. Seaver. Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985. ix + 258 pp. Appendix, notes and index. \$29.50 (cloth).

Nehemiah Wallington (1598 - 1658) was the tenth child and fourth son of a successful Master of the Turners' Company. An adolescence of religious doubt in his father's household was followed by his marriage and establishment as an independent turner in Eastcheap in the City of London. He was not particularly successful in business and never took up the "Livery" of the senior group within his guild. As a result he remained ineligible to participate in even the most "popular" sections of civic government although, as a citizen and householder, he did serve on the grand jury of his ward. It was an essentially unremarkable career and, while he was called before the Star Chamber in 1638, this was more a testimony of the misdirected zeal of Charles I's Privy Council than to Wallington's actual significance. Seaver's study of *Wallington's World* is fascinating in offering a view into this stratum of society through the 1630s and 1640s, just before this world was "turn'd upside down" and men from this level and below became articulate in English politics.

Seaver's sources were, however, both dispersed and difficult. Wallington hardly sought to describe his own worldly career but rather to record "some of the many mercies of God to my soul and body" (p. 199). With these and with paraphrases of Puritan divines or transcripts of apposite psalmes, Wallington managed to produce a massive oeuvre. He compiled a series of

carefully categorized notebooks and filled around 20,000 octavo pages which was-for sheer volume-on a par with the writings of such productive puritan divines as William Perkins or Richard Baxter. These were written for his own contemplation and, even in an exceptional period for access to printers, he published nothing and only some 2,600 pages of his are known to have survived to be used here. Seaver has produced an interesting table (Appendix I) from a newly identified manuscript of Wallington's that gives his titles to fifty notebooks; this study has only been able to use six of these that are now dispersed between London and Washington. In bridging the gaps among Wallington's devotional writings Seaver has been able to bring his general expertise in early modern puritanism to bear in recognizing the citations and paraphrases from puritan divinity that fill even Wallington's "historical notices." The most conspicuous casualty among the lost seveneighths of Wallington's writings are probably his volumes of Parliamentary providences, since his notebook titles suggest that Parliament was much more central to his assessment of the 1640s than, perhaps, this reading is able to allow. Besides this central source, Seaver has been lucky that both the records of the Turners' Company and of the parish of St. Leonard's Eastcheap have survived. The smoothness and authority of his text is achieved despite its fortuitous evidential base.

The interpretation of this essentially introspective material is also problematical. It is not self-explanatory and the principal instance where Seaver does follow Wallington's narrative line too closely demonstrates its inherent difficulties. In describing the main "crisis" of Wallington's adolescence when he had become convinced of his own sinfulness and made a series of gestures of conspicuous despair, Seaver's assessment of this particularly self-centered material in terms of an "essential need of his father's acceptance" (p. 29) is merely self-indulgent. Such a reading hardly does justice to either Wallington's real spiritual doubts nor to his chosen audiences' responses, and it is still more disappointing because it misses an opportunity to investigate where and when he chose to make his various gestures or really just what he had considered doing, which would all have offered fascinating insights into expectations of apprentices' personal space and time within a Jacobean urban household. What Wallington's notes reveal is less the articulation of his particular 'world view' than examples of its parameters, either listed explicitly in terms of offenses against godly standards-when Sabbath breakers, drunkards or swearers received appropriate divine retribution-or implicitly in the frameworks of his personal mercies and deliverances. Seaver's major achievement has been to marshal Wallington's array of particular instances within several useful themes.

Indeed, some of Seaver's most interesting arguments are on attitudes towards business which were issues that, symptomatically, Wallington hardly touched on in his spiritual notes. Nevertheless, "providential" extensions of neighbors' loans, remarkable days' takings and a fascinating incident

#### **BOOK REVIEWS**

around an apprentice who had managed to pilfer enough cash to furnish his own shop, have allowed Seaver to offer a general picture of a hand-to-mouth economy of fixed labor costs, small cash balances, capital tied up in materials and stock, unpredictable supply and demand and a network of small loans running through the neighborhood. It is a familiar enough picture from late medieval urban inventories, but here it is not expressed in probate valuers' monetary terms. Wallington's case highlights both the contrast between his vagueness about the current state of his affairs and his scrupulous moral accountancy. Seaver has presented his evidence for an uncapitalistic puritanism elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> but restated here his argument is reinforced for the congruence of Wallington's attitudes with the ideals preached in London's pulpits: these are the unentrepreneurial standards of a man who went to nineteen lectures in one week.

Wallington may not have been sufficiently interested in the daily fluctuations of his cash box to thrive, but his interests extended well beyond his shop's counter or his study. The Bishops' Wars against the Scots and the calling of the Long Parliament encouraged him to start new notebooks of God's providences, but during the 1620s and 1630s he had noted the siege of Hugenot La Rochelle and the miseries of German protestants during the Thirty Years War, which had been interests that were already at variance with Charles I's insular policies. At home too his correspondents had included neighbors who had chosen to emigrate to New England and contacts in the provinces who he occasionally sent news to. In the 1640s, after the breakdown of Caroline censorship, Wallington was another eager purchaser of newsbooks and his choice of transcriptions show how persuasive that journalism's stereotypes could be: the Cavaliers were condemned by their blasphemies even more than for their "rebellion" against Parliament. More seriously still, Wallington's notes demonstrate the lasting impact that the 1641 Catholic uprisings in Ireland made on English puritans. Perceptions attuned to the sufferings of international protestantism were horrified by the massacres of protestant settlers, particularly when they were believed to have been abetted by the king: Wallington seems to have been unable to trust Charles again. By the 1650s, when England had engaged in "hypocritical" and fratricidal wars against protestant Scotland, Wallington's eagnerness for copying newsheets ebbed but he continued to view even local affairs in broad terms of God's providences.

Seaver's work has illuminated both the priorities of a puritan artisan and the fluctuating range of his interests, but he has also fitted Wallington into his local godly community of St. Leonard's Eastcheap. Here Wallington's individual observations can certainly qualify stereotypes, as in his finding the shared discipline of "the Sacrament of God's Supper" (p. 42) consoling during the 1630s. In assessing one of the most punctual attenders of the Fourth London Classis, Seaver offers the interesting suggestion that in working for the imposition of a Presbyterian discipline on London, Wallington was infuenced by reports of Boston "wherein all things are done in the form and pattern shewed in the Mount" (p. 181). But Wallington's own writings also demonstrate just how far this artisan living on the corner of Philpot Lane and Little Eastcheap had integrated himself into the mental world of the puritan intelligentsia. Wallington's corpus of providences demonstrate the real success of English puritanism in percolating so far down the social hierarchy, even if the legions of offenders against godly standards that Wallington noted also demonstrates the extent of their continued failure.

In his preface Seaver acknowledges "the indulgence" of those "who have listened patiently to my Wallington stories" (p. ix); however, it seems likely that many more of his colleagues will be telling Wallington stories too. Urban, economic and religious specialists should all find interesting material here, but so should political historians while both colonial and military experts will find Seaver's discussion of a social matrix that settlers left or of the London "home front" during the Civil War useful. Beside this range of potential specialist readerships, Seaver's monograph deserves to reach a wide audience. It is an accessible and sympathetically written account and ought to be comprehensible enough for an interested beginner to early modern England or to puritanism. At \$29.50 this book is too expensive for the place on supplementary bibliographies that it deserves; should it have a paperback edition the publishers might take the opportunity to provide a map for those who are not as familiar with the topography of Stuart London as Seaver is. It is a useful introduction to some fascinating material.

> James C. Robertson Institute of Historical Research University of London, London

<sup>1</sup>Paul S. Seaver. "The Puritan Work Ethic Revisited," Journal of British Studies, XIX (1980): 35-53.

David Harvey. The Urbanization of Capital: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1985. xvii + 239 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, and index.

In recent years a reshifting of what was once considered important research has been taking place. Ethnic relations, regional or local investigations, and gender studies, for example, had been judged to be less important areas of inquiry. Now they are coming into their own. Among these new areas of study, one should include endeavors to comprehend the process of urbanization. David Harvey's published works<sup>1</sup> present an indepth theoretical analysis of the nature and process of urbanization, and the influ-